

No Negotiated Sellout—Military Victory to Leftist Rebels!

Salvador Death Squads: Made in U.S.A.

**Defend, Complete, Extend
the Nicaraguan Revolution!**

JUNE 4—Reagan is preparing massive U.S. intervention in Central America with war "games" and diplomatic games. While Duarte talks of "dialogue" in San Salvador, having been "elected" by American dollars, several thousand U.S., Honduran and Salvadoran troops are massed along the border, trying to trap leftist guerrillas in a "hammer and anvil" operation. While secretary of state Shultz browbeats Sandinista leaders at Managua airport about "exporting revolution," U.S.-backed mercenaries are blowing up granaries in the north. From Costa Rica to Guatemala, American-financed butchers leave mutilated corpses along the dusty roads of Central America. But the puppet government army is losing in El Salvador and the despised *contra* terrorists are going nowhere in Nicaragua but to their graves. No wonder Reagan is having a hard time selling his dirty war.

Memories of Vietnam are alive and well in the United States. In Indochina the American imperialists were handed a bloody defeat, their drug pushers and torture generals sent fleeing in leaky boats and hanging onto the helicopters. That's what has to happen in Central America, too, where the same U.S.

officers and diplomats who "lost" Vietnam, from SouthCom's General Gorman to Ambassador Negroponte in Honduras, are fighting on the next front line of the U.S.' anti-Soviet war drive. All the talk about a "negotiated settlement" of the Salvadoran civil war is really a call for a negotiated *sellout* by the rebels. No "government of broad participation" with the bourgeoisie is going to wipe out the pathological killers. Just like Duarte's election, the death squads are "made in U.S.A." And they are vital to the rule of the bloody landowner-capitalist oligarchy and their military guard dogs. The choice for the workers and peasants of Central America is revolution or death. Literally.

The United States is the cradle of death squad "democracy," and the hand that rocks it is the CIA's. The idea that the Salvadoran regime will clean up its act to please "democratic public opinion" in the U.S. is absurd. Since the bloody work of Washington's butchers can't be hidden, they brought back their Christian Democratic front man. Wasn't Duarte himself a victim of the military? (Once, long ago.) So if he asks for the handout from Congress without the embarrassing "human rights" report

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Michael Kienitz

Washington's bought-and-paid-for butchers have killed over 50,000 workers, peasants and youth in the last five years.

Try the Traitors Sakharov!



Yelena Bonner and Andrei Sakharov.

AP

JUNE 4—The reported hunger strike of Russian "dissident" Andrei Sakharov, said to have begun on May 2, has become the latest anti-Soviet cause célèbre in the U.S. A *New York Times* (25 May) editorial, "The Cold Winter in Gorky," denounced the "ugly," "dangerous" and "vindictive" behavior of the Soviet "tormentors" who have, they say, "cruelly denied medical treatment abroad" to Sakharov's wife Yelena Bonner, and who are allegedly forcing an "aging scientist" on protracted hunger strike to the "ultimate calamity." Ronald Reagan has taken up the case, as has every anti-Communist leader from France's Mitterrand to West Germany's Hans-Dietrich Genscher to Australia's Bill Hayden (the foreign minister, not Karla's mole).

Now the HBO cable network is rushing to broadcast its new TV film *Sakharov*, starring Jason Robards and Glenda Jackson. A network executive crowed, "We do not think that this subject will disappear in a

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Class Struggle Sharpens

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"Hardball" Supplement a Big Hit

This country today is experiencing a significant upswing in the tempo of class struggle. And in the past couple of weeks, *Workers Vanguard* subscription teams have visited some of the hot spots. In Toledo, Ohio on Monday, May 21, 4,000 workers had battled the police department to a stand-off in a determined effort to stop the scabbing at the struck AP Parts plant (see article on page 7). The next day, a carload of auto workers and *WV* supporters left Detroit for Toledo, to talk with labor militants there and to give out copies of a special *WV* subscription supplement as part of a national *WV* sub campaign undertaken by the Spartacist League.

The supplement the sub drive teams are distributing is a four-page reprint of *WV*'s front-page article originally published on March 2, headlined "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win." The article lays out how capitalist America's been going to hell and outlines the strategy of a fighting labor movement to turn things around:

"In Reagan's America it's open season on the unions, on blacks, the poor, the illegal aliens, the radicals—we're all targets of the drive to roll things back to the way they were when the robber barons rode high in the saddle, when the only business of America, said Calvin Coolidge, was business. The biggest growth industry in the U.S. today...it's strikebreaking."

