

## U.S. Get Out!

### Not a Dollar, Not a Bullet to Central American Butchers!

# Defend Nicaragua, Complete the Revolution!

MAY 1—It is the hour of social revolution or bloody counterrevolution in Central America. In El Salvador, leftist guerrillas have dealt the U.S.-backed genocidal butchers a series of stunning blows. Meanwhile Sandinista Nicaragua, which arose out of the overthrow of the murderous Somoza dictatorship, is being subjected to an undeclared war controlled from Washington. With the apocalyptic vision of a global Cold Warrior, Ronald Reagan proclaims to a joint session of Congress and a nationwide TV audience that "The national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America. If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail elsewhere." This has been the constant theme of an administration which vowed to "draw the line against Communism" in Central America and prevent the "proliferation of Cuba-model states in the region." That translates into a slow-motion Bay of Pigs II aimed at wiping out the radical-nationalist Nicaraguan regime by blood and fire. We say: Look who won at Bay of Pigs II! Kill the invaders—"roach motels" for the CIA!

From the moment he took office, the centerpiece of Reagan's foreign policy has been to undo the "Vietnam syndrome," the fear of suffering another humiliating defeat such as the one inflicted by the heroic Indochinese peoples on the world's most powerful imperialist state. This factor stood in Henry Kissinger's way in Angola in 1975-76, limiting U.S. intervention to supporting South Africa's invasion. When CIA plans to overthrow the Soviet-allied regime in Afghanistan were frustrated by the Red Army in 1980, it limited Jimmy Carter's response to impotent gestures like the Olympics boycott. The Republicans proposed to overcome this popular resistance to new imperialist adventures by getting a victory on the cheap in Central America, traditionally the U.S.' "back yard," where the Soviets have little leverage and where Reagan hoped to accomplish what he and his predecessors couldn't do in Angola, Afghanistan or Poland.

When he talks of "prevailing elsewhere," Reagan means "striking at the source" and rolling back the gains of social revolutions which have overthrown capitalist rule from Havana and Hanoi to Warsaw and Moscow. That is the axis of U.S. policy in the Caribbean basin, gearing up the anti-Soviet war drive, not cornering the market on coffee, bananas or nutmeg. So the administration took aim at a local insurgency in El Salvador and a radical-nationalist regime in Nicaragua, blowing totally out of proportion the minuscule amount of Soviet aid and turning Central America into the front



Franken/Sygma

**Kill the invaders! Sandinista army must crush CIA-backed invaders.**

line of the Cold War. But the plan backfired. The effects of the Vietnam defeat are still ever-present from the Capitol to the Pentagon. Not only liberal "doves" but the Joint Chiefs of Staff oppose plans by Reagan "hawks" for a military solution in Central America, judging that there is little support for a serious war. Now it's being shown on the battlefield in El Salvador that pumping in several hundred million dollars and a few score U.S. advisers can't even stave off defeat at the hands of leftist guerrillas enjoying wide popular support. And next door in Nicaragua the Sandinistas are whipping Reagan's dogs of war using only their militias while keeping their army in reserve.

Staring another defeat in the face, sections of the American bourgeoisie are trying to rein in the Reaganites and their "formula for failure." But while Jeane Kirkpatrick is practically calling the liberals crypto-communists, the Democrats only have a different strategy to "oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America" and prevent the "creation of Soviet military bases." They want to take up the leftist insurgents' call for unconditional negotiations, hoping in this way to block the revolution which Reagan's policies only encourage. As usual, the reformist pseudo-socialists join hands with the imperialist liberals. Now they have

called a social-patriotic demonstration for the July 4 weekend in Washington on the demand, "No Vietnam War in Central America." Revolutionaries oppose this treacherous attempt to pull the imperialists' chestnuts out of the "fire in our front yard." The Spartacist League calls for military victory to leftist rebels in El Salvador, to open the door for workers revolution throughout the region. We say: Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution! Defense of USSR/Cuba begins in Central America! And to the reformist and liberal lament of "no more Vietnams," we answer: Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for imperialism!

**Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs,  
Nicaragua Needs MIGs!**

When the guerrilla forces of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) marched triumphantly into Managua on 19 July 1979 it opened a revolutionary situation throughout the region. The Democrats sought to hold back the tide of revolution with offers of "aid." Ronald Reagan was elected the next year on a Republican platform virtually demanding that the Sandinistas be overthrown. And now, three years later, we are witnessing an escalating mercenary invasion of Nicaragua. The

internationalist duty of socialists everywhere is to fight for the *defeat* of this imperialist onslaught.

As Reagan has upped the voltage, social polarization has increased in Nicaragua. "There is no longer any middle ground in our revolution," said Leteicia Herrera, national director of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), to a crowd of slum dwellers in one of Managua's poor barrios last month. The fighting on the borders has been felt in the capital and other Nicaraguan cities and towns as thousands of militiamen and army reservists have been mobilized. In every barrio there have been mass funeral marches to bury martyrs who fell defending their homeland against the U.S.-backed *contra* invasion. In addition to the military threat, economic pressure is mounting, producing shortages not only of luxury items but also of basic goods like soap, medicine, flour, cooking oil, toothpaste and toilet paper. The reactions are sharply class-divided. As the *New York Times* (9 April) put it, "Although some middle-class Nicaraguans expressed discouragement and even despair at their prospects here, many poor people pointed to positive changes they have seen since the Sandinists took power."

Yet the FSLN, instead of mobilizing the working class to carry out a social

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# Sri Lankan Leader Picketed in England, France

## Paris: Hundreds Protest Anti-Tamil Terror in Sri Lanka

In Paris April 21, some 200 militant demonstrators chanting "Stop anti-Tamil terror" filled the sidewalk outside the Air Lanka office, occupying most of a city block along the Rue du 4-Septembre. They were protesting the arrival of Sri Lankan prime minister Ranasinghe Premadasa who had come to beg favors from French imperialism for the brutal regime of President J.R. Jayewardene. The demonstration, calling international attention to the desperate plight of the oppressed Tamil minority in Sri Lanka, was initiated by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF, section of the international Spartacist tendency) and supported by the People's Liberation Organization—Tamil Eelam and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Council. Over 150 Tamils attended and slogans in French, Tamil and English were vigorously chanted one after another for over an hour. Tamil activists' chants included "Stop the torture of Tamil youth!" and "The Tamil people must break the state of siege!"

The Paris demonstration followed earlier protests in Washington, D.C. on April 13 and in London, April 18, as Spartacist comrades together with the Tamil activists denounced the Lankan ruler on each leg of his trip through the imperialist capitals. Premadasa is the representative of the Jayewardene regime which is moving even closer toward naked dictatorship. Taking its orders from the International Monetary Fund, J.R.'s United National Party enforces vicious austerity at home while lining up behind U.S. schemes to further its hegemony in the Indian Ocean. State repression against the Tamil people in the North has put hundreds in military custody, held incommunicado without charges and subjected to torture under the vicious Prevention of Terrorism Act. At the demonstration, LTF demands included: "Support the right of the Tamil people to self-determination!" "Immediately free all imprisoned Tamil liberation fighters!" and "Premadasa/UNP: anti-Tamil butchers, pro-imperialist flunkies!"

An LTF spokesman told the demonstrators, "Reagan has a loyal ally in Mitterrand for his imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union." As an LTF statement read:

"The U.S. base at Diego Garcia and their attempt to gain access to the militarily key Trincomalee harbor are crucial to the counterrevolutionary designs of the imperialists to reconquer the workers states like the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Not one inch of Lanka to the imperialists! Stop imperialist arms deals with the J.R. government! France and U.S. out of the Indian Ocean!"



Paris, April 21: French Trotskyists, Tamil activists protest Sri Lankan hangman Premadasa.

Independence for Reunion island! France out of Mayotte! Down with Reagan/Mitterrand's anti-Soviet war drive!"

The joint demonstration ended with Tamil activists singing their anthem, "Tamil Eelam," and the comrades of the LTF leading the "Internationale."

The next day, April 22, a protest called by Tamil rights groups drew 300 people outside the Sri Lankan embassy. There, in a bizarre incident, a police commissioner twice threatened to arrest an LTF militant on the pretext his sign, "Mitterrand, anti-Soviet warmonger!" attacked the "dignity" of the chief of state. The authority cited was Article 26 of the Law of 29 July 1881 on "freedom of the press"! The LTF refused to give in to this blatant attempt at police censorship and the commissioner retreated. In the semi-bonapartist regime installed by a military coup in 1958, De Gaulle frequently used this law to suppress protest by magazines and newspapers which criticized France's dirty colonial war in Algeria. Moreover, the "crime" of offending the president of the republic stems from the *ancien régime* laws of *lèse majesté*, in which the slightest criticism of the king could land you in the dungeons. In the interests of elementary democracy, the LTF demands, "Down with the Law of 29 July 1881!"

### London

In London on April 18, despite a heavy downpour, the Spartacist

League/Britain (SL/B) picketed outside No. 10 Downing Street as Premadasa arrived to take tea with British prime minister Margaret "Iron Lady" Thatcher, representative of the former colonial oppressors of the Lankan people and loyal ally of Reagan and his anti-Soviet war drive. As Premadasa's limousine sped through the gate, chants rang out of "Sinhala, Tamil, men, women—Workers bring down UNP!" Two days earlier a Spartacist contingent joined the Tamil Women's League in a protest outside the Ceylon Tea Center in London against the arrest of Tamil activists Nirmala Nithiyanthan and her husband and several others in Jaffna. The SL/B contingent also highlighted the struggle against the brutal exploitation of women in Sri Lanka. On the tea, rubber and coconut plantations, where the stateless male Tamil workers toil for less than \$1/day, women are paid even below this pittance. And in the "Free Trade Zones," where to encourage foreign capital inflow the UNP government has set up virtual slave labor camps, young women workers live in barracks and unions are outlawed.

While the SL/B was organizing militant protest action in defense of Tamil rights and against UNP representative Premadasa, Upali Cooray of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Party (RMP), Lankan supporters of the United Secretariat, was busily orchestrating a popular-front-style "International Conference on the Problems of Plantation Workers in Sri Lanka" over the weekend of April 23-24. For two days the RMP clung to the coattails of the Liberal/Labourite parliamentarians and Christian do-gooders who pontificated from the pulpit. Our comrades intervened with a hard revolutionary perspective highlighting the record of the Spartacist League/Lanka. The Spartacists call for full citizenship rights for the stateless "Indian Tamil" plantation workers who not only face grueling working conditions but pogromist raids and deportation. Cooray continually sought to suppress the SL's Trotskyist politics, even censoring the photo display of protests initiated by the iSt against anti-Tamil terror. Cooray finally rammed through our expulsion from the conference when we exposed the

treacherous role of his former leader, CIA-tainted trade-union bureaucrat Bala Tampoe.

In Sri Lanka, the parliamentary opposition to the cringing pro-Western regime of "Yankee Dickie" Jayewardene has been led by the popular front headed by the Sinhala chauvinist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of Mrs. Bandaranaike. Like J.R., the SLFP has instigated pogroms against the Tamils and fought to make Sinhala the "official" language. The brutal regime of Mrs. B also bloodily suppressed the 1971 JVP uprising by Sinhala youth. Thus the struggle against the popular front is crucial to the fight against bonapartism and anti-Tamil terror in Sri Lanka.

The Spartacist League/Lanka has pursued the politics of revolutionary class independence on which it stood when, two years ago, it emerged from the now moribund Revolutionary Workers Party of Edmund Samarakody after a bitter political fight. The SL/L has distinguished itself by its consistent fight against anti-Tamil terror even when the rest of the left has been silent. It publishes both *Lanka Spartacist* in Sinhala and *Illangai Spartacist* in Tamil. Our comrades have forged a crucial link between students of the mainly Sinhala Colombo University and Tamil students at Jaffna University, organizing militant protests against J.R.'s plans for total segregation of Sinhalese and Tamil students and the near-elimination of higher education for Tamil youth.

"The Tamil question is the question of internationalism in Sri Lanka," as stated in the "Agreement for Fusion" at the time of the formation of the Spartacist League/Lanka (*Spartacist*, No. 31-32, Summer 1981). It is "the acid test for revolutionaries in the struggle against Sinhala chauvinism." As Leninists we support the right of national self-determination for the Tamil people, that is, the right to a separate state in the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Ceylon. But the Tamil nationalist program for a mini-state of "Eelam" in this barren section of the island is both utopian and an obstacle to the struggle for power. These entrenched nationalists refuse to reach out to the stateless Tamil plantation workers of the crucial upland tea-growing region, the mainstay of the Sri Lankan capitalist

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Rajan Devadas

Prime Minister Premadasa, Sri Lankan flunky for imperialism, meets his master.

