

For Workers Revolution in South Africa!

Black Masses Battle Apartheid Repression

Black revolt against apartheid repression in South Africa took to the streets of Crossroads, the defiant squatters settlement near Cape Town, last month. This tightly organized community of 100,000 black toilers has been a living symbol of resistance to the white supremacist regime. Under the dictates of apartheid, in which more than 3.5 million blacks have been deported to the starvation poverty of the bantustans since 1960, this community of "illegal" black squatters should not exist. And Pretoria has tried time and time again to bulldoze its humble shacks, schools and clinics into the dust and deport its Xhosa-speaking inhabitants to the bantustan hellholes of the Ciskei and Transkei. Recently, the Botha regime announced plans to "consolidate" the entire 250,000-strong black population living around Cape Town (including those with "legal" residence) into a concentration camp with one access road called Khayelitsha where the rents are too high and the cell-like "homes" too small for the desperately impoverished black workers and their families.

But on February 18 Crossroads residents took to the streets to protest their threatened removal. They built flaming barricades out of oil drums, old tires and logs. Three thousand protesters battled South Africa's heavily armed, brutally racist police for two days with stones and their bare hands. Eighteen blacks were murdered by these apartheid butchers, including two babies only two and six months old who suffocated from tear gas fumes; nearly 300 were wounded. But 28 police vehicles were damaged and 26 of the racist thugs were injured, and as a result of their defiance the courageous Cross-



English/UPI-Reuters

Defiant Crossroads residents fight for their homes, face down bloody apartheid police attempt to remove them.

roads residents once again have forced Pretoria to back down. On February 21 the white supremacist minister of "black affairs" (a post akin to Hitler's minister of "Jewish affairs") Gerrit Viljoen indicated that plans to move the residents of Cape Town's three main black townships would be scrapped. And five days later he proclaimed that Crossroads would be rebuilt as a "legal" black township, albeit with 70 percent of its inhabitants shipped off to Khaye-

litsha or the bantustans because of "overcrowding."

Free the UDF 16 and All Anti-Apartheid Prisoners!

While black protesters battled apartheid's police in Crossroads, apartheid's security agents were busy busting into 70 offices and homes of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its supporters. Eight leaders of this anti-apartheid coalition were rounded up

and jailed on "treason charges." Together with eight colleagues arrested last year on similar charges, they are fighting for their lives.

The popular-frontist UDF is composed of more than 600 organizations, from black unions to merchant groups and sports clubs. The UDF and its liberal-utopian policies of "peaceful change" are backed by South Africa's oldest anti-apartheid nationalist

continued on page 6

Bloody Zionist Rampage in Lebanon

It's an "orderly withdrawal," Israeli style. The army said it was wrapping up its Lebanon adventure, moving south from the Litani River as part of a disciplined phased pullback. Well, shortly before dawn on March 11, they smashed into the Shi'ite village of Zrariyah, in south Lebanon. Bursting through the thin defenses of a handful of Lebanese soldiers and militiamen, some 1,000 Israeli soldiers, backed by over 200 tanks and armored personnel carriers, with choppers whirling overhead and cannon fire, rained terror and devastation on the sealed-

off town for 14 hours. When journalists finally obtained entry, they saw the grisly handiwork: the Israeli army acted like the "contra" death squads they arm in Nicaragua. There were at least 40 corpses—with more being discovered. Murdoch's *New York Post* (12 March) gleefully reported that "Bayonets were used and bodies with their stomachs slit open were scattered along the roadside." The overwhelming majority of the dead were unarmed civilians, like the middle-aged man shot dead on the road into town with a truckload of lemons. At least two

dozen cars had been destroyed, blown up or smashed by tanks. Bodies lay inside, crushed in the wreckage.

The June 1982 "Operation Peace for Galilee," as they called it, was announced as a 25-mile cakewalk to supposedly "protect" northern Israel from Palestinian guerrilla attacks. (That in the preceding eleven months *not one* Israeli civilian had been wounded in sporadic shelling across the border was beside the point to the Zionists—they had other things in mind.) As then Israeli chief of staff Rafael Eitan stated at the outset of the invasion: "Do you

think for a moment that we've built up this tremendous army with the intention of not using it?" The Israelis' real plan was "Operation Pines": would-be führer General Ariel Sharon secretly boasted his blitzkrieg would reach Beirut in 48 hours. The Zionists were aiming at the "final solution" to the Palestinian "problem," the "purification" of Lebanon of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); to deal a devastating blow to the Syrians, and put Lebanon straight—in addition to grabbing a little "Lebensraum" in

continued on page 10

New York Times Admits: Star Wars Means First Strike

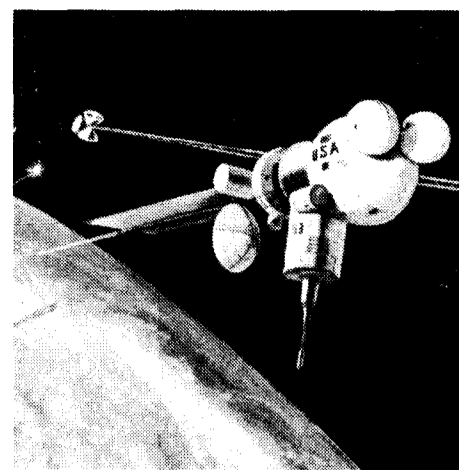
Overshadowed by Chernenko's funeral in Moscow, the U.S. and Soviet negotiators sat down in Geneva last week to discuss arms control. In preparation, Reagan put on his "man of peace" garb, but made it clear that his massive and dangerous arms escalation will go ahead full tilt—the talks are just sucker-bait for lily-livered liberals in Congress, Russian détenteniks and the like. Last year the first-strike MX missile was supposed to be a "bargaining chip" to get the Soviets to the negotiating table; this year Reagan tells Congress "a vote on the Peacekeeper [MX] is a vote on Geneva"—i.e., the Geneva talks are just a "bargaining chip" to get the MX! And Reagan has made it clear that his pet "Star Wars" scheme is not up for discussion at all—the only thing the U.S. will negotiate is a reduction in Soviet land-based missiles. Orwell's "War is Peace" is the White

House slogan, and the anti-Soviet Democratic "doves" do nothing but coo along. Who could object to "research," they ask, as they vote *billions* for "Star Wars."

What use is the theoretically super-accurate MX, liberal critics queried, if they're in the same vulnerable silos as the older Minuteman III? Wrong question. They won't even *be there*; the U.S. missiles will have been launched already, for the purpose of such pinpoint accurate missiles is to "take out" the Russian missiles in *their* silos in a U.S. *first strike*. The whole idea, as Weinberger & Co. put it, is for America to "prevail" in a "nuclear exchange," while assuring that every white, middle-class American will come through unscathed. That's also how they're selling Reagan's "Star Wars" plan—promising to make (Russian) nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete" by

providing a technological umbrella of "defensive" space weapons for the U.S.

Exotic weapons like x-ray lasers, particle beams and electromagnetic rail guns would shoot down a Russian retaliatory strike. Liberal criticism focused on the immense cost, and the present impossibility of building a leak-proof shield against a surprise attack. "Technology does not offer even a reasonable prospect of a population defense," noted former Defense Secretary Harold Brown (*New York Times*, 8 March). This misses the point. Reagan's first-strike plans aim at putting the U.S. back in the saddle again, to reassert world hegemony through nuclear blackmail. They want to replay the '62 Cuban missile crisis, to make Gorbachev blink, or, to use a contemporary Reaganite idiom, "cry uncle." Only this time they aim to dismantle the Soviet "evil empire" by threatening and, if neces-



Dept of Defense

Artist's conception of "Ronald's Rail Gun."

sary, carrying out a first strike.

It's beginning to dawn on even relatively nearsighted imperialist organs like the *New York Times* that there's a nuclear nut in the White House, and they're worried. The *Times* recently published a lengthy six-part series (3-8 March) on Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) which suddenly discovered the "Dark Side of 'Star Wars': System Could Also Attack"! Ex-State

continued on page 11

Rose Mary Woods and the KAL 007 Tapes

The 1985 Rose Mary Woods Achievement Award must surely go to the United States Air Force. Ms. Woods, you may recall, set the record back in the early '70s when, as Nixon's secretary, she tried to explain away the mysterious 18-1/2 minute gap in the Watergate tapes by demonstrating how her foot "accidentally" stepped on the recorder pedal as she reached across her desk to answer the phone. Now the USAF is claiming that it *routinely erased* tapes of the radar tracking of the doomed Korean Air Lines Flight 007 as it penetrated Soviet airspace on 31 August-1 September 1983. They would have us believe that the records of this earthshaking event, which had the war drums rolling from Washington to

Moscow, were treated as if they were mere videotapes of the evening news.

The Air Force claim recently leaked out of secret court proceedings in a lawsuit brought against the U.S. government and other parties by relatives of KAL 007 victims. A Justice Department trial attorney, Jan K. Von Flatern, tried to explain it away by saying that the tape from the USAF Regional Operations Command Center at Anchorage, Alaska was "just Air Force data—air defense data," that the tape is routinely "recycled every 15 days," and that the Air Force didn't preserve it because they "had no idea" they would be involved in subsequent litigation (*Washington Post*, 5 March)! Later in the same court session, Von Flatern inexplicably re-

duced his estimate from 15 days to 30 hours, but that didn't help him. "The Air Force... customarily impounds any information relating to an aviation disaster," noted the *Post*.

Only an idiot could believe the Air Force's absurd subterfuge. The fact is the U.S. intelligence "community" was practically salivating in public after the downing of KAL 007 because of the "intelligence bonanza" which the incident gave the U.S. about Soviet defense capabilities—indeed, that was the *whole purpose* of the U.S.-planned provocation. Hence KAL 007 *twice* deviated from course that night in order to fly over the most sensitive Soviet military installations in the Far East, triggering Soviet defenses. (See our Spartacist pamphlet, "KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation," and "Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels," *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984.) USAF chief of staff Charles A. Gabriel himself publicly bragged only one week after the disaster:

"We got a rather good picture of what happened in those 2-1/2 hours, when the airliner's course over Kamchatka, the Okhotsk Sea and Sakhalin was followed by the Soviets. "What we learned gives us a little more faith in the capabilities of the USAF, when necessary, to overcome the enemy's defenses."

—*Der Spiegel*, 15 October 1984

The USAF, along with the CIA, NSA, DIA and a host of other U.S. agencies, obviously analyzed their tapes in minute detail. If anybody destroyed those tapes—routinely, accidentally, deliberately—there would be dead bodies all over the Pentagon, Langley and Fort Meade!

The U.S. lying in court about the tapes is only part of a continuing cover-up of the 007 affair. As the liberal *Nation* (16 March) magazine noted after this latest incident, the "pattern of suppressing information" started the morning after the airliner crashed, when the civilian National Transportation Safety Board was told to hand over all its information to the State Department, which promptly clamped a lid of secrecy on the whole affair. The U.S. also asked the Japanese to turn over their tapes of Soviet air defense conversations even though the U.S. had more extensive tapes. Aside from the misleading, "edited" tape of the Soviet pilots' conversations played by Kirkpatrick at

the UN, the U.S. has sat on all its collected tapes and data since then, while orchestrating a hysterical anti-Soviet propaganda campaign to fuel its drive toward World War III.

But if the Air Force wants to pretend it has no tape, that's hardly the end of the matter. The U.S. had a massive array of electronic gear coordinated to pick up every kind of electronic emission in the Far East that night. To begin with there were the *several* RC-135 electronic spy planes crammed with sophisticated listening/tracking/recording gear (figure three tapes); the USS *Observation Island* and its Cobra Judy radar in the North Pacific (at least one tape); the 2,000-mile-range Cobra Dane radar on Shemya Island (one tape); the NSA listening posts at Misawa and Wakkanaï in Japan (two tapes); and a "ferret" spy satellite, specifically designed to pick up radar signals, coordinated with the flight of KAL 007, most likely relaying its data to the NSA/CIA station at Pine Gap, Australia (another tape).

That's eight tapes right there, and we're sure we've only scratched the surface. They or copies of them were certainly forwarded to NSA headquarters at Fort Meade, Maryland for extensive analysis. And they're still there, we can assure you—just "unavailable" to a mere U.S. court. The families of the victims of Reagan's KAL anti-Soviet provocation are supposed to be satisfied that their loved ones are Cold War martyrs... and to keep their mouths shut. But Reagan will need an army of Rose Mary Woods to handle this one, and even then, as Richard Nixon discovered, the ship of state still leaks. ■



TROTSKY

Lenin on Communist Education

Addressing a national congress of the Russian Young Communist League in October 1920, Lenin stated:

I must say that the tasks of the youth in general, and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organisations in particular, might be summed up in a single word: learn.

...it would mean falling into a grave error for you to try to draw the conclusion

that one can become a Communist without assimilating the wealth of knowledge amassed by mankind. It would be mistaken to think it sufficient to learn communist slogans and the conclusions of communist science, without acquiring that sum of knowledge of which communism itself is a result. Marxism is an example which shows how communism arose out of the sum of human knowledge.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues" (2 October 1920)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Noah Wilner

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Darlene Kamiura

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stenberg (Closing editor for No. 375: Liz Gordon)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 375

22 March 1985

Spartacist Forum

FBI Forced to Admit: Marxists Are Not Terrorists

Speaker: Ed Clarkson,
SL Central Committee

Friday, April 5, 7:30 p.m.
University of Illinois, Circle Center
Room 713
750 S. Halsted

For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Reagan Bombs Down Under

The following article is abridged from *Australasian Spartacist No. 110, March-April 1985, published by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand.*

10 MARCH—The crisis over ANZUS has brought a blast of Cold War reality "down under." Having fought in two world wars without suffering the agony of occupation, protected from bigger enemies by bigger allies, Australia and New Zealand have long lived as if they existed outside the real world. Remember Ava Gardner in *On the Beach* where a remote and idyllic Australia ends up the last stop in a nuclear war? Here in the real world in 1985 things don't look that way. U.S. retaliation against New Zealand's refusal to dock U.S. nuclear ships, and [Australian prime minister Bob] Hawke's attempts to toe the U.S. line after having to back down from his secret agreement to aid U.S. MX missile testing, have polarised both countries—shaking up all manner of isolationist complacency and puncturing the illusion that Australia and New Zealand can opt out of a northern hemisphere nuclear Armageddon.

