

Defend the Soviet Union Against NATO Imperialism!

Reagan's Euromissiles: Trigger for WW III

"Missile Elections" in Germany

The American ruling class is preparing to blow up the Soviet Union in a nuclear first strike. The Pentagon's infamous "Fiscal 1984-88 Defense Guidance" openly states that, "Plans for the first use and possible follow on uses of theater nuclear forces should be developed" (*New York Post*, 17 January). These plans have naturally produced an intense and widespread fear of nuclear war in Europe. So to placate West European public opinion, Ronald Reagan came up with his cynical "disarmament" proposal, the so-called "zero-zero option" which calls for unilateral dismantling of all Soviet medium-range missiles, in exchange for no dismantling of any NATO missiles. Not surprisingly, the Soviets responded: "Nuclear surrender, no thanks!"

The front line of the American nuclear offensive is the NATO plan to deploy new so-called theater nuclear weapons in West Europe this year, particularly the 108 Pershing 2s in West Germany—a scant six minutes flying time from the major cities in the Soviet Union. This would force the Soviet Union to go to a hair-trigger "launch-on-warning" strategy to protect its retaliatory power. The introduction of these Pershings and the small, highly accurate cruise missiles will bring the world a large step closer to nuclear holocaust.

The well-founded fear that the Pentagon is about to turn their countries into a launching pad for World War III has produced a strong reaction—at once pacifistic and nationalistic—in West Europe, especially in West Germany. Polls show that a majority of supporters of all West German parties, including the ruling conservative Christian Democrats, oppose the planned deployment of the Pershings.

For this reason the West German elections scheduled for March 6 have become an international battleground in Cold War II. Last month Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko visited West Germany in a scarcely veiled attempt to bolster the oppositional Social Democratic "peace" forces. The perennial Russian foreign minister told his German audience: "In the nuclear age the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union are, figuratively speaking, in one boat." Even hostile commentators conceded that Gromyko's appeals to the Germans not to tie their fate to the Reaganite warmongers had some effect.

So no sooner did the Soviet diplomat return to Moscow, than French social-democratic president François Mitterrand rushed to Bonn as NATO's number one fireman, or, if you like, missileman. He warned the West German parliament against "the decoupling

of the European continent and the American continent." It must have been the first time in modern history that a French leader denounced the Germans as too pacifistic! And then George Bush was sent to West Germany on a self-described "exercise in public relations" to sell Reagan's hard line and boost the Christian Democrats. But whatever the outcome of the March 6 election, the resurgence of German nationalism—now mainly expressed in "left" pacifistic form—will continue to shake global political alignments.

The common joke in Europe these days is: "What is the definition of a tactical nuclear weapon? One that explodes in Germany." With the scars of two world wars still remembered, millions of Europeans feel a sense of horror that the Pentagon wants to play out a nuclear World War III on European soil. Certainly the Pentagon has plans for such a nuclear *Schlachtfeld Deutschland* (Battlefield Germany). The German people know this and are understandably frightened by the prospect. But it is a species of crackpot rationalism à la Dr. Strangelove to think that a war between NATO and the Warsaw Pact could actually be restricted to the European continent.

Strangelovian notions about nuclear war are, however, not restricted to Pentagon think tanks. The Europacifist vision of a "superpower" war fought overhead with ICBMs is, if anything, more fantastic than the scenario of "limited" nuclear war in Europe. The

continued on page 8



Pershing 2 missile: eight minutes to Moscow.

Nigeria Expels One Million Black Workers

Hundreds of thousands of black African workers poured into the makeshift border camps, clogged the roads in a 300-mile trek on foot or clamored into cattle trucks. Others were packed shoulder-to-shoulder in rickety boats in conditions reminiscent of the infamous Middle Passage in the slave trade. On January 17 the Nigerian government expelled all "illegal

aliens," giving them two weeks to get out of the country under threat of arrests or worse at the hands of xenophobic mobs. The expulsions were prepared by a vicious campaign whipped up to blame foreigners for everything from the disintegrating economy to skyrocketing crime waves in the big cities. So in what is probably

continued on page 2



Ghanalan workers expelled from Nigeria are beaten back by Togolase soldiers.

Francolon/Gamma

Nigeria...

(continued from page 1)

the biggest forced population transfer in modern African history, close to a million people, mainly young workers from Ghana, are battling thirst and starvation, victimized by profiteers and brutally attacked by troops and border guards of three countries as they make their way back to a precarious existence in the destitute lands they had left in search of work.

Ghana's would-be strongman, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, ordered the border sealed against the massive human tide until just days before the expulsion deadline expired. Tens of thousands just over the frontier at a camp in Lomé, Togo sat on piles of baggage or mattresses, guarding their meager possessions and handing over their life savings for tickets on the trucks, buses and taxis that would take them back to Accra. Sporadic rioting broke out as refugees grappled with each other and with soldiers each time new supplies of the scarce bread or water arrived. Wharves in the former boom town of Lagos, capital of Nigeria, were turned into teeming squatters camps. On February 1 the government began a massive search operation for all remaining aliens, stretching a giant dragnet across the sprawling capital of Lagos with its 5 million people, targeting hotels, restaurants and private homes.

On TV and in glossy magazines the Western press documents the horror of a million poor blacks thrown out to face the elements, condemned to misery and death. These expulsions express the logic of the capitalist world market in its most naked, unrestricted form. During the "oil boom" of the mid-1970s, foreign workers were drawn to Nigeria. Brutally exploited by the employers who used their illegal status to force them into the most menial jobs or into skilled jobs at lower pay scales, now that the Nigerian economy is in a tailspin the foreign workers are simply tossed out to starve.

This is no African "peculiarity." During the Great Depression of the 1930s, France expelled a million largely North African workers. The exploitation/expulsion cycle for foreign workers is a standard occurrence in West Europe, albeit not on such a massive scale or under such desperate conditions. And in the United States the superexploitation of undocumented foreign workers combined with mass expulsions has reached mammoth proportions. Every year more than 800,000 "illegal aliens" are deported to Mexico. Altogether, including family members and citizens/residents of Latin

origin, as much as a fifth of the entire U.S. population lives in fear of being seized in Gestapo raids by immigration police.

But capitalist relations in the colonial world are more harrowing, precisely because the low development of the economy affords less protection. Far from the Pan-Africanist glorification of "African socialism," conditions in this part of the "Third World" in reality rival those of the period of primitive accumulation in Europe. As Trotsky wrote, "...the further east we go, the lower and viler becomes the bourgeoisie, the greater the tasks that fall on the proletariat." The "communitarianism" of the tribal village means a life of grinding poverty, and the workers returning from Nigeria are not going to stay down on the farm after having gotten a Sony radio in Lagos. Their only salvation is through proletarian revolution.

While the Western bourgeois media is playing it up, the Nigerian expulsions express in the starkest form the destructive irrationality of the world capitalist market. During the 1970s the Arab sheiks in partnership with the Anglo-American and Dutch oil cartel (the Seven Sisters) managed to jack up the price of oil to twenty or thirty times the cost of production. The small, backward and venal Nigerian bourgeoisie acted as if these super-monopoly prices would last forever. But \$34 a barrel oil spurred the expansion of production in high-cost fields (e.g., the North Sea) and encouraged the substitution of other energy sources (coal, nuclear power, etc.). On top of these micro-economic changes came the capitalist world depression, producing an oil glut which finally cracked the OPEC/Seven Sisters monopoly pricing. The Ghanaian workers in Nigeria are victims of the profit-hungry parasites the world over, from the glass and steel Exxon tower in Houston to the ancient City of London to the air-conditioned palaces in the Arabian desert.

Nigeria's economic collapse and expulsion of foreign workers intersect the ethnic, regional and religious tensions which have been rife for years. When oil production was begun in southeastern Nigeria in the mid-1960s, it led to sharp rivalry over the revenues. When the locally dominant Ibo tribe declared their own state of Biafra in 1967, the Nigerian army responded by blockading the region, leading to the deaths (mostly due to starvation) of more than two million people. While most of the left lined up behind Nigerian military strongman General Gowon because of his "anti-imperialist" pretensions, we said, "...the SL supports the right of the Ibo nation to self-determination, but we separate our-



TONI RANDELL

(1943—1982)

Died 12 February 1982

We miss and honor our comrade.

selves absolutely from the Biafran political regime, pointing out that national independence without the expropriation of the ruling class is very far from socialism" (*Spartacist* No. 14, November-December 1969).

In Ghana, the massive influx of refugees has fueled the Rawlings regime's fears of rising social tensions while it enforces draconian austerity. Once the richest country of the African "Gold Coast," it is now among the continent's most ruined economies. Ghana, the first African colony to achieve independence (in 1957), was considered the showcase of the "Pan-Africanist" world. Under Kwame Nkrumah, Pan-Africanists from George Padmore to W.E.B. Du Bois came to Accra where they, along with the Stalinists, touted Ghana's supposedly "non-capitalist road." Far from a middle road between communism and capitalism, Nkrumah's regime suppressed workers' strikes and acted as a neo-colonial administration over the peasants through the Cocoa Marketing Board. But as commodity prices collapsed, so did illusions in Nkrumah's "African socialism" (with some help from a scandal over a cabinet minister's gold bathtub). In 1966 Nkrumah was overthrown and exiled to Guinea, where Sékou Touré's nationalist rule is maintained through cooperation with imperialist aluminum companies and a general subsidizing into impoverished autarky.

The present crisis in Nigeria, whose first victims are almost a million black workers, tragically validates our call for Africa-wide proletarian revolution:

"The experience of two decades of

African independence struggles fully confirms the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, which proclaims that neither the bourgeoisie nor various petty-bourgeois forces can fulfill even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Whether openly neo-colonialist, 'African socialist' or 'Marxist-Leninist,' post-independence nationalist regimes have bowed down before the imperialists. They have been unable to achieve even capitalist development of their economies, and as the poverty deepens it is accompanied by a recrudescence of tribalism. Only the proletariat, standing at the head of the peasant masses and establishing its own class rule, can emancipate the black masses of Africa."

—"South Africa's Proletariat is Key," *WV* No. 160, 3 June 1977 ■

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No. 323 11 February 1983

WORKERS VANGUARD

Defeat Racist Backlash!

Defend Busing in Norfolk!

Extend School Integration to the Suburbs!

Jim Crow is on the rise again in Norfolk, Virginia. On February 2, the city's majority-white school board voted to scrap busing and legally return to sharply segregated schools. School board chairman Thomas Johnson barred public discussion at the meeting which rammed through the decision to end Norfolk's decade-old desegregation plan which had bused more than half of the city's elementary school children. Under the new Jim Crow plan, 10 of the city's 36 elementary schools will be 95 percent black; altogether 18 schools will be overwhelmingly segregated. Thus Norfolk, the city which shut down its schools in 1958 rather than integrate them, has become the first Southern city to abandon a relatively successful busing program.

The racists of Norfolk have been trying to get rid of integrated schools for years. Now, in Reagan's America they've done it. Blacks have been declared expendable. Token gains won during the civil rights movement are rolled back: busing for integration has been gutted, voting rights laws are under attack, "states' rights" is on the rise and ominously so is Klan violence. What little money there was for the lunches of black schoolchildren goes toward anti-Russian missiles. Hypocritically, the Norfolk anti-busing campaign has been floated on thousands of pages of reports and arguments made in the name of "student achievement" and stopping "white flight." And when they needed an anti-busing pro to declare the Norfolk busing plan a failure, they hired David Armor from the Rand Corporation, the Pentagon think tank which thought up "pacification" chem-war for Vietnam. Rev. Watson, the head of the Norfolk NAACP, got it right when he said, "They may use fancy terms, deceptive terms like 'neighborhood schools,' but the bottom line is segregation."

It is that bottom line of segregation which must be fought with all the strength we have. It is desperately necessary for black people to break out of the ghetto, to be integrated into every aspect of social life in America. In this racist country "separate" has never been "equal" and it never will. Sure, busing is utterly inadequate as a solution to school integration: it's the most minimal application of the right of black people to equality in education. But busing does strike a blow at segregated education. That is why it must be defended. Today in Norfolk, while the anti-busing racists look to the courts to bless their Jim Crow plan, the pro-busing forces also look to the courts to save it. But the White House, Congress, the courts—the capitalist state has helped to bury busing from Boston to Los Angeles.