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD



# Hands Off Vietnam!

For U.S. imperialism, Vietnam was more than a humiliating defeat. It showed the world (not least the American people) that this mammoth military/economic power could be beaten by a small but heroic and determined people. The spectacle of the U.S. Marines in a desperate scramble to escape from the roof of the U.S. embassy in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) inspired the oppressed masses from Central America to southern Africa to struggle for their own liberation. Vietnam was ripped from the clutches of French and then American imperialism by nearly 40 years of armed struggle at a cost of a million Vietnamese lives. For the past decade, the American ruling class has been vengefully obsessed with overcoming the so-called "Vietnam syndrome" both at home and abroad.

Now, eight years after the fall of Saigon, U.S. imperialism remains irrevocably committed to crushing the life out of the Vietnamese by all available means. The U.S. has welded together for this sinister purpose an unholy alliance of Thai militarists, Chinese Maoist/Stalinist bureaucrats and the Cambodian genocidal maniac Pol Pot. And now the U.S. is tightening the vise around Vietnam. The country is being starved by a Washington-orchestrated blockade of trade and credits. As Vietnamese forces in Cambodia (Kampuchea) are being attacked with *napalm* by Thai warplanes, the U.S. is rushing ultra-modern weapons—including anti-aircraft missiles and long-range howitzers—to Thailand. Vietnam's northern border is being bombarded by Chinese artillery using U.S. satellite intelligence. In clashes on the China/Vietnam border on April 21, the

Chinese claim to have killed 16 Vietnamese soldiers. And Washington's Cambodian front man, Prince Sihanouk, is openly threatening a Chinese invasion of Vietnam.

Today, on the eighth anniversary of the fall of Saigon (30 April 1975), we salute the courageous workers and peasants of Vietnam. Unlike the mainstream "peace movement" of pro-imperialist politicians, liberals and reformists—which dried up when the

working people of the world stand against the crazed revanchist provocations of U.S. imperialism. *U.S./China: Hands Off Vietnam!*

We are not the only ones to remember 30 April 1975. So do the Vietnamese *gusanos*, the strutting colonels of the puppet Saigon regime, imported here at taxpayers' expense, now appropriately affiliated with the aging fascist war criminals of the "captive nations" Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. In Washing-



**Victorious Vietnamese parade after the fall of Saigon, Spring 1975. U.S. Imperialism longs to crush Vietnamese Revolution after humiliating defeat.**

U.S. withdrew its massive troop presence from Vietnam—our internationalist solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution demands implacable opposition to the renewed U.S./Chinese military pressure against Vietnam. As Trotskyists, as American revolutionists in the "belly of the monster," during the Vietnam War we raised the slogan, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" Again today, it is urgent that the

ton, D.C. on April 30, two thousand of these counterrevolutionary scum demonstrated for the overthrow of Communism in Vietnam. In New York a hundred of them including ARVN (South Vietnamese puppet army) officers attacked a Socialist Workers Party-sponsored "Evening in Solidarity with the People of Vietnam" and reportedly sent three SWP members to the hospital.

In Sydney, Australia on April 20, our comrades of the Spartacist League/ANZ demonstrated outside a state banquet for Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang (see article, this page). Robert Hawke's Cold War Labor Party government recently took office and immediately reversed Labor's pledge of economic aid to Vietnam. The protesters demanded, "Down with Hawke, Reagan's Man in Southeast Asia!"

Even leaving aside the vast quantities of military hardware shipped to the semi-colonial countries to be used by imperialism's brutal local lackeys to repress their own citizenry, most imperialist "aid" goes straight into the Swiss bank accounts of the local junta chiefs, latifundists, oil sheiks, political pimps and the like. The famine-stricken populations of sub-Saharan Africa are unlikely to see a penny of the "humanitarian aid" which goes to their governments. The "Third World" is deep in debt to Chase Manhattan, Barclays, the Deutsche Bank, etc., and thus the international financial system is set up so that much of this money goes to fatten their profits. The intent of aid to "Third World" countries is precisely to prop up the class relations which guarantee mass misery for the people of Asia, Latin America and Africa. All the more bitter, then, is the Australian Labor Party's reneging on its promises to Vietnam, where a profound social transformation created the conditions to productively use vast sums of aid. *Break the Imperialist Economic Blockade!*

Since early 1979, when the Vietnamese toppled the genocidal Cambodian regime of Pol Pot, which had killed at least *two million* of its own people, the U.S. has armed the terrorist bands of the deposed dictator for murderous attacks inside Cambodia. Vietnamese and Cambodian troops have scored recent military victories in the area of the Thai border, wiping out several major nests of counterrevolutionaries. But once

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## Australian Spartacists Denounce Chinese Attack on Vietnam

Shortly after reports of Chinese artillery bombardment against Vietnam our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand held a protest demonstration denouncing the attacks by Peking in collusion with U.S. imperialism. The newly elected Australian Labor Party (ALP) government of right-wing social-democratic prime minister Robert Hawke has made it clear that it will continue to run point for Washington's anti-Soviet war drive, pledging loyalty to the Australia/New Zealand/U.S. (ANZUS) military pact and promising to consult with the neo-colonial Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

SYDNEY, April 20: "US/China: Hands Off Vietnam! Down With Hawke, Reagan's Man in Southeast Asia!" read the banner at a Spartacist League (SL) demonstration here outside a State banquet for visiting Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang thrown by New South Wales Labor premier Neville Wran. The demonstration was called at short notice by the SL to sound the alarm to the labour movement in Australia and internationally against the dangerous escalation of U.S. imperialist-backed Chinese and Thai provocations against Vietnam.

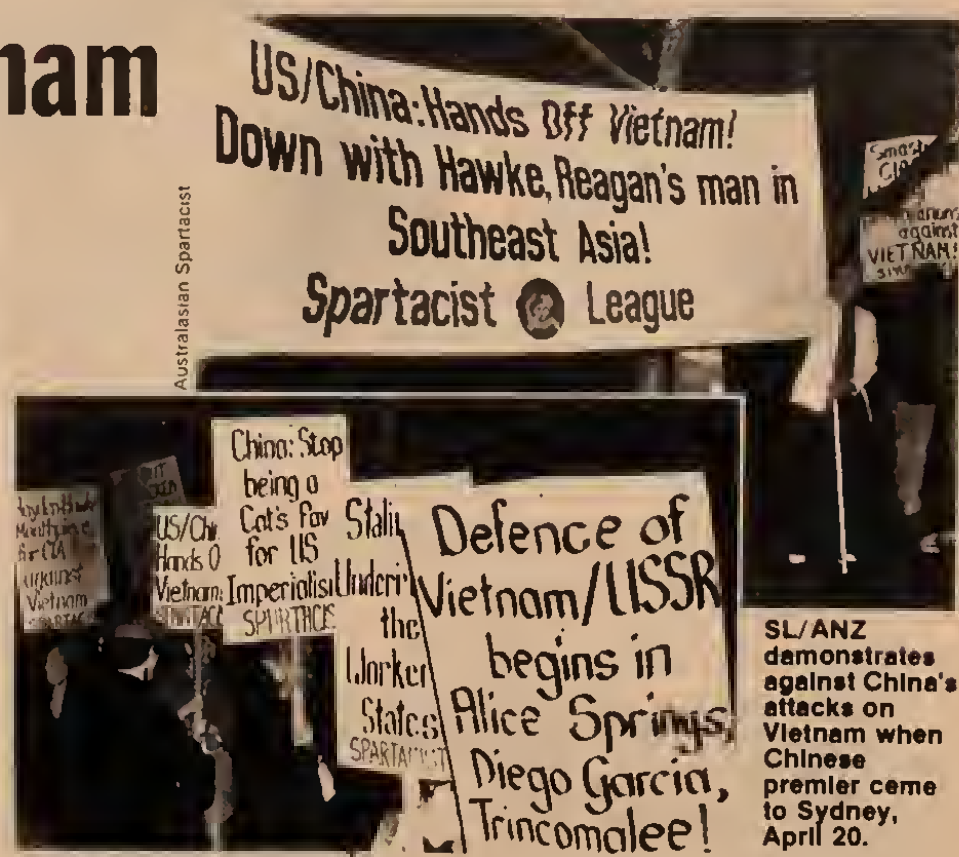
Helmeted police along with Wran's special SWAT-type Tactical Response Group cops lined the pavement around the entrance to Sydney's State Office Block as 30 spirited demonstrators

chanted "Zhao/Hawke/Reagan—Hands Off Vietnam!" and "Smash ANZUS, ASEAN! Defend the Soviet Union and Vietnam!" Spartacist signs read "Labor Fronts for Anti-Soviet U.S.-China-Japan Axis!" "Smash U.S. Imperialist-Backed Chinese/Thai Provocations Against Vietnam!" and "Stand Ready to Defend Vietnam Against Threat of Destruction!" For behind these provocations stands the anti-Soviet war plans of U.S. imperialism aided and abetted in every way by its Australian junior partner, led by Hawke's Australian Labor Party (ALP) government. A Spartacist spokesman at the rally set the anti-Vietnam provocations in the context of U.S. global anti-Soviet strategy:

"The Thais' use of *napalm* epitomises the genocidal intent behind this most dangerous assault on the Vietnamese workers state and the people of Indochina. What is going on here is that Reagan is telling the Russians to get out and stay out of Central America or to lose Vietnam. A counterrevolutionary bloodbath in Central America and Cuba, or extinction of Vietnam."

If the U.S., using China as its instrument, goes all out to get Vietnam, continued the speaker, "then all people must rally to the defence of Vietnam in all ways."

Throughout Zhao's visit Chinese shelling continued against northern Vietnam. Following talks in Tokyo and Auckland the Chinese premier came to Australia to beat the war drums and pressure the Hawke government not to



resume its token economic "aid" to Vietnam, cut off by Fraser's Liberals following the Vietnamese ouster of Cambodian butcher Pol Pot. Hawke, who had already shelved the ALP's "aid" policy until "consultations" with its U.S., China and ASEAN allies, was briefed before the Zhao talks by "close friend" U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. Meanwhile of course Australian aid continued to Thailand and anti-communist guerrillas in Cambodia. And just before Zhao's arrival Labor foreign minister Hayden sat in Jakarta

with Suharto and his generals, the butcher of Indonesian workers and peasants and the Timorese people, and echoed the lies of the CIA's Cambodian flunky Son Sann about Vietnamese "massacres" in Thailand.

Behind the hoopla on "aid" the Laborites are fronting for Reagan in Southeast Asia, trying to line up an anti-Soviet "consensus" at home and throughout the region for bloody annihilation of the heroic Vietnamese. As Wran and Zhao toasted their

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# "God's Banker" Sent Millions to Solidarność

## Vatican Connection II

A couple of months ago we reported the sinister ties linking the Holy See to a billion-dollar international banking scandal, Latin American death squads and Polish Solidarność (see "The Vatican Connection," *WV* No. 323, 11 February). Shortly afterwards, this story, which had been hushed up in the American press, was aired on the PBS television network's "Frontline" series in an hour-long documentary entitled "God's Banker." The program was panned as "the television equivalent of what was once called tabloid journalism" in a preview by the *New York Times* (14 February) TV critic, who complained of unidentified sources and a lack of hard evidence. This is quite a mouthful coming from the "free but responsible" *Times* which suppressed news of the impending Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 and recently disappeared the secret Senate session on CIA activity against Nicaragua, yet has deemed "fit to print" every concoction dreamed up by *Readers Digest* and the James Jesus Angleton paranoids about a KGB/Bulgarian hand in the pope assassination plot.

Our article provided ample documentation for every major assertion in the "Frontline" program, citing chapter and verse from a broad range of sources. And after the show was broadcast, the *Times* reviewer made a partial retrac-

tion. However, he let stand his substantive charges, including those regarding Vatican financing of Polish Solidarity: "The evidence is provided by an unidentified author in Milano, who apparently read about it in a German newspaper." The Italian journalist, who was identified more than once, was Gianfranco Modolo, co-author of *Il banco paga* (1982), an in-depth investigation of Roberto Calvi and the collapse of the Banco Ambrosiano. *Workers Vanguard* had cited an article in the Italian paper *Il Giornale* based on an interview with Carlo Calvi, in which the banker's son "confirmed the story of the financing of the Polish trade union Solidarność by the Banco Ambrosiano"; and quoted a tape recording (first published in *L'Espresso* magazine) of Calvi Sr. screaming at Archbishop Paul Marcinkus, head of the Vatican bank (the IOR), about the church's underwriting of this company union for the CIA and Western bankers.

### Solidarity with Solidarity...

In one area "God's Banker" did add to the *WV* article—the scope and means of the Vatican financing of Polish Solidarity. The PBS/BBC co-production included the following exchange with journalist Modolo:

Modolo: "The channel of the financing by Banco Ambrosiano to Solidarność

**Where does Solidarność counter-revolution get its money? Social Democracy, Reagan, the church and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.**

was the German Bank für Gemein-[wirtschaft], which is the bank of the German trade unions."

PBS/BBC: "But the money definitely went to Solidarity."

Modolo: "I mean, that's what sources from the Vatican and other international financial circles told to the press."