Reagan's drive to war against the Soviet Union and its allies threatens to plunge the whole world into nuclear barbarism. Billions are being spent on the first strike "Star Wars" program to militarise outer space. All of Western Europe bristles with nuclear missiles targetting every major Soviet city and military installation. In the Pacific the U.S. fleet is being equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles, 350 of them nuclear-armed, aimed at Russia and Vietnam while the U.S. plans to store nuclear depth charges at its bases in the Philippines and at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

For years under "Piggy Muldoon" New Zealanders mobilised in mass anti-nuke demos and protests against South African rugby teams. [New Zealand prime minister David] Lange apparently figured no one would notice if he played by the same rules in power. But the Reaganites fear the spread of "nuclear allergies" both to Australia and elsewhere internationally, particularly Japan and Europe. Now they are actively promoting the destabilisation of the Lange Labour government, and using Hawke as their local enforcer—a policy which already has the ALP's left wing up in arms.

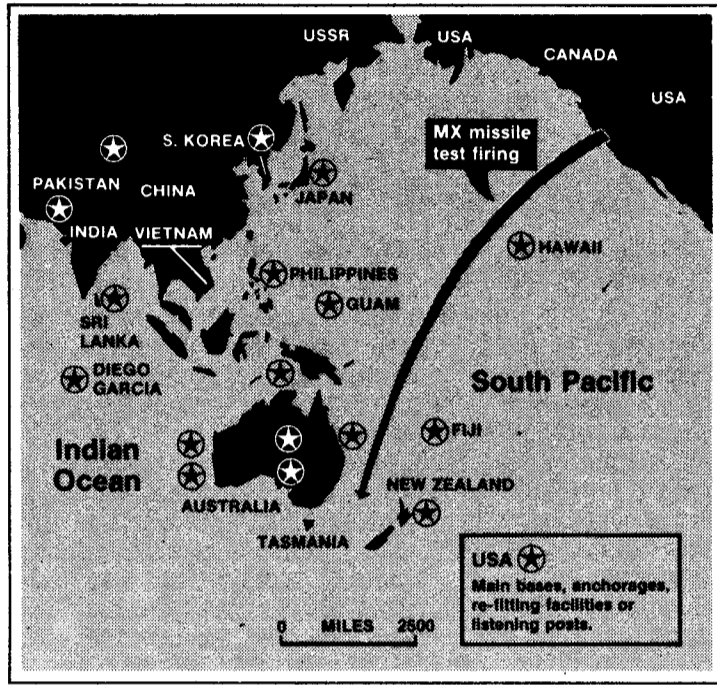
The New Zealand Labour government insists it still wants to be a good American ally. "We went to Vietnam" was Lange's response to charges he was defaulting on ANZUS, adding he had no intention of pulling New Zealand's contingent out of the Sinai, nor stopping the various spy operations New Zealand carries out for the CIA in Southeast Asia. In this sense he's right: the Australian and New Zealand imperialists have loyally volunteered their troops for big and small imperialist and colonial wars for 100 years, from the Sudan to Gallipoli to the Second World War to Korea and, of course, Vietnam where Australia and New Zealand sent troops to fight beside the U.S. in that long, dirty, losing war. All their fighting has been in someone else's country, as virtual mercenaries first for the British and then the Americans. This is the price the ruling classes pay for protection of these remote white imperialist enclaves in Asia—Australia most of all.

ANZUS has always been based on "yellow-peril" racism overlain with anti-communism. After World War II the Australian and New Zealand bourgeoisies clamoured for a security pact with the U.S., primarily as a guarantee against Japanese rearmament. Established in 1951, ANZUS immediately became a Cold War instrument. Today

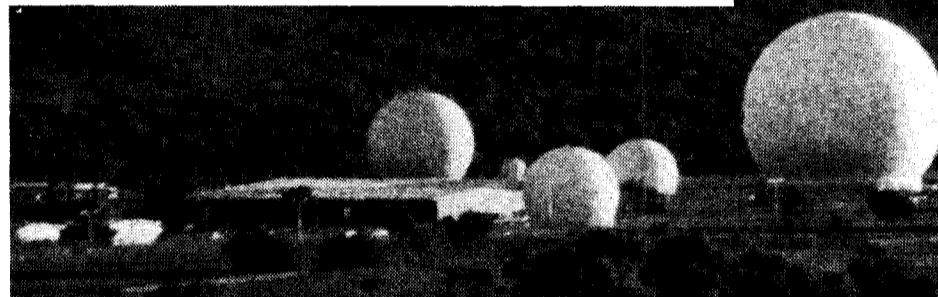
its central target remains Soviet-allied Vietnam, still under attack a decade after the victorious Vietnamese workers and peasants defeated the U.S. giant and its lackeys. The unravelling of this imperialist war treaty poses a real opportunity to the Australian and New Zealand working classes who have every interest in its destruction.

Even before the furore within the Australian Labor Party forced Hawke to back down over the MX missile tests, heightened disaffection and division in the ALP was reflected in the large informal protest vote in last December's

Australian unions, especially maritime, have a history of internationalist class action: in solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution; with the Indonesian independence struggle against the Dutch in the 1940s; with the black masses fighting apartheid slavery in South Africa. These traditions and practices must be revived and put into practice around an internationalist class-struggle program. This will take a fight not only against Hawke and the bourgeoisie, but also their agents in the trade-union bureaucracy. U.S. bases out of Australia and the Indian and



U.S. bases in South Pacific target Vietnam, Soviet Union. Below, CIA's Pine Gap, Australia radar intelligence station.



Der Spiegel

election, and the big showing (nearly 7 percent nationally) for the fledgling Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP). Many Australians deeply distrust the fact that Hawke acts and talks like Reagan's personal envoy, and hundreds of thousands of marchers are expected to turn out for the upcoming 31 March Palm Sunday peace marches. But these protests can go nowhere if tied by the ALP and NDP organisers into a perspective of pressuring this Cold War Labor government. What's needed is independent *working-class* action: if waterfront unions had shut down the Sydney waterfront with the arrival of the USS *Buchanan* in early March after its rejection from New Zealand ports things would look a lot different.

Hawke calls the shots with the ALP and ACTU [Australian Council of Trade Unions] tops, but not so with the ranks of labour as shown when Sydney wharfies [longshoremen] refused to go along with the ACTU's anti-Soviet bans over KAL 007. The CIA's role in bringing down the 1975 Whitlam government, its backing of clericalist NCC anti-union sabotage in the 1950s, and not least the Vietnam War, have left a legacy of hatred for the bourgeoisie's partnership with U.S. imperialism in broad sections of the Australian proletariat. Now Hawke says he wouldn't want to be prime minister without the American alliance and the U.S. bases which are at its core. Fine! We say the bases must go and so should Reagan's man Hawke! Mass working-class action challenging the bases and the U.S.-Australia alliance would create the conditions for the rapid crystallisation of a revolutionary party through splitting away militant sections of Labor's mass working-class base.

Pacific Oceans! Australian/New Zealand troops out of the Sinai and Southeast Asia! Smash ANZUS and all the imperialist war alliances! Down with Reagan's man Hawke! Defend Vietnam and the USSR!

U.S. Bases and "Star Wars"

At the centre of U.S. war plans in this region are the secret spy and communication bases at Pine Gap, Nurrungar and North West Cape, part of the chain of bases running from Diego Garcia to the Philippines to Japan. When Hawke was in Washington, U.S. defence secretary Weinberger swore that the "joint facilities" in Australia had nothing to do with "Star Wars." But even the pro-Reagan *Australian* admitted

Hawke and Weinberger are lying: "The assistant director of space policy for the Federation of American Scientists, John Pike, has argued that under the SDI [Strategic Defence Initiative] program Nurrungar would be involved in not just early warnings but also in tracking missiles as part of the US attempt to attack and destroy these missiles. It would be an integral part of the Star Wars strategy."
—"Star Wars: Best to Be Frank on Bases," 15 February

North West Cape has long been known as a key communications station for the U.S. nuclear-armed submarine fleet in the Indian Ocean. Pine Gap is the most important U.S. spy satellite station monitoring the Soviet Union outside North America and was an operating ground station in the U.S.'s deadly KAL 007 war provocation in September 1983. And while space shuttle Discovery on its last voyage in January was parking \$300 million of new-generation super-spy satellite in orbit over the USSR, the U.S. was flying in planeloads of sophisticated new equipment to upgrade the Pine Gap base.

Through these bases Australia is already an integral part of U.S. plans for nuclear first strike capacity. The nationalist pacifism of the NDP and the social-democratic left can only play the role of obscuring this reality. The NDP leaders in advance pledge their Cold War allegiances to Australian imperialism by demanding the Soviets get out of everywhere from Cam Ranh Bay to Afghanistan. They show their patriotism by focusing on traditional White Australia fears of an expansionist Indonesia and a rearmed Japan. As for ANZUS the NDP's leading spokesman, rock star Peter Garrett, had this to say when interviewed by the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (7 March): "We believe that Anzus came before nuclear weapons and we can't see any reason why Anzus can't be here after nuclear weapons. However this obviously is up to the senior partner in the alliance to determine."

Against the so-called "neutralism" of the nationalists and social democrats Trotskyists fight for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and its Vietnamese and Cuban allies against imperialist attack, for these collectivised economies are historic gains for the workers of the world. It will take proletarian political revolution to clean the bureaucratic usurpers out of the Kremlin and return the USSR to the road of Lenin and Trotsky—the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution. Meanwhile the workers and oppressed peoples of the world can only be thankful for the Soviets' nuclear missile capacity—the threat of nuclear retaliation is all that restrains the Reagan gang.

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

Events on both sides of the Tasman sharply evoke memories of ten years ago
continued on page 9



Hanly/Sygma

New Zealand anti-nuke protest in January. They don't want to be sheep in Reagan's nuclear slaughter.

British Miners Defiant in Defeat

The following article is abridged from Workers Hammer No. 67, March 1985, published by the Spartacist League/Britain.

LONDON—She had her courts, her cops, her press, her billions of pounds, but it still took Maggie Thatcher a solid year to beat back the miners. And when she finally forced them back, after 12 long and bitter months, they marched to the pit gates, heads high, banners unfurled. The strike has been defeated, but the NUM has not been broken.

The bloodthirsty bitch in Downing Street tried to hold the strikers to ransom by starving women and children. She ended up with an army of working-class women warriors and children whose first word is SCAB. Thatcher vows to be vindictive in victory, but the miners are defiant in defeat. And in the wake of that defeat the lessons must be hammered home, to pave the way for future struggle to bring down the Iron Lady and her whole system of murder and misery. *Hail the heroic miners—Remember the traitors!*

In the final analysis, it was not the cops and courts that defeated the NUM [National Union of Mineworkers]; it was the fifth column in labour's ranks. [Trades Union Congress leader] Norm Willis and [Labour Party chief] Neil Kinnock opposed this strike from the first day to the last; now they'll try to tell us class struggle doesn't pay. And from the TUC "lefts" who could have shut down the country and achieved an historic victory for the working class, there came plenty of hot air speeches and even more backroom sabotage.

When NUM delegates gathered in Congress House on 3 March to vote on a return to work, several hundred miners stood outside in the rain demanding the strike continue. Anger and bitterness, frustration and tears were everywhere when Arthur Scargill finally came out to announce the end of the strike. "Remember Davy Jones, remember Joe Green, don't sell us out!" they shouted. "We cannae go back." As Mick McGahey drove away from the scene Scottish miners shouted abuse and yelled, "Tell us how you sold us down



Strike ends: entire mining village of Grimethorpe, Yorkshire turns out to salute heroism and courage of miners.

the river, Mick!"

This wasn't a sellout, not in the ordinary sense of the word. The NUM leadership under Arthur Scargill took this strike about as far as it could go within a perspective of militant trade-union reformism, and still it lost. Why? Because militancy alone is not enough. From day one it was clear that the NUM was up against the full power of the capitalist state. The problem with Scargill, put simply, is that he is not a revolutionary. *The key lesson of this strike is the burning need to forge a revolutionary workers party so that the next battle can end in victory.*

Bring Down the Iron Lady!

Every worker in the world should be proud of the way the miners marched back. At Barrow colliery near Barnsley, with Arthur Scargill present, a lone piper led the march, followed by the women, and when they approached the pit gate and were confronted by a line of pickets they turned around. Not today would they start crossing picket lines. At Troeton colliery near Rotherham every man, woman, child and dog in the village turned out for the march back.

And after they reached the pit gate they continued to the cemetery to pay tribute to a fallen comrade, a woman who had been a strike leader and died before it ended.

At Maerdy, they marched back to the beat of drums, proud that not one of their number had been driven to scab through 12 months of hardship unrivalled since 1926. As the march approached the pit gate, the drumbeat changed to a slow, funereal cadence, a wordless recognition that this was not a march of victory but of orderly retreat. But the faces were not those of broken, beaten men. Explained branch chairman Arfon Evans, "They've got determination, they've got strength. That's more important for the future, that we can carry on the fight."

In many areas they did not return at all that day. Kent stayed out for another week, as did parts of Scotland and some Yorkshire pits, demanding amnesty for their sacked comrades. Flying pickets from Kent made it north of the Dartford Tunnel before the cops had a chance to regroup. And wherever a lone picket stood, no self-respecting miner passed.