The federal government and the liberal politicians of the Democratic Party won't defend black rights. Busing must be defended by a massive mobilization centered on the labor movement of the Tidewater area. The concentrations of black and white workers centered in the region's shipbuilding and longshore industries have tremendous social power. The need to bring that power to bear in defense of the black population was championed last November 27 by unionists who helped

build a contingent which adopted the name Nat Turner Brigade to participate in the Washington, D.C. Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped a race-hating KKK parade.

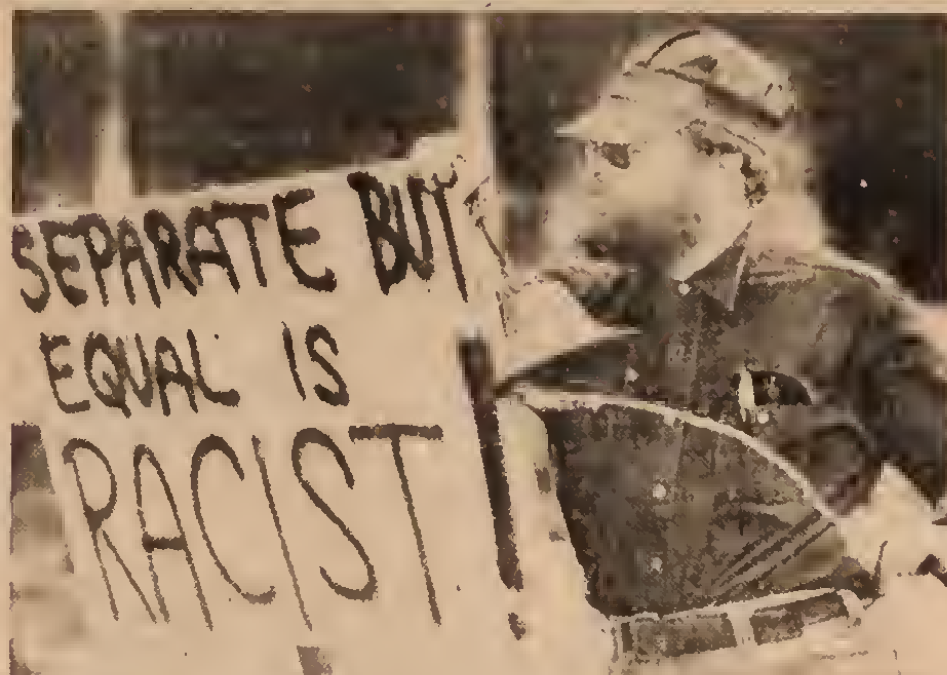
Busing in Norfolk

Integration of the schools has been an issue in Norfolk since Reconstruction, when the first public schools were established in the South. The Norfolk *Journal* at the time expressed the racist sentiments of the ex-slaveholders and propertied classes who recoiled in horror at the spectre of black equality posed by Reconstruction:

"The simple question before the people is this—are we to have our State officers

when he announced last year that he and school board chairman Johnson had been scheming to ditch busing for years. "Norfolk could become the first city on the East Coast to reverse the trend toward white flight," he argued.

The strategy of the pro-busing forces like the Norfolk Coalition for Quality Public Education has been to rely solely on legal action in the capitalist courts, and they apparently think they will win that way. Their opponent Johnson, the author of the proposal to eliminate busing, has a better sense of which way the political winds are blowing. That's why he's willing to voluntarily submit his proposal to end busing for review by the courts. It was the strategy of reliance



Protesting Jim Crow decision by Norfolk's school board.

Price/Virginia-Pilot

and our judiciary filled by intelligent white men of character, or are we to have all our officials, from the Governor to the coroner, composed of negroes and their radical friends, our Legislature of the same, our judges radical pettifoggers, our magistrates negroes, and our children forced into mixed schools, or denied the privileges of education?"

—quoted in *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*,
Wertenbaker and Schlegel

In the bloody political counter-revolution against Reconstruction the newly freed blacks were again stripped of political rights, economically subjugated and socially segregated.

When the Supreme Court handed down the *Brown vs. the Board of Education* decision, Virginia enacted the "massive resistance laws" in 1956, which required the automatic shutdown of any integrated school. After a legal battle the Norfolk school board reluctantly assigned 17 black students to previously all-white schools. State governor Almond immediately took over the schools and locked out 10,000 Norfolk high school students for five months. Racist "states' rights" advocates preferred the end of public education to integration and sought to establish alternative segregated private schools. Finally on 2 February 1959 black children walked through the door of a previously all-white school for the first time in the state of Virginia.

Today's anti-busing segregationists in Norfolk sound a lot like the recalcitrant confederates during Reconstruction. The city's businessmen and politicians first tried to prevent integration through "freedom of choice" plans, then attempted to scuttle the plan when the courts ordered busing to achieve racial balance in 1971. Now Mayor Vincent Thomas made clear his racist intentions

educating black youth at all—after all, in this depression-ravaged country more than half of today's black teenagers can't find a job. From Boston to Louisville to Chicago even the largely token and voluntary busing programs were challenged by racist mobs in the streets. As the liberals knifed busing in Congress the courts too have rushed to put their stamp of approval on increasing segregation. From the ban on cross-district busing, to the "intent doctrine," to the current drive to undo the 1971 landmark decision which allowed busing to achieve racial balance in the first place—they have gone a long way toward reversing *Brown vs. Board of Education*.

For a Labor/Black Mobilization to Defend Busing

Norfolk's labor unions and black community organizations must rely on their own organizations and power and take the lead in mobilizing a pro-busing offensive. The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) are powerful unions with a large black membership in the Tidewater area. A labor/black mobilization led by the unions could cut across the present black-white polarization over the busing issue.

But to date the unions have done little to actively fight for busing. The narrow "professionalist" policies of the teachers unions have caused them to shy away from a militant fight to defend busing. The Education Association of Norfolk (EAN), which organizes the majority of the teachers, took a position on paper opposed to any reduction of busing that would lead to a resegregation of the schools and opposed magnet schools as a substitute for busing. The American Federation of Teachers (AFT), which is conducting an organizing drive in the area, took a similar position in the eleventh hour. A class-struggle teachers union could win working people and blacks to the cause of unionism by linking the fight for the interests of labor with aggressive involvement in the social struggle for black rights.

The busing plan adopted in 1971 involves only the predominantly black southern end of Norfolk and the white working-class areas of Ocean View and Willoughby. The relatively more wealthy west side has always been exempt from busing. This has bred resentment in the white working-class areas and fueled the racist backlash which spawned organizations like the Norfolk Tea Party, an anti-busing tax reform group that led the opposition to busing. Real integration would not only require busing to the west side, it would mean extending busing to the suburbs. The relatively better suburban schools

continued on page 10

Just Out!

- John Brown and Frederick Douglass
Heroes of the Anti-Slavery Struggle
- Forward to a Workers State!
Finish the Civil War!
- Sit-Downs Not Soup Lines!
Fight or Starve!
- Washington, D.C., November 27
Stop the KKK!

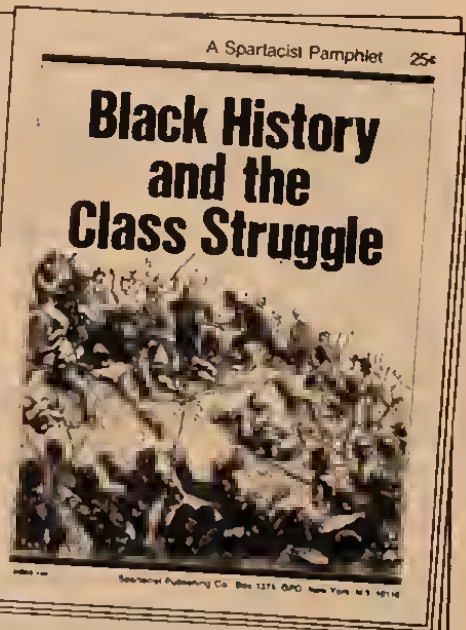
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Local 6 E-Board Member Fired For Honoring Picket Line

Rehire ILWU Militant Jackie Clark!

We reprint below a statement by Jackie Clark, a member of the Militant Caucus and of the executive board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 in the Bay Area, protesting her victimization for honoring a union picket line at her job. Clark reports that on Monday, February 7 she was fired by the company. The "Warehouse Militant" leaflet was dated February 7.

On Friday February 4 I was suspended for honoring the picket line of IBEW Local 617 at the Heublein plant. The company told me in writing that unless I returned to work immediately I would be fired. Honoring picket lines is a question of elementary union solidarity, a principle on which the labor movement was built. When I was elected house steward and to the General Executive Board (of which I've been a member since 1980) I said, "Picket lines mean don't cross," and I meant it.

I learned of the picket line only last week after returning from a two-month layoff. The IBEW picket line has been up since December 20—over six weeks! Heublein, recently bought by the notoriously anti-union R.J. Reynolds Company, hired a scab electric company to do work that normally would have been done by IBEW members. The use of low-wage non-union outfits is becoming widespread not only throughout the construction trade, but in industries all over the country. Ever since Reagan

smashed PATCO unions have been under attack everywhere, including the ILWU. 1982 saw the lowest wage settlements nationally since 1945, not even keeping up with the depression's lowered inflation rate. In Local 6 we got saddled with a first time ever wage freeze in the Master Contract. The Heublein contract expires July 31. We should show some muscle now and go into negotiations from a position of strength.

This is a picket line that Local 6 should be honoring. It has been approved by the San Mateo Labor Council and is being honored by Teamster Locals 70 and 85 and by other building trades locals. Furthermore, our own contract allows members to honor picket lines (Section 18A). Local 6 itself has engaged in similar strikes. But Local 6 officers have done nothing for six weeks. President Al Lannon and BA [business agent] Ben Madrid first claimed Local 617 had not informed them of the situation. But a letter was sent by IBEW to Local 6 dated December 20. I have seen a copy of that letter. Madrid calls it a "flaky situation." Lannon and ex-president Eickman said if people are so hot to honor picket lines, they should do it on their own. Heublein Chief Steward Ellis Johnson went so far as to make the outrageous accusation that the IBEW picketers were being paid by the company to "trap Local 6." This is disgusting! These pickets are good union men who are fighting for their jobs.

Talking to Local 6 officials is like talking to company lawyers. They try to

find sixteen different reasons to force ILWU members to cross the IBEW picket line. After I was suspended Friday I went to Lannon and asked him to inform the company that the union defended my action. He not only refused, but said if he wrote any letter, it would be to order me back to work. On Thursday February 3 Madrid and Johnson read the riot act to Heublein workers at a lunchtime meeting, warning them against honoring the picket line. I know the workers at Heublein well enough to know that this policy is being forced upon them against their wishes.

It is urgent that this policy of the officers be reversed. If the company is allowed to single me out and victimize a steward and GEB member for honoring a picket line, then others in the local will be picked off too. Even now the officers are refusing to arbitrate the case of Mike Kasian, who was a GEB member when he was fired by Guittard Chocolate for union activity.

For honoring the IBEW picket line, Heublein is charging me with "failure to cooperate and work harmoniously." This same catch-all "rule" has been invoked in several suspensions and firings over the past month. The union must take a stand. The only rights we have are those we fight for and defend. What is at stake here is the right to advocate labor solidarity and engage in union activity. My suspension and probable firing threatens the right to strike, to set up and defend picket lines,



WV Photo

ILWU militant Jackie Clark supports pickets at Heublein warehouse.

and ultimately the ILWU itself. A leadership that shows more respect for company rules than for picket lines is incapable of defending the membership.

Jackie Clark
#10509

Cop Terror in Richmond, California

RICHMOND, California—On the night of January 25 Richmond cops smashed down the front door of black parolee Donald Kizart's home, charged into his bedroom and blew him away as he crouched in the corner of a closet. Sergeant Dennis Browne claims he fired two semi-automatic shotgun blasts (each of which contains nine .32-caliber shells) into Kizart's chest only after the victim had fired at him. But criminalistics "experts" spent several days trying unsuccessfully to find a single shred of evidence to back up Browne's assertion.