PBS/BBC: "How much money are we talking about?"

Modolo: "They are talking about 40 million dollars."

—"Frontline," 14 February

It was widely reported that the American labor union federation had sent several hundred thousand dollars to Solidarność as part of its infamous international operations which in Latin America have earned it the label "AFL-CIA." We had publicized Solidarity's invitation to known CIA labor operative Irving Brown to attend its founding congress, and Solidarność leader Lech Walesa's secret meeting with U.S. capitalists including Ford Motors president Caldwell. But \$40 million is big bucks for the anti-Soviet "union" hailed by an unholy alliance stretching from the Vatican to the "far left."

Further investigation has produced more references to large-scale Vatican payoffs to Solidarność. The West German *Frankfurter Rundschau* of 15 July 1982 reports that "a check of the balance sheet of Banco Ambrosiano has brought out that its director Calvi had transferred about 25 million marks to the Polish unions." And the magazine *Die Neue* (6 August 1982) draws the financial link from Walesa to the Polish pope Wojtyla:

"But Wojtyla's trust in Marcinkus also had a very material basis: for many years the U.S. bishop used his ties to right-wing political circles in the USA and Italy as well as to the financial world to mobilize millions in subscriptions to the Polish church. Auditing of the Ambrosiano bank has now additionally shown that via Calvi's establishment between autumn 1980 and autumn 1981 about 10 million dollars (roughly 25 million DM) flowed to Polish 'Solidarność.'"

It's no surprise to Marxists. Walesa was U.S. imperialism's great Polish hope to spearhead an anti-Communist rollback in Eastern Europe—the long-cherished dream of "captive nations" refugees, the Catholic church and assorted Cold Warriors. Anti-Sovietism is the common denominator linking Reagan, the CIA, the Vatican and fake-left cheerleaders for Solidarność.

### CIA D-Marks for Social-Democratic Counterrevolution

Not only the size of the imperialist subsidy of Solidarność is significant, which made possible its extensive propaganda apparatus, but also the conduit chosen to launder the dollars (for it certainly didn't run on Italian lire): the West German Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft, linked to the social-democratic-led unions. This is hardly the first time that West German Social Democrats have helped finance counterrevolution. During the pre-revolutionary upsurge in Portugal in 1975 they bankrolled Mário Soares'

Socialists (PS) in their campaign to head off the restless Portuguese working class:

"United States money for the Portuguese Socialist party and other parties is being funneled by the Central Intelligence Agency through West European Socialist parties and labor unions, the sources said. The C.I.A. involvement, the sources said, amounted to several million dollars a month over the last several months...."

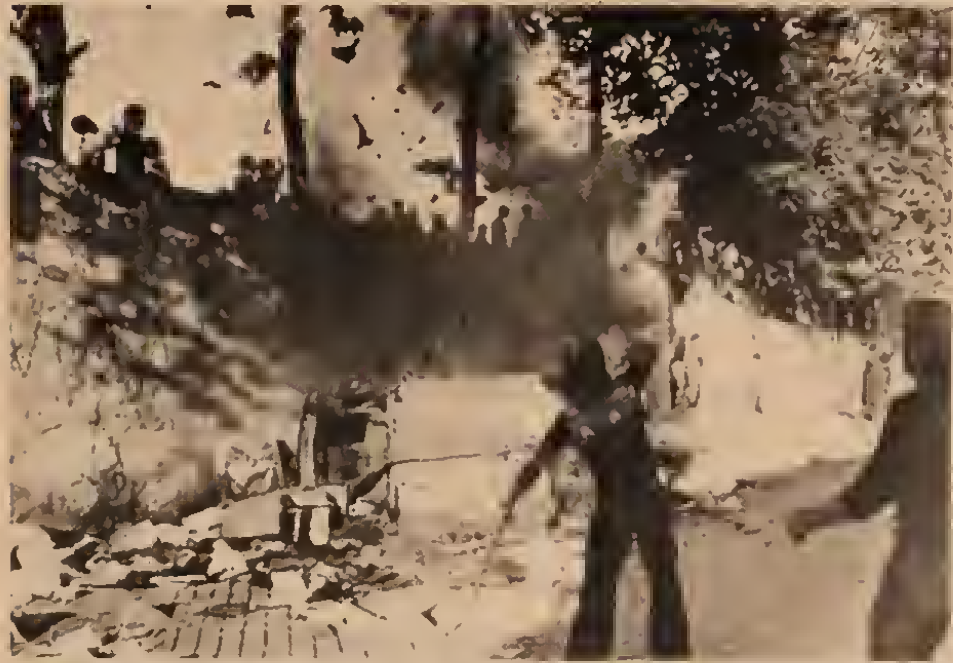
"Until the spring, most of the Western aid to anti-Communist forces in Portugal was being given secretly by the West German Social Democratic party and the Belgian Socialist party...."

—*New York Times*,  
25 September 1975

Throughout the summer of '75, Soares' PS staged anti-Communist rallies while clericalist and fascist-inspired mobs sacked and burned over 50 offices of the Communist Party and other left groups. Once again the Catholic church was closely involved. After a rally in Braga addressed by Msgr. Da Silva, a supporter of the ousted Salazar/Caetano military dictatorship, several hundred participants attacked CP headquarters screaming "Death to the Communists!"

From Portugal to Poland, the Vatican and Western social democrats have worked hand-in-hand for counter-revolution. And these are the same imperialist and pro-imperialist forces looked to by supposed "leftists" to broker a "political solution" in El Salvador. Today, the European social dems are at loggerheads over Central America with the Reagan administration, which sees in every "parlor pink" a flaming red. But from Warsaw to Managua the social traitors' aims are the same: to head off socialist revolution. Thus Second International spokesman on Latin America Pierre Schori warned two years ago, "the longer peace efforts are postponed [in El Salvador], the bloodier and more radical will be the ultimate solution" (*New York Times*, 28 February 1981). And the Polish pope who in El Salvador calls for "dialogue" in Costa Rica denounces "collectivist systems" while proclaiming a holy war against Sandinista Nicaragua.

Beware of Socialists bearing D-marks and dollars, and of unionists in papal robes. ■



Portugal 1975: CIA-aided social democrats and Catholic hierarchy led mobs in attacks on Communist Party offices.

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## Spartacist Candidate Does Well in Black Oakland

# Phillips Campaign Sparks Labor/Black League

We print below an interview with Martha Phillips, Spartacist Party candidate in the recent elections for city council in Oakland, California.

**WV:** How would you evaluate the overall response to your campaign?

**Phillips:** Our campaign was directed at the poor and working people of Oakland, who are in their majority black and Hispanic. I've been a Trotskyist for 13 years but I never before saw such openness to the breadth of our revolutionary Marxist program. When we said, "You can't fight Reagan with Democrats—Build a workers party"; when we said, "For mass strike action to bring down Reagan"; when we talked about the need for workers revolution here and internationally, hundreds of people listened and were interested. That has something to do with the massive social decay, the increasing desperation, the terrible unemployment in Oakland as in all the major U.S. cities.

But there was another factor, too. Featured in our posters, in the election brochure, in our speeches on television and radio was the victory of our Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching last November 27 in Reagan's Washington. The demonstration gave a concreteness and credibility to our program of integrated working-class struggle that was very important.

We showed the November 27 video a number of times at the homes of workers who would invite their friends over. The response was always overwhelming and enthusiastic. At one house, eight phone workers gave more than \$200 to support the campaign. Auto workers, laid off from the Fremont GM plant and now facing Toyota and GM's union-busting plans, saw the strength of integrated class struggle. It was for that kind of action that we campaigned and signed people up for our new organization, the Labor/Black League for Social Defense.

**WV:** Could you tell us more about the Labor/Black League?

**Phillips:** Unlike the various reformists in this campaign, we said repeatedly that it's impossible to reshuffle the priorities of capitalism. What's needed is a workers revolution and that means organizing people for struggle, to defend themselves and fight for what they need. We made it very clear that victories like November 27, the fight against police terror, against racial and sexual discrimination, will not be won at the ballot box. They will be won by uniting the working people and unemployed, black, white and Latin, to rely



Martha Phillips (right) campaigns in Oakland: "In all the heavily black cities in America the fight against racist terror is a life-and-death issue..."

on their own strength and fight.

The highlight of our party on election night was when I gave out 25 red membership cards to the new charter members of the Labor/Black League. On that card there's a quote from Karl Marx before the Civil War: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." It's going to take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to finish the Civil War, to bring about real equality and justice in this country through socialism. We think the Labor/Black League can be an important action-oriented organization in helping to bring people into this struggle.

**WV:** Oakland is a heavily Democratic-registered town. What kind of response did you get to the call for a workers party?

**Phillips:** Oakland is run by Democrats and it's falling apart. When we said that Oakland is itself the best argument against the Democratic Party, that hit home. The mainly black Democratic majority on the school board is cutting education so far back that it is genuinely a question whether the next generation of working people's children will be able to read.

As a result of this election, the new city council is going to be a majority black and it's not going to mean a damn bit of difference in the lives of black and working people in Oakland. A lot of people know that and it's one of the reasons the voter turnout was less than 23 percent. Both wings of the Democrats in Oakland, the big business development machine around Mayor Wilson and the rad-lib "progressives" like Ron Dellums and Wilson Riles, tell

people not to struggle but to get out there and vote Democrat to solve their problems. It's a lie and I think the 1,548 people who voted for our campaign know it.

The capitalist politicians of all stripes push the idea that the capitalist state can be reformed, can be pressured into meeting the needs of the exploited and oppressed. We know from all historical experience that this is not true. As Lenin wrote in *State and Revolution*, the working class cannot take hold of a capitalist state and make it meet our needs. The workers must lead all the oppressed in replacing the bourgeois state with our own state, a workers state, that can organize a planned collectivized economy. And it will take a revolutionary workers party to lead the fight for that state power. That revolutionary truth was at the heart of our campaign.

I'll tell you one story. Molders Local 164 is on strike out here against a number of foundries that are demanding a \$2 an hour wage cut. The workforce is largely black, Hispanic and Portuguese. We spent a lot of hours on those picket lines. I would point to the plant and say to the strikers: "Look, very likely the guy who owns this company is a Democrat. How can that party represent both your interests? The Democratic Party regime sends its police in to harass your picket lines. If the strike heats up, the Democratic Party judges will issue injunctions against your strike. But a workers party would organize other workers in these surrounding plants to come out here, to build your picket lines, to help you win the strike."

Then I would talk about the history of the Oakland General Strike in 1946, the last general strike in this country. When 110,000 workers hit the bricks, nothing in Oakland moved. I'd explain that's how a workers party is going to be built, through massive class struggle. We found a lot of workers interested in that and almost none who would defend the Democrats.

**WV:** International working-class solidarity figured prominently in your campaign. How was this received?

**Phillips:** As internationalists, we campaign for the interests of the entire international working class. We call for defeating the CIA-backed invasion of

Nicaragua and for completing the Nicaraguan revolution by expropriating the capitalists there who still control three-fifths of the economy and are backing the counterrevolution. We said that in El Salvador no less than in the U.S., the capitalist state must be replaced through workers revolution—it cannot be "negotiated" into serving the interests of the impoverished workers and peasants. We champion the call of militants in the ILWU for a 24-hour shutdown of the West Coast ports to oppose Reagan's stepped-up military aid and CIA operations.

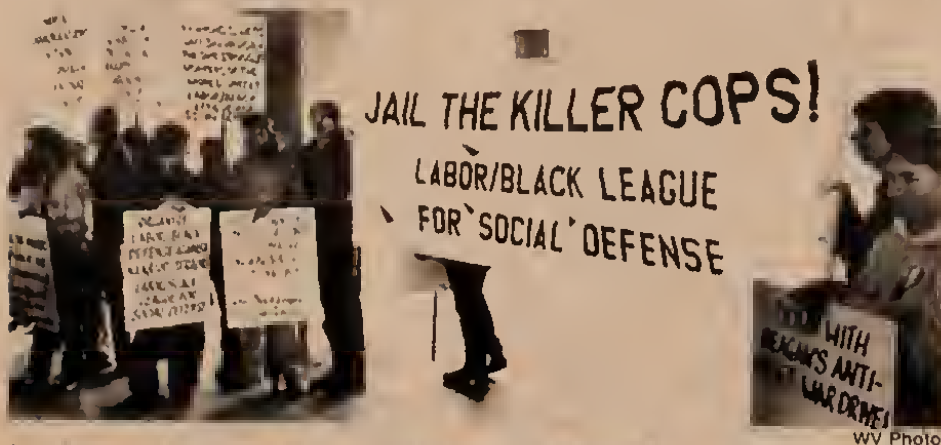
Reagan's dirty wars in Central America, the front line today in the anti-Soviet war drive, are not popular with the working people we spoke with. Especially among black people, there is a very widespread recognition that their main enemy is that yahoo in the White House. They know it isn't the Russians who are throwing them on the unemployment lines, cutting back welfare and slashing all kinds of social services. They also know, a point we made with a lot of effectiveness, that the Klan doesn't ride in Moscow.