It is key now that the union preserve its fighting capacity. Especially towards the very end many strikers were being driven back to work in desperation. The 700-plus sacked strikers are effectively blacklisted, unable to move or obtain retraining, some imprisoned or facing jail sentences. Yet after the vote to end the strike many of them were instrumental in pressing for an orderly return without waiting for amnesty.

Thanks to the treachery of her swinish TUC lieutenants, Thatcher is today in the saddle, but not firmly. The way must be prepared for a new workers' offensive. The existing sackings must be fought, intelligently and collectively, and new ones avoided as much as possible. Above all it is necessary to understand what went wrong in this historic battle.

Capitulation or Class Struggle

From the start the Spartacist League argued that with the open hostility of the TUC traitors to any serious class struggle and especially to the NUM, the road to victory lay through spreading the strike on the ground, particularly through the strategic "left"-led rail and transport unions. Even in the last days of the strike the TUC *openly collaborated with Downing Street* against the NUM.

Through the past 12 months Scargill demonstrated his mettle as the only significant figure in the labour officialdom prepared to take on the Iron Lady in struggle. He fought hard, but he also sharply demonstrated the limitations of reformist trade unionism, which *proved*

incapable of providing a winning strategy. It is not a matter of criticising one or another mistake Scargill made but of coming to terms with the fact that he remained tied to the same Labourite perspective as the Willises and Kinnocks—that the final answer for the working class is to install a Labour government aimed at defending Britain's (decrepit) nationalised industry through reformist schemes like the Plan for Coal.

While complaining that their hands were tied by Willis and the rights, the truth is that the "lefts" were decisive in sabotaging every concrete strike initiative *by their own members*: from the derailment of a rail strike last spring, to the sellout of the two potentially explosive dock strikes over the summer, to the Seamen's leaders' eleventh-hour withdrawal of union support for their members' blacking ["hot-cargoing"] action in the face of a court injunction.

Typical of the TUC "lefts" was the role of the so-called Communist Party. From the first day to the last the *Morning Star* covered for the betrayals of Kinnock and Willis with rubbish about "unity." Meanwhile leading CPer Mick McGahey signed the deal allowing scab coal to pour into Ravenscraig early on in the strike while TGWU [Transport and General Workers Union] convenors Jack Adams and Joe Harris connived to keep the coal stockpiles building up in British Leylands Longbridge and Rover Solihull.

Crisis of Leadership

Thatcher has taken aim at the entire trade-union movement. But in the hands of the reformist misleaders—right and "left"—the unions were criminally misused to stab the NUM, to discipline the workers in the interests of the strikebreaking capitalist state. Kinnock went into last September's Labour Party conference despised by much of Labour's rank and file. But when he argued that Labour's way was changing the government through the ballot box and not through "violence" (meaning the miners' strike), he met no challenge from the "lefts," not from Tony Benn, not from Arthur Scargill.

"Voting" was not going to stop the 10,000 cops who roared into the coalfields in the first week of the strike with their truncheons and Zulu shields. Here was the capitalist state in all its raw, naked brutality. The only way to stop that was through the combined and united mobilisation of the working class. And when it came to taking on the state, the lefts' hot air turned to cold feet. What the Russian communist revolutionist Leon Trotsky wrote in the midst of the General Strike was equally true today:

"We must look facts in the face: the principal efforts of the official Labour Party leaders and of a considerable number of official trade union leaders will be directed not towards paralyzing the bourgeois state by means of the

British Miner: "We Too Require A Bolshevik Party"

The following letter was addressed to the comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain shortly after the NUM called off its heroic year-long strike. Dick Hall was a member of the NUM strike committee at Warsop Main, North Derbyshire, England.

Dear comrades,

Please accept my apologies, but owing to a longstanding promise (which I nearly forgot) I am unable to speak at the dayschool. However I am sure my substitute will make my absence insignificant.

Although I think it's wrong in general to make a statement (ie no one has the opportunity to ask questions) today I'll break that chain of thought.

It seems to me that myself in particular and the strike committee in general at Warsop Main colliery owe a deep debt to the SL.

In the first instance, the economic factor, with the raising of money, which enabled many pickets to alleviate the hardships they endured during the dispute.

Secondly, the comradeship shown by all the members of the SL towards

many of our pickets. For instance feeding and finding free accommodation for pickets every time we asked.

Thirdly, and most importantly the political factor. Unlike the rest of the fake left in British politics the SL never wavered or capitulated their basic principles. They put forward a strategy for the winning of the dispute, which was unfortunately not taken up.

So on behalf of the Strike Committee at Warsop Main we thank the SL for their tremendous efforts on our behalf not only in Britain but throughout the rest of the world.

Personally I pay tribute to the SL in the following way. It seems to me that in this century in the Soviet Union in 1917 the Bolsheviks led the Russian masses to the greatest victory of the working class. Therefore it would seem logical that to achieve our aims we too require a Bolshevik party.

Having bummed around the left for twenty years, it now seems to me the SL is the nearest thing to develop into that party.

Fraternal greetings comrades,
Dick Hall



Miners' leader Arthur Scargill, arrested outside struck Orgreave plant last May.

Fired Auto Militant Speaks to Miners Rally

Miners' Martyrs Did Not Die in Vain

We reprint below the speech by Patrick Sliney to a March 16 rally of Nottinghamshire miners called on the anniversary of the death of David Jones, a striking miner murdered on the picket lines by Thatcher's scabs and cops. Patrick, a militant auto worker and well-known supporter of the Spartacist League/Britain, was fired for advocating that his union strike alongside the miners. In the forefront of those who defended Patrick were the striking miners themselves. Sliney was introduced by Mick McGinty, treasurer of the Nottinghamshire central strike committee. Mick met and was assisted by SL comrades in Detroit while raising funds for the miners.

Mick McGinty: During our 12-month long struggle, we have lost 600 miners that's been sacked from our industry. But we never heard this on the media when there has been 400 lorry drivers also sacked for refusing to move coal. A lot of these lads here, Patrick Sliney that works at British Rover plant in Birmingham, that went around his factory with leaflets and asking his comrades to support the miners financially and otherwise, was sacked from his job. He has no job today because of his involvement in the miners' strike. Now I will ask you to welcome Patrick [applause].

Patrick Sliney: Well, first of all I want to say how proud I am to be able to speak here today. And I am sure I speak for millions of other trade unionists in this country who wanted to stand behind this union in its struggle against this Thatcher government.

Now, with this savage Tory government that's in power today, which

sought to destroy the NUM, nay, to smash the NUM, this union has emerged with a defeat—it must be recognised—but in a position to fight another day. And that's very unusual after the attacks that this union has suffered over 12 months, attacks by the full force of the state against this union. It's a remarkable achievement. One year, comrades. And when we talk about this government, we're talking about that vicious bitch in Downing Street [applause] who is fighting not only for her own decrepit, corrupt, decaying capitalist class but also for American imperialism as well [hear, hear!].

But what brings us here today, comrades, is to commemorate Davy Jones, Joe Green. When we marched up there today, I nearly got emotional at that spot where Davy Jones fell. He and Joe Green did not die in vain—*did not die in vain*. Their death will be repaid, mark my words. This strike has been hard, it has also been a bitter strike, and this government and its police force so vicious that the miners in this strike and other workers have learned lessons and those lessons better not be forgotten. They came hard, those lessons. They came with blood.

Other sections of working people in this country who are also exploited and oppressed have been kept apart many times when there've been struggles. Nay, not this time. It broke down many barriers. It has involved black people, Asians, it has involved the Irish, who want those troops out of Ireland once and for all, want the English off their island [applause]. It's involved working-class women, who are doubly oppressed. All of these people have found

inspiration in this strike. Again, these are precious lessons. They've been learned through struggle, through blood, through death. And these lessons we have to incorporate into our future struggles, so that we can smash this rotten and corrupt capitalist system once and for all.

Hundreds of miners have been sacked. It's important for the miners to carry on agitation around these men. Let's not forget also there's been lots of international support, and I know from the people that I know in particular in America that support has come from an organisation called the Partisan Defense Committee, which is an arm of the Spartacist League of America, which collected money from trade unionists' branches throughout the country, from militants in America, from socialists, and collected over \$20,000 to send to the miners throughout this strike.

It's pretty clear that this strike would never have been defeated, never, if there had been solidarity on the picket lines (and not sweet speeches from platforms around the country) from other sections of the working class. Now you all know what the swinish [Trades Union Congress leaders] Lord Murray and the Lord Chapple and the future-to-be-Lord Willis were going to do in this strike. They witchhunted Arthur Scargill in 1983 at the TUC conference because he called that Spencerite [scab] "union" in Poland anti-socialist. There could have been and should have been strike action by railmen, seamen and by my own union, the T&G. This is what I have tried to fight for alongside others inside the plant I worked in, in Leyland. I fought to enforce blacking of scab coal, from the beginning of this strike, I fought to



Workers Hammer
Auto militant Patrick Sliney, fired for fighting to spread miners' strike to British Leyland.

spread the miners' strike around our recent pay claim, for which I was sacked. Now as Mick has said, I'm not the only one; 400 T&G men have been sacked, Coalville men, NUR [railway] men have been victimised up and down the country.

What I said, I mean. We have got to learn the lessons of this dispute. We cannot just let them fade into the past. And to learn those lessons we need a party, which is going to change things in this country once and for all. Now I am going off after this and I hope some people will come with me to a *Workers Hammer* dayschool to actually draw out some of these lessons. We must go forward, but we must go forward in a way that the next time around we are actually able to win and be victorious, and by being victorious we can get rid of this capitalist system with our own leadership and our own party. Thank you very much for your support. ■

strike but towards paralysing the General Strike by means of the bourgeois state."
—6 May 1926

The Russian Revolution of 1917 showed in real life that the capitalist state can be defeated, its apparatus shattered and replaced by a workers state governed through workers councils (soviets). Mobilised in struggle the Russian workers swept away the bosses and created a planned economy based on the collectivisation of the means of production. Even after Stalinist degeneration the Soviet Union, with decent social services and no unemployment, looks pretty damn good from Thatcher's Britain.

There were plenty of Labour "left" types in Russia in 1917 who argued for going slow, for going through the established capitalist institutions, for beheading the workers' struggles. But there was also a Bolshevik party led by Lenin and Trotsky, who organised the workers and provided a strategy for victory.

Enough of Judas Kinnock—For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

In the course of this unprecedented 12-month battle, tens of thousands of militants have come to hate the official leadership of the labour movement with a vengeance, to mistrust or despise key institutions of bourgeois society—the police, the press, the government. Where do they go from here?

The NUM leadership is now urging strike activists back into the Labour Party fold. Thus Mick McGahey shamelessly declared, "I have no dispute with the leader of the Labour Party," even as Kinnock openly opposes full amnesty for the sacked strikers.

The Spartacist League is a small organisation. But those militants who

have been reading *Workers Hammer* during this dispute know that what we do have is a programme for victory. Our paper told the truth, as a revolutionary workers paper must. We nailed the anti-communist witchhunt of Scargill at the 1983 Blackpool TUC for denouncing anti-Soviet warmongers Reagan and Thatcher and the Polish Spencerite [scab] "union" Solidarność. We exposed the refusal of Labour "lefts" like Tony Benn to defy (or even criticise) scabherd Kinnock and Cold War rights like Denis Healey. We stand in intransigent defence of the Soviet Union against Reagan/Thatcher's imperialist war drive.

We said, "The miners must not stand alone!" And from the start we fought for it where we could. NUR [National Union of Railwaymen] and TGWU members fought to enforce blacking action and to win strike action. For his efforts, Land Rover TGWU militant Patrick Sliney became one of the hundreds victimised for supporting the miners' strike. If there had been a few thousand more like him, there would have been victory not victimisation.

When the dockers came out and brought the country to the verge of an explosion, it vindicated the strategy we'd been fighting for. We rushed out 15,000 copies of a special supplement to NUM strike centres and rail, transport and seamen's branches around the country calling for a fighting Triple Alliance to "Shut down the country!"

We base ourselves on the lessons of past victories, especially the Russian workers' conquest of power. We are part of a revolutionary international, which incorporates the experiences of the most militant struggles of the workers and oppressed around the world. A party is needed which acts as an organising centre for those militants who want to

fight, which draws in the women and minorities who are doubly chained by capitalism and thus make doubly fierce fighters. Without it the struggles of the workers, no matter how militant and

courageous, are prey to the sabotage of the reformist traitors. As Trotsky reiterated after the 1926 General Strike: "Without a party...the proletarian revolution cannot conquer." ■

Aid to Striking British Miners' Families

Accounting of Receipts Nos. 1-235

Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization.

Collected in Last Two Weeks:

Trade Union Donations	\$503.85
Union Membership Collections	30.24
Individual Donations	1,040.14
Total	1,574.23
Total Previously Reported	\$20,084.90
Total Collected (as of 19 March 1985)	\$21,659.13
Amount Sent to Miners' Solidarity Fund	20,626.90
(as of 19 March 1985)	} \$21,659.13
Amount on Deposit (as of 19 March 1985)	

Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families.

With "Iron Lady" Thatcher vowing to be "vindictive in victory" over the British miners, hundreds of sacked strikers face blacklisting and criminal charges for their defense of the National Union of Mineworkers. The NUM has informed the PDC that the union's Miners' Solidarity Fund will remain open for several months, and money received will be used for hardship cases among the miners, especially the more than 700 fired strikers. The PDC's Aid to Striking British Miners' Families will continue to forward pledged contributions from trade-union locals and individuals to the Miners' Solidarity Fund in Britain.

The PDC fund drive stands at \$21,659.13, with over \$1,500 received in the last two weeks. The comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia/New Zealand forwarded over US\$800, including US\$149 from postal and telecommunications workers. Additional contributions include \$100 from the United Stanford Workers (Stanford University), SEIU Local 680; and more than US\$200 from a public employees union local in Toronto. *Workers Vanguard* will publish a final report on the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

organization, the African National Congress, and the allied Stalinist Communist Party (SACP), both of which have been banned under Pretoria's draconian "Suppression of Communism" act.