The racist police department of this economically depressed industrial city has been sued over and over for the murderous brutality it directs against Richmond's black population, but the attacks continue unabated. This latest police murder of a black—the city's sixth since 1980—took place just days after some 40 witnesses in a federal court had finished providing a stark, detailed description of systematic racist cop terror. The next day the judge in the case declared a mistrial on the grounds that jurors had seen news reports about a proposed out-of-court settlement and expressed concern over the "divisive" effect of more testimony about cop atrocities.

Browne had been implicated in the recent trial testimony as a member of a group of white cops called the "cowboys" who have been meting out racist "street justice" to blacks in Richmond for years. The testimony was part of a lawsuit brought by the NAACP and the ACLU on behalf of the families of Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory, two black men gunned down in their



WV Photo

Richmond, California blacks protest racist cop brutality outside court-house, 23 October 1982.

homes by the city cops in 1980 and 1982, respectively. The suit was initiated last fall amidst the public outrage generated by the "choke hold" killing of yet another black, Willie Lee Drumgoole, in the Richmond city jail.

Far from being isolated instances of what the capitalist politicians like to call "excessive force," these murders are part of a systematic pattern of cop abuse and intimidation. Witnesses gave innumer-

able examples of racist violence: a disabled 57-year-old man beaten, handcuffed and dragged out of his home while his wife and daughter were clubbed—all for an outstanding traffic fine; a Human Relations Department employee who was skeptical about all the complaints of cop brutality that he had to process, until he himself was beaten and his wife's arm broken by the scum in blue; police breaking up a "noisy" party by turning an attack dog loose. The list goes on and on.

It is not surprising that U.S. district judge Robert Aguilar, who has been presiding in the NAACP suit, says it is necessary to "dispose of this case as rapidly as possible." A lengthy and detailed exposure of the everyday crimes committed by the forces of "law and order" can only aid in breaking down illusions that the cops are anything but racist thugs in the service of the bosses. Certainly the dirty work of the "cowboys" reflects the race-terror program of the Ku Klux Klan, which has in recent years been gaining strength and terrorizing blacks here in mainly white Contra Costa County. But the trial has illustrated that the intimidation of the 50 percent black population of working-class Richmond is the goal of the entire police apparatus. The cops' job is to defend the racist system of capitalist exploitation.

We're all for the families of Roman and Guillory squeezing every cent they can out of the city of Richmond. We also demand that the killer cops who carried out the slayings be jailed. But the out-of-court settlement which the NAACP lawyers were ready to accept

(before the Richmond city council rejected it as an "admission of guilt") wouldn't have slowed down the racist cops one bit. Its centerpiece was the call for an "impartial" arbitrator to deal with civilian complaints, backed up by a panel of "experts" to propose reforms in police functioning. Such schemes for "reform" and civilian review have never stopped police brutality. As we pointed out last fall, the NAACP has made out-of-court settlements with both Richmond and Contra Costa County pledging police "reforms," but that didn't mean a damned thing when Willie Drumgoole was choked to death on September 28, or on November 3 when the murderers went scot-free ("Jail Contra Costa Killer Cops!" WV No. 318, 26 November 1982).

Race-terror is an integral part of Reagan's America, a country gearing up for war against the Soviet Union and paying for it by bleeding blacks, the poor and working people dry. What blacks and all workers need to put a stop to the racist attacks, the layoffs, the wage cuts, is class struggle: sit down against mass layoffs and shutdowns, organize labor/black defense against KKK/cop terror, bring Reagan down through mass strike action! The liberals peddle an endless string of do-nothing "reforms" while accepting the Democratic/Republican program of military rearmament. The Spartacist League seeks to build a workers party to break the working people from the bosses' Democrats and lead the struggle for socialist revolution to sweep away the blue-uniformed as well as the white-hooded racist murderers forever! ■

Bust Union-Buster Lévesque!

For a Quebec General Strike!

MONTREAL, 7 February—Quebec labor, the most combative section of the North American proletariat, is locked into a life or death struggle with the bourgeois nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ) government headed by premier René Lévesque. Lévesque is trying to pull off a giant Reagan-style union-busting "PATCO" against Quebec's 335,000 provincial government workers. These workers have been a bastion of support for the PQ and its "franco-phone" [French-language] nationalist policies. Their "reward": after months of refusing to negotiate, on December 11 Lévesque pushed through the provincial National Assembly an unprecedented union-busting measure, Bill 105. The law tears up existing contracts, reverses hard won gains in working conditions and job security, imposes a three-year contract and a strike ban that slashes wages up to 20 percent in a country where inflation is currently 10 percent, and promises thousands of layoffs!

In response, an "unlimited general strike" of provincial workers was called by Quebec's "Common Front" representing 210,000 hospital workers, teachers and other provincial government employees organized by the three major labor federations—the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ) and the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ). But so far the strike has been limited to 95,000 teachers, out since January 26, and five thousand other government workers. The 60,000 CSN hospital workers went out on Monday, January 31. But they were sent back to work 22 hours later when their leaders reached a tentative agreement with the PQ government which accepted the terms of Bill 105 with only minor sweeteners. However, in a two-day meeting the 800 member delegate assembly for the hospital workers voted overwhelmingly to throw this stinking deal back in the face of the CSN tops. The announcement that the deal had been rejected was greeted with chants of "We Want to Go Out!" and "Together We Shall Prevail." But the bureaucrats are desperately trying to keep the hospital workers on the job by retaking the strike vote.

When CEQ leader Yvon Charbonneau tried to pass off the CSN deal as "a success for the Common Front" striking teachers responded: "Betrayal!" and asked "What the hell happened to the Common Front?" Good question. The teachers, who were the most fervent supporters of the PQ, are the sector hardest hit by Bill 105. They are targeted for the loss of 11,000 jobs.

The "Common Front" strikes are "illegal" under Bill 105. But up to now Lévesque has relied on his labor lieutenants in the leadership of the Common Front who have gone out of their way to try to stop the strike

themselves. But the PQ cabinet has legislation waiting in the wings that would impose massive firings and fines on striking workers and eliminate dues check-off for unions. These bills are the harshest anti-union measures since Maurice Duplessis, who ruled Quebec for 18 years with the iron hand of clerical reaction, corruption and savage strikebreaking, decertified the Montreal teachers union in 1949. Already the

at, concentrated in company towns built around mines, paper and pulp mills and industrial plants. As workers took over these towns and industrial sites a state of virtual dual power was created.

Lévesque, like Reagan when he trashed PATCO, is not just targeting government workers but all of Quebec labor. The outcome of his confrontation with the Common Front is a life or death matter for Quebec's industrial

read: "Duplessis-Lévesque: Like Father, Like Son!" "Lévesque, Pinochet" and "Lévesque, Fascist." Before the strike began there was a move in the teachers union to expel union members who as PQ delegates in the National Assembly voted for Bill 105. And at the January 29 demonstration Charbonneau denounced 40 former unionists who sit on the PQ benches as "René-gades!" The bureaucrats are reaping the "rewards" of their years of support to the PQ. But this critical showdown between Quebec labor and the PQ provides an unprecedented opportunity to win this militant labor movement to a perspective of multinational revolutionary class unity where it is destined to play a *vanguard* role.

Lévesque has of course always been a notorious labor hater. In 1971, a year of mounting class struggle in Quebec, Lévesque stated he would "rather live in a South America banana republic" than a Quebec dominated by the "ranting and raving of labor leaders" (quoted in *Quebec: A Chronicle, 1968-72*). But the reason that "Pinochet" Lévesque is now trying to introduce a banana republic standard of living for the Quebec working class is the same reason that Trudeau imposed wage controls on federal workers and Reagan has gone after every sector of the American public that does not own a substantial piece of the *Fortune* 500: the crisis of American imperialism, of which Canada is a junior imperialist partner, and the respective ruling classes who see no other way out than strikebreaking and union-busting at home and the anti-Soviet war drive abroad. Lévesque can wrap himself up in the *fleur de lys* of "Sovereignty-Association" but as a servant of the capitalist system in this period he marches to the same drummer as Reagan and Trudeau.

In spite of its pro-PQ leadership, the Quebec proletariat has repeatedly spearheaded nationwide labor actions including several postal strikes and the 14 October 1976 one-day general strike against Trudeau's wage controls. Today were the Common Front to beat back Lévesque's union-busting, especially if it brought out Quebec's resource-based industrial proletariat, this could ignite a Canada-wide labor offensive against Trudeau's wage controls on federal workers and the massive layoffs and takebacks that have been imposed on the Canadian proletariat in mining centers like Sudbury.

In English-speaking Canada, the refusal of labor tops or the wretched social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) to defend Quebec's right to self-determination has been a barrier to bi-national class unity. In 1972 the now-deceased longtime leader of the NDP, David Lewis, supported the jailing of the Common Front leaders. More recently the NDP has been in an uproar over the PQ's application for admission to the Socialist International. In a moment of unbridled hypocrisy, one leading NDPer, citing the PQ's Bill 105, queried, "Do you think that a socialist party would do a thing like that?" The PQ responded: What about Mitterrand! This was apt as well as diplomatic: the PQ could have mentioned the NDP's massive strikebreaking in British Columbia in 1975 or declaration of wage controls in Manitoba in 1976 which won the NDP premier for that province, Ed Scheyer, the post as her Majesty's loyal servant, the governor-generalship in Ottawa. But there is a fundamental difference between a bourgeois-

continued on page 10



Dimanche-Matin

Montreal, January 29: Common Front demonstration draws 50,000 in support of striking public workers. Lévesque targets all Quebec labor.

PQ has filed thousands of charges carrying massive fines against striking workers, their unions and officials. Riot-equipped police are backing up Lévesque's order that any workers defending a picket line against scabs are to be immediately fired. What Lévesque has in store for the Quebec labor movement was demonstrated on January 28 when the president of the Montreal transit workers union was sentenced to a jail term of 120 days and four executive board members to 60 days each. They were sentenced because the 2,100 member transit union, without a contract for months last year, joined a Common Front one-day general strike last November 10.

Lessons of the 1972 Quebec General Strike

Lévesque is not yet proposing the jailing of Common Front strikers and leaders because he remembers all too well the consequences of similar measures in 1972. The Common Front was formed in that year for negotiations with the then Liberal provincial government in Quebec City of Robert Bourassa. Bourassa jailed Common Front leaders even though they called off a ten-day public sector strike in the face of massive strikebreaking legislation. Two of the Common Front leaders then, Charbonneau of the CEQ and Louis Laberge of the FTQ, hold the same position today. Although the Common Front workers went back to work the jailing of their leaders precipitated a spontaneous walkout of thousands of Montreal longshoremen belonging to the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). The ILA walkout spread to Quebec's industrial proletari-

unions as well. If Lévesque can get away with trashing the Common Front which constituted a bastion of support for the PQ, he will have no hesitation in going after Quebec's industrial workers, when unemployment in this province and especially in the vital resource industries is the highest in Canada outside the Maritimes. Common Front workers cannot rely on their pro-PQ union leaders to win this crucial showdown with the PQ union busters. The CSN delegates assembly demonstrates that mass union meetings are needed to elect strike committees to implement the Common Front's strike call, to organize mass picketing to defend the strike, and to turn the strike into a genuine general strike by extending it to Quebec's powerful industrial proletariat. Shut Down Quebec!

Labor Must Break with Quebec Nationalism

The general strike, especially against government strikebreaking and union-busting, raises the question of political power. But in the absence of a revolutionary proletarian leadership, the combativity of the 1972 general strike was dissipated. Hatred for the Liberals both in Ottawa (where Trudeau had imposed the War Measures Act in 1970) and in Quebec combined with mounting resentment over the national oppression by arrogant and chauvinist English-speaking Canada was channeled, especially by the Common Front leadership, into the PQ, sweeping Lévesque to power in 1976 and 1981.