**WV:** The Labor/Black League just participated in a demonstration against police terror in Richmond. How did that relate to your campaign?

**Phillips:** We went to the Richmond demonstration demanding that the cops who strangled and killed Willie Lee Drumgoole be jailed. Afterwards we showed the November 27 video at a local black club where some of the defense committee activists are members. It was easy to link the rise of Klan/Nazi race-terror to the escalation of police violence under decaying capitalism. We got a very good response and enrolled a number of new members in the Labor/Black League.

In Richmond and throughout the campaign in Oakland, we called for vengeance for Patrick Mason, the five-year-old black child murdered in his bedroom by a cowardly white cop in Orange County. This racist atrocity is only the most recent sickening example of the war on black America being waged by the state's hired thugs in blue. In all the heavily black cities in America the fight against racist terror is a life-

*continued on page 10*



Protesting racist cop terror in Richmond, California.

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## OAKLAND



# Defend Nicaragua, Complete the Revolution!

(continued from page 1)

revolution to complete the political revolution which overthrew the blood-sucking Somoza dynasty, insists on maintaining "the strategic schema of non-alignment, a mixed economy and political pluralism" and call for the unity of "workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, professionals, businessmen" ("FSLN Calls for Defense of the Fatherland," *Barricada*, 9 April). The petty-bourgeois nationalists seek "peaceful coexistence" with the bourgeoisie at home and abroad, even at this late date when the imperialists and domestic capitalists are openly fomenting counterrevolution. Communists understand that the way to defeat a counterrevolutionary war is through socialist revolution. The *contras* must be crushed not only by guns on the battlefield, but also by unleashing the tremendous energy of the working masses, fighting to liberate themselves from the life of poverty and oppression to which they have been condemned by capitalism.

Shortly after the counterrevolutionary *bestias* (vermin) launched their recent onslaught against Sandinista Nicaragua, the two counterposed political lines were captured at a protest on March 25 in New York. The Spartacist League (SL) carried a banner proclaiming, "Defend Nicaragua—Complete the Revolution! Kill the Invaders!" and chanted "Contras *no*, workers *si*—Overthrow the bourgeoisie!" Around the corner the reformists and Latin nationalists were chanting the old standby from Chile, "The people united will never be defeated." As Trotskyists we point out the fact, so tragically proven in Chile, that the popular front, the "people united"—namely the working masses "united" with their exploiters—is the *guarantee* of defeat. In the U.S. the popular-frontists look to the liberal Democrats to tie Reagan's hands with legislation against covert intervention. But there already is a law on the books making it illegal for the U.S. to aid anti-Sandinista mercenaries, passed 411-0 in the House of Representatives, and that hasn't stopped Washington.

In his March 10 speech to the assembled capitalists of the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), Reagan accused an "aggressive minority" in Central America of having "thrown in its lot with the Communists" and preaching a doctrine of "revolution without frontiers." Unfortunately this is far from the truth. Only the Trotskyists call for workers revolution throughout Central America, extending to the powerful Mexican proletariat and the United States as well. Yet the Yankee imperialists hardly recognize national borders in spreading their Cold War counterrevolution.

In his NAM speech the U.S. president also accused the Soviets of attempting to "tie down our forces on our own southern border and so limit our capacity to act in more distant places." Hardly. Jeane Kirkpatrick to the contrary, there have been no "boatloads, planeloads, truckloads" of Soviet weapons making their way to the Salvadoran guerrillas via Managua. But on the other side of the world, in the Far East, Reagan is following exactly the strategy he attributes to the Kremlin. Once again the U.S. is trying to close the ring on Soviet ally Vietnam. The Chinese, in collusion with Washington, bombard Vietnam's northern border while the Thais, using rush-delivered sophisticated American weapons, attack Vietnamese forces on the Cambodian frontier. Recently we wrote that the U.S. intends these anti-Vietnamese provocations as a

message to Soviet leader Andropov: "Get out of Nicaragua and El Salvador and we will let you have 'Nam." But since the Russians don't have much going in Central America, for the Soviets to "give us Central America" would mean nothing less than tacit Soviet complicity with American counterinsurgency.

What will be Moscow's response to Reagan's blackmail over Vietnam, its threats to "strike at the source"? Communist Party leader Yuri Andropov, reflecting the narrow nationalist outlook of the Stalinist bureaucracy which sits atop the Soviet degenerated workers state, recently compared U.S. policy in Nicaragua with Russian policy in Afghanistan:

"Would the United States not care what kind of government rules in Nicaragua? Nicaragua is an enormous distance from America. We have a common border with Afghanistan, and we are defending our national interests by helping Afghanistan."

—*Der Spiegel*, 25 April

This sounds ominously like an offer to "exchange" Afghanistan for Nicaragua. The Kremlin's willingness to sacrifice Nicaragua was clearly spelled out by the director of the Soviets' Latin American Institute in Moscow (see box p. 7). This treacherous policy has nothing in common with the proletarian internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky. The international Spartacist tendency (iSt), which proclaimed "Hail Red Army!" in Afghanistan where they are fighting CIA-aided Islamic reactionaries, says in Central America: "Junta butchers on the run, leftist rebels need Russian guns!" and "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!"

## "Political Pluralism"... For the Counterrevolutionaries

For close to four years, the Sandinistas have governed Nicaragua along their



Popular militia can crush counterrevolutionaries, but Sandinista nationalists tolerate capitalist fifth column.

if under Reagan's guns the petty-bourgeois bonapartists turn around and decree the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, the result would be a bureaucratically deformed workers state on the Cuban model. Moreover, Nicaragua may well be denied the Soviet lifeline which, at a cost of more than \$3 billion a year, has kept Castro afloat for the last two decades. The Trotskyists have a sharply counterposed program: to build a Leninist vanguard party to lead the worker-peasant masses on the path laid down by the Bolsheviks in October 1917. We make use of every opportunity to struggle for workers revolution, from Central America to the U.S. And that means above all breaking the political chains which bind the oppressed to their oppressors.

Shortly before their triumph of arms over the Somoza dynasty in July 1979, the Sandinistas reached an agreement with representatives of the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie which called for a coalition government that would respect private property and preserve elements of the existing army (the "honest, patriotic"

reformists to end the civil war in El Salvador), capitalists like cooking oil king Alfonso Robelo would be in power in Managua instead of cooling their heels in exile. And many of the *contras* would be in the Nicaraguan army instead of based across the border in CIA camps in Honduras. But the capitalist state apparatus collapsed, and instead a petty-bourgeois government was installed which "was not committed to the defense of either bourgeois private property or the collectivist property forms of proletarian class rule," as we wrote earlier of the first months of the Castro regime in Cuba, before the capitalists were expropriated in mid-late 1960.

Initially the "governing junta of national reconstruction" included two direct representatives of the bourgeoisie, Robelo and Violeta Chamorro, widow of the publisher of *La Prensa* who was murdered by the Somozas. In addition, many of the ministries were in the hands of pro-capitalist technocrats. We called this a Sandinista/bourgeois "government," in quotes, because the real power was in the hands of the FSLN which held the guns. By the end of the year the governing apparatus began to reflect social and political reality more accurately as Sandinista cadres took over key ministries. In May of 1980, Robelo and the widow Chamorro resigned from the junta when the Sandinistas restructured the Council of State so that it had a majority of FSLN-led organizations instead of a majority of bourgeois organizations (chambers of commerce, capitalist parties and so on) as originally announced. But two other bourgeois figures were then placed on the junta: Central Bank director Arturo Cruz, who has since resigned, and COSEP (the main businessmen's association) leader Fernando Chamorro, who is today mounting a CIA-financed anti-Sandinista guerrilla group from Costa Rica.

From the beginning the emphasis of Sandinista policy has been on "national unity" with the "patriotic/progressive" bourgeoisie under the "hegemony of the FSLN." They went out of their way to demonstrate the "generosity" of their revolution. Thus there were no executions of the former National Guardsmen, including the most notorious butchers. This caused considerable and justified discontent among the masses. Further, after the trials were completed, some of the *guardias* were released, whereupon they simply crossed the border and rejoined the *contras* in Honduras, from where they launch their terrorist attacks. Thus the Nicaraguan people are paying for this "generosity" with their lives. And just last month the Sandinistas were finally forced to introduce "people's tribunals" to try the counterrevolutionary killers—a measure the Trotskyists have called for from



Sandinista/bourgeois junta, July 1979: (from right) Borge, Robelo, Chamorro, Ramirez, Ortega. Now Robelo and Chamorro are with the *contras*.

schema of "nonalignment, mixed economy and political pluralism." This was the programmatic expression of the FSLN's strategy of alliance with the "floating sectors of the middle bourgeoisie" which brought them to power. But today the choice of social revolution or bloody counterrevolution in Central America is unavoidable. The Sandinistas' own experience is making this clearer day by day: yesterday's "anti-Somozaist bourgeoisie" has become today's "sellout bourgeoisie." As nationalists, the FSLN keeps fighting against that choice, and because they place themselves at cross-purposes to the march of history, they can prepare the way to defeat for the masses. At best,

elements, of course). However, Somoza's praetorian guard knew well that the Nicaraguan masses were crying for vengeance after a bloody war of extermination in which 50,000 people were killed, 90 percent of them youths from 8 to 20 years old. So the *guardias* fled, throwing down their guns, stripping off their uniforms, scrambling aboard helicopters and fishing boats in scenes reminiscent of the fall of Saigon.

If the "agreement of San José" had held, if the existing capitalist state apparatus, centrally the army, had remained intact, Nicaragua would be a very different place today. Had there been such a "political solution" (such as is now proposed by the liberals and

Reininger/Contact



the beginning. A leader of the rural workers union commented "it was about time," and "we've wasted more than three years trying for unity with many people wasted by Somozaism and imperialism" (*Barricada*, 12 April).

But while conciliating the bourgeoisie politically and above all economically, the FSLN has concentrated on mobilizing the masses. And this can provide openings for intervention by communists, the Trotskyists who put forward a program for victory, not conciliating the bourgeoisie but to defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan revolution. The Sandinista mass organizations are definitely bureaucratically controlled, although with a good deal of "consultation" Cuban-style. They are pretty much a one-way transmission belt, from top to bottom. But they are more than hollow organizational shells. They all have traditions of struggle beginning before the overthrow of Somoza. Thus the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), modeled on the Cuban Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, actually grew out of the Civil Defense Committees (CDC) which played a major role in the September 1978 uprising and in carrying out the mass insurrection of June-July 1979. This military action, far more than the fighting by FSLN guerrillas on northern and southern fronts, was what actually toppled the Somoza tyranny. In the first weeks after liberation, the CDCs administered most of the country. Today the CDSs are the instrument by which most mass demonstrations are organized; they administer the rationing in addition to vigilance against counterrevolutionary activity.

For the most part these organizations have been used for bureaucratic mobilizations, both against opposition (from the right and left) and to give the appearance of popular participation in major shifts of government policy. But they are not yet fully regimented Stalinist-style apparatuses, and on occasion they have gone further than some in the FSLN leadership wanted to. Thus in October 1981, after the press had reported statements by Robelo justifying armed counterrevolutionary action against the Sandinista regime, a demonstration marched on the rightist leader's house and stoned it, rejecting attempts by guards sent by the FSLN headquarters to protect the house. In January of 1982, when a leading Conservative Party politician protested to the French government its sale of arms to Nicaragua, the CDSs of the Managua market districts marched on *La Prensa* to protest and were met with a hail of bullets.

While the Sandinista mass organizations may "overstep limits" occasionally, open left-wing opposition to the FSLN is quite another matter. Here the honapartist regime reacts sharply and immediately. Already in its first weeks of existence, the Sandinista regime suppressed the Simón Bolívar Brigade, followers of pseudo-Trotskyist Nahuel Moreno, and the pro-Albania Frente Obrero (FO—Workers Front). The most revealing case of Sandinista repression against the left came in the fall of 1981, when the government simultaneously arrested three leaders of the COSEP businessmen's association and two dozen leaders of the dissident pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party (PCN), on charges of "boycotting production" (i.e., leading strikes). There was an imperialist outcry on behalf of the COSEP tops, who could have been released upon payment of a \$66 fine but preferred to stay in jail as "human rights" martyrs. In contrast, more than 100 members of the PCN were arrested and three of their leaders were sentenced to three-year jail terms for leading a factory occupation. The Spartacist League called for freeing all the leftist militants in the Sandinista jails.