Among those recently arrested was Albertina Sisulu, the 66-year-old UDF president who is the wife of former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu. Along with Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders, Sisulu has languished in South Africa's torture-chamber and murder-cell prisons for two decades, serving a life sentence from the "treason" trials held in the aftermath of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. The recent arrests are also reminiscent of the notorious treason trials growing out of the arrests of 156 ANC leaders and activists in 1956. In order to dissipate growing support for the ANC's pacifist campaigns against mounting apartheid repression in the 1950s, the regime tied up the ANC in legal proceedings for five years. Finally in 1961 even apartheid's own courts found the last 30 defendants innocent.

The roundup of UDF leaders also included the leaders of its most important tradé-union affiliate, the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU). Dedicated to a policy of non-racialism, SAAWU was formed in March 1979 after splitting with the "black consciousness"-inspired Black Allied Workers Union. SAAWU considers itself "as much a mass movement as a union" and has been heavily involved in anti-apartheid battles transcending the shopfloor, especially against the brutal oppression of the apartheid puppets that lord it over the Ciskei bantustan where many SAAWU members are forced to live. SAAWU itself split early last year into an East London-based wing led by SAAWU president Thozamile Gqweta and a Durban-based wing led by former SAAWU general secretary Sam Kikine. Gqweta at 31 is South Africa's most persecuted black union leader, having been detained at least nine times and narrowly escaping assassination attempts. He was one of the eight UDF leaders charged with "treason" last year.



Keystone

Workers revolution will avenge Sharpeville massacre, 21 March 1960.

The recent roundup included Kikine. The Botha regime is most threatened by the unions that link the power of labor to the more general struggle against apartheid slavery, even if it is under the auspices of the class-collaborationist UDF. Free Mandela, Sisulu, the UDF 16 and all anti-apartheid prisoners!

Avenge Sharpeville Through Workers Revolution!

The UDF was formed August 1983 in opposition to a new white supremacist constitution which elevated apartheid's führer P.W. Botha to "Executive President" with dictatorial powers. At the same time, to divide South Africa's non-whites the constitution established powerless ethnic puppet "parliaments" for the "coloured" (mixed race) and Indian minorities while reinforcing the complete disenfranchisement of the 23

million blacks who constitute almost three-quarters of the population. The UDF led mass boycotts of these sham elections.

The successful boycott humiliated Pretoria. Subsequent peaceful protests against rent increases by impoverished black townships in South Africa's industrial heartland around Johannesburg were met with savage fury, including the unprecedented utilization of the army. The scale of the repression was reminiscent of the Sharpeville massacre whose 25th anniversary is commemorated this month. On 21 March 1960 the Pan-Africanist Congress, an anti-communist split-off from the ANC, called a nationwide protest against apartheid's hated pass laws. These laws strip black Africans of their birthright, turning them into foreigners and indentured servants in their own land. In Sharpeville, a black township near Johannesburg, 69 unarmed protesters were brutally murdered, another 186 were wounded. Subsequently, both the ANC and PAC were banned, their leaders hunted down, imprisoned and murdered, anti-apartheid struggle stilled for a decade.

But in that decade a mighty giant—South Africa's six million strong black proletariat—was gaining the strength, organization and self-confidence to break the chains of apartheid. With the development of a nascent but potentially explosive black union movement, the thunder of the 1973 Durban strikes broke the post-Sharpeville silence. And last year township protests spilled over into the factories and mines of the Rand. In mid-September the economic foundations of apartheid were shaken as the first legal (under apartheid's corporatist labor codes) strike by black gold miners exploded in battles with the armed forces. And in early November, in the most significant action to date, black unions joined with students for a two-day general strike which paralyzed the Transvaal industrial belt around Johannesburg.

The police shoot to kill in the townships. Black union and anti-apartheid leaders are jailed. But the apartheid rulers hesitate at trying to behead the black union movement for fear of proletarian upheavals which would shatter apartheid slavery. They cannot escape their dependence on

black labor. It is the spectre of workers revolution that frightens the racist rulers, not only in Pretoria, but also their big brothers in Washington, London and the other imperialist capitals. For them, South Africa is not only a strategic producer of precious metals and minerals, but with its military and economic domination of southern Africa and its control of key shipping lanes, it is a strategic ally in their anti-Soviet war drive.

No to Imperialist Saviors of Apartheid!

The rulers sense that token concessions cannot head off the boiling black revolt. "More than any other single event, the Transvaal general strike convinced everyone that we were in a crisis, that we had to act," said a South African company director. Sure enough, Chambers of Commerce rep-

resenting 80 percent of South Africa's industry have now come out with a statement against the bantustans, detentions without trial and racist laws limiting blacks' economic mobility, and for "meaningful political participation" for blacks. But every attempt at "reform" opens another crack for popular resistance while repression only fans the flames of revolt. Hence the apparent zigzags of the racist apartheid regime.

Thus, on the one hand, recent statements from sections of the ruling class that it will be necessary to negotiate with the ANC and rumors of talks in the offing, P.W. Botha's "offer" to release Mandela and talk with the ANC if they will only renounce "violence"—these would have been unthinkable five years ago. Clearly their aim is to exploit the liberal illusions of the ANC (whose own "Freedom Charter" calls for a form of "power-sharing" that virtually guarantees white economic supremacy, i.e., the maintenance of capitalist rule) and the prestige of the ANC's courageous decades-long struggle against apartheid, in order to split and co-opt a neocolonial and comprador wing. But Mandela defiantly rejected Botha's "offer" with a challenge: "Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid." Botha's answer was "treason" arrests of eight more leaders of the UDF, which explicitly repudiates "violence," and the racist rampage of his apartheid thugs in Crossroads. These actions are the fruits of Reagan's "constructive engagement" which emboldens Pretoria's savage repression.

Teddy Kennedy's recent grandstanding tour of South Africa was part of the strategy of "liberal" imperialism which, seeing the writing on the wall for apartheid, seeks to distance itself from the regime and cultivate credible and "moderate" black leaders who can one day keep the country safe for continued exploitation. Kennedy was invited by anti-communist Nobel "Peace" Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, a patron of the UDF, and his visit was welcomed by the ANC, which met with him—but his steps were dogged by demonstrators led by the "black consciousness" Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) carrying placards with slogans like "Socialist AZAPO vs. Capitalist Kennedy" (see "Black South African Militants Protest Imperialist Swine," *Young Spartacus* No. 124, February 1985). We solidarize with AZAPO's just denunciations of this hypocritical imperialist politician, which left bourgeois commentators worrying over the chord of hostility to capitalism that they struck among black South Africans.

For Permanent Revolution in South Africa!

Given the clear strategic importance and social power of South Africa's black proletariat, all these nationalist groups pay lip service to it. Thus, the UDF hails "the leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle for freedom." ANC president Oliver Tambo declares: "the offensive of the working class is, and must be, an integral part of the national liberation struggle." AZAPO and its allies in the eclectic National Forum grouping call in the Manifesto of the Azanian People for a "democratic anti-racist worker Republic." What

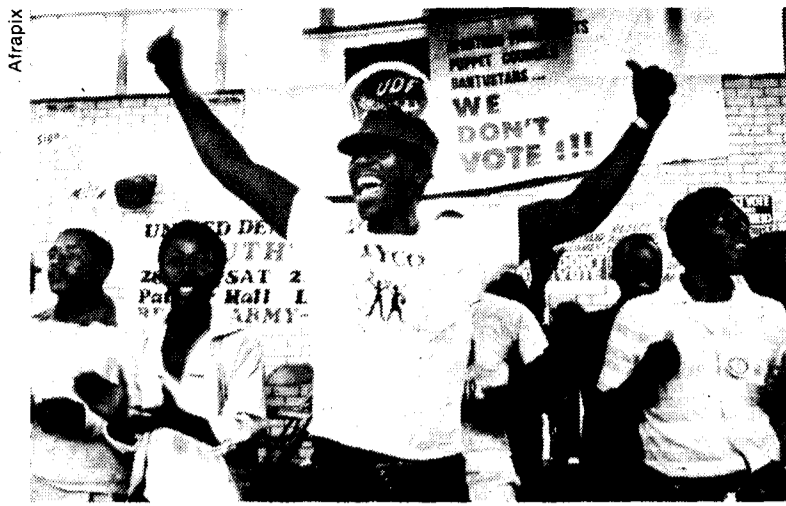
each of these groups has in common is they want to use the proletariat as cannon fodder in the service of an alien class program.

The ANC wants to give South African imperialists a democratic face-lift, turning Harry Oppenheimer and Anglo-American into "equal opportunity" exploiters. AZAPO and more radical nationalists want to displace the Harry Oppenheimers with a petty-bourgeois elite that aspires to exploit its own proletariat. It is indicative that AZAPO holds up Mozambique as a model. But Samora Machel's Frelimo has only displaced the Portuguese colonialists as labor contractors selling Mozambique toilers into the super-exploited semi-slavery of South Africa's gold and diamond mines. And under the boot of Pretoria's economic domination, Machel has been turned into a policeman for apartheid while Pretoria-backed Mozambique "contras" wreak havoc on that country's desperately poor and backward economy.

Throughout the African continent, ravaged by centuries of colonialism and imperialism, the questions of democracy and genuine emancipation are integrally linked to a socialist reconstruction of society. Given the weakness, politically as well as socially, of the proletariat in most of the balkanized states of sub-Saharan Africa, "independence" has meant imperialist-dominated bonapartist dictatorships based on tribal genocide, mass famine and pestilence. Given the tremendous social power of South Africa's black proletariat, it can command a better future for itself, and be the motor force for social revolution throughout the continent. But to do this it must, through the forging of an internationalist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, overcome its own tremendous political backwardness which is in inverse relation to its potential social power.

The root cause of this backwardness lies in South Africa's peculiar internal colonial structure, the product of uneven and combined development. The dispossession through war of African land laid the basis for permanently settled European populations to organize on a mass scale a huge, migratory, superexploited and hideously oppressed black labor force. The black toilers confront a ruling class and tyrannical police state which is white. Given the extent to which oppression is shared by all strata of the black population it is relatively easy for them to be held under the sway of a nationalist agenda limited to the amelioration or elimination of white minority rule.

Yet economism, including its "left" variants, which divides the struggle for proletarian self-organization from the more general struggle against apartheid repression in all of its manifestations, is as much an obstacle to the proletariat becoming what Marx called a political "class for itself" as are the nationalists. The urgent necessity is for the black, coloured and Indian proletariat of South Africa to crystallize its communist vanguard based on the program which links the struggle for national emancipation to its own proletarian dictatorship and which sees the smashing of apartheid as the road to workers revolution—the program of Trotsky's Permanent Revolution. ■



UDF rally celebrates successful boycott of sham parliament elections.

Class Struggle vs. Liberalism at NYC Labor Conference

No Imperialist Shackles On South Africa Black Unions!

Since last August South Africa has been rocked by wave after wave of black revolt: election boycotts, student stay-aways, striking miners, now massive resistance to evictions of black squatters near Cape Town. Above all, there was the massive two-day strike last November in the Transvaal which shut down shops, took out schoolchildren and brought the wheels of South African industry to a standstill. This flexing of its muscles by the powerful black proletariat has so alarmed the racist rulers of this white supremacist police state that President P.W. Botha has started talking about talks with the outlawed opposition African National Congress (ANC), if only they would renounce "violence," i.e., resistance to apartheid terror. Leading businessmen are pressuring for reforms to defuse the explosive situation. And concern that the South Africa powder keg will blow has extended across the Atlantic to the apartheid regime's main imperialist backer, the United States.

While the Reagan administration tries to shore up Botha through its phony "constructive engagement" policy, Democrats in Congress are particularly worried, as seen by Teddy Kennedy's recent trip to South Africa. But when he visited the vast black township of Soweto outside Johannesburg, the imperialists' "great white hope" was run out by radical blacks who want no "condescending saviors." Now American labor officialdom has been drafted by its imperialist masters to head off the burgeoning black labor movement which is breaking through the apartheid shackles that were supposed to contain it. This was expressed at two recent labor conferences. The first, called by Lane Kirkland's AFL-CIO in Washington, D.C. in January, ended in a morass of deep hostility and suspicion; thereupon the "progressive" wing of the labor bureaucracy stepped in with a conference held earlier this month in New York City. But they couldn't silence the



Striking black auto workers in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, 1980.

Financial Mail

influence of the United States by offering them organizational and political aid," bitterly remarked one leading black unionist (quoted in "South African Unions Resist CIA Intrigues," *Africa Asia*, March 1985). The conference was co-sponsored by the African American Labor Center (AALC), founded by notorious CIA "labor" operative Irving Brown (currently head of the AFL-CIO International Department) and 90 percent funded through the State Department's AID agency, a frequent CIA conduit. The Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) refused outright the invitation to attend. And even the relatively "moderate" Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), affiliated to the anti-communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), was wary of the AFL-CIO's embrace, pointedly denouncing "trade-union imperialism" at the Washington conference.

And well they should worry. For the

financed American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) played a key role in "destabilizing," i.e., preparing the bloody overthrow of the Allende popular front government. Now these sinister "labor" spies are trying to set up an AIFLD, South African-style, wrapping their insidious tentacles around the South African black unions—to "control" them, or if they cannot, to smash them outright.