But now a Common Front demonstration of 50,000 called in front of the National Assembly on January 29 saw workers carrying placards which



Premier René Lévesque, PQ nationalist labor-hater.

Cold War Big Lie

The "Pope Plot" Against Andropov

Who really believes the latest international terror conspiracy production, "The Bulgarian Connection, Part II"? The plot is so incredible: that USSR head Yuri Andropov tried to assassinate the pope via a "Bulgarian connection" to a "Turkish connection" to a crazed, fascist Turk, one Mehmet Agca, who wounded the pope in broad daylight in St. Peter's Square in 1981. Or more accurately, who pretends to believe, and why? "Evidence" has nothing to do with this projection onto the Soviet bloc of every sinister assassination and terror schema imaginable; indeed the major pushers of "Bulgarian Connection II" cheerfully enough admit that probably nobody will ever prove an "Andropov connection." Those professing belief include Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski, the London *Economist*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, former Nixon/Agnew speechwriter William Safire, and a nest of "international terror experts" around Al Haig's favorite far-out conspiracy-monger Claire Sterling.

What these Kremlin demonologists are really about is whipping up fanatical hatred of the Soviet Union, by any means necessary. The latest "pope plot" assault by the "neo-conservatives," coming only days after Andropov succeeded Brezhnev, is intended to create a scare atmosphere that can undercut any inclination in Washington to bargain with the new Soviet chief. For liberal/academic Cold Warriors who find the plot line hard to swallow, a minor industry in speculation ("What If the Accusations Are True...") is flourishing.

There have been significant demurs, however, from this hard-line horror story, including the CIA and many other Western spy agencies, while the Reagan administration so far has maintained an official silence. According to Henry Kamm of the *New York Times* (18 December 1982), "Israeli and West German intelligence and security sources with a special interest in international terrorism are skeptical of charges of a Bulgarian connection in last year's attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II by a Turk." (Of course, after Wojtyla's meeting with Yasir Arafat, we don't imagine the Mossad is feeling friendly toward the Christian god's vicar on earth.) British intelligence is also reportedly skeptical (although there are some who think MI6 may be closer to the KGB than the Bulgarians are).

The alleged motive on which the plot pushers are hanging their "Andropov killed the pope" concoction is Poland. Rumors have been floated that Wojtyla sent a secret letter to Brezhnev threatening to give up the papacy and lead his Polish legions against any Russian threat. After the shooting, some tried to explain away Solidarność's stunning collapse with assertions that the pope was "wounded in spirit" (see "Whose Kill Pope Plot?", *WV* No. 315, 15 October 1982). In fact, Lech Walesa's Solidarność, whose counterrevolutionary character was firmly consolidated in its open alliance with the Catholic Church and the Western bankers of the

International Monetary Fund, was crushed in its reactionary bid for power—at the last possible moment—by the Polish bureaucracy and army itself, and without much of a fuss. But Poland was the focus, and Solidarność the hoped-for vehicle, for U.S. imperialism's plan to "roll back Communism" in East Europe, and there are plenty of diehard anti-Communists still looking for ways to make the "Polish connection" in their anti-Soviet crusade.

The Two Omars and the Three Bulgarians

The latest twist in the "pope plot" thesis was dramatically unveiled last November, when the Italian police announced they had arrested an actual Bulgarian, one Serge Antonov, a lowly clerk in the Bulgarian airline office in Rome, and sought two more minor officials in the Bulgarian embassy. This sensational revelation followed a sudden visit to Washington, D.C. on October 5 by the Italian judge investigating the pope case, Ilielo Martello, ostensibly for "consultations" with media people (and who else?).

When Agca was first arrested in May 1981, he insisted he had acted alone. On the other hand, all evidence points to his heavy connections with the fascist Grey Wolves Turkish organization to explain his wanderings through Europe. He'd also threatened as early as 1979 to kill the pope (a year before Solidarność was founded). So "Bulgarian Connec-



Soviet Communist Party head Yuri Andropov.

tion Part I" involved heavy discrediting of Agca as a source of information.

Sterling's September 1982 *Reader's Digest* opening salvo stated of Agca, "He may never have known who really paid and controlled him." Indeed? Now it turns out Agca knew everything all along. *Newsweek's* cover story (3 January) breathlessly retailed Italian "press reports" that Agca had in his pocket when arrested the phone numbers of the Bulgarian embassy, the Bulgarian Consulate, the Balkan Airlines office and their employee Antonov's home phone number. How come it took a year and a half for the Italians to

The "free press" in action: Hysterical rumors in the service of anti-Communism.

discover what the guy had in his pockets?

Suddenly the "principal players," as *Newsweek* put it, all have new names and faces. No longer center stage is Sterling's sinister "Turkish godfather" Abuzer Ugurlu and his "luxurious Sofia mansion," and the "two Omars" (Ay and Bagci) so prominent in *Reader's Digest*. Now it's the "three Bulgarians" and a brand-new "godfather," one Bekih Celenk, who supposedly met Agca at the Hotel Vitosha, "a hotbed of Balkan intrigue." Celenk, who describes himself as a simple "fruit and vegetable importer/exporter," is apparently wanted in Turkey on smuggling charges, and last we heard was being "detained" in Bulgaria. They all sound rather as if they'd stepped out of an Eric Ambler-type thriller ("A Coffin for Wojtyla")—and perhaps they did.

Now Sterling primly asserts (having blown it the first time) that "The proof of Bulgaria's guilt in the plot to kill the pope is much too complex to explain in a couple of newspaper paragraphs" (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 December 1982). *Au contraire*, Claire: it all rests on what Agca, who has had lengthy and recent interviews with Italian security specialists in his isolated cell, is said to have said lately.

William Safire's *New York Times* column (27 December 1982), sarcastically titled, "'You Have No Proof,'" lists some of those "facts" Sterling demurely didn't. Like Agca "was able to describe accurately the living quarters of the Bulgarian officials who were his controls and contacts." Now just how do the Italians know his description is accurate? Safire states there was a "flurry of electronic communication" out of the Bulgarian embassy just before the attack on the pope, "similar to the activity that took place before an American general was abducted." How curious. We recall that at the time of the Dozier kidnapping, the "terror network" crowd was claiming a "Czech connection" for the Red Brigades, then they tried to pin it on the Libyans—today the Bulgarians.

The indignant Safire attacks those "faceless officials" in the CIA who don't buy it, quoting former Director of Central Intelligence Richard Helms, "who was pointing a finger at this 'classic intelligence operation' from the start." Well, Mr. Helms is a convicted perjurer, for his lying testimony to the Senate over the CIA's complicity in plots against Allende. But of course for the CIA, murder plots against heads of state or the equivalent is a "classic intelligence operation": Lumumba, Che Guevara, two dozen attempts against Castro, blowing up a commercial plane that was supposed to be carrying Chou En-lai, General Schneider in Chile, not

to mention U.S. puppets Diem in South Vietnam and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic.

Andropov and the USSR

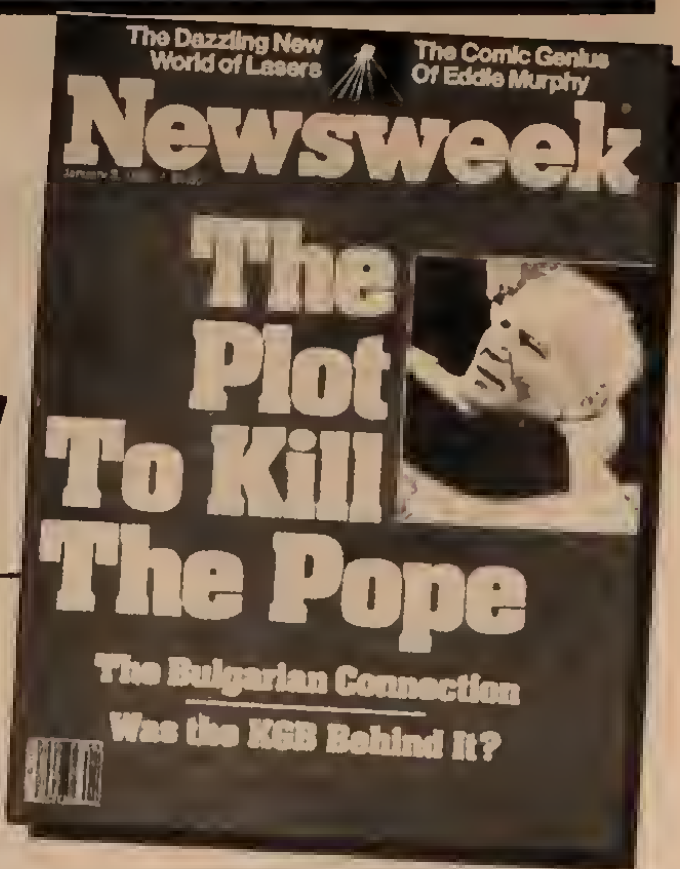
If the CIA is expressing skepticism about the "pope plot," it is scarcely because the Company is scrupulous about the truth in such matters. Nor, contra Safire, is it because it's soft on Russia (shades of James Jesus Angleton, the former CIA head of counterintelligence who suspected the Agency had become a KGB front, and considers the Sino-Soviet split a gigantic hoax!).

Some imperialist policy makers simply do not want to see Andropov so vilified that it renders impossible making deals advantageous to imperialism with the new Soviet leader. Some Washington Kremlin-watchers think the former KGB chief (a post he received as a party watchdog after already establishing himself in Hungary) may in fact be more "realistic" than the immobile Brezhnev; i.e., conciliatory to Western imperialism. For example, State Department official Sidney Ploss wrote in the CIA's house organ, *Problems of Communism* (September-October 1982), right before Brezhnev's death, that "Reform of the domestic order would seem to necessitate a lowering of East-West tensions, and Andropov has been more vocal than other top leaders in supporting improved relations with the United States."

There has been speculation that Andropov might be willing to withdraw from Afghanistan in return for a deal on missiles or trade, or perhaps without such a deal. Somebody's disinformation? Wishful thinking? Moscow has angrily denied the inspired rumors in the Western press. Nevertheless, the Kremlin bureaucrats are certainly capable of such a betrayal. In 1946, for example, Stalin, in return for oil concessions and as a gesture of "peaceful coexistence," withdrew the Red Army from northern Iran, allowing the shah's army to destroy the left-nationalist Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan (somewhat analogous to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan), which had been formed under Soviet protection.

Should this happen, it would be truly a counterrevolutionary crime against the people of Afghanistan. It would mean turning the country over to U.S.-armed Islamic fanatics and feudalist cutthroats who shoot schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read. It would also result in a hostile government on the southern border of the USSR. We say: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Extend the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!"

continued on page 9



The Vatican Connection

Not everything in life is a conspiracy. For example, why a fanatic Muslim fascist Turk would want to kill the pope for other than revenge for the Crusades is not clear. But for those who are enamored with conspiracy theories, recent revelations centered on the Vatican's financial dealings should provide grist for the mill. One gets a glimpse of a shadowy underworld involving key figures in the Vatican bank, high-level Italian financiers, government officials and neo-fascists, and some Argentine generals for spice. It is a story of mysterious bank failures and several highly unnatural deaths, of Latin American death squads and Polish Solidarność. About the only people *not* involved in this Byzantine intrigue are Andropov and the KGB.

The story begins with the election of the first non-Italian pope in four centuries, Karol Wojtyla, the archbishop of Krakow, Poland. The accession to St. Peter's throne of this hardened anti-Communist meant a sharpening of the Cold War and much more....

Let's begin the trail with the late Roberto Calvi, president of the now-defunct Banco Ambrosiano of Milano and closely associated with the Vatican bank. No doubt the "loss" of over \$1.4 billion could make one mighty depressed. When Calvi's body was found last June hanging from London's Blackfriars Bridge, the death was ruled a case of "self-suspension"—i.e., a suicide. If so, it's rather curious—only a week before his death Calvi jumped bail and fled to England along with a bodyguard. Mind you, it's *possible* that the pudgy 61-year-old banker stuffed his pockets with thousands of dollars in assorted currencies, a phony passport and 12 pounds of bricks and stones, then climbed up the scaffolding on the bridge and "suspended" himself. But Calvi's family is screaming "murder" and alleging a Vatican cover-up.