While there is little "pluralism" for socialist oppositionists in Nicaragua, even today the bourgeoisie continues its counterrevolutionary activities. COSEP,

which has received a publicly admitted million-dollar subsidy from the U.S. government, operates freely. *La Prensa* uses all the psi-war techniques perfected by CIA media "assets" in Chile during the U.S. campaign to "destabilize" the leftist Allende regime. And while Alfonso Robelo organizes anti-Sandinista guerrillas from Costa Rica, his Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), which was behind the shootings in Masaya last August, continues to function as a legal political party. Even more egregious, the owner of the Nicaraguan subsidiary of Coca Cola, Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, continued to plot inside the country for more than a year after he was named as a member of the CIA's shadow junta and secret

nationalized a few more large landholdings, but the basic picture has not changed. In industry only one-quarter of production is in state hands. So today the bourgeoisie still has the capability of strangling Nicaragua economically. Moreover, there has been no net private investment in the country since 1979. The capitalists are subsidized with low-cost loans from the nationalized banks which provide their working capital. In other words, the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie is being kept in business exclusively with government aid.

On the morrow of the FSLN victory, Sandinista leader Borge said explicitly, "Private property in this country will be respected." And they have held to that promise. This has meant, for example,



Association of Rural Workers: "We aren't birds that live in the air, nor fish that live in the sea. We are men who live off the land." But Sandinista leadership has protected the landlords and kulaks who live off the peasants.

member of the Somozaist Nicaraguan Democratic Forces (FDN) high command. Indeed, the Sandinista revolution has been "too lenient"...with the bourgeoisie.

### The Capitalist "Mixed Economy"

The sharpest expression of the Sandinistas' conciliation of the bourgeoisie has been in the economic sphere. Expropriations of the means of production have been largely limited to the properties of Somoza and his henchmen. An estimated 57 percent of the economy remains in the private sector. The agricultural reform announced on the second anniversary of the revolution

that the Nicaraguan agrarian reform is less extensive than even the phony reform legislated by the U.S. puppet junta in El Salvador. Cotton production is still in the hands of large estate owners, many linked to Robelo's MDN. Coffee production is overwhelmingly a matter of kulak or rich peasant holdings, which employ large amounts of hired labor during the *recolecta*, the harvest season. Since, however, some of the landless peasants have received land or had their rents reduced under the land reform, there is now an acute labor shortage in the countryside. This has been made up by the FSLN mobilizing urban youth and government employees for volunteer or low-wage labor on

private farms. Meanwhile, many of these kulaks in the provinces of Matagalpa and Nueva Segovia have shown sympathies for the mercenary *contras* operating there with the aid of the CIA.

According to one apologist for the Sandinistas, "The clamour for land from the dispossessed peasants and small proprietors... cannot be easily or rapidly satisfied. The inequalities of land ownership generated by Somozaist capitalism will take years to remove" (George Black, *Triumph of the People—The Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua* [1981]). Not so. It could be accomplished in a matter of weeks, as it was in Russia in 1917. But then there would be no more alliance with the "floating sectors of the middle bourgeoisie." What is required is an *agrarian revolution*, unleashing the peasantry and seizing all the latifundia. But every attempt to raise such a program has been repressed by the FSLN. When the Frente Obrero organized land takeovers on the morrow of the victory against Somoza, the peasants were repulsed by FSLN troops and FO's paper *El Pueblo* was seized. As one peasant in the Chinandega area commented, "I don't understand it at all. One minute seizing the land is revolutionary, then they tell you it's counterrevolutionary."

Maintaining the "mixed economy" has required above all repression of the left. This was particularly acute in early 1980 when the Managua construction industry, 18 textile factories and the largest sugar mill in the country were struck by unions following the lead of the pro-Moscow Socialist Party (PSN), the dissident Brezhnevite PCN and the pro-Albania FO respectively. The FSLN's response was adroitly implemented repression: arresting leftist leaders while mobilizing Sandinista union leaders to intervene with a "unity" offensive to try and bring the dissident union federations under their control. The most notable case was that of the largest textile plant in the country, FABRITEX, which repeatedly struck for higher wages, led by the PCN-affiliated CAUS union. The first time they struck, the Sandinistas forced the workers back and the CST government union mobilized a mob to sack the CAUS offices, accusing the leftist union of links with the CIA. The next time FABRITEX workers struck, the government was even more decisive: it simply closed up the state-owned factory.

Cheerleaders for the FSLN defend such moves with the usual "CIA" *continued on page 8*

## Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!

# Stalinist Treachery!

The anti-Soviet Cold War is global, and so is the class war. But just as Castro counsels the Sandinistas to avoid his "mistake" of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, the Moscow Stalinists seek to avoid "another Cuba" in the Americas. A recent article in the London *Guardian* (27 April) gives a hair-raising account of the Kremlin's anti-revolutionary line in Latin America. Respected journalist and Latin American expert Richard Gott quotes Viktor Volsky, the director of the Latin American Institute in Moscow, saying, "It has cost us a lot to send oil to Cuba—two tankers a day for twenty years. We wouldn't like to have to repeat that on a larger scale." Gott notes that when FSLN leader Daniel Ortega met with Soviet party chief Yuri Andropov in March, the official communiqué emphasized that Nicaragua has "all the necessary resources to defend the homeland and rout the invaders," and

the Soviet leader offered nothing more than "sincere solidarity." The article continues:

"So what happens when solidarity is not enough? 'Well,' says Professor Volsky somewhat embarrassed, 'the struggle is a long one. There have been defeats before. Sandino himself was defeated.... I don't often quote from Mahatma Gandhi, nor do I believe in the pacifist road. But he once said, 'Each new defeat inspires me.' And that is what I believe. Did the defeat of the Chilean government of Salvador Allende hinder the victory of the Sandinistas? Of course not'."

But what about the Chilean masses? They certainly suffered a tragic defeat as the result of the treacherous policies of the popular front and the "peaceful road," pushed not only by Allende but also by the Kremlin.

Gott quotes another Soviet Latin American expert, Karen Katchaturov:

"For Nicaragua we have a feeling of solidarity, but for the countries of the

world socialist system, which of course includes Cuba, there is no limit to the principle of internationalism.' Cuba, therefore, is inviolate, Nicaragua—and anywhere else in Central America and the Caribbean for whom the Soviet Union expresses solidarity—is vulnerable and lies outside the Soviet shield."

Particularly in light of Andropov's ominous comparison of Nicaragua with Afghanistan in his recent *Der Spiegel* interview, Gott's conclusion about Soviet intentions seems inescapable. So to Reagan's blackmailing offer of a "deal he can't refuse" over Vietnam, Andropov makes a counteroffer that is no less counterrevolutionary! Volsky concludes his interview with the *Guardian* complaining, incredibly, that Reagan's policy is contrary to American imperialist interests. "What seems unintelligent on the part of the United States is that they push countries toward socialism." Certainly that cannot be said of Soviet policy under Stalin and his heirs, who not only sell out other peoples' struggles but dangerously undermine the security of the Soviet state and the defense of the conquests of October by their policies of appeasing imperialism. The Trotskyists say: Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America! Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua Needs MIGs!



# Defend Nicaragua...

(continued from page 7)

slanders, claims that the workers are "privileged," references to backward "economist" consciousness, and claims that Sandinista Nicaragua has broken out of the imperialist orbit and thus any strike is really an attack on "the people." They argue that while 75 percent of industry is still in private hands, the confiscation of Somoza's properties and nationalization of the banks has given the government control, turning the capitalist owners into little more than administrators. This is a dangerous illusion. The capitalist "fifth column" is a powerful aid to the *contras* inside the country, enabling the imperialists to create economic chaos in the cities that could seriously undermine the war effort against the invaders in the border regions. And that appears to be what is happening, as scenes reminiscent of Allende's Chile multiply. Numerous basic goods are now rationed and seldom available, sometimes not even for exorbitant prices in Managua's Eastern Market. Cases of hoarding by shopowners are discovered daily, and the government has uncovered a plot to manipulate gasoline supplies. The Sandinistas are facing an economic war which they cannot win so long as the economy remains in capitalist hands.

## Cuban Castroites or Spanish Loyalists?

Reagan vows to stop the creation of further "Cuba-model states" in the Caribbean region. Yet, as the Democrats complain, he seems to be doing everything possible to push the Sandinistas down the Cuban road, because he intends to *smash* the FSLN regime in the course of obliterating leftist insurgencies throughout Central America. Nicaragua could, as we have said from the moment the Sandinistas toppled the Somoza family-state, become "another Cuba." The FSLN is officially for maintaining its present "mixed" capitalist economy, but there is not today a capitalist state in Nicaragua in the Marxist sense of armed bodies of men wedded irrevocably to the defense of private ownership of the means of production. With their backs to the wall, under imperialist pressure and facing a weak domestic bourgeoisie, the Sandinistas could expropriate the capitalists and institute a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Even then the working class would be deprived of political power, which would remain in the hands of the Sandinista comandantes and their rule by decree. But this would be an exceptional development. The usual outcome of petty-bourgeois guerrillas in power is the consolidation of a new capitalist state, as occurred in Algeria after independence, for instance. That requires acceptance by the metropolitan power, however. De Gaulle was willing to have a nationalist

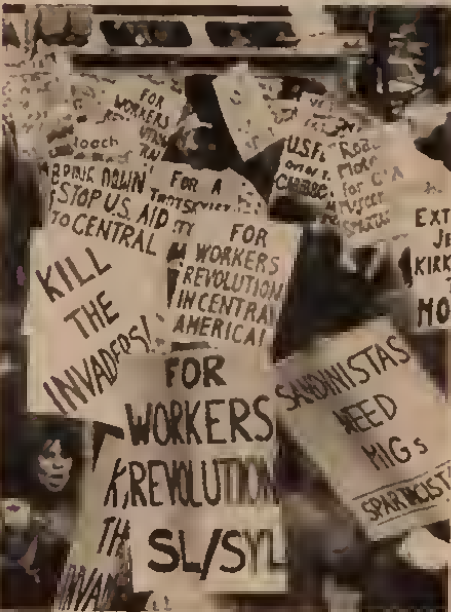
Algeria as a French neo-colony, while Reagan is fighting a global war.

Sandinista Nicaragua could become "another Cuba," but will it? There are plenty of parallels. The Sandinista/bourgeois junta closely corresponds to the formal Cuban government from January to June 1959, with Manuel Urrutia as president and José Miró Cardona as prime minister. Miró Cardona was later the president of the CIA-engineered "government-in-exile" which was supposed to be installed by the Bay of Pigs invasion. Will Robelo play a similar role today? The pro-imperialist wing of Castro's July 26 Movement included air force chief Díaz Lanz and provincial army commander Huber Matos. Edén Pastora is the Nicaraguan Huber Matos, except that Pastora was the *head* of the Sandinista Peoples' Militias. And the Sandinista army today still has many Pastora sympathizers. As for the rest of the government bureaucracy, the head of the national bank left to join the "democratic" counterrevolutionaries, as have *two* succeeding Nicaraguan ambassadors to Washington.

Initially all the actors in the Nicaraguan drama wanted to avoid another "Cuba-model state." Jimmy Carter tried to tie the Sandinista regime down with imperialist aid. The Sandinistas pledged to defend private property, blocked land invasions, etc. Even Castro himself joined the effort. When FSLN leaders came to Cuba shortly after their victory in 1979, Castro proclaimed at the annual July 26th celebration, "To those who have said that Nicaragua will become a new Cuba, we respond to them...that Nicaragua will become a new Nicaragua." When Castro later visited Nicaragua his advice was summarized as "Avoid the early mistakes we made in Cuba, the political rejection by the West, premature frontal attacks on the bourgeoisie, economic isolation." And the FSLN has followed his advice. But with what reward? Reagan could care less, and the Robelos, *La Prensa*, COSEP, the entire domestic capitalist class appears to be lined up against the regime. Only a few isolated bourgeois figureheads are still allied with the Sandinistas, such as Cruz and a couple of priests like foreign minister D'Escoto. The FSLN could be forced to carry out a social revolution simply for reasons of self-preservation.

But the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie is still intact: it did not immediately flee as their Cuban counterparts did in 1959-60. The question in Nicaragua today is whether the Sandinistas will react to Reagan's Bay of Pigs II as Castroites or as Spanish Loyalists. During the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s, the workers valiantly defended the Republic, arms in hand. (There was no talk of a "peaceful road" as there was in Allende's Chile.) The Stalinists' slogan in defending Madrid was "*No pasarán*—They shall not pass," which is also one of the Sandinistas' main slogans today. But the Francoists did pass. The reason was that the Loyalist popular front—the

alliance of the workers parties with the supposed "anti-Francoist bourgeoisie"—prevented the proletariat from undertaking socialist revolution. "We must not frighten the democratic bourgeoisie." Stalin wrote to Spanish prime minister Largo Caballero. The Republic depended on the imperialist "non-intervention pact," as the Sandinistas and their supporters today look toward empty Congressional resolutions or to the "Nonaligned" bloc in the United Nations.



NYC, March 25: Spartacist League protests at Honduran mission.