Since 1973 the African American Labor Center has been headed by Patrick O'Farrell, who as a field rep for the organization in Ghana, according to his own résumé, "helped to restore democracy to the labour movement of the country following the overthrow of the Nkrumah regime" (*South African Labour Bulletin*, December 1982). South African black unionists shunned a September 1982 AFL-CIO delegation led by Brown and O'Farrell, which awarded the "George Meany International Human Rights Award" (!) posthumously to Neil Aggett, the jailed union organizer whose death in prison after hideous torture sparked a 100,000-strong work stoppage and mass funeral protest in February 1982. Aggett was a white organizer with the black Food and Canning Workers Union, the strongest member union of the Communist Party-backed SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions), affiliated to the banned ANC. Obscenely, the AFL-CIO publicized the award with a quote from Aggett accusing SACTU of "taking a wrong path." Yet this quote (whose source was the police) was supposedly made by Aggett to his interrogators under torture shortly before he died! The outraged Food and Canning Workers denounced the AFL-CIO award which "we consider...to be a gross insult to his memory."

The Washington conference organizers talked about selective consumer boycotts of some South African products and pushed the "Sullivan Principles" (concocted by black GM board member Leon Sullivan) for U.S. corporate slave drivers to pose as "equal opportunity" employers in the apartheid state. They even brought in a Mobil Oil executive to praise American corporations for training South African blacks for top jobs! The whole affair was taken by South African unionists as an

insult. So with the crude AFL-CIO operation now widely discredited, the liberal social democrats of Michael Harrington's DSA, the "progressive" face of the "AFL-CIA," are hoping to do what the Meanyite/Kirkland gang can't—namely, to fence off the South African black workers from any hint of communism.

No to the Divestment Diversion!

The "New York Labor Committee Against Apartheid" was set up in 1983. And this March 1-2, they hosted three black South African trade unionists for a "Labor and South Africa" conference. About 400 black unionists, local-level labor officials and lefty junior bureaucrats turned out for the event, held at DSAer Victor Gotbaum's AFSCME/District Council 37 union hall in downtown Manhattan. Various other DSA leading lights sponsoring the event included the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Jack Sheinkman, Bill Lucy from the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and DSA Democrat Ruth Messinger.

These guys run a more sophisticated operation: in place of the notorious CIA agents who operate under AFL-CIO cover, they shopped in a troop of black Democrats, Congressional assistants, ICFTU Cold Warriors and the like. Their program: "bear witness" against arrest and persecution of South African unionists; organize boycott campaigns against purchases of South African coal and steel; "send telegrams" and "write your Congressman." The symbolic arrests at the South African embassy and consulates were hailed as the high point of struggle (TransAfrica protest organizer Randall Robinson was pointedly *not* invited to the AFL-CIO's Washington conference). But at all cost, do nothing that threatens the capitalist order (Reagan's or Botha's).

"Divestment" of everything from Kruggerands to coal was motivated by disgusting protectionism ("make it in Massachusetts—not in South Africa") and appeals to corporate portfolios ("it is profitable to be socially responsible"). It is no accident that labor bureaucrats from the garment trades unions such as ACTWU and ILGWU, hard hit by foreign competition, find the divestment movement so convenient. In the closing session ACTWU leader Sheinkman wrapped it up with a repulsive chauvinist appeal: "My own union first became concretely involved in the struggle against apartheid by discovering children's headwear imported from South Africa being sold in New Haven clothing chains. We launched a public information campaign which won pledges...to stop these imports."

The three black South African trade unionists attending, and subsequently touring the U.S., were: Emma Mashinini, general secretary of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa, a leading unaffiliated black union representing workers in the retail trades; Edward Mogane, a former leader of the Black Consciousness Movement and now president of the Building, Construction and Allied Workers Union affiliated with CUSA; and Nelson Nthombeni, president of the

continued on page 8



WV Photo

Leaders of South African black trade unions speak to NYC labor conference March 1. From left: Nelson Nthombeni, Emma Mashinini, Edward Mogane.

voice of class-struggle unionism, raised by supporters of the Spartacist League, which called for internationalist labor solidarity action rather than pressuring your "own" imperialism.

The January Washington conference was called by the AFL-CIO's A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, headed by right-wing SDUSA social democrat Bayard Rustin, a member of notorious CIA fronts such as Freedom House. Its real purpose was "an attempt to bring black South African unions under the

friends of U.S. imperialism, like Reagan's favorite "union," Polish Solidarność, the AFL-CIO has shelled out millions, setting up clandestine printing presses and more. But for unions that fight the capitalist bosses, like the British miners, *not a penny*. Even the desperately superexploited South African black miners contributed generously to the British coal strikers during their epic 12-month battle; from the fat cat bureaucrats of the Kirkland gang—zip. In Chile in the early '70s, the CIA-

South Africa Black Unions...

(continued from page 7)

National Union of Textile Workers, an affiliate of FOSATU. These South African union leaders are in a fluid situation, a fast-developing black revolt. They came to the United States aware that they have enemies, both open and covert within the American labor movement, but also real allies. They were eager to talk with union militants and activists fighting apartheid and Reagan racism at home.

In November 1981, Mashinini was arrested by the apartheid police state and held under the Terrorism Act until her release in May of 1982—the courageous unionist was later hospitalized for injuries sustained during her detention. In her speech at the opening conference session, Mashinini conveyed the urgency of the black unions' situation:

"I stand here speaking to you a few days after our colleagues, numerous of them, mostly in the trade unions, have been detained again. It's unbelievable that these people who have been detained are being detained for the tenth time, and have never been ever charged before. We are told that they have committed a crime and they are going to be charged for treason. . . . It is 'treason' because the trade unions today are calling and are enforcing that we must have our rights. . . . Please know that, comrades, that is no crime that those people have committed."

Mashinini expressed disappointment that there hadn't been solidarity statements from the AFL-CIO and ICFTU. ACTWU official John Hudson, assured her they had been invited to attend. The liberal social democrats are, in fact, up to their necks in pro-imperialist anti-communist manipulation of the labor movement (the ICFTU is their creature). At the NYC conference the Spartacist League and its supporters were unique in demanding: Down with the bloody AIFLD and the AALC! Labor: Break all ties with the CIA "union" operations!

Sheinkman and the other social democrats presented divestment—calling on U.S. corporations and institutions to dump their South African holdings—as the axis of the "struggle." The AFL-CIO is against divestment because it supports American corporations in South Africa, but black South African trade unions are uneasy about divestment for opposite reasons: a full-scale pullout of foreign corporations will not only increase unemployment but would hit precisely those areas where the black union movement is strongest. The conference organizers, pushing divestment, muzzled the visiting black unionists from speaking on this subject, supposedly because it is against the law in South Africa. But in fact, several of the black union representatives had previously expressed less than wholehearted support to this program of pressuring the companies.

Phiroshaw Camay, CUSA general secretary, reported in January that "after a long and agonizing debate," CUSA had decided to press for selective divestment targeting foreign firms "particularly propping up the apartheid

regime" such as those dealing with computer and defense technology (*Washington Post*, 11 January). Philip Dlamini, general secretary of the Black Municipal Workers Union, says, "We'll support divestment if it will bring genuine change, but at this stage we are not convinced it will." And a June 1984 FOSATU statement notes that while "pressure for divestment has had a positive effect," FOSATU's "own focus of attention must be the building of a strong worker movement in South Africa that. . . ensure[s] that the factories, machines and buildings presently in South Africa will be retained."

Today, everyone is getting in on the "divestment" game. Even right-wing Republicans are talking about "selective" measures, and New York's racist mayor Ed Koch is dumping the city pension funds' South African stocks. As opposed to the petty-bourgeois leftists who call for boycotting everything South African from sardines to gold, who look to their "own" imperialism, the mass murderers of Vietnam, to "clean up" South Africa, the Spartacist League has consistently pointed out that divestment offers less than nothing for the South African black masses, and at most it will allow some speculators to buy up shares at bargain rates.

Fireworks in the Workshops

Because the intensity of the black struggle and the harsh realities of apartheid rule place the South African black unions at great distance from the American social dems' worldview of comfortable class collaboration, the conference organizers were not able to whip up sentiment for excluding reds. In the workshop on "U.S. Policy in South Africa," when the chairman tried to squelch discussion, CUSA's Edward Mogan said he had come here specifically to talk to American unionists about the AFL-CIO and the AALC. Many in the room welcomed a Spartacist spokesman who responded to Mogan saying, "It is no accident that the Kirkland leadership is referred to as the 'AFL-CIA'" and pointed instead to the need for union action such as the SF longshoremen who refused to unload South African cargo despite sabotage by the union tops and fake-leftists. "It's clear that we can't pressure the U.S. government, any more than we can pressure Botha. What we need to do is talk about power—both in South Africa, like the stayaways in the Transvaal, like the gold miners strike, and the question of strike action here. Powerful action to shut down Ford here in solidarity with the workers fighting Ford there."

A TWU Local 100 subway worker and SL supporter talked about the support of many unions, especially in New York City, for the state of Israel "which is the main conduit for American military technology, including nuclear weapons" to the apartheid state. "And I might add that they import from South Africa many of the racist apartheid practices which they in turn impose on the Palestinians." He continued:

"Counterposed to divestment, which is essentially an appeal to the people who manage portfolios in this country, is a labor-centered strategy, based on labor

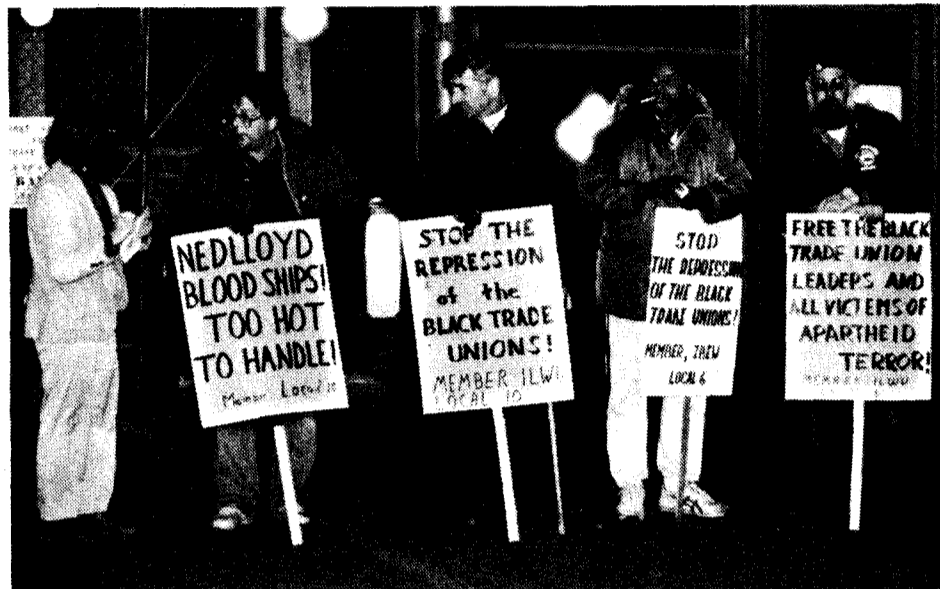
boycotts of military goods to South Africa, sympathy strikes, and protest strikes against the mass arrests and even murder of trade-union leaders in South Africa. . . . This points in the direction of 'divestment' by those who created the wealth and should possess the wealth—not the board of directors of Harvard University and Chase Manhattan Bank, but the black proletariat of South Africa."

Workshop participants roundly applauded the Spartacist supporters' class-struggle program. A group of municipal workers continued the discussion afterward, and later that afternoon saw a videotape of the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982.

Meanwhile, there were fireworks in the workshop on "Solidarity with the Independent Black Trade Union Move-

support the black South African trade unionists, and the only way that the black South African trade unions can actually lead the way for genuine liberation, for the overthrow of apartheid, and to form a black-centered workers and peasants government. The AFL-CIO is tied hand in glove with the CIA. The Democratic Party are phonies. They waited to go sit in those embassies until after the election. [At this point the bureaucrats burst out with heckling, catcalls.] If people feel like I'm stepping on toes, just say 'ouch.' The Democrats waited to go sit in the embassies until long after that two-day general strike in South Africa [screaming, stomping] because the Democratic Party did not want to be associated with labor action.

"And I will say that the people who are Solidarność-lovers, who want to destroy the Soviet Union, that it was the Soviet Union who defended Angola [howls, banging on chairs] and stopped a Grenada in Angola, and that's what



WV Photo

SF longshore militants fought to "hot-cargo" South African blood ship.

ment in South Africa." Emma Mashinini documented some of the apartheid state's vicious anti-strike legislation. Former candidate for president of Transport Workers Union Local 100, Ed Kartsen, commented on parallel anti-strike laws here, such as the Taylor Law prohibiting strikes by city employees, adding: "The similarities extend also to the kind of racist murders that are going on. A woman named Eleanor Bumpurs was shot here in the Bronx, basically in the same manner as [blacks have been shot down] in Crossroads." In the workshop, the so-called "progressive" bureaucrats hinted coyly about "problems" with the AFL-CIO tops going to South Africa uninvited. Sandy Boyer, co-coordinator of the Labor Committee Against Apartheid commented, "I'm not going to name names" but "we have had some problems in that direction."

A unionist recalled that during the fight for Zimbabwe, Rhodesian chrome had been stopped at 13 ports; she said she had heard about the struggle over the ship in SF, "but from reading the newspapers I can't understand what's going on." Boyer said, "I can answer your question," and started going on about court injunctions and no-strike clauses, making excuses for actions "short of a total shutdown." At this point Gene Herson, leading oppositionist in the National Maritime Union and SL supporter, then rose to take up the battle over the apartheid blood ship:

"I want to talk about labor action and why it doesn't happen in this country, why it's sabotaged from the top, as Brother Camay found out in Washington, D.C. a month ago. And I don't want to withhold names and cover up for the bureaucracy as some people want to do. The tragedy of the West Coast action was that it was called for as an official union action, it was approved by the membership, even though it was watered down. But the bureaucracy refused to give official union sanction to that action. The Communist Party supporters and a group called the 'External Tendency of the Spartacist League' helped to cover up for the bureaucracy. I have the leaflets, which I will give to Sister Mashinini, which call for the action and explain how that action was sabotaged. 'Independence of the trade unions—this is key for American trade unions to

stopped the South African troops in Angola—the Soviet Union's guns and the Cuban troops.