Nor was Calvi the only casualty. "His secretary defenestrated herself" by jumping out a fourth-story window, reported the *New York Times* (18 July 1982). An investigating judge was assassinated and the vice chairman of Banco Ambrosiano was wounded by an underworld gunman last April. A pattern perhaps?

The Panama Cabal: In God We Trust

Calvi rose from a lowly clerk to president of Ambrosiano over the space



President's Cold War popa gives more than spiritual aid to counter-revolutionary Solidarność. Fabian/Time

of 28 years. In the process, the bank was transformed from a provincial institution to a \$20 billion financial empire. Part of the growth was through market-rigging stock purchases which inflated the value of Ambrosiano's stock; another source was Vatican money. The Vatican bank, known as the Institute for Religious Works (IOR), admits to owning 1.6 percent of Ambrosiano. (Calvi's son puts the figure ten times higher.) The head of the IOR, American-born Archbishop Paul Marcinkus, sat on the board of Ambrosiano's offshore Nassau subsidiary.

Starting in the mid-1970s, Calvi gave out some \$400 million in unsecured loans to a collection of a dozen obscure Panamanian shell companies. No interest was ever paid—it was simply added onto the debt. By 1981 the Panamanian companies' indebtedness had more than tripled, and Banco Ambrosiano's Latin American subsidiaries—who were supporting the bulk of the "loans"—began to get worried. Who were these shadowy borrowers? The *Wall Street Journal* (30 August 1982) characterized the Panamanian companies as having "murky origins and no ascertainable business activities." Among the interlocking directors were Calvi associates such as the head of Banco Ambrosiano Overseas, the Nassau affiliate.

When Calvi needed help to assuage the fears of his directors and his Peruvian affiliate he turned to Marcinkus. And he got what he wanted—the monsignor wrote letters of patronage stating that the Panamanian companies were "controlled, directly or indirectly" by the Vatican bank. Not surprisingly, after the default, the Italian government wanted god's bankers to come up with some cash to cover the debts of the borrowers they had endorsed. The Vatican has so far refused, claiming that it and Marcinkus were innocent victims of Calvi's schemes. Curiously, Marcinkus has taken up residence inside Vatican City—where he's immune from Italian state prosecutors.

Vatican Cash for Counterrevolution?

Publicly, Marcinkus claims his relations with Calvi were strictly business. But Michele Sindona, convicted swindler, suspected murderer and Calvi's predecessor as the Vatican's financial adviser, says differently. No stranger to the Holy See's overseas ventures, Sindona stated that, "The goal [of the Panama operations] was to stop the

advance of Castro communism in South America." He added that Marcinkus knew and approved of Calvi's Latin ventures because "to fight communism automatically means supporting Catholicism" (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 November 1982). Sindona, of course, like many others in the Banco Ambrosiano affair, certainly has motives other than pursuit of the truth.

Take Licio Gelli. He was arrested in Geneva last fall when he tried to withdraw tens of millions of dollars from a Swiss account containing "between \$50 million and \$70 million, all of which had been transferred from South American subsidiaries of Banco Ambrosiano" (*Wall Street Journal*, 20 September 1982). Turns out Gelli, Sindona and Calvi were buddies—they all belonged to a secret Italian Masonic lodge called Propaganda Due (P-2). When P-2's membership list came to light in May 1981, the ensuing scandal toppled the Forlani government. P-2 was found to include over 950 of Italy's top politicians, military and business leaders; it was linked to several coup plots in Italy centered on the secret police. P-2's "grand master" was an industrialist who had fought in an expeditionary corps for Franco during the Spanish Civil War. He is described as "a diehard Mussolini fascist, with activities that include the financing of Exocet missiles for Argentina during the Falklands Islands war" (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 November 1982). His name: Licio Gelli.

Gelli's P-2 links extended to Argentina. "Mr. Gelli has been described as having been close to almost every Argentine president over the last decade through lodge connections.... When Mr. Perón returned to Argentina in 1973, Mr. Gelli was on the plane" (*New York Times*, 3 October 1982). *Latin American Weekly Reports* (24 September and 22 October 1982) adds General Roberto Viola and Admiral Emilio Massera, members of the junta which ousted Perón's widow in 1976, to the list of Gelli's Argentine friends.

So where did the \$1.4 billion in Panama loans go? According to the *Wall Street Journal* (20 September 1982): "The loan money hasn't been traced, but Italian investigators believe that at least part of it was used to finance right-wing political and military activities in Latin America" (our emphasis). What kind of "right-wing military activities"? Over 30,000 people have "disappeared" in Argentina during the

military regime's "dirty war" against leftists in the mid-'70s. Gelli is tied to Argentina's top brass throughout this period and to Banco Ambrosiano's Latin operations. Calvi ran Ambrosiano. Marcinkus put Vatican cash into Ambrosiano, sat on the board of directors of Banco Ambrosiano Overseas, wrote letters of patronage for the shadowy Panamanian companies. Ergo...

"You Can't Run the Church on Hail Marys"

So said Marcinkus, according to *Newsweek* (13 September 1982). He ought to know. The Vatican has historically been a seething nest of intrigue much more akin to the poisonous treacheries of the Borgias than the pious mythology of the Bible. Many questions were raised when John Paul I, that affable peasant pope who wrote letters to Pinocchio, was recalled to god after a mere 34 days in office. His successor, John Paul Wojtyla, walked into a mammoth bank scandal and has reportedly found himself at loggerheads with the entrenched Italian Vatican bureaucracy. But the pope has powerful allies, most notably Opus Dei, the lay order which achieved political prominence in Franco's Spain and is widely known as the "saintly Mafia." According to the *Wall Street Journal* (30 December 1982):

"Most Opus Dei leaders found previous popes too 'liberal' for their taste and, in turn, weren't welcome in the Vatican. But Opus Dei saw in an obscure Polish cardinal of Krakow, Karol Wojtyla, a fellow conservative and worked for his election as pope. Now John Paul II is giving Opus Dei greater autonomy from local bishops and far greater opportunity to affect church affairs."

"The alliance is a natural one, for Opus Dei and John Paul share a trio of concerns: a fixed opposition to communism; a strong desire to enhance papal authority; and a firm commitment to preserve orthodox church doctrine on abortion, contraception, priestly celibacy and other traditional concerns...."

"Pope John Paul appears eager to use Opus Dei's strength to counteract the liberal tendencies of the Jesuits, who are actively engaged in social and political reform in Latin America. The pope has already promoted some Opus Dei priests to bishops in Latin America.... Opus Dei leaders would like to take over from the Jesuits the running of the 'Influential Vatican Radio....'"

Now back to the Ambrosiano affair. Charges have been made by the Calvi family that Opus Dei had offered to help untangle the Vatican connection with

continued on page 9



Death squad gunman in El Salvador. Vatican funds right-wing military activity in Latin America.

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Missiles...

(continued from page 1)

idea—propagated also by the Stalinists and far left—that if only Europe could become a "nuclear free zone," its peoples could somehow escape World War III, is absurd. A war between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union, however and wherever it starts, will quickly escalate into a northern hemisphere holocaust at least. Only successful socialist revolution, not least in the United States itself, can prevent imperialism from unleashing its awesome technology of death.

The "Missile Elections" and Resurgent German Nationalism

It is an index of the changed political situation in Germany that the December 1979 NATO decision to introduce new theater nuclear weapons in Europe was first proposed and pushed by Helmut Schmidt, then Social Democratic head of the Bonn government and a pillar of the Western imperialist alliance. To placate pacifistic sentiment in Europe, their actual deployment in 1983 was made conditional on lack of significant progress—whatever that meant—in the U.S.-Soviet disarmament talks. This proviso was window dressing, not taken seriously in NATO capitals.

However, as Washington's war-mongering escalated, first under Carter and then Reagan, popular opposition to the NATO rearmament mounted in Europe. So the disarmament negotiations became an elaborate exercise to influence the hearts and minds of the millions of West Europeans frightened by the growing spectre of World War III. In November 1981 Reagan launched a "peace offensive" with his famous "zero option." The Russians naturally rejected this out of hand and have since made counter-proposals of their own, most recently Andropov's offer to limit Soviet medium-range missiles to the number currently deployed by Britain and France. This was categorically rejected by Reagan, Mitterrand and Britain's Margaret Thatcher.

But the German Social Democrats welcomed it. Schmidt came forward as an advocate of Andropov's proposal as against Reagan's "zero option":

"Put yourself in the Soviets' place for a minute. Then you would also have to consider that the other atomic powers, Great Britain and France, dismantle their medium-range weapons, which can reach Soviet territory."

—Der Spiegel, 31 January

And Social Democratic Party (SPD) chairman Willy Brandt is proposing that the scheduled deployment of the Pershings be postponed pending further Washington-Moscow negotiations.

These seasoned and cynical NATO social democrats are not, as the American Cold Warriors absurdly contend, being taken in by the Kremlin's "peace" offensive, nor are they simply competing with the "anti-nuke" Greens (petty-bourgeois ecological hysterics) for the "peace" vote. Rather the Social Democrats now believe that the interests of German imperialism, especially its long-term ambitions toward Soviet-dominated East Europe, can be fur-

thered by a greater distance from American imperialism.

The rise of the new nationalism of the "left" in West Germany (not so long ago America's most loyal European ally) has naturally set off alarm bells in Washington and also Paris. For example, the Dr. Strangelove of the Carter years, Zbigniew Brzezinski, writes: "we witness adoption of an essentially neutralist posture by one of West Germany's two major political parties, with its new leader, Hans-Jochen Vogel, going out of his way to treat Washington and Moscow on an equal basis" (*New York Times*, 30 January).

This is quite an overstatement. The German Social Democrats remain an

liberal *Times* in seamless unity with Reagan has done everything in its power to inflame Polish nationalism against the Soviet Union. In the fall of 1981 Poland stood on the brink of civil war, staved off at the last minute when the Stalinist regime spiked Solidarność' bid for power. Had Solidarność taken power, Poland would have been transformed into a fanatically anti-Communist ally of Western imperialism bringing the military forces of NATO right up to the Soviet border. And counterrevolution in Poland would in short order pose the reunification of Germany on a capitalist basis.

The German Social Democratic demagogues, the nationalists of the "left,"



Bonn, October 1981: German Trotskyists of TLD denounce nationalism of the "left": "Down with NATO—Defend the Soviet Union!"

Atlantic Alliance party (though far less fervently than before). No prominent SPDer has even hinted at withdrawing from NATO at the present time. But the party's direction of motion is toward a German nationalism balancing between the Soviet Union and American imperialism. Right-of-center SPD leader Hans Apel, a former defense minister, now punctuates his campaign speeches with the slogan: "We are against displays of subservience toward the West and against displays of force toward the East."

Schmidt, Brandt, Vogel & Co. look toward the day when they can get back Prussia and Saxony (the German Democratic Republic) from the Soviet bureaucracy. A "neutralist" Germany means a reunified capitalist Germany. Stalin himself made such an offer in 1952, but the German bourgeoisie was then too weak vis-à-vis the Americans to take it up. Stalin's heirs are not now about to turn over East Germany to the Frankfurt bankers and Ruhr industrialists, but they are more than willing to encourage the new nationalism of the "left" in West Germany.

A *New York Times* editorial (4 February) has the nerve to warn the Russians against letting the evil genie of German nationalism out of the bottle:

"No diplomacies have been more disastrous in this century than those that underestimated German nationalism.... How can any 20th-century leader dare arouse that dark force for transient purpose?..."

"Because unification also remains the East Germans' dream, it is sheer madness for the Russians to be promoting neutralism in West Germany. A neutralist West Germany would use every ounce of its strength to subvert the Soviet grip on East Germany."

It is sheer duplicity for this leading organ of the American ruling class to invoke the spirit of Yalta, that division of Europe (centrally Germany) into U.S.- and Soviet-dominated spheres. American imperialism is not defending (and has never defended) the postwar status quo in Europe and it is now intent on turning West Germany into a nuclear launching pad to incinerate the Soviet Union, killing tens of millions of Russians.