"They shall not pass; the people united will never be defeated"—these are the lies of the reformists, who deny the lessons of October 1917, that workers revolution is the only way to sweep away the legacy of feudal reaction and break the chains of imperialism. If Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks had followed Stalin's program of the popular front *there would have been no October Revolution*. The Russian workers would have been told to support an alliance with Kerensky on the grounds that it was necessary to forge the broadest unity with the "anti-tsarist bourgeoisie." The Bolsheviks fought for "all power to the Soviets." Today in Nicaragua, the Trotskyists call for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie—the revolutionary measures not taken by the Spanish Loyalists—for the formation of a soviet-style body, independent of control by the FSLN bureaucrats, based on the mass organizations (unions, defense committees, militias), as the framework for mobilizing the working class against their exploiters and establishing a workers and peasants government.

This requires the leadership of a Trotskyist party which fights not for narrow Nicaraguan nationalism but for proletarian internationalism. Which defends the just struggles of the workers of FABRITEX and elsewhere against the domestic and imperialist bourgeoisies and the state capitalist sectors of the FSLN's "mixed economy." But the Trotskyists seek to raise the struggle beyond the level of simple wage demands and transform it into a fight for workers revolution. With the program of permanent revolution, the Trotskyists understand that even bourgeois-democratic tasks such as land to the peasants (expropriation of the latifundists) cannot be secured short of the dictatorship of the proletariat. So we raise a series of transitional demands leading in the direction of workers revolution—such as workers control against the sabotage of the capitalist "fifth column" and the pro-capitalist elements of the FSLN governing apparatus. And for armed workers militias: militiamen train with sticks instead of rifles not because Nicaragua lacks guns, but because the FSLN took them away from the masses during 1979-80 and locked up leftist militia leaders.

A Leninist-Trotskyist party must fight as a tribune of the people, on behalf of the oppressed sectors of

society. It must be the vanguard in struggle for the liberation of women, for example. The Sandinistas, in contrast, refuse the right of abortion explicitly in order to conciliate the Catholic church, as part of its attempt to coexist with the capitalists. Or on the question of the Miskito Indians: the FSLN is clearly not guilty of the massacres which Reagan and Kirkpatrick have accused it of, but there have been abuses in the treatment of the English-speaking Atlantic Coast region where the FSLN victory was seen as a "Spanish revolution." Such abuses grew out of the fact that the Sandinistas are *nationalists* not communists. Thus the FSLN has not raised the obvious solution of regional autonomy.

## Workers Revolution from Central America to the U.S.

Above all a proletarian leadership would be internationalist. In the first instance this would mean providing effective aid to Salvadoran leftists, so they could achieve a military victory against the U.S.-backed henchmen. The FSLN has an internationalist debt to pay while it is paying off Somoza's loans from Wall Street. Several million dollars of the Salvadoran guerrillas' \$150 million war chest, accumulated through bank "expropriations" and kidnappings during the late '70s, went to buy arms for the Sandinistas. And in the final stages of the anti-Somoza struggle a Salvadoran "Farabundo Martí Brigade" fought on the northwestern front. Yet Borge and other Sandinista leaders have repeatedly denied providing arms to the guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador, challenging Washington to provide any evidence at all. (And with daily U.S. spy plane flights over Nicaragua, a spy ship in the Gulf of Fonseca, surveillance so intense that "we can hear a toilet flush in Managua," you can be sure that if there was any arms traffic the Americans would have come up with some proof by now.) Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" was a counterrevolutionary rejection of the Leninist program of world socialist revolution, but the idea of socialism in one banana republic is patently absurd.

The key to workers revolution in the Central American isthmus lies not in any of the five tiny countries that comprise it, which are primarily agricultural, but in Mexico with its many-millioned proletariat. The land of the Aztecs is where the heavy battalions of the working class are to be found. Not just in light industry (textiles, electronic assembly) but in strategic sectors such as petroleum, auto, steel. There have been periodic "solidarity" demonstrations in Mexico for El Salvador and Nicaragua, but there is a great deal more that the workers movement there can do: military aid to the Salvadoran rebels, formation of international brigades, and above all socialist revolution at home. This is the spectre which the American imperialists, Democrats and Republicans, fear above all. And now with the combination of the oil crisis, the international financial crisis, a general economic and political crisis in Mexico, talk of workers revolution in Mexico is more than a Reaganite nightmare. Yet virtually the entire Mexican left, including ostensible Trotskyists, seeks not to bring down the "institutional revolutionary" capitalist regime but to push it to the left. The governments of López Portillo and De la Madrid are for a "political solution" in Central America out of bourgeois self-interest: they wish to take the heat off Mexico by damping the fires of social revolution on its southern border. And Mexican pseudo-socialists aid them in this counterrevolutionary enterprise.

Support for the foreign policy of the ruling PRI is the Mexican equivalent of the popular front. In El Salvador it is the alliance of the FMLN with the phantom-like bourgeois liberal politi-

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cians of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and their call for a "negotiated solution" to end the civil war. In Nicaragua it is the Sandinistas' desperate attempt to preserve "national unity" with the bourgeoisie. And in the U.S. it is support for Democratic Party "doves" who agree with Reagan strategically but feel his tactics are counterproductive—"picking a loser," as Democrat Dodd said in response to Reagan. Communists seek to inflict just such a defeat on American imperialism, the scourge of the Latin American masses whether under Republican reactionaries like Reagan or Democratic hypocrites like Carter with his "human rights" façade (FDR's "good neighbor" policy, JFK's "Alliance for Progress," etc.).

The Trotskyists seek to mobilize the North American proletariat in sharp class struggle against its "own" bourgeoisie. The Spartacist League has taken the lead in fighting for a labor boycott of military goods to El Salvador and other Central American rightist butchers. Recently we have supported calls by class-conscious militants in the West Coast dock workers union for a one-day port strike against Reagan's Central American war. And we raise such demands as part of our struggle for workers revolution against the main enemy at home: for sitdowns against mass layoffs, for labor/black mobilizations against racist terror, for class war not race war.

The Nicaraguan revolution must not stand alone! In the days of Teddy Roosevelt, the Yankee imperialists saw Central America as their "back yard." Today the Reaganites refer to the Caribbean basin as the U.S.' "fourth border." The Monroe Doctrine is proclaimed an eternal principle; the Western hemisphere is to be cleansed of Communism in the name of "national security." Three times already Nicaragua has been occupied by American forces—by freebooters in 1855-57, by the Marines in 1912-26 and 1927-33—and now it is facing a fourth invasion. We say, crush the *contras*! Defense of the democratic conquests of the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship urgently requires the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, junior partners with the imperialists in the exploitation of the Central American masses, who grew fat off four decades of Somoza rule. It means smashing all the *contras*, not just the Somozaists but also the Pastoras and Robelos, who gained fame in the anti-Somoza struggle because of the FSLN's alliance with the opposition bourgeoisie, and who are today being used by the CIA in the cause of capitalist counterrevolution. Following the path of October and of Lenin's Comintern, we fight for workers revolution throughout the region and a Socialist United States of Latin America, led by Trotskyist parties built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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## Vietnam...

(continued from page 3)

again American imperialism finds China, with her ambitions for regional hegemonism in Indochina, a ready instrument to harass Vietnam. It was the Vietnamese intervention into Cambodia which prompted China's 1979 attempt to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson," with the avid connivance of U.S. imperialism. Then, the attempt to invade Vietnam with Chinese troops was smashed by the Vietnamese army, perhaps the best fighting force man-for-man in the world. On that occasion, we wrote:

"We call on the workers and peasants of the Chinese deformed workers state to demand an end to the obscene, sinister anti-Soviet Peking-Washington alliance now aimed at bloodying the working people of Vietnam."  
—"China Get Out!" *WV* No. 226,  
2 March 1979

Now again, the Chinese heirs to "socialism in one country," maneuvering for imperialist favor at the expense of other peoples' revolutions, endanger the gains of the Vietnamese Revolution (and of the Chinese Revolution itself) by colluding with the U.S. in an aggressive anti-Soviet military crusade which ultimately poses the nuclear extinction of humanity. *China: Don't Be Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism!*

China's 1979 military adventure against Vietnam was convincingly crushed. But Vietnam is a small country; the population of China is about 20 times that of Vietnam. And even if the U.S./China alliance pulls back from another full-scale invasion now, the U.S.-orchestrated stepped-up military pressure against Vietnam via the Thais, the Chinese and the Pol Pot/CIA terrorists is forcing the Vietnamese to expend massive military resources. U.S. imperialism wants to starve the Vietnamese people and prevent the government from rebuilding the economy ravaged by four decades of war. At a press conference in New York on April 27, Vietnamese officials announced they will withdraw the equivalent of three army divisions from Cambodia by the end of May. Citing the recent military successes, the Vietnamese say Cambodian troops will be able to take greater military responsibility in safeguarding the country from the sinister forces of Pol Pot, Son Sann and Sihanouk. They invited foreign journalists in to witness the troop withdrawals.

Indeed, the many-sided attacks on Vietnam are mainly being justified in the name of "self-determination" for Cam-



New York, April 30: Vietnamese "gusenos" storm meeting commemorating liberation of Saigon. Send back Vietnamese war criminals!

bodia. What hypocrisy from the people who invent lying stories of Communist "yellow rain" to cover their own decades of real, wholesale chemical devastation of Southeast Asia. In fact, Pol Pot's Kampuchea by comparison made Stalin's Gulag look like a country club. And the first people to be wiped out by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge mass murderers were the Cambodian Communists associated with the the Vietnamese. The Khmer Rouge themselves were a bunch of college boys who sat out the war against French colonialism studying in Paris, then returned to take over the Cambodian party by murder and whipping up Khmer chauvinism. In the years immediately following the Vietnam War, imperialist propagandists seized on Kampuchea as the ultimate horrible example of "Communist totalitarianism." Henry Kissinger and the like pointed to the Khmer Rouge's unbelievable atrocities to claim retrospectively that the U.S. war against Indochina was a "human rights" crusade. But that didn't stop the imperialist outcry when the Vietnamese occupied Cambodia. The U.S. war criminals embraced the deposed mass killer Pol Pot as a fellow member of the "free world." "To those who lived through the years of his rule, Pol Pot has become the personification of every evil," reported a *Los Angeles Times* journalist after a recent visit to Cambodia. But Pol Pot retains his UN seat thanks to his patrons in Washington.

Shortly after the Vietnamese intervention we wrote: "Given a choice, would the Cambodians rather have national independence or schools, marriage of their own choice, food,

children, medicine and wages?" Well, the verdict is now in. Even some U.S. diplomats admit that the Vietnamese have brought economic progress and an incalculably more humane social order. Former U.S. diplomat Emory Swank, who served as ambassador in Phnom Penh to the U.S. puppet regime of Lon Nol in the early 1970s, stated in a recent interview:

"The Vietnamese, who occupied a totally disorganized, almost destitute land, have provided assistance of all sorts.... Practically starting from scratch, Cambodia has made an astonishing and remarkable recovery."  
—*Far Eastern Economic Review*,  
17 March

The pro-imperialist campaign against Vietnam's presence in Cambodia is part of a bloodthirsty vendetta by the most irreconcilable enemies of the Vietnamese Revolution. The Chinese are demanding Cambodia—and ultimately Vietnam—as the price for rapprochement with the Soviet Union. And we do not find reassuring the Kremlin's apparent willingness to dump any pretense of internationalism in pursuit of détente with imperialist madmen, as signaled by Andropov's recent pronouncements on Nicaragua (see article, page 1). We only wish the lie of Reagan/Kirkpatrick were true, that the vast military and technological resources of the Soviet collectivized economy were put fully at the disposal of the leftist insurgents in Central America and the resolute, courageous Vietnamese. Truly the need for proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states has never been more urgent. *Vietnam Was a Victory!—Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!* ■

## Australian Spartacists...

(continued from page 3)

common struggle against Soviet and Vietnamese "hegemonism" demonstrators outside chanted "Vietnam was a Victory! 2, 3, Many Defeats for Imperialism!" "Son Sann/Sihanouk/Pol Pot—Wipe Them Out!" and "1, 2, 3, 4, Hawke is fighting Reagan's war! 5, 6, 7, 8, Defend the Vietnamese workers state!" and carried placards reading "China: Stop Being a Cat's Paw for U.S. Imperialism!" "Unconditional Military Defence of Vietnam/USSR Against Imperialist Attack!" "Stalinism Undermines the Workers States" and "For Workers Political Revolution from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi!"

Revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war drive means standing against one's "own" ruling class. In Australia the touchstone is the U.S. bases like Pine Gap near Alice Springs, which the anti-Soviet "peace" movement, obedient to the ALP's loyalty to ANZUS, dare not oppose. SL placards at the demonstration demanded, "U.S. Bases Out of Australia and the Indian

Ocean!" and "Defence of Vietnam/USSR Begins in Alice Springs, Diego Garcia and Trincomalee!"