"What South Africa needs is a workers party, to go beyond the trade unions, a workers party to lead a revolution—a Bolshevik party."

Brother Herson sat down amid applause from many unionists and hooting from the bureaucrats.

When the conference reassembled, session chairman John Hudson of ACTWU muttered an "apology, as we understand some of the workshops did not go as well as we had hoped." That is, despite attempts to drown us out, the voice of revolutionary class struggle came through loud and clear amid a sea of liberal moralizing. In the final session, Brooklyn Democratic Congressman Major Owens called for the unionists to look to "leadership there in Congress," to apply maximum pressure on South African business interests to make the apartheid government "open some kind of negotiations." At the conference, class-struggle unionists and Spartacist spokesmen fought for militant labor action, not appeals to the imperialist state, for powerful labor solidarity, not backstabbing accusations that South African blacks were "stealing American jobs."

The liberals and social democrats who ran the NYC anti-apartheid conference have a common purpose not only with Kirkland and Kennedy, but also with Reagan and Botha—to keep the South African black unions "free" of communism. They all tell South African blacks to look to their capitalist masters, to one or another wing of the exploiters, for salvation. The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League, in contrast, say that the conditions of the apartheid police state—the superexploitation of black labor and denial of every basic democratic right to blacks, Indians and "coloureds" (mixed race) alike—are the bedrock of South African capitalism. The black masses must free themselves from the chains of wage slavery and racial oppression by mobilizing the strength of the international proletariat against imperialism. From South Africa to the U.S., the fight for black liberation is the fight for socialist revolution led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party. ■

Smash Apartheid in South Africa!

Order your packet
featuring a selection of
articles from **Workers
Vanguard** and **Young
Spartacus**.

\$1.00

Order from:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



Gruesome NYC Cop Hit-Run Murder

It was wanton police murder, a grisly hit-and-run homicide. The New York police squad car roared down the street, leaving mangled bodies lying in the gutters, with blood and human gore splattered all over the death car. And it occurred on Park Avenue at 72nd in Manhattan's posh Upper East Side. On Friday night, March 15, a berserk, liquored-up police sergeant, accompanied by two other cops, ran down and killed an elderly doctor as he was crossing the street, then slammed into a 72-year-old apartment house doorman as he tried to dodge the careening police cruiser. The cop car didn't stop.

Sergeant Sherman and his two partners, patrolmen Conte and Collazo, had been brought in from the Bronx along with hundreds of other extra police to help clear parked cars for Saturday's St. Patrick's Day parade. Dr. Hyman Chernow, a 70-year-old clinical psychologist, was out for a late walk, while East Side doorman Jack Sitowitz separately approached the corner. As the two old men were crossing Park Avenue at about 11:40 p.m., Sgt. Sherman gunned the patrol car's engine and smashed into Dr. Chernow at top speed, throwing his broken body up over the vehicle, and then hit Mr. Sitowitz, dragging him about 80 feet down the road.

So you had this psychotic cop, but there were two other policemen there in the car with him. They sat there and watched murder being done. And what did they do? Absolutely nothing. They kept their mouths shut until it was his skin or theirs. *Because every New Yorker could only expect a total cover-up.* The driver of the death car is guilty of second-degree murder at the very least, and his brother cops at a minimum are accomplices after the fact to this crazed hit-and-run killing. And since they're wearing a badge and carrying a gun, the charge ought to be more.

This was not your ordinary police brutality case. It wasn't cops beating up or gunning down blacks and Hispanics. And because it occurred on Park Avenue instead of a Brooklyn or Bronx ghetto there was an immediate outcry. The grisly incident casts a sharp light on what happened to young black graffiti artist Michael Stewart, beaten to death by NYC transit cops, to senile black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, shot-gunned to death in her home, and even with the Jewish Bernhard Goetz, whose crime in the eyes of the city's rulers is that he wasn't a cop. While racist mayor Koch is running for re-election on a "law-and-order" platform, his killer cops put everyone at risk who walks the streets of New York.

Of course the cop trio expected to get off. They coolly drove over to the Fifth

Avenue police command post, then proceeded back to their Bronx station house where Sgt. Sherman filed a report claiming that somebody had tossed a brick at them. Meanwhile their cruiser had a shattered windshield, a smashed left front headlight, extensive damage to the hood where a body impacted. Some "brick"! They didn't even bother to remove the human blood and hair and gore smeared all over the car. Why bother? Who was going to do anything about it?

On Saturday, Sherman, Conte and Collazo were brought in for questioning. But no charges were filed. The first news stories emphasized that witnesses "could not provide a detailed description or give the car's precinct number," insinuating that maybe some Puerto Rican kids had grabbed a car and spray-painted it blue and white so it would resemble a cop car. (Like in Central America, where the juntas always excuse the latest army massacre by accusing guerrillas of dressing up like soldiers.) The first official police state-

Sherman was twice denied appointment as a police officer because he had been declared unfit for military service for "psychiatric reasons." In August 1978, while off duty, Sherman crashed his car into six parked cars on Mosholu Parkway, then brandished a revolver at the witnesses. A man in one of the cars was hospitalized for five days, but no criminal charges were filed. In May 1982 Sherman ran into a nine-year-old boy in the Bronx, breaking his leg. The next year he was appointed sergeant.

For this "distinguished" record, the psychotic sergeant has received ten "meritorious citations." Currently, Sherman is co-defendant in a police brutality suit by a Bronx resident, Jonathan Smith, who is seeking \$500,000 in damages for wrongful arrest and beating by Sherman and another cop on Christmas Day 1981. The criminal charges against Smith were later dismissed. But as a result of a new NYC policy, the city is now suing Smith for \$1.5 million, claiming that he attacked his cop assailants!

differently in the affluent Upper East Side.

Normally, white middle-class citizens assume that police brutality is a problem only for ghetto minorities. As we have said before, Mayor Koch, bosom buddy of Israel's General Ariel Sharon, is running New York City like it's the occupied West Bank. Blacks and Hispanics are treated like Arabs, turnstile jumpers like PLO "terrorists," and anyone who gets in the way, look out. But when a prominent doctor is run down by a wild-man killer cop while taking an evening stroll, everyone knows that nobody is safe.

The killing of Dr. Chernow comes in an atmosphere of escalating police bonapartism, the naked assertion of "cop power" against anybody and everybody who tries to rein in these uniformed gunmen. When Stephen Sullivan, the Emergency Service Unit officer who murdered Mrs. Bumpurs, was indicted last month, the entire ESU asked for transfers. Shortly after, on February 7, some 10,000 armed police surrounded the Bronx Supreme Court building demanding that District Attorney Mario Merola must go. Merola rightly compared this military insurrection to a Hitlerite mob, but backtracked when PBA chief Caruso growled.

Who are these cops? A bunch of dim ethnic white thugs who barely made it through high school then become "New York's finest," getting paid good money, far more than they could otherwise earn, for what? For terrorizing the population. Crime in the streets? The 35,000 cops out there certainly don't stop crime—in fact they're a big part of crime in the streets, from drugs to beatings and killings. They're a praetorian guard like the Roman emperors liked to keep around. And they're backed up by a whole apparatus to whitewash their crimes, from D.A. Morgenthau to Koch's coroner, the ghoulish Dr. Gross.

According to the civics textbooks, the cops are supposed to protect the public. But who's going to protect the public from the cops? *An armed workers militia, drawn from responsible elements in the labor movement with prior military experience.* Several times over the past 25 years the situation in New York City has been so bad that this somewhat utopian socialist demand has become immediately practicable and urgent, as it is now. A man such as black transit worker Willie Turks, lynched by a mob of racist Italian punk kids in the Brooklyn neighborhood of Gravesend, should have been one of those participating in such a body organized to defend society against racist terrorists, muggers on the block and the paid-to-kill thugs who murdered Dr. Hyman Chernow. ■



Armed and dangerous: 10,000 New York City cops surround Bronx court building, February 7.

ment said only that the victims "were crossing against the light"!

Instinctively, immediately the cover-up began on all sides. But this time there were too many witnesses and the locale was *Park Avenue*, it just wouldn't wash. So now killer cop Sherman has been charged. But his two tight-lipped buddies only face departmental charges of "conduct unbecoming an officer." Namely, they got caught.

Now it turns out that in 1973 Sgt.

Sherman obviously felt he had a license to get away with murder. But it's one thing to act like marauding pigs up in "Fort Apache, the Bronx," and quite another to kill an elderly doctor on Park Avenue. The cop that gunned down infirm black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in a Bronx housing project "only did his job," as Patrolmen's Benevolent Association chief Phil Caruso insisted. Sherman evidently didn't realize that he was supposed to act

Reagan Bombs Down Under...

(continued from page 3)

and the CIA-inspired sacking of Gough Whitlam's Labor government. Washington deeply resented Whitlam's anti-U.S. moralising over Vietnam but when his "independent" nationalist posturing threatened their Pine Gap base, a mere threat by the CIA to cut off intelligence to Canberra set off his downfall. This time around it's all very public: New Zealand is being cut off from sensitive intelligence, ANZUS military exercises with New Zealand have been cancelled, a new U.S.-Australia military alliance is being floated, and the Reaganites openly discuss plans to turn down the screws on the vulnerable New Zealand economy, cutting off preferential access

for its dairy and meat exports to the U.S. and other markets.

It sounds like a re-run of the CIA's destabilisation program against Allende's Chile, except this bizarre overkill is directed against tiny New Zealand's right-wing social-democratic government. But then the Reaganites are not exactly rational and it was Christopher Boyce, that admirable young American imprisoned for passing intelligence secrets to the Russians, who said that the CIA's campaign against Whitlam reminded him of Chile. Freedom for Christopher Boyce! All opponents of imperialist war, particularly in Australia, owe this man a debt. He told us more about what was really happening to this country than any Labor politician.

As with Whitlam in 1975, Washington wants to polarise the country internally to bring down the Lange government. The U.S. is applying pres-

sure through its close connections in the New Zealand military and intelligence establishments but Lange has little room to manoeuvre, his deputy, Geoffrey Palmer, warning the New Zealand parliament of widespread civil disorder if any U.S. warship breaks the ban and visits New Zealand. To successfully fight these imperialist intrigues requires learning the lessons of the Whitlam experience. In 1975 the working-class outrage that greeted Whitlam's sacking was still tied to Laborite and parliamentarist illusions and was easily channelled off into parliamentary impotence, with Hawke as ACTU president chiefly responsible. Like Whitlam before him, Lange is using his nationalist popularity to ram through anti-working-class austerity and a political break with him and the "lefts" who support him is crucial to finding a class-struggle road to victory.

The fight against CIA-type destabilisation and the New Zealand ruling class are one and the same: the main enemy is at home! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

Bay Area

Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues.: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

Lebanon...

(continued from page 1)

southern Lebanon.

It's been almost three years now, and the army is still mired in Lebanon. The economy has been bled white, the army is demoralized by the mounting casualties, there are antiwar demonstrations at home. And Israel's ever-expanding borders are *less secure* than ever. They've made mortal enemies of the Shi'ites in southern Lebanon, who initially welcomed the invading Zionists with rice and flowers, hoping to get rid of the Palestinians. If the Israelis think an occasional shell lobbed across the border by the PLO was bad, wait until they see what a half million enraged Shi'ites can do. Lebanon has been a political debacle for the Zionists. The "iron boot" of a Nazi-style occupation didn't work, Israel replaced it with an "iron fist"—but they have stuck it in a hornet's nest. They could have asked the Iraqi Ba'athists, or the Americans, who would have told them: don't mess with the Shi'ites.

Vindictive in Defeat

In Marakah, a town eight miles east of Tyre, a bomb was detonated on March 4 outside the Shi'ite religious assembly hall and office building, killing 15, including two prominent guerrilla leaders. Almost certainly the bomb was placed by the massive Israeli task force that conducted a search operation the day before. And when several dozen people assembled at the local hospital in response to an appeal by first aid workers to donate blood, Israeli troops charged them, throwing concussion grenades and shooting into the ceiling. Those waiting in the hospital to give blood were seized, beaten, kicked and then arrested. According to witnesses, 25 men were blindfolded, their hands tied behind them and forced to kneel in the dirt outside for several hours. Some were driven away strapped to armored personnel carriers, while the hospital director was taken into the emergency room and badly beaten.

On March 10 a suicide bomber attacked an Israeli army convoy just inside the border of Lebanon and left 12 soliders dead. Within 12 hours the Israelis had begun their merciless artillery barrage of Zrariyah. Red Cross ambulances and journalists who sought to approach the town during the operation had shells lobbed at them. The Israeli troops went into Zrariyah like the Nazi SS went into the Ukraine. One eyewitness reported that the soldiers, some with leashed dogs, fanned out through the town searching for men, while an armored vehicle with loudspeakers ordered all males to muster in the town square. Then a list of names was read off and verified by a local informant wearing a hood with one eyehole over the right eye. Later the hood was yanked off the informant—apparently a captured member of Amal, the Shi'ite militia. Some 200 males were driven off in four buses—to face torture,

death and concentration camps (*Washington Post*, 13 March). As Professor Edward Said, a member of the Palestinian National Council, said correctly, this is the Nazi policy of "collective punishment":

"They will go into a village where it is rumored that 'a terrorist' came from or lives, blow up three houses, round up the young men of the village, shoot them, put them in concentration camps, take 15 or 20 people away and bring them back, or not bring them back.... Which is exactly what the Nazis did in World War II in countries like France and Greece and Czechoslovakia."
—WBAI News interview,
16 March

The savage bloodletting is not the work of a few bonapartists like Ariel Sharon, but the policy of the entire Zionist establishment. Labor "defense" minister Rabin hailed the Zrariyah butchery as a "first rate operation." No longer the façade of the oh-so-moral "Israel Defense Forces" operating on the creed of "purity of arms." No longer hushed-up atrocities, or blaming them on "deviations" from Israeli military norms. The mask is off. Zionism equals terror and the Israeli stormtroopers want all their "enemies" to know it. The "people of the book" have made it clear that "Yahweh" is indeed a vengeful god.