While decrying German nationalism as a threat to the peace of Europe, the

are laying the basis for a revanchist Fourth Reich by exploiting the national sentiment of the German working masses and their desire for peace. Under a genuinely communist (i.e., Trotskyist) leadership the German proletariat, West and East, could be the vanguard for the socialist revolution in West Europe and political revolution to overthrow the parasitic bureaucracy in the Soviet bloc. West Germany is the dominant economic power in capitalist Europe. The East German deformed workers state by itself is the tenth leading industrial country in the world. A unified German workers state would be the industrial powerhouse of a Socialist United States of Europe. This is the program of the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, which combats both the openly reactionary Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats and their Green fringe.

Not Détente, But International Proletarian Revolution

It is not only the Europacifists and opponents of Reagan who preach the virtues of détente with the Soviet Union. Leading European advocates of NATO rearmament, such as Mitterrand and West German Christian Democratic leader Helmut Kohl, also speak in favor of "détente," especially in terms of economic relations with the East. Isn't this a contradiction? No. For the European imperialists, détente is an alternative strategy, one corresponding to their specific strengths, to roll back Soviet power in East Europe. The German bourgeoisie knows it cannot win a war against the Soviet Union now, but it certainly possesses the capacity to economically undermine and politically subvert the Soviet bloc.

The détente road to counterrevolution came very close to success in Poland. The massive loans Frankfurt bankers made to Warsaw in the 1970s produced an orgy of corruption among the bureaucratic elite, while allowing for increases in the consumption levels of Polish workers and peasants which could not possibly be sustained. How détente contributed to the anti-Communist explosion in Poland in 1980-81 is explained in a vulgar,

exaggerated way by an American Cold War academic:

"Détente does not liberalize ruling Leninist parties, it corrupts them—organizationally, ideologically, and personally. In Poland, the absolute commitment of former Party First Secretary Edward Gierek to the international politics of détente corrupted Polish Communist authorities absolutely."

—Richard Spielman, "Crisis in Poland," *Foreign Policy*, Winter, 1982-83

For European imperialism, promoting internal counterrevolutionary forces in the Soviet bloc seems less risky than attempting a nuclear first strike, but the two are by no means mutually exclusive.

Since the Stalinist bureaucracy instinctively fears proletarian revolution internationally, the Kremlin leaders must maintain illusions in "peaceful coexistence" even with Reagan's America. Thus Andropov recently renewed the offer of a "non-aggression pact" between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. A "non-aggression pact" with Reagan is worth about as much as the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 in protecting the Soviet Union.

All of the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and reformist forces which the Kremlin look to for "peace" are to one degree or another part of the Reagan-led anti-Soviet war drive. In the U.S. the ideological leaders of the "freeze" movement and "no first use" advocates are certified Vietnam War criminals Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy. These Democratic Cold and hot Warriors simply want a more rational mix of nuclear and conventional forces to confront the Soviet Union. In Britain social democrat E.P. Thompson, a leader of the European Nuclear Disarmament movement, actually welcomed Reagan's "zero option" as "a remarkable change in tone," suggesting that all it needed was a "freeze" tacked on to become fully supportable. The supposedly pro-Moscow French Communists are loyally serving in the government of Reagan's most bellicose European ally, François Mitterrand, and even hailed his anti-Soviet Bundestag speech. And the Italian Communists have decided not to agitate against the deployment of the cruise missiles in Italy so as not to disturb their hopes for "a historic compromise" with the Vatican. With "friends of peace" like these...

The Soviet Union, land of the October Revolution, is in danger. It is confronted not just with war threats but with nuclear war plans. The search for a popular front with some "peace-loving" wing of the imperialist bourgeoisie is more than an illusion, it is a direct danger to Soviet defense. Only the revival of revolutionary proletarian internationalism can defend the Soviet Union by destroying world capitalism. This requires a world Trotskyist party—to lead socialist revolution in the capitalist world and to oust the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution. The fate of mankind is in the balance. ■

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Zionist Excommunication

Snuffing candles to symbolize the extinction of their spiritual lives and blowing a ram's horn, three rabbis constituted a "Bet Din" or Jewish court and using an 18th century text excommunicated several hundred Jews. The document dates from the banning of the Jewish group called the Satanic Sabbatian Frankists in the Pale or Jewish ghetto of Brode, Poland in the year 1757. However, this excommunication took place not in the period of tsarist reaction, but only last December in a Massachusetts Holiday Inn. The modern-day Jewish heretics were found guilty of alleged Marxist views on Israel and sex.

The "excommunicated" included two groups: the signers of a June 20 advertisement in the *New York Times* by the "Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Palestinians and Lebanese People" that protested the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and members of the New Jewish Agenda, which not only opposed the invasion but supports democratic rights for homosexuals. The spokesman for the Holiday Inn Bet Din, Rabbi Marvin Antelman, excoriated the signers of the *Times* ad for "adopting the word 'Jewish' to get across a Trotskyite program in defense of the Palestine Liberation Organization." As for the New Jewish Agenda, Antelman thundered: "You can't be Jewish and homosexual. It's a contradiction in terms. It's an abomination." It's "like undoing the circumcision."

Antelman, who claims to be the chief justice of a 13-member Supreme Rabbinical Court of America, Inc., said that the excommunication could only be reversed by the chief rabbis of Israel. One of the signers of the June 20 ad, noted linguist Noam Chomsky, said of the anathema pronounced against him, "I don't think it will carry very much weight in Israel except in very kooky

circles." But the "very kooky circles," the Rabbi Antelmans of Israel, have state power to impose their decisions. Israel is not merely a racist "Jewish state," but a theocracy run by an alliance between "secular Zionists" and a very powerful Orthodox Jewish rabbinate, organized into the National Religious Party (NRP) and Agudath Israel.

The Orthodox rabbinate rival Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini in their attempts to enforce religious intolerance. Basing



Zionist theocratic reaction: War criminals Ariel Sharon and Menachem Begin with coalition partners.

themselves on the pre-medieval Talmud and the ancient laws the Torah evolved for an ecclesiastical slavocracy, they dictate laws that impinge on every aspect of daily life in Israel. This despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of Israeli Jews are not orthodox, and many are not religious. To give just one example of the power of this Orthodox rabbinate: in Israel, the only recognized Jewish denomination is Orthodox, and for Jews the only valid marriages, divorces, religious conversions, burials, etc. are those performed by an Orthodox rabbi. Therefore, Jews converted by Reform or Conservative rabbis are not

recognized as Jews in the "Jewish state," are excluded from the racist "right to return" (automatic citizenship) and cannot reside in the 92 percent of Israel off-limits to non-Jews! Similarly, the offspring of non-Orthodox Jewish marriages are considered "bastards" and are not entitled to Jewish legal rights.

The rise of Jewish religious fanaticism in Israel is closely associated with the coming to power of Menachem Begin's right-wing Likud government. But

opposition leader Shimon Peres of the allegedly more secular Zionist "Labor" Party helped the Likud pass, in March 1980, a new "Chief Rabbinate Law" that strengthened the exclusion of Reform and Conservative Judaism from official recognition. This is not surprising as "Labor" ruled Israel for 25 years in alliance with the NRP.

Zionism is a product of the modern age of nationalism and imperialism, but it had to turn to the "Torah sages" and Talmudic scholars—to the most backward, bigoted religious obscurantism—to find "legitimacy" for attempting to forge a racist "Jewish state" in the

Arab East. The NRP has spawned a mass fascist movement, the Gush Emunim, in the rabbinical schools that provide the cadres that colonize and terrorize the Palestinians in the West Bank as well as terrorizing Israel's own non-orthodox Jewish population.

Chomsky recalled that he shared the honor of excommunication with the 17th century philosopher Benedict Spinoza, whose ideas foreshadowed the Enlightenment. But Antelman hurls the name of the great communist Leon Trotsky, Lenin's comrade-in-arms and founder of the Red Army, at the signers of the *New York Times* ad. And the liberal anarchist Chomsky, who supports CIA-backed mullahs against the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, would find this almost as much an anathema as the Talmud-thumping rabbis of the Holiday Inn Bet Din. Yet Antelman is right to recognize in Trotskyism the arch enemy of Zionism. For the only ones to consistently fight the Israeli genocidalists while recognizing that the right to self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and the Hebrew-speaking peoples can only be realized in a socialist federation of the Near East are the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency.

Isaac Deutscher remarked in his penetrating essay, "The Non-Jewish Jew," that Spinoza and Trotsky along with Karl Marx and Heinrich Heine, Sigmund Freud and Rosa Luxemburg are in fact part of a very Jewish tradition: the Jewish heretic who transcends Judaism. "They all look for ideals and fulfillment beyond it and they represent the sum and substance of much that is greatest in modern thought, the sum and substance of the most profound upheavals that have taken place in philosophy, sociology, economics and politics in the last three centuries." Raised on the borderline of diverse nations, cultures and epochs, they embody "the moral and political heritage that genius of the Jews who have gone beyond Jewry has left us—the message of universal human emancipation." ■

Vatican Connection...

(continued from page 7)

Ambrosiano and use its financial wealth to help out the hard-pressed IOR. In an interview printed in the *Rome Daily American* (25 November 1982), Carlo Calvi said:

"Two months before dying, my father went to the Pope in the Vatican and told him that he had established contacts with Opus Dei with the purpose of negotiating to sell them the 16 percent of the Ambrosiano then in the hands of the IOR.... He [the pope] gave his consent to the operation, but immediately Marcinkus reacted strongly, and he had Monsignor Agostino Casaroli [the Vatican Secretary of State] and the Hon. Giulio Andreotti [former Christian Democratic prime minister] on his side."

And Polish Solidarność, that communist union for the CIA and Western

bankers, where does it fit in? According to *L'Espresso* (5 September 1982) Calvi's associate Flavio Carboni has a tape recording of a conversation in which Calvi screamed at Marcinkus: "Watch out! If it comes out that you were paying the wages of Solidarność, not a stone of the Vatican will remain standing." Carboni split to Switzerland upon hearing of Calvi's death. Earlier, at the time of Roberto Calvi's death, *Il Giornale* (18 July 1982) reported the family's charge of murder:

"Rather, what seems significant is what Carlo Calvi declared immediately afterwards, when he explained how he does not believe the 'lead' on international arms trafficking, but does not however consider entirely 'unfounded' the hypothesis of a secret service intervention in the murder of his father. And after having confirmed the story of the financing of the Polish trade union Solidarność by the Banco Ambrosiano, Carlo Calvi concluded with words that make one's hair stand on end: 'Perhaps in this case, there may be even more serious connections, but if this lead is to be followed, either they'll make us look

like madmen or we'll put our own skins in serious danger as well.'" [our emphasis]

And of course there had to be a Nazi. To clean up the Ambrosiano mess the Vatican called in none other than Hermann Abs. Abs was a key financier in Nazi Germany during World War II, chairman of the Deutsche Bank and a representative on the supervisory board of I.G. Farben, the German chemical conglomerate which invested \$250 million in a plant utilizing slave labor from the Auschwitz concentration camp. The post-war U.S. military government recommended that he be indicted for war crimes. It never happened: Abs was "considered essential to the reconstitution of the West German economy" (*Washington Post*, 30 December 1982).

What ties shadowy right-wing conspirators and criminals like Abs and Gelli to the Vatican's pursestrings is anti-Communism. And Karol Wojtyla is the embodiment of papal anti-Communism. More actively than his cautious Polish colleague Cardinal Wyszyński, the former archbishop of Krakow promoted the clerical-nationalist circles which became the core leadership of Solidarność around Lech Walesa. When Wojtyla was unexpectedly elected pope in 1978, we wrote, "he now stands at the head of many millions of practicing Catholics in East Europe, a tremendous potential force for counterrevolution" ("The President's Pope?" *WV* No. 217, 20 October 1978). And during the next two and a half years Wall Street's man in the Vatican would help push Poland to the brink of capitalist counterrevolution.

Over a century ago the great Italian revolutionary democrat Giuseppe Garibaldi called the papacy "the cancer of

Italy." Today the "cancer of Italy" has become part of the general social malignancy that is the death agony of capitalism. ■

"Pope Plot" ...