This Cold War Hawke Labor government is the enemy of workers and minorities at home and the enemy of the Asian masses abroad. The Australian imperialists and their U.S. patrons suffered a humiliating defeat on the battlefields of Indochina and long to reverse what the Vietnamese workers and peasants won at the cost of decades of struggle and over a million lives. To these threats the Trotskyists reply with the call for revolutionary class struggle at home. As the SL speaker noted:

"Vietnam means something in this country. The organized labour movement in Australia, especially the maritime unions, have in the past used their power in militant solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Seamen blocked supply ships in 1968. Maritime unions blacked [boycotted] U.S. shipping in protest against the Christmas bombing in 1972. Wharfies [dock workers] struck against the war. In 1979 Sydney wharfies blacked Chinese ships in a week-long protest against China's invasion of Vietnam. We say: Australian workers: don't let Hawke get away with it! Not one Australian bullet or plane to the ASEAN butchers! Nothing heading for the Thai generals or Son Sann's

butchers should get out of Australian ports! Chinese shipping should be blacked in protest!"

The bourgeois press blacked what was the first protest thus far against the recent U.S./China anti-Vietnam provocations. As for the Laborite left they took a big dive, and no wonder. They support Hawke and across the board greeted Hawke's election as a great victory. The Spartacist League said "No Vote to Labor!" and told the Australian working class the truth: that Hawke's Labor government, no less than the Fraser government, would be a Cold War government of capitalist austerity. As a Spartacist spokesman summed up:

"From Indochina to west Beirut to San Salvador Reagan's drive to anti-Soviet holocaust is bloodying the toiling masses. And the task of Marxists is to tell the simple truth: only workers revolution will prevent nuclear annihilation. Australia's future lies with the working masses of Asia. The struggle for an Australian workers republic must go hand in hand with the perspective of social revolution throughout Southeast Asia. Above all this means building internationalist, Trotskyist parties in Australia and across Asia, the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. For a workers Australia, part of socialist Asia!" ■



## First Willie Turks Killed, Now Black Hospital Workers Assaulted

# Lynch Mob Terror in Brooklyn

It happened again, only a mile from Gravesend where NYC black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist lynch mob last June! Shortly after midnight on Tuesday, May 3, a gang of white racists viciously attacked three black men—employees of the Veterans Administration Hospital—after they stopped off at the Cropsey Newsstand in the Bath Beach section of

Brooklyn. The gang of seven racist youths hurled bottles and bricks at the black workers as they left the shop. A bottle struck Marion Manigault, 48, and split his head open. Now he's lying in the Coney Island Hospital. The two other workers, Charles Graves, 39, and Sylvester Smith, 30, were cut by flying pieces of glass and brick. Never was it more urgent for a mass mobilization of

the unions and black community to put an end to the lynch mob terror on the streets of Brooklyn.

Gino Bova, the ringleader of the racist mob that murdered Willie Turks, got off easy. The racists got the real message: it's open season on black people. How many more? The race-terror that stalks the streets of Brooklyn can be stopped, but only by integrated working-class action.

We reprint below a leaflet by militants in the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 who have been fighting for effective union action to stop these racist atrocities. A show of force—integrated workers defense guards patrolling the streets in Brooklyn organized by the TWU, the hospital workers unions and the black community—would stop the racists in their tracks.

## Militants Demand TWU Action to Smash Racist Mobs "This Wasn't Justice!"

William Turks is dead. Gino Bova, the racist murderer who killed him, is alive and can walk the streets to kill again in five years. That's how cheap a black man's life is. William Turks was murdered by a lynch mob just outside of the Coney Island shop. Those of us who attended the trial witnessed this so-called justice system in action. We, not Gino Bova, were put on trial. The Brooklyn District Attorney—Liz Holtzman—allowed a jury to be selected which excluded blacks. Gino Bova's lawyer made arguments that could have been made by a Klansman: "What was William Turks doing in that neighbor-

hood late at night?" This so-called trial was a disgusting racist outrage!

The Democratic Party liberals ran this trial! District Attorney Holtzman—an ex-big time Watergate liberal—proclaimed the verdict in the Gino Bova trial as a victory: "The significance of this verdict cannot be underestimated. It means a racially motivated homicide will not be tolerated in Brooklyn." Who are these arrogant people? What right do they have to spit on us by proclaiming that Gino Bova's sentencing was a blow against racism?

Those who call on us to rely on these Democratic Party politicians to stop the

lynch mobs have to take responsibility for this! The Gino Bova trial shows that the Democrats can't and won't deal out justice to racist murderers.

Willie Turks was lynched and Dennis Dixon and Donald Cooper were beaten bloody on the streets of Gravesend. We want this union to mobilize a defense squad! We want a defense guard of flatbed trucks filled with union militants on the streets of Gravesend *now!* We raised this demand immediately after brother Turks' death. The mobilizing of union force—as we have said before—is the only way this race-hating scum is going to be stopped! Those low-life racist losers in Gravesend can't withstand a mobilization of TWU power on the streets! We can force these rats back into the sewers! We also need a militant presence of TWU forces at the Morondo trial which will start on May 17th. He's the scum that started the

lynch mob violence by being the first to spew his race-hating filth and leading the attack. We need to be in the courtroom—not to beg the courts—but to *demand* that this filth be locked up and the jail keys thrown into the Harlem River!

Put the Racist Murderers from Gravesend into the General Prison Population at Attica!

No Reliance on the Cops, the Courts and the Democratic Party Politicians to Stop the Lynch Mobs!

For an Immediate Mobilization of TWU Forces to Smash the Gravesend Lynch Mobs!

Come to the Morondo Trial at the N.Y. State Supreme Court in Brooklyn!

NOTE: Pay your back union dues!

E. Kartsen (S/M), D. Brewer (MMC), K. Anwar (S/M), J. Smith (M/M)

28 April 1983

## Paris Protest...

(continued from page 2)

economy. These workers are key to the united struggle for a workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka.

And those who dream of "Eelam" must make no mistake: it will take a struggle for power, not least because the harbor of Trincomalee, situated in the Eastern Province, is of strategic interest to U.S. imperialism. The internationalist character of the Tamil question is made strikingly clear by the fact that across the Palk Straits—only 25 miles away—live millions of Tamils in the south of the Indian subcontinent. Instead of a program for a small, indefensible, isolated "Eelam," the Tamils could be the basis to forge the revolutionary link with southern India, to the social revolution of all South Asia.

In Lanka, where the term Trotskyism has been sullied through decades of betrayal by centrists and reformists falsely claiming the Trotskyist mantle, the SL seeks to again bring honor to the name of Trotskyism. Forging a revolutionary party to fight in the interests of the stateless "Indian" Tamil plantation workers, the viciously exploited women of the "Free Trade Zone," the Sinhala workers, the peasant masses, the "Ceylon" Tamils of the Northern and Eastern Provinces and all the oppressed, the SL seeks to open the road to revolution in all of South Asia. Forward to a South Asian Soviet Federation! ■

## Phillips...

(continued from page 5)

and-death issue for black people and it will be a central concern of the Labor/

Black League.

**WV:** The Socialist Workers Party also ran a candidate for councilmember at large. How would you contrast your campaign?

**Phillips:** The SWP's Jan Gangel ran a fairly typical social-democratic campaign. It was basically indistinguishable from that of Cassie Lopez, who ran as a "progressive" Democrat and was heavily backed by the Communist Party, the Democratic Socialists of America and the local Dellums machine.

Both Gangel and I were interviewed by the League of Women Voters on Channel 2 television. Unless you already knew Gangel was some kind of socialist, you sure couldn't tell it from what she said—she didn't once mention the word socialist, socialism or even capitalist! Where I called for workers revolution, she called for "putting people before profits." When asked about housing problems in Oakland, I said, "Expropriate the landlords." Gangel called for "affirmative action for small businesses." Where I called for military victory to the Salvadoran leftists and unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, Gangel called for "making Oakland an antiwar city."

The SWP was catering to the liberals, tailing the Cassie Lopez/Ron Dellums types, and this was reflected in the votes. The SWP got about 400 more votes than we did and these came overwhelmingly from the white, petty-bourgeois areas of north Oakland near the Berkeley line and the affluent Oakland hills. The Spartacist campaign, however, beat the SWP's solidly in the heavily black and working-class areas of West and East Oakland. We were very gratified by that. Now our task is to organize those people, into the Labor/Black League and into the Spartacist League. ■

## Supreme Court License for Racist LAPD Choke Hold

The next time one of L.A.'s killer cops puts the choke hold on his victim, he might want to thank the United States Supreme Court. On April 21 the "highest court in the land" gave the murderous choke hold, a green light, overturning a lower court injunction which according to the *New York Times* (21 April) had "limited the Los Angeles police to using choke holds only when needed to avoid serious injury...."

The choke-hold injunction was obtained by Adolph Lyons, a black man who was nearly killed by the Los Angeles cops after they pulled him over for a routine traffic infraction. The treatment he received at the hands of the cops was also "routine." He was choked into unconsciousness. Fortunately he survived, and he sued.

But the Supreme Court says that Lyons has no basis to stop the LAPD from choking him or anyone else, because he can't prove that they will definitely do it to him *again*. In a five-to-four decision, the court stated outrageously: "Absent a sufficient likelihood that he will again be wronged in a similar way, Lyons is no more entitled to an injunction than any other citizen of Los Angeles." But any citizen of Los Angeles *should* be plenty worried about the choke-holding cops, particularly black citizens. Since 1975 L.A. cops have killed 16 people with their choke hold, 12 of them black. Racist police chief Daryl Gates said that so many

blacks had died from the "super hold" because there is something wrong with black people: "[Their] veins and arteries do not open as fast as they do on normal [!] people" (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 May 1982).

With this ruling the high court also sets an ominous precedent which can be used against any of the state's victims who try to prevent clearly intended potential cop violence or official harassment. It proclaims that the cops can do whatever they want, and no one can use the courts to stop it. Even Thurgood Marshall, the token black on the Supreme Court, called the decision "unprecedented and unwarranted" noting in his dissent: "Since no one can show that he will be choked in the future, no one—not even a person who, like Lyons, has almost been choked to death—has standing to challenge the continuation of the policy."

This Supreme Court decision is part of the Reagan campaign to gear up the state's machinery of violence for the increased repression, race-terror and domestic witchhunting of Cold War II. As capitalism sinks deeper into economic depression and social crisis, its hired guns maintain lawless "order" on the streets of desperately poor ghettos. The Supreme Court says anything goes in this war on blacks and poor and labor. It stands with the most murderous tactics of this country's most deadly police force.



## Reagan Democrats Attack Social Security

# Norfolk Shipyard Workers Demand: Save Our Pensions!

PORTSMOUTH, Virginia—On April 1 more than 3,000 angry federal workers packed into the Woodrow Wilson High School auditorium here to protest the Social Security "reform" bill. The workers were especially furious about a provision in the bill, since signed into law by Reagan, that will force all new U.S. government employees to be covered by Social Security instead of the much superior Civil Service Retirement System. This law was overwhelmingly supported by Reaganite Republican and liberal Democratic Congressmen alike. It means newly hired federal workers have *only* the pitiful payments provided under Social Security to look forward to when they retire. But that's not all. The rest of the federal workforce faces old-age destitution as well: their pension fund, deprived of the millions of dollars the new-hires would have contributed, may well collapse.

When every seat in the large auditorium was taken, the workers filled the aisles and spilled out onto the entranceway steps. Most were production workers at the Norfolk Naval Shipyard. These federal employees were summoned by Ron Ault and other craft union leaders of the Tidewater Metal Trades Council (MTC) to listen in mute silence while a panel of notables questioned "our Congressmen and Senators" as to why they were flushing hard-earned pensions down the toilet. The panel was composed primarily of bosses—federal supervisors, managers and a Chamber of Commerce spokesman—but Ault himself participated in order to lend the event a spirit of labor-management-government cooperation.

The crowd was in no mood for alibis. Over and over, tumultuous jeering drowned out the capitalist politicians as the workers turned the session into a show of mass indignation. At one point phony "friend of labor" Democrat Norman Sisisky was silenced by cries of

"bullshit!" Ault came to the defense of Sisisky and his Republican Congressional colleague William Whitehurst (no senators saw fit to appear) by insulting the enraged workers: "please act like good federal employees and not like rabble." The workers began filing out, disgusted that the MTC bureaucrats had brought them there, as one worker told *WV*, only "to listen to a bunch of lies."

These workers have every reason to be outraged. Federal employees have been under attack from the White House for years, going back to Democrat Jimmy Carter. It was the Carter administration that drew up the plans for breaking an air controllers strike, plans Reagan implemented when he smashed PATCO in 1980. Then came the benefit cuts, wage freezes, lie detector tests, etc. The threat of work being contracted out in particular hangs over the heads of the Shipyard workers. The first jobs slated to be contracted out are those of the fire fighters, who presently get specialized training to handle nuclear fires, chlorine leaks and other life-and-death situations. At the meeting workers told *WV* about rumors that crane repair, elevator service and calibration jobs are also immediately threatened.