Villagers throughout southern Lebanon all tell the same stories. The Israelis ruin their food stores by mixing together grain, sugar and flour; kerosene is thrown in with cooking oil. The troops enter the mosques where police dogs are unloosed, pages of the Koran are torn out and stamped underfoot. Only those with the Zionists' arrogant master-race mentality could believe that they could get away with their blood-thirsty savagery with impunity. The Israelis have turned the whole Shi'ite population against them.

One resident of Tyre who noted that they used to be regarded as heroes said, "But now it is open season on them [Israelis] and even old men want to become martyrs" (*Washington Post*, 21 February). The Israelis have consolidated on their northern borders a hostile population increasingly sympathetic to the *Hezbollah*, or Party of God, Shi'ite fundamentalists. "This is purely an Israeli creation," said one Western intelligence officer. "We never had this religious fervor here before" (*New York Times*, 10 March). And the casualty rate for Israeli soliders has risen steadily—130 dead as a result of guerrilla attacks in southern Lebanon alone.

Back at home the population is groaning under the weight of the bloated war machine, where nearly two thirds of the national budget goes to direct and indirect military spending. Last year inflation spiraled to 1,000 percent, followed by imposition of onerous wage controls. And this in spite of the massive U.S. subsidies—in 1983 one third of all U.S. foreign aid and one fourth of its overseas military aid went to Israel. Were Israel a country like Mexico, the State Department would send them packing to the IMF. But the U.S. has gone so far as to end all tariffs on trade with Israel by 1995—that's like making it the 51st state. And the only



Kifner/NY Times
Shi'ite Muslim women mourn their dead, victims of Zionist troops' savagery in Zrariyah, Lebanon.

currency that counts in Israel is the dollar.

But it's largely the rampant demoralization within the army ranks that has convinced the Zionists that they must cut their losses and retreat in Lebanon. There's a saying that "Israel is not a state with an army, but an army with a state." The army is everyone's father, brother and son. Today the military prisons are overflowing with deserters. As the senior Israeli military correspondent Zeev Schiff put it:

"What the people who have initiated this war have done to the Israeli army is unforgivable. You no longer talk about 'what the Israeli Army is defending' but about 'who will defend the Israeli Army.' You see the change first of all in the eyes of the soldiers. It is a look that reminded me of the look in the eyes of the American soldiers I saw in the final stages of Vietnam. It is the look of soldiers and officers who know that their chances of winning in Lebanon are less than negligible."
—*New York Times*, 20 February

The Zionist war machine has suffered a setback, its aims frustrated—and it is dangerous in defeat. Waiting in the wings are the fanatical Sharons who tomorrow will seek to gear the army up and go to any lengths to "avenge Lebanon."

Israel Up the Lebanese Creek.

Lebanon has been a major political debacle for the Zionists. The U.S. imperialist "peacekeepers" got blown out—and the Israelis ended up shit creek. They tried to set up Amir Gemayel, the brother of the son of the fascistic father, founder of the Mafioso Maronite Christian Phalange dynasty, to police the country for them. But that puppet president can't even hold together his own Phalangist thugs, who can only butcher unarmed Palestinian refugees, not govern Lebanon. Gemayel went off and sold himself to the Zionists' archenemy, the Syrians. Meanwhile "Haddadland" is no more, as the Israelis' handpicked South Lebanese Army has all but disappeared. Those who didn't have the foresight to relocate to Israel have been mopped up by the local population as the Israeli army retreats; the rest have vanished. Now instead of having the Palestinians on their northern borders, the Zionists have created in their place an angry, seething mass of Khomeiniite fanatics. But still the Israelis are lucky—they could be dealing with the Druze. Gemayel's Phalange tried to take them on in the Shuf mountains and soon regretted it.

The one success the Israelis have had is driving out the PLO. The Palestinians, the unambiguous losers in Lebanon, are largely defenseless today, not only in the face of the Israeli oppressor but also before the feuding communal elements within Lebanon, including the Shi'ites. Yet it was not simply the military force of the Israelis that defeated the Palestinians. Once the invasion commenced, the PLO was of course abandoned by the Arab regimes,

which similarly have ignored the Lebanese Shi'ites. Reagan's Marines and his imperialist allies at Arafat's request moved in to disarm the PLO. Arafat gave up the guns, the PLO was packed off—and the Palestinians got the Sabra/Shatila massacre. Today Arafat, chained to *Pax Americana*, remains a miserable vassal of King Hussein, the butcher of Black September. While Arafat is prepared to give up even the demand for a token mini-state on the West Bank, such capitulations are not enough for Reagan, who demands that the PLO recognize Israel, while the Zionists don't even admit the right of Palestine (or the Palestinians) to exist.

In the U.S. the fake-left served as cheerleaders for Arafat. Some, such as Workers World, even campaigned for "effective U.S. action" in Lebanon. Of course, Washington armed the Zionists to the teeth, and applauded and aided the destruction of the PLO forces. While the U.S. imperialists would prefer a broader anti-Soviet alliance encompassing as well the Arab sheiks and colonels, they stick by the mad dog Zionists as their best ally in the Near East. The Spartacist League asserted that there was an alternative to capitulation to warmonger Reagan: we emphasized during the siege of West Beirut that "If the Palestinians can inflict heavy enough casualties on the Israelis, however heavy their own, there could well be a rebellion on the home front against Begin's Lebanese adventure" ("Zionist Final Solution," *WV* No. 309, 9 July 1982). And indeed this assertion has been borne out belatedly today. What has shaken the deeply racist Israeli society is the shedding of its own blood.

At the outset almost the entire Hebrew population supported the Lebanon adventure; today Israel is polarized. The London *Guardian* (13 March) captured it well: at a funeral in a northern Israeli town the rabbi eulogized a dead soldier, "We must continue with the iron fist against the terrorists." But at a funeral in a nearby town for a 19-year-old private who died in a truck blown apart 100 yards from the Israeli border, there were cries of "Get out of Lebanon." The fissures in Israel provide a crucial opportunity to break through the garrison state mentality. But the Zionist, Arab-exclusionist "Peace Now" movement is tied to the Labor Party of Peres and Rabin that today implements the "iron fist." ("Labor" is not a reformist workers party like the British Labour Party, but a pillar of the bourgeois order and indeed the architect of the Zionist state.) Israel out of the occupied "North Bank" (southern Lebanon), Golan Heights, Gaza and West Bank now! Self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples through a bi-national workers state in a socialist federation of the Near East!

Lebanon is a graphic and bloody demonstration of the fact that Zionist expansionism and mass terror against the Arabs ultimately lead to the self-destruction of the Hebrew people. Three million Jews cannot conquer and rule 150 million Arabs. If today the demoralized Zionists are attempting to burn everyone and everything in sight in southern Lebanon, tomorrow these genocidal madmen with their "Masada complex" are prepared to reach for the nuclear triggers. The Zionist state must be exploded from within. The Hebrew-speaking proletariat must break from all wings of Zionism. Only by championing the cause of Palestinian national justice, breaking from their Zionist rulers and exploiters, can the Hebrew masses have a future in the Near East, by joining with their Arab brothers in proletarian revolution. What is necessary is the forging of a revolutionary internationalist party among the Hebrew and Arab masses, uniting them in struggle against the Sharons, Rabins and Husseins, and opening the road to a socialist federation of the Near East. Only then will the bloody perpetrators of Sabra and Shatila and Zrariyah be brought to justice. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- \$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*) International rates
 New Renewal \$20/24 issues—Airmail \$5/24 issues—Seamail
- \$2/4 issues of *Women and Revolution*
- \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

Phone () _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 12)

counterrevolution.

Now Reagan & Co. have "come out of the closet" with their real policy in order to put Congressional critics up against the wall—vote for the contra mercenaries or be labeled "soft on Sandino-Communism." This will have an effect on the Democrats, who voted for every contra aid budget until the CIA's overt mining of Nicaragua's harbors last spring made it impossible for them to hide behind the pretense of "covert" action. During last fall's U.S. election campaign, Democratic loser candidate Mondale went out of his way to call for a "quarantine" of Sandinista Nicaragua. Emphasizing the Democrats' tactical differences with Reagan, Representative Michael Barnes recently said, "I continue to struggle with trying to find a compromise that could achieve the ends the administration wants to achieve, while getting us out of this [contra] program" (*Washington Post*, 28 January).

As part of his hard sell to Congress, Secretary of State Shultz claims that Nicaragua is a "Marxist totalitarian state" that has fallen "behind the Iron Curtain." Even intelligent spokesmen for U.S. capitalist interests such as *Business Week*, which can hardly be accused of "pinko" liberalism, find this questionable. Its March 11 article calls

the Sandinista regime a "partly pluralist society," noting the strong opposition representation in the constituent assembly ("more than in Mexico's Congress"), the anti-Sandinista militancy of the Catholic church and *La Prensa* paper and "even some Americans still running their own businesses in Nicaragua." They conclude:

"The result, if current Administration policy prevails, may be to push Nicaragua toward a more authoritarian, militarized system—and toward increasing dependence on Soviet and Cuban arms and economic support."

Vietnam Was a Victory!

A new Gulf of Tonkin resolution is indeed what Reagan is after with his contra aid bill: a virtual declaration of war, with the added advantage that it will be debated in secret. Today he claims no American troops will be needed to oust the Sandinistas, or make them "say uncle," but tomorrow when the U.S. is knee-deep in the Central American swamp it will be easy enough to manufacture the necessary "provocation" providing the pretext for sending in the troops. Meanwhile, administration spokesmen are opening the door to U.S. air strikes, naval blockade of Nicaragua's ports, and massive joint military "exercises" in Honduras. The latter are already underway after a brief election-year pause in 1984. Next month some 5,000 American troops will join the Honduran army in the Big Pine III

maneuvers, including for the first time the use of tanks and heavy artillery.

A new Gulf of Tonkin resolution, a new pretext and "legal" cover for naked imperialist aggression, cannot be ruled out. Unlike the reformists and rad-libs who have endless faith in the Democrats, Marxists combat illusions in the imperialist "doves" who are united with Reagan by the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. We also warn that if Congress turns thumbs down, and "the policy begin[s] to unravel," as senior administration officials told the *Times*, it will not mean an end to the counterrevolutionary threat against Nicaragua. The very factors cited as pluses by intelligent imperialist spokesmen like *Business Week* represent the Achilles' heel of the Sandinista regime. To defend the revolution it is necessary to complete it and extend it. Rather than looking to the treacherous "Contadora process" for a "negotiated solution" to the Central American conflict, communists fight for revolution throughout the region.

The rad-libs and reformists of the Central American "solidarity movement" demand "No more Vietnams." This reflects the outlook of the eternal objects of their affections—the Democratic liberals who took the U.S. into Indochina only to see the Vietnamese masses hand America its first defeat in war. But for the oppressed of the world, when the Yankee imperialists became bogged down in the swamps of Indochina, and then they and their puppets were

finally smashed, this represented a tremendous victory. The Vietnam War also produced tremendous radicalization inside the United States, which threatened to explode as the war dragged on. Reagan may figure he can win backing for a Central American intervention by appealing to his election "mandate," and controlling the "enemy within" by press censorship and "anti-terrorist" witchhunts. But a new imperialist adventure would test the shallow "new patriotism" in blood, and working-class protest which came only at the very end of the Vietnam War would begin from the start of this one.

The Spartacist League says: "Vietnam Was a Victory—2, 3, Many Defeats for Yankee Imperialism!" Organizers for the April 20 march of squeezed lemons call for lobbying Congress to "reverse the arms race" and "build a just society"—something that capitalists can never do. The Trotskyists look instead to the working class, fighting as we did during the Vietnam War for militant labor action against the Democratic-Republican war policies. Real solidarity with heroic fighters against imperialist aggression in Central America means sharp class struggle at home. It means unconditionally defending the historic conquests of anti-capitalist revolutions, from Cuba and Vietnam to the Soviet Union, and fighting to extend them internationally by reforging a Trotskyist Fourth International of world socialist revolution. ■

Pan Am...

(continued from page 12)

"control," there were 102 midair near-misses in 1983 and 1984 which the FAA failed to report. Job pressures are so great that even strikebreakers hired during the PATCO walkout are now begging for a union.

The company's phony offer of a "20 percent" pay hike over three years included a 14 percent increase that has been due Pan Am workers since 1982. Not satisfied with wage concessions during the last four years which amounted to \$30,000 from each TWU member, Pan Am now wants to introduce two-tier wages with starting pay as much as 50 percent below scale, part-time workers and much more. Two years ago, TWU air transport division negotiator John Kerrigan barely managed to get a giveback agreement approved nationally after overwhelming rejection by the big New York local. But not this time. When Kerrigan presented Acker's promise to restore the deferred wages over a period of several more years, the TWU bargaining committee "practically threw Kerrigan out of the meeting." (*Wall Street Journal*, 6 March).

Pan Am has been gearing up for this strike for a long time. Early in 1984,

Acker hired C. Raymond Grebey as VP for industrial relations. Grebey spent 20 years at viciously anti-labor General Electric before provoking the 1981 pro baseball strike as the owners' representative. In August of last year, Pan Am stopped making payments into the employees' pension plans and as soon as the strike began, the company dismantled its commissary operations in three cities, contracting Marriott In-Flight Services to perform the work of 700 TWU members. Pan Am has a \$400 million war chest—the same amount that Kerrigan & Co. gave back to the company in concessions since 1981!—and Acker and Grebey are trying to restore service, particularly on international flights, with an army of scabs.