(continued from page 6)

The imperialist bourgeoisie, or at any rate its more far-sighted representatives, understand that the Soviet leaders are *not*, as they profess, communists but narrowly nationalistic—and often cynical and corrupt—bureaucrats who will sell out, especially other people's revolutions. The Soviet Union can be defended against imperialism and regain its rightful place as a bastion of world socialist revolution, as it was under Lenin and Trotsky, only through a proletarian political revolution which sweeps away Stalin's heirs from the Kremlin.

Selling out other people's revolutions will not buy the Kremlin bureaucracy "peaceful coexistence." In this relentless drive to destroy the Soviet Union, the imperialists are willing to employ the wildest, most fantastic lies, like the Russians supposedly are dropping "yellow rain" on the Afghan and Laotian tribesmen. This from the same people who dumped millions of tons of deadly chemicals, not to speak of napalm, on Indochina! Now comes the story Andropov tried to kill "god's vicar on earth," from a ruling class that is planning a "protracted" nuclear holocaust against the USSR, starting by "decapitating" the Soviet leadership! The monstrous terrorists of the world are to be found in Washington, D.C. and its suburbs Langley and Arlington, Va. ■



Der Spiegel

Archbishop Paul Marcinkus, head of Vatican bank, with the pope: Hiding out in Vatican City where he is immune from prosecution.

Quebec...

(continued from page 5)

nationalist party like the PQ and a bourgeois workers party like the British Labour Party, French social democracy or even the ultra-reformist NDP. The latter organizations rest on the institutions of the working class and while they can break strikes and impose vicious austerity measures, they cannot destroy the organized labor movement, especially the trade unions, without destroying themselves. The PQ, however, can turn around and break the unions that have been its most fervent supporters.

While unions in English Canada have sent messages of solidarity to the Common Front strike, militants must demand that these unions go on record demanding that the War Measures Act be abolished, that federal intervention by Trudeau on the side of the PQ government, especially the use of troops, will be met by a general strike of all Canadian labor, and for the unconditional right of Quebec to self-determination.

The fake left capitulates either to Canadian social democracy or Quebec nationalism but the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), the Canadian suburb of Barnestown, USA (a.k.a. Socialist Workers Party) capitulates to both. While declaring their undying loyalty to the English-chauvinist NDP the RWL complains that the PQ is not nationalist enough! The RWL's *Socialist Voice* (24 January) complains "rather, than confront Ottawa and the corporations which are totally hostile to the aspirations of the Québécois and are responsible for the crisis, the Parti Québécois is carrying out their goals and their work." And the RWL holds up to the Quebec proletariat the example of... the Canadian Chrysler strike!

This strike occurred only after Canadian UAW director Bob White worked hand in hand with UAW president Fraser to sabotage a company-wide strike against Chrysler. After five weeks Canadian Chrysler workers won a tiny raise and a lousy contract that doesn't keep up with inflation, doesn't close the gap with the other Big Three, doesn't close the gap with U.S. Chrysler workers due to the devaluation of the Canadian dollar, and introduces a new tool for layoffs and harassment called absentee control. The only value to the comparison is that Lévesque figures Quebec is in the same financial shape as Chrysler and he's chairman of the board. The real point about the Chrysler strike is the necessity for U.S./Canadian working-class unity given the integrated nature of their economies, especially when dealing with the same company! The Chrysler strike could only have been won if black Detroit had taken the lead. And this is an important lesson indeed for the Quebec working class.

The Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, has uniquely fought for the perspective of bi-national revolutionary class unity in which the combative Quebec proletariat must necessarily constitute a vanguard in socialist revolution throughout North America. The TLC warned that the PQ's rise to power would produce exactly what Lévesque has wrought: a vicious anti-labor government that uses the *fleur de lys* to dupe the workers while he cuts their throat. The TLC has fought for the right to independence for Quebec not because separation would be "progressive" but because the forcible national subjugation of Quebec by English Canada is a barrier to the class unity of the English-speaking and French-speaking proletariats of North America. The demand, however, for an "independent Socialist Quebec" raised from time to time by confused Québécois centrists and syndicalists, is utopian. No strategy based on separatism—including the utopian "socialist independence"—can truly show the way

forward for the working masses of Quebec. A social revolution in Quebec, a Quebec "Commune," would necessarily have to be extended throughout North America or it would be crushed. The proletariat of Quebec will find their social as well as their national liberation only within the framework of a continental socialist revolution, and must look for its leadership to a reborn Fourth International. ■

Norfolk...

(continued from page 3)

should be opened up to black students from the inner city. And in this racist society, the presence of significant numbers of white students will make a difference in the resources allotted to ghetto schools. Black school board member Lucy Wilson who voted against eliminating busing noted, "It was integration itself that caused black neighborhood schools to be treated more equitably."

There is a government sanctioned segregationist/Klan conspiracy against equal education. Boston during 1974-76 was the Northern battleground for integrated education. The liberal-led pro-busing forces stood by as racist mobs stoned black children as they rode the buses to school. The labor movement there should have been brought into the struggle on the side of integration, but that would have meant a fight against the Democratic Party and its loyal henchmen in the leadership of the unions. From the beginning the Spartacist League defended busing and fought for its extension to the suburbs. We insisted that the key to winning the busing fight was labor/black mobilizations to implement busing and stop the racist attacks.

For the capitalist politicians to talk about quality education when soup lines have reappeared, 15 million are out of work, and Reagan's slashing every social program in sight, is ludicrous. The ghetto schools don't teach, because they are little more than concentration camps for black youth who have no future in Reagan's America. We fight for quality public education with an end to tracking and free universal higher education with a state paid stipend for all. But unlike the liberals who have a utopian faith in upward mobility through education, we understand that changes in the education system will have only a marginal impact on black people so long as they remain a race/color caste, concentrated at the bottom of American society and imprisoned in the ghettos.

The fight for school integration and quality education must be linked to the fight against the crisis-ridden capitalist system that breeds racist reaction. The mass, independent labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27 shows the road to victory against racist attacks. That demonstration, led by the Spartacist League and supported and built by unionists from the Tidewater area, demonstrates what can happen when you harness the power of labor in the struggle for black equality. It will take a multiracial revolutionary party to lead the struggle for revolutionary integrationism. And that's what the Spartacist League is dedicated to building. ■

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CLEVELAND

Solidaridad



The SL says that the best way to aid the Salvadoran revolution is by fighting to carry out the American revolution. The reformists seek instead an alliance with the Imperialist liberals. Our red flags of the Fourth International, FMLN, Cuban and Vietnamese banners and communist politics are a hindrance to their popular-front plans. At the 3 May 1981 El Salvador demonstration at the Pentagon, Workers World/PAM goons linked arms to prevent demonstrators from joining the SL's Anti-Imperialist Contingent rally. But the FDR/FMLN Information Bulletin (April 1982) publishes photos of the Spartacist demonstration on May 3 as an example of international solidarity.

El Salvador...

(continued from page 12)

Nicaraguan *contras* (mostly former National Guardsmen of the Somoza tyranny) escalated their attacks on the FSLN regime. This resulted in the deaths of 38 civilians and Sandinista military personnel during January. Then using the military maneuvers as cover, the Somozaist mercenaries invaded Nicaragua in force, attempting to establish a beachhead at the border town of Bismona. In the ensuing battles with the Sandinista army, 73 *contras* were killed and the attacking force fled back to their sanctuaries in the Honduran province of Gracias a Dios (Thanks Be to God).

The war "games" themselves were on an unprecedented scale for the area, involving some 20 Hercules C-130 transports, Chinook and Huey helicopters, the USS *Spiegel* landing ship, the USS *Boulder* supply ship, and other smaller back-up aircraft and naval vessels. The operation was supposed to be a defense against an attack by a "Red Army" regiment from the mythical country of "Corinth," whose real identity was a mystery to no one. The maneuvers included a parachute drop of 600 Honduran troops to lift a siege at Mocerón, which just happens to be a major *contra* base of operations. Also included was a mock amphibious assault on the Honduran port of Puerto Lempira (whose physical layout is remarkably similar to the Nicaraguan Atlantic town of Puerto Cabezas, just 60 miles down the coast).

These joint operations are part of a general step-up of U.S. military activity in the region. The American destroyer USS *William Pratt* put in a "goodwill call" to show the flag at Puerto Limón in Costa Rica. And in Panama a major military exercise codenamed "Kindle Liberty" will begin on February 10, allegedly to defend the canal. In response the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) organized some 30,000 people to march to the U.S. embassy in Managua to protest the provocative U.S./Honduran military show of force. But a far larger crowd (100,000) was turned out to greet the ministerial conference of the Non-Aligned Movement on January 12. The great accomplishment of this allegedly "anti-imperialist" body was to pass a resolution watered down to exclude any direct criticism of the U.S. for its campaign of destabilization and aggres-

sion against Nicaragua!

The battle for Nicaragua has not been decided. The armed forces of the Somoza dictatorship fled as the Sandinistas entered Managua. But the petty-bourgeois FSLN is not committed to the defense of either proletarian or capitalist property forms. The Reagan administration seems determined to push Nicaragua down the Cuban road, despite the Sandinistas' avowal of a "middle road." Former Sandinista leader Edén Pastora ("Comandante Zero") and Nicaragua's "democratic" capitalist Alfonso Robelo (a member of the post-Somoza ruling junta and good friend of Washington) are conspiring in San José, Costa Rica. And with 60 percent of the Nicaraguan economy in the hands of private businessmen, and the governing apparatus shot through with bourgeois elements, there is a powerful pro-capitalist "fifth column" at work. An effective defense against the all-sided counterrevolutionary onslaught requires the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, and a drive to spread socialist revolution throughout Central America.

Break with the Popular Front—For Workers Revolution!

In the midst of the spectacular battlefield gains in El Salvador, FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora held a press conference in Washington on January 19 to call for "unconditional negotiations." He made clear that the Salvador-

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Open Letter to Casa El Salvador "Farabundo Martí"

Comrades,

This is a moment of decision for Central America. The January offensive of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador has put the American-backed genocidal army on the run. Next door, joint U.S.-Honduran military exercises are a dry run for a counterrevolutionary Bay of Pigs invasion against Sandinista Nicaragua. Ronald Reagan has declared that he will "draw the line against Communism" across Central America as part of his anti-Soviet war drive. It is therefore urgent that leftists everywhere raise the demands: military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents; U.S. out of Central America; and defend Cuba and the USSR against the imperialist war drive. Yet the Spartacist League (SL) is excluded from today's demonstration precisely because we put forward this program for struggle against Yankee imperialism, for victory to the working people of Central America and the world.

Yesterday, February 6, a spokesman for Casa El Salvador informed us in a telephone conversation that "our decision is that you cannot participate with your placards because we [Casa] are 100 percent not sympathetic with your [SL] position." Actually, quite a few Casa El Salvador supporters will say privately that they want the FMLN to win the war. Some even say they defend Cuba and the USSR against the Pentagon war threats. Why, then, are you afraid to say

so in public, especially now when it matters? So afraid, in fact, that you fall in line with those well-known donkeys for the Democrats, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Communist Party (CP) and the Workers World Party (WWP), in excluding the Trotskyists.

The Casa El Salvador spokesman, Ruth, said to us "it is not good to use the police, I agree," but in the next breath added we shouldn't "force" them to "take such an attitude" by coming to the demonstration! So you are prepared to call in the capitalist cops to keep out the "reds" of the SL, just as CISPES and the SWP/CP/WWP have done on numerous occasions. As you are well aware, such actions bringing in the class enemy threaten all demonstrators with violence and arrest, putting *non-citizens* at particular risk.

In the past two years these exclusions have been so hard and consistent that, rather than expose ourselves and all the other demonstrators to police attack and provocation, we have often organized demonstrations separate from the pseudo-leftists who are prepared to wreck their own demonstration and get people arrested rather than have a united action with those who carry communist slogans. This has not meant that SL-led protests have been small, though. On the contrary, all across the country—Detroit, Ann Arbor, Chicago, San Francisco—we have mobilized hundreds and thousands to effectively stop the KKK and Nazi fascists. Most

recently, last November 27 in Washington, D.C. the Klan threatened to stage a racist march against "illegal aliens." The SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization brought out 5,000 overwhelmingly black demonstrators who prevented the race-terrorists from marching while the WWP and other reformists gathered a couple of miles away. We stopped the Klan, they organized a diversionary demonstration for the Democrats.