Now, as Reagan considers upping the federal retirement age, the Civil Service pension plan, long considered one of the most attractive benefits of federal employment, is about to topple. Most federal retirees have in the past been able to go on pension before the age of 60, at about 56 percent of their working income. Their future has been smashed, not simply by "Reaganomics" but by the combined efforts of the Republicans, the liberal Democrats and even the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Top labor traitor Lane Kirkland, who sat on the Reagan-appointed commission that drew up the "rescue" scheme, didn't let his mealy-mouthed objections to the federal pension swindle stand in the way

of endorsing the overall plan.

Far from "rescuing" the security of any portion of the aged population, the Social Security act is an attack on all working people. By increasing Social Security taxes, deferring crucial cost-of-living adjustments, instituting a tax on Social Security benefits, etc., the plan will raise *169 billion dollars*, most of it squeezed out of the working people of this country. While the bosses' politicians—the Democrats and Republicans—and their AFL-CIO bootlickers work to save mega-bucks for the government, the working people must demand the socialization of medicine and the merging of Social Security, unemployment insurance, SUB funds and welfare into the general federal budget, with guaranteed payments equalized at the highest level and covered by full cost-of-living protection. However, even this minimal though genuine reform can only be won through class struggle, since it runs head-on into the bipartisan program of pumping *trillions* into the Pentagon to finance a war drive against the USSR.

When asked how he planned to turn back these attacks, MTC head Ault told *WV*, "We have subscribed to the *Congressional Register*" to help build more intensive lobbying! Far from winning "friends" in Congress or anywhere else, this strategy of relying on the bosses' Democrats has contributed to labor's status in the South as a persecuted minority. It has meant bowing down before Virginia's "right to work" laws as well as the federal government's ban on the right to strike. This no-fight program has left the Norfolk Naval Shipyard—a potential bastion of labor and black power—only 48 percent organized, divided into 17 different craft unions. Blacks in the shipyard face on-the-job discrimination, like getting assigned to the most dangerous and unhealthy work (requiring, for example, exposure to radiation) while being denied promotions. Meanwhile the

forces of segregation are on the march across the Elizabeth River in the city of Norfolk, where the school board is dismantling a decade-old busing plan. And at the Newport News Shipyard to the north, a heavily black workforce is threatened by a union-busting drive directed at the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), the largest industrial union in the Tidewater area.

The "open shop" South cannot be organized by the tactics of business unionists accustomed to collaboration with the companies and the capitalist government. As the bitter struggle by USWA Local 8888 in Newport News demonstrates, it will be an explosive struggle fully comparable to the organization of the CIO, centered in the industrial Midwest, in the 1930s. This means a campaign to organize the unorganized, with mass picketing in defiance of state "right-to-work" laws, throughout the region. It must be a nationwide campaign, mobilizing the full strength of the American labor movement and confronting the Taft-Hartley ban on labor boycotts of scab products. It requires breaking with the racist Democratic Party and building a revolutionary workers party, dedicated to bringing down the murderous profit system with a workers government. And that means forging a leadership and program that will make organized labor a bulwark of decency defending all the victims of capitalist oppression.

The unionization of the South will mean massive battles against all aspects of Jim Crow, far sharper than the liberal-led civil rights movement of the late 1950s and early '60s. The oppression of blacks is the single greatest obstacle to a powerful and independent workers movement in this country, nowhere more so than in the South. It will require mobilizing the unions to defend busing, and organizing labor/black defense against racist terror. Last November 27 the Spartacist League initiated and organized such a Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. Five thousand protesters—blacks, socialists, unionists, including a busload from the Tidewater area—took over the streets chanting "Finish the Civil War—Forward to a workers state!" This must become the rallying call for every militant union and black activist. Unionization of the South will be a decisive step toward black liberation, toward finishing the Civil War, finally establishing genuine racial equality and social justice. ■

## Patrick Mason...

(continued from page 12)

in the rise of fascist groups from the KKK to the Nazis. Signs at the demonstration included, "Stop Deportations to El Salvador" and "Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Terror."

The Spartacist-initiated rally was important for its orientation to winning the labor movement to the fight against cop terror which breeds precisely in such low-wage, open-shop, anti-union areas. The rally was endorsed by officials from the Teamsters, oil workers, letter carriers unions and phone workers stewards. Also endorsing was Geronimo Pratt, former leader of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party. (Pratt was framed up for murder under Nixon's COINTEL program and is still jailed in San Quentin prison with his request for a new trial denied.)

Significantly, several black militants previously affiliated with other organizations contacted the SL to help this urgently needed protest against racist cop brutality. Refusing invitations to participate and speak at the rally were the Socialist Workers Party, the Morenoite Internationalist Workers Party

and the Communist Party. While organizing a protest meeting in Watts at the time of Patrick Mason's murder, the CP has pushed its reformist "community control" of police scheme and did not even call for jailing killer cop Sperl.

The SL spokesman at the rally concluded: "We desperately need a multiracial workers party that will fight for a workers government and create a socialized planned economy that can end once and for all the material roots of racism and economic exploitation. Justice for Patrick Mason, Ron Settles, Eulia Love and the endless list of victims of racist murder means the working class must take power. Black liberation means socialist revolution." ■

## Killer Cops...

(continued from page 12)

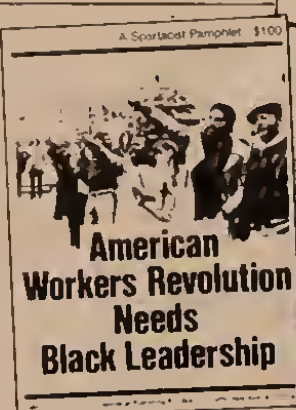
population and black community. Unlike one of the other rally speakers, a supporter of the Communist Labor Party (CLP) who played up the election of black Democratic hack Harold Washington as the answer, we know that so long as the capitalists hold power, they'll maintain their brutal, racist police system. Ritchie Bradley of the SL and the Labor/Black League

spoke at the rally, explaining the way to victory:

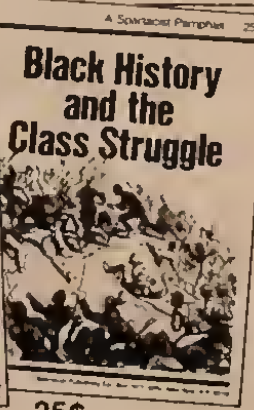
"The Spartacist League says: Jail the killer cops of Willie Lee Drumgoole and Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory and the others! Disarm the cops! No to gun control! Vengeance for Patrick Mason—the five-year-old black kid who was killed in Los Angeles! We have to organize the labor movement. The Labor/Black League for Social Defense is an organization that was initiated by the Spartacist League to fight against the rise of the Klan. We call for mass mobilizations of the labor movement to stop fascist terror in this country. You can't fight Reagan with Democrats. So what we need to do is to build a workers party in this country—a

workers party that will defend the interests of the working class and not of the Reagans and the Democrats."

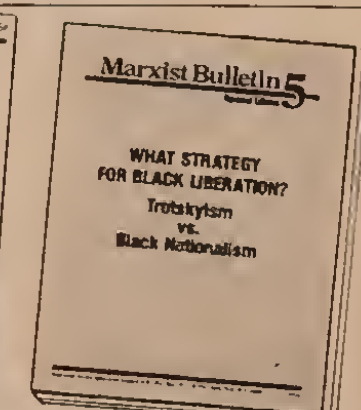
That evening a showing of the videotape of the November 27 victory over the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Labor/Black League for Social Defense, was announced at the rally and drew 30 people; of those who attended, four joined the Labor/Black League. If you want to put a stop to racist attacks and cop atrocities and help lead the struggle for a socialist future, join the Labor/Black League for Social Defense! Join the Spartacist League! ■



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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Racist Killer Cop Walks L.A. Protest Demands: "Vengeance for Patrick Mason!"

LOS ANGELES, April 26—Fifty demonstrators marched today in downtown L.A. to protest the obscene decision of an all-white Orange County grand jury to let off scot-free the racist killer cop who murdered five-year-old black child Patrick Mason in his own home. On the spirited march from the Federal Building to Governor George Deukmejian's office in the State Building, demonstrators demanded, "Vengeance for Patrick Mason!" "Jail killer cop Sperr!" and "Protest grand jury whitewash of child-killing cop!" Signs called "For Labor/Black Mobilization Against Racist Terror" and "Stop Reagan Racism—Build a Workers Party!" while demonstrators chanted, "1, 2, 3, 4, Time to finish the Civil War—5, 6, 7, 8, Forward to a workers state!" At the State Building there were speakers from the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), the Militant Action

Caucus (MAC) of Communications Workers of America Local 11502 and the Feminist Women's Health Center. Local KABC-TV covered the rally on the evening news.

On April 21 the grand jury announced no indictments would be handed down in their so-called "even-handed" probe of both Stanton killer cop Anthony Sperr and Patrick's grieving mother Patricia Ridge. "The city of Stanton is very pleased with the results of the grand jury investigation," said Stanton Police Chief Ronald Johnson (*Long Beach Press Telegram*, 22 April). You bet they are! Black kindergartener Patrick Mason was home watching TV when racist terrorist-in-blue Sperr broke into the apartment, kicked in the bedroom door and blew the little boy away from three-foot range! To get the cops off the hook, the Orange County D.A. moved on the black mother who had been away at



Los Angeles, April 26: Spartacist League protests the racist killing of Patrick Mason. WV Photo

work at the time, incredibly threatening to send her up on charges ranging from child neglect to a second-degree murder rap. As expected, the racists with state power left killer cop Sperr free to kill again. There is no "justice" for blacks in racist, capitalist America, particularly here in the heart of Reagan Country.

This vile crime demanded a mass outpouring of labor and minorities to smash racist violence. As MAC speaker Manuel Delgadillo said at today's rally:

"Every decent unionist in this city should be here today protesting the brutal killing of Patrick Mason and the fact that his murderer, the cop, was set free. When news of this shooting came out, the immediate reaction of every union president in the area should have been to have their members drop their tools and stop work."

The Feminist Women's Health Center speaker Toni Alamea said in outrage: "Last week the courts 'graciously'

decreed that they would not bring charges against his mother, Patricia Ridge. Was the death of her child deemed sufficient punishment for her 'crime' of being black, poor and a woman? Anthony Sperr, the policeman who killed Patrick was suspended with pay, which is in essence a paid vacation."

From police terror in the Watts black ghetto to the raids on the undocumented Mexican workers, Los Angeles-area cops run roughshod over the minority populations, choke-holding, terrorizing, gunning down in cold blood. Black Democratic ex-cop L.A. mayor Tom Bradley presides over the daily murder of blacks in collaboration with LAPD chief Daryl "Choke Hold" Gates. The SL pointed out that the upsurge of racist terror is the domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive, particularly seen

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## Stop the Racist Rampage!

## Jail Richmond Killer Cops!

RICHMOND, California—On April 23 over 100 demonstrators rallied and picketed next to the Richmond police station, protesting the systematic murder and continuing brutal attacks on blacks carried out by the racist cops. The Spartacist League and the newly-formed Labor/Black League for Social Defense, which carried a banner demanding "Jail the Killer Cops!" brought almost 40 people to the protest, initiated by People For Justice.

In Richmond, cop terror against blacks is still escalating—there've been six police murders of blacks since 1980 alone, including the shooting of parolee Donald Kizart in his own bedroom in January. A federal lawsuit begun last fall against the city cops for gunning down Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory, two black men shot in their own homes in 1980 and 1982, respectively, is still dragging on. Last November, Willie Lee Drumgoole was



Richmond, California, April 23: Labor/Black League contingent demands "Jail the killers of Willie Lee Drumgoole!" WV Photo

choked to death in the city jail, and his killers went scot-free. Linda Simon, the mother of Drumgoole's oldest

daughter, Sabrina, spoke at the rally:

"I can understand what's happening to that mother in Los Angeles, because I

have a daughter who day and night looks for her father. The day he got killed—was arrested—he was supposed to have been picking the children up for the weekend.... Me and Willie knew Johnny Roman real good. He was raised up in Parchester [an all-black Richmond neighborhood] where I lived and Michael Guillory did too. When Johnny got killed me and Willie sat up and talked and he said, 'Linda, I never knew this would happen.' Then he said, 'I hope nothing like this ever happens to me.' But it did. And my daughter, one day I was cooking and she was outside playing with her friends. She broke into the house—the police had come next door—and she started hollering and screaming and crying, saying 'Mama, they're gonna shoot you next!' Night before last she got up. She was looking for her father. I've got to tell her every day. She goes to school and she just lays her head on her desk and cries.... I just see all these people that I knew, went to school with—like Johnny Roman. They used to come play in the yard. And then I look back and it's everybody that I know."

Calvin King, chairman of People For Justice, said he knew of at least two candidates for Richmond City Council running on a program of vindication for the killer cops accused in the federal case. In this economically depressed, half-black industrial city, the capitalist bosses and their politicians need their murderous thugs to terrorize the increasingly unemployed

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