Unionized pilots and flight engineers are cutting their own throats by crossing the TWU's lines. After Continental broke the Machinists union, they cut the pilots' pay almost in half. Pan Am is reportedly seeking to replace its striking flight attendants with scab stewardesses hired in the Far East at a fraction of U.S. wages. At a March 5 rally in Manhattan, strikers carried signs attacking "foreign labor" and one hand-lettered placard said, "Pan Am no longer an American airline." Scapegoating foreign workers for the loss of American jobs breeds racism and ties workers to the class

enemy. An unsigned "Open Letter to the Board of Directors" passed out at the same rally stated, "We are still willing to sacrifice" for the sake of "our great company."

The Pan Am bosses like their company to be seen as America's flagship airline and the New York strike rally was festooned with American flags. But waving the Zionist flag hasn't done the El Al strikers (out for a year now) any good, any more than backing Reagan helped PATCO. The AFL-CIO, particularly "socialist" Winpisinger's Machinists and the Teamsters, could have shut down the airports in hours. Instead they stabbed PATCO in the back while joining Kirkland in sending millions to Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher's favorite "union," Polish Solidarność. Flag-waving doesn't save jobs—class struggle does!

The airline industry, especially Pan Am, is international in scope. Counterposed to flag-waving chauvinism is the demand for international class-struggle solidarity as was demonstrated by the European and Canadian controllers with PATCO. Shut down Pan Am from New York to Berlin to Tokyo!

Under the blows of Reagan's all-out war on labor, hard-fought battles such as the copper workers' 19-month walk-out at Phelps Dodge have been repeatedly sabotaged by the pro-capitalist union tops in league with the Democratic Party phony "friends of labor." Every serious fight with the bosses inevitably leads to a confrontation with the capitalist state, particularly in the face of this virtual government-ordered strikebreaking. The working class must have its own political party—to fight for a workers government. TWU strikers need class-struggle leadership which will fight for what was denied to PATCO—mass militant picket lines and solidarity action from the labor movement. Avenge PATCO! Victory to the Pan Am strikers! ■

Star Wars...

(continued from page 2)

Department "politico-military" honcho Leslie Gelb wrote in the lead-off piece that Reagan's SDI "could be new and more powerful offensive and defensive capacities that could be used for a decisive nuclear first strike." William J. Broad reported the next day that Reagan adviser Edward Teller, the

inventor of the H-bomb, had sold "Star Wars" to the U.S. president with the promise of "assured survival on terms favorable to the Western alliance." And then Charles Mohr discovered Soviet scientific opinion:

"A report on 'Star Wars' written by a commission of which Mr. Sagdeyev was co-chairman, said that 'although it cannot be regarded as an effective means of defense against a massive first strike, [Star Wars] may create illusions about possible defense against the retaliatory strike.'"

—*New York Times*, 6 March

Bordering on Cold War heresy, Mohr says Sagdeyev's conclusion "is in close agreement with the opinion of several United States scientists." Of course, in their usual "balanced" manner the *Times* talks about "both sides," though only the U.S. is presently pushing for space weapons. The U.S. was the first with the A-bomb and the first and only country to actually use it in war. Every single escalation in the "arms race" has come from the Americans—nuclear subs, MIRVed (multiple warhead) missiles, cruise missiles, neutron bombs. And now they're seeking a "technological end-run on the Soviets," as "Star Wars" enthusiast Lieutenant General Daniel O. Graham put it (*New York Times*, 4 March).

Ever since Churchill called for throttling the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution "in the cradle," the imperialists have sought to reconquer Russia for capitalism. Defeated in Vietnam after only 25 years of the "American century," U.S. rulers once again seek salvation in aggressive technology. But as the *Times*' Mohr noted, "the Soviet Union has always managed to match any major United States weapon innovation from early fission bombs to multiple warheads on missiles and high missile accuracy. The catch-up period has usually been shorter than American policy makers expected." (The U.S. imperialists also think they can bust the Soviet economy, but this too will backfire.)

In case there's any doubt, Soviet Marshal Ogarkov re-emphasized the point shortly after the U.S.' KAL 007 provocation: "Retaliation will be inevitable in all cases." And for that, the world's peoples should be deeply grateful, for the Soviet bomb has stayed the hand of the imperialists till now.

It is high time that the world proletariat takes the wheel of history from the imperialist madmen. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/ U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston
Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland
Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 384-9716

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 257-8625

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
Box 1972, Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

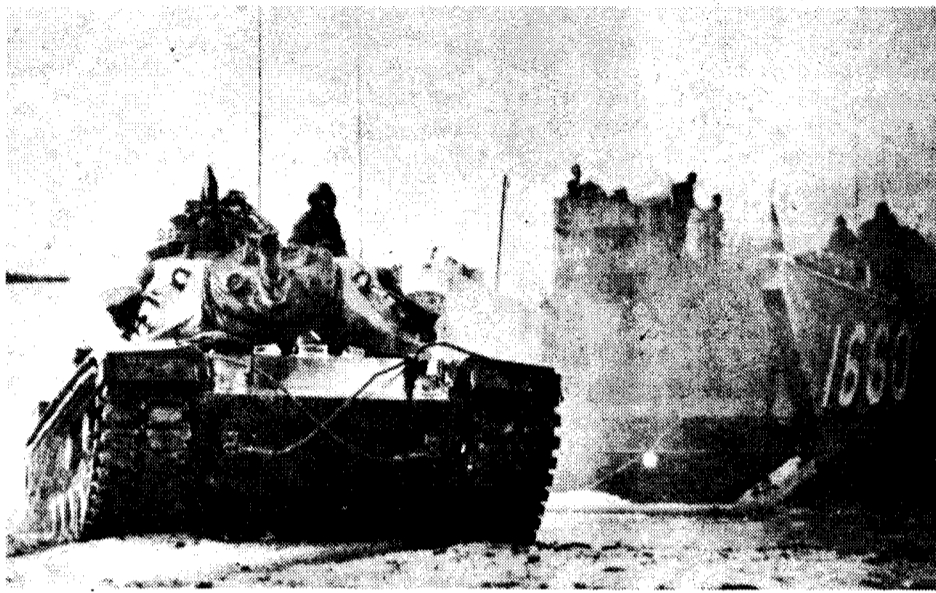
WORKERS VANGUARD

2, 3, Many Defeats for Yankee Imperialism!

Nicaragua: Reagan's Vietnam?

MARCH 18—The White House has declared an all-out drive to pry dollars out of Congress to pay for the CIA's mercenary army besieging Nicaragua. It's not the \$14 million request that counts, says the administration, it's the official endorsement of U.S. support for the counterrevolutionary war whose aim is and always has been to overthrow the Sandinista regime. The Democrats are reluctant to pick up the tab for Reagan's "brothers," the killer "contras": above all these sadistic murderers are losers, and after its Vietnam debacle the last thing the American bourgeoisie wants is another humiliating defeat in a Third World conflict. So Reagan & Co. are upping the ante, openly declaring that approval of contra aid will be the trigger for a major escalation of U.S. intervention in Central America. Whatever fairy tales the Reaganites tell Congress, this whole exercise is nothing but a referendum on an invasion of Nicaragua.

Business Week (11 March) comments: "President Reagan's statement that he wants to remove the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua—and his expected request to Congress for renewed aid to the anti-Sandinista rebels—are certain to stir memories in Congress of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Lyndon B. Johnson used that resolution as authorization for his policies in Vietnam. Although Reagan does not propose to send U.S. troops to Nicaragua, congressional approval of funds for the *contras* now would amount to endorsement of Reagan's goal of throwing the Sandinistas out of power. Such a green light would make it more difficult for legislators, in the future, to oppose deeper U.S. involvement." Maybe



Barricada

U.S. tanks and landing craft in Honduras: dress rehearsal for invasion of Nicaragua.

Reagan isn't proposing *today* to send troops, but make no mistake—that's the only way he can even hope to oust the Sandinistas, and everyone knows it.

With names like "Suicide," "Poison" and "Vulture," it's been hard for the Reaganites to sell their murderous *contras* as "freedom fighters" and the "moral equals of the Founding Fathers." But above all this gang of Somozaist mercenaries couldn't fight a war if they had to—that's why Somoza lost in the first place. They're only suitable for terrorizing unarmed civilians, and they're even having trouble there since the Sandinistas began distributing arms to the population. After three years they have been unable to hold a single piece of Nicaraguan territory so that Reagan could recognize

a phony contra "government." General Paul Gorman, the retiring head of the U.S. Southern Command based in Panama, told a Senate committee last week that the *contras* cannot expect victory "in the foreseeable future": "I don't see any immediate prospect that these guys in blue suits in the hills are going to march into Managua" (*New York Times*, 28 February). Thus Washington is faced with the choice: accept the Sandinistas, tacitly or openly, or send in the Marines.

Reagan Exports Counterrevolution

For several years now the Reagan administration has pursued its dirty war against the Sandinistas with ever-changing justifications: first to stop

alleged Nicaraguan arms shipments to leftist Salvadoran rebels, then to pressure Managua to "moderate" its internal policies. But in fact during five years of civil war, and with all the U.S. radar stations, surveillance flights and coastal patrols, a grand total of one truckload of arms has been discovered being smuggled into El Salvador. A former CIA analyst, David MacMichael, whose job was to supply data for Washington's estimates on the Salvadoran guerrilla war, declared after resigning: "... we had nothing solid on amount of weapons, types, routes, the methods of delivery, or storage facilities. They kept saying we have it, but they never showed it to me" (*London Guardian*, 8 January).

So while Reagan rails against the Sandinistas for "destabilizing" Central America it is the Yankees who have turned Honduras into a weapons platform and launching pad for aggression against Nicaragua. It is the Reagan administration which has mined the harbors and armed the counterrevolutionary terrorists victimizing the Nicaraguan population. U.S. sources say that after Congress "cut off" the *contras*' aid pipeline, it was simply rerouted through Israel, El Salvador and Honduras. If Congress turns Reagan down again they're talking about enlisting U.S. anti-communist allies Taiwan and South Korea as conduits, channeling millions as "humanitarian" aid to Miskito Indians and the like. They're even floating plans for "contra bonds" which promise to be as worthless as tsarist war bonds and Confederate dollars. In every way they can think of, the U.S. imperialists are exporting

continued on page 11

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

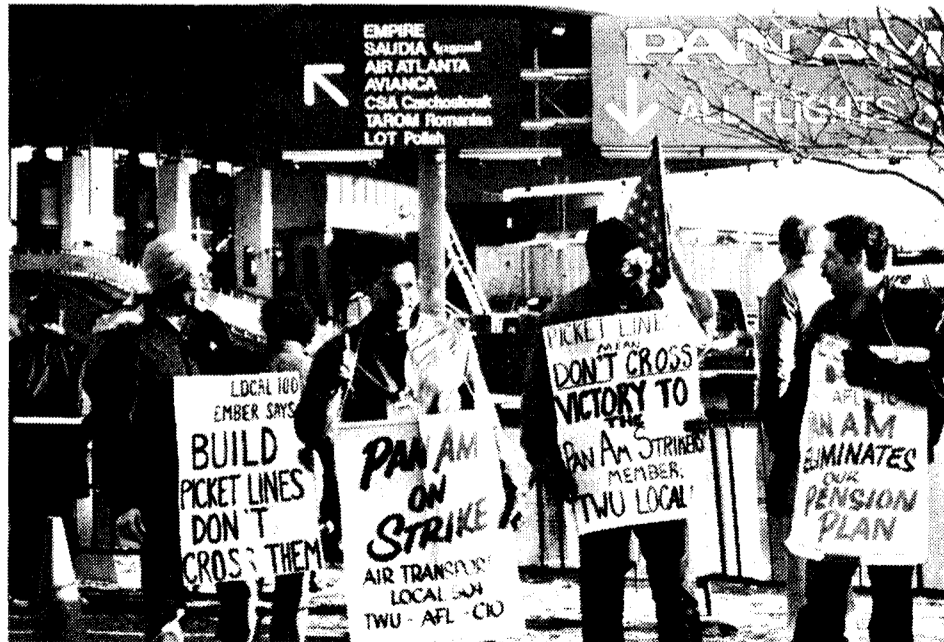
Victory to the Pan Am Strike!

Fed up with years of concessions to "save the company," nearly 6,000 members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) rejected Pan American World Airways' takeover "offer" and hit the bricks on February 28. The first major strike at Pan Am in 20 years has crippled the airline in the heaviest booking period for the peak summer season. Still in the red while the rest of the industry is now in the black, the company can't take a solid strike. But while the Independent Union of Flight Attendants (whose contract expires April 1) and 6,000 Teamster reservation agents are honoring the TWU's lines, pilots and flight engineers are *scabbing*, enabling Pan Am to run many flights. Picket lines mean don't cross! Pan Am unions should strike together against the boss. There must be mass pickets to effectively shut down Pan Am's operations, particularly the Worldport hub at JFK Airport in New York. Facing contract battles of their own, NYC labor

and especially the strikers' 36,000 brothers and sisters in TWU Local 100 must beef up the picket lines together with workers from all the airline unions. Mass pickets should ground scabbing pilots!

Since Reagan busted PATCO in 1981 and deregulated the airlines the next year, a wave of union-busting has swept the industry. Emboldened by the \$380 million in givebacks which union misleaders handed over to Eastern Airlines a year ago and the utter destruction of organized labor at Continental in 1983, cutthroat bosses are turning airline after airline into People Express—low-wage, non-union, fly-by-night outfits which are unsafe at any altitude. (Pan Am chairman C. Edward Acker came over from non-union Air Florida which sent an ice-coated 737 aloft in January 1982 only to have it crash into the Potomac River moments later, killing 74.) As for air traffic

continued on page 11



Pan Am Worldport at JFK: New York transit workers walk picket line in solidarity with striking union brothers.