Military Victory vs. Negotiated Sellout

The liberals and reformists are defending imperialist interests in excluding the communists who call for military victory to Salvadoran leftists. Last year an aide to Democratic Congressman Michael Barnes explained why liberal "doves" favor a so-called "political solution" between the FDR/FMLN and the Salvadoran government: "If the left wins a military victory, almost by definition it would be dominated by the guerrillas. Look at Nicaragua..." Pro-capitalist elements in the FDR/FMLN are also aware of this fact. According to a liberal academic writing on the *New York Times* (4 February) opinion page, "As a senior official in the pro-rebel Salvadoran political coalition, the Democratic Revolutionary Front, warned me, civilian moderates like himself might stand a good chance of retaining power in a negotiated settlement, but little or none with a guerrilla military victory."

What about the guerrilla fighters in the field, who are laying down their lives to liberate their people from poverty and oppression—do they want a "negotiated solution"? The pamphlet "Chalatenango Heroico" distributed by Casa El Salvador says on the question of negotiations: "...if you say to them to lay down their arms, these people would probably shoot anyone who came here saying that." But the FDR/FMLN tops say exactly that! FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora said at a press confer-

ence in Washington on January 19 that for the FMLN to win the war militarily could mean "to lose in the end." "Lose" for whom? Certainly not for the exploited masses.

The Spartacist League says that a leftist military victory is necessary in El Salvador because it can open the door to workers revolution throughout Central America, because the real alternative for the masses is revolution or death. The liberals and reformists oppose it because they fear "another Vietnam." We say, "two, three, many defeats for imperialism." It is said by some that the Spartacist slogans are "extreme" or "premature." Look at some of our earlier "extreme" positions, then: "All Indochina Must Go Communist," "Down with the Shah, Down with Khomeini" and our warning that the Allende popular front was preparing the way for bloody reaction. You won't find many leftists today who admit to having been for coalition government in Vietnam, mullah rule in Iran or the "peaceful road" in Chile. But they all were at the time.

Comrades of Casa El Salvador, we realize of course that another 100-200 protesters at this demonstration would not make a great deal of difference. But exclusion of communists is an attack against organizing the American revolution in the belly of the imperialist beast. We, with our Trotskyist program which holds the keys to victory, are merely the continuers of the tradition of the founder of the Red Army, who did after all have a lot of experience in fighting imperialist intervention. Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in El Salvador! U.S. get out of Central America! Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents! Dump Ungo and Zamora—Break with the popular front—For workers revolution! Forward to San Salvador!

New York Spartacist League
7 February 1983

an opposition coalition does *not* seek to win the war but to end it. According to a report in the rad-lib *Guardian* (5 February):

"...Zamora cautioned that the FMLN is not trying to achieve a military victory in El Salvador, because the country's problems must be 'solved through dialog, through negotiation, and not... a military solution.' To win only in a military sense, could mean 'to lose in the end.' One purpose of military pressure is to insure that the U.S. administration eventually will accept a negotiated solution that gives the rebel forces a share of the power."

There have been numerous other statements by FDR/FMLN leaders confirming that their program is indeed one of "military pressure." Most recently, in the town of Corinto (Morazán), currently controlled by the rebels, Comandante Miguel of the Resistencia Nacional group reportedly told a rally, "At any moment we are prepared to lay down our arms and end this war" (*Washington Post*, 25 January).

For the Salvadoran working masses and the guerrilla fighters who have already shed so much blood fighting to liberate their people from the rule of a rapacious oligarchy and their jackbooted killers, this would mean disaster. But for the liberal bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians of the FDR/FMLN the purpose of the struggle is to achieve some cabinet seats for themselves, so they can forestall the brewing social revolution by legislating reforms. Military victory—the destruction of the butcher army, the core of the capitalist state apparatus—is necessary in order to open the way to the overthrow of bourgeois rule. Where would Nicaragua be today, for instance, if the attempted last minute "negotiated settlement" had taken hold and the National Guard were intact (purged of a few of the more notorious mass murderers)? Pro-

imperialist elements like Robelo and Pastora would be sitting in power in Managua instead of cooling their heels in Costa Rica.

The Robelos and Pastoras of El Salvador are at the very top of the FDR/FMLN. These are the shadows of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie, whose role in the popular-front coalition is to act as guarantors of capitalist rule. (Dr. Guillermo Ungo's predecessor as head of the FDR, Enrique Alvarez Córdova, was a scion of one of the "14 families," the coffee barons who have ruled the country for the last century). And the opposition has repeatedly held out the offer of an alliance with Napoleón Duarte's Christian Democrats. (Butcher Duarte was the head of the murderous junta for the first two years of the present civil war!) But the answer is not simply to dump the Ungos and Zamoras. The entire FDR/FMLN popular front is pledged to the program of reforming (and saving) Salvadoran capitalism. The real force for revolution throughout Central America is the working class. And it is notable that throughout the last offensive, from October 1982 to the present, the leftist rebels have not attempted any kind of actions by the workers in San Salvador or elsewhere. Moreover, both of the significant setbacks suffered by the FMLN (the failed general/"final" offensive of January 1981, and the regime's phony elections of March 1982) were due to the fact that no systematic effort was made to rouse the urban masses. Yet the Salvadoran proletariat has not been passive and apolitical. On the contrary, it was a series of general strikes and mass demonstrations during 1978-80 that laid the basis for the present struggle. These were met with bloody repression. But rather than being defeated, the militancy of the

Salvadoran masses was dissipated in an endless series of actions lacking any strategy for a revolutionary working-class seizure of power.

Already some of the imperialist press is predicting a government defeat in El Salvador. The *Baltimore Sun* (1 February) quotes a "Western source" saying that by midyear, "The army will be intact in the barracks, but the guerrillas will control the countryside." Nevertheless, the battle of San Salvador is key, and in this the combative Salvadoran workers are decisive. Even in spite of the present bourgeois popular-front leadership of the left, an urban insurrection could develop into a revolutionary crisis. As workers seized the factories and besieged the barracks, a revolutionary communist leadership would be the fundamental element for victory. A Leninist-Trotskyist party, built on the program of permanent revolution, would seek to mobilize the masses for the formation of soviets, as the organi-

zational basis for a proletarian revolution and a workers and peasants government.

The Trotskyists are intransigent opponents of a negotiated sellout, and of the reformist capitalist program which leads to it. Where the FDR/FMLN calls for maintaining "free enterprise," we call for expropriation of the bourgeoisie (not just the aristocratic oligarchy). Where the FDR/FMLN calls for implementing the land reform decreed by the Christian Democratic-military junta, communists call for agrarian revolution—seize the haciendas! And unlike the petty-bourgeois nationalists, who dream of a "Free El Salvador" in cooperation with an "enlightened" U.S. imperialism, a Trotskyist party would seek to spread socialist revolution to all corners of the region. This could transform Central America from Uncle Sam's back yard into the vital link uniting socialist revolution throughout the Americas. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Smash the Butcher Army—For Workers Revolution!

Forward to San Salvador!

U.S. Out of Central America!

FEBRUARY 7—Guerrilla fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) scored a dramatic victory last week by taking Berlin, the second largest city in Usulután province in southeastern El Salvador. With a quarter of the entire government army pinned down in heavy fighting to the north in Morazán, the left-wing rebels struck swiftly, taking four towns in Usulután and blowing up two key bridges along the coastal highway in little over a week. The FMLN had made a significant gain in bringing the war from the eroded scrublands of Morazán and Chalatenango to the fertile cotton, coffee and sugar plantations of the coastal plain. Military officials have said that the three-year-old civil war will be "won or lost" in this rich agricultural region. The taking of Berlin made it clear to all that the leftist insurgents could win the war. The Spartacist League says: "Forward to San Salvador!"

Also last week, 1,600 U.S. troops joined with 4,000 Honduran soldiers in war "games" near the border with Nicaragua. The operation, codenamed "Ahuas Tara" ("Big Pine" in the Miskito Indian language of the region), is the largest yet in a series of military exercises in the Caribbean basin. Held only ten miles from the frontier, these maneuvers were a clear threat and provocation directed at the petty-bourgeois radical government of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua. Along with an earlier operation last July, these maneuvers have established the forward bases and logistical support network for an invasion by counterrevolutionary mercenaries (*contras*) backed by Honduras and the U.S. In the face of this "most overt covert operation in U.S. history," the Spartacist League demands: "U.S. Out of Central America!"



FMLN leader addresses crowd in city of Berlin after defeating government army.

UPI

Against the imperialist war drive to "stop the spread of communism" in this hemisphere, the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders of the FSLN and the Salvadoran opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) plead with the liberal "doves" to pressure Reagan for a "political solution" to the conflict in Central America. In Washington, House Democrat Michael Barnes remarked, "It should be clear to anyone who reads the newspapers that our side is not winning this war," and called for a negotiated settlement (*Washington Post*, 5 February). *Our side* is that of the worker and peasant masses fighting for their liberation from capitalist oppression, and we warn that gains won at tremendous cost on the battlefield must not be used to promote a sellout deal at

the bargaining table. A military defeat of the genocidal army is necessary to open the way to workers and peasants governments throughout Central America and the socialist reconstruction of the devastated isthmus.

El Salvador: Army on the Run

In spite of their traitorous political leadership, leftist insurgents in El Salvador have made tremendous gains since the beginning of the year. In taking Berlin, a city of 40,000 in the coffee-rich uplands of Usulután, the rebels brought the war home to some of Salvador's landed elite, members of the so-called "14 families." By cutting off the coastal highway and bombing bridges over the Lempa River (only one is left), the guerrillas have practically cut the country in half. In particular they have tightened their stranglehold on the transport of cotton and sugar, which together with coffee constitute the economic base of El Salvador.

Unable to bolster government troops in Berlin, the military dispatched A-37 "Dragonfly" jet bombers in a desperate attempt to stem the rebel advance. Dropping 500-lb. bombs and launching air-to-ground rockets, the air raids' only "success" was in killing or wounding hundreds of civilians and leveling several blocks of the city center. Replying to FMLN charges of indiscriminate bombing by these U.S.-supplied warplanes, an American embassy spokesman cynically remarked, "The responsibility for the conduct of the war is the Salvadorans'. I can't deny there might be some indiscriminate bombing... but Salvadorans are good pilots."

In northeastern Morazán, government officials were forced to acknowledge the failure of their 20-day

offensive against the rebel strongholds. The 6,000-man force, supported by jets and UH-1H "Huey" helicopter gunships, encountered stiff resistance. In the battle for Meanguera, the elite Atonal Battalion (trained in Fort Bragg, North Carolina) was forced to retreat under heavy fire. And on January 20, Radio Venceremos announced the formation of the "Rafael Arce Zablah" Brigade armed with heavy mortars and 90 mm. cannons recently captured from the army. This enabled the guerrillas to slug it out in pitched battles with government forces. While the latter were able to retake some towns along the paved road north from the provincial capital, the FMLN maintains control of the surrounding highlands.

Meanwhile, in a spectacular raid on January 26, guerrilla forces attacked the San Carlos garrison in San Salvador, the country's largest, holding it under siege through the night. In addition they staged actions in five working-class suburbs of the capital. The attack on San Carlos was only repelled when helicopter gunships machine-gunned the surrounding residential neighborhood just one mile from the U.S. embassy! A few days later, as rebels rolled through Usulután, rattled defense minister José García declared, "We are preparing precisely what is pertinent to satisfactorily resolve the situation...." An imperialist "expert" in San Salvador commented, "If things don't change, within four months the government is going to lose this war."

Sandinista Nicaragua Under Siege

In the month preceding the U.S.-Honduran joint military exercises, the

continued on page 10



FMLN troops form up in Berlin's central plaza.

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