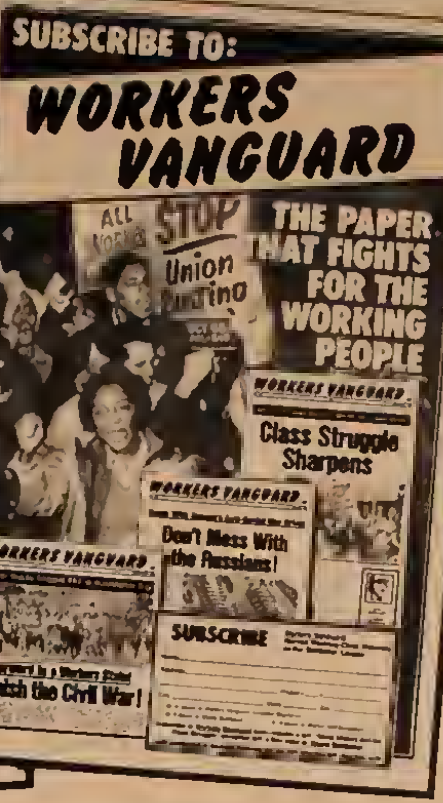
What's needed, the article explains, is some old-time class struggle, the kind that built the unions in the first place. But that's the last thing in the world the fat-cat labor bureaucrats want to see. Tied to the bosses' profit system and tied in particular to the bosses' politicians in the Democratic Party—which provides the racist, labor-hating mayors who run most of America's big cities—the pro-capitalist labor tops keep the unions playing by the bosses' rules. And that's a losing game for labor. "Solidarity is not



To get a copy of the "Hardball" supplement, just send us your name and address. And while we're on the subject, how about arranging to distribute some to your co-workers, neighbors or friends. *WV* is the "collective organizer" of the Spartacist League, the paper that tells the truth to the working people and puts forward the program needed to win. We need all the help we can get; why not get in touch with us and find out what you can do.

sending \$500 and a valentine," says the "Hardball" supplement. Real solidarity is backing up the elementary principle that "picket lines mean don't cross"—backing it up with tactics like secondary boycotts, plant occupations and mass picket lines to face down scabs and their cop protectors.

These basic questions are posed urgently in Toledo, where a few hundred



AP Parts workers have just seen in action that massive and united labor action is the key to picket lines that stop scabs. They are posed in Arizona where copper miners are now entering the twelfth month of a bitter strike against Phelps Dodge Corporation. They are posed everywhere that working people are trying to fight back against give-backs and union-busting, and maybe even get a little something for themselves and their families out of the present economic "recovery."

The "Hardball" supplement is an argument for a new, fighting leadership of labor willing to fight politically and committed to a program capable of rallying the working people and their allies—the unemployed, the doubly oppressed minorities—in support of the brothers and sisters on the picket lines. It underlines that the racist, pro-capitalist union tops are an obstacle to class unity in struggle. "To organize the open-shop South, for example, will mean pitched battles with the Ku Klux Klan and cracker sheriffs. Can anyone imagine the AFL-CIO tops involved in, much less leading, this kind of fight?" The article insists that every major workers' struggle becomes a political fight requiring class-struggle leadership, and raises the call to break with the Democrats and build a fighting workers party.

The *WV* supporters from Detroit, Chicago and Cleveland who took the "Hardball" supplement to Toledo were vividly aware of the historic labor confrontation there 50 years ago, against scabs, cops and the National Guard. To win union recognition at Toledo Auto-Lite in 1934, it took massive militant support from other unionists and from a militant organization of unemployed workers; ultimately, it took the threat of a general strike. The struggle at Toledo Auto-Lite, when workers fought the National Guard for over a week, was one of the three great labor battles of 1934 (along with the Minneapolis Teamsters strike and the dock strike in San Francisco) which paved the way for the founding of the CIO two years later. All three of these

landmark struggles for industrial unionism were led by avowed socialists.

WV Gets a Good Reception

The *WV* teams in Toledo began by introducing themselves to picketers at AP Parts and giving out copies of *WV* and the "Hardball" supplement. On Wednesday, May 23, supplements were distributed at GM HydraMatic, Willis Jeep AMC, Champion Sparkplug and Teledyne. Our comrades visited the picket line at Sun Oil and gave out about 1,300 supplements in the black neighborhood around Detroit and Monroe Streets, where many of the people we met said they had relatives or friends among the AP Parts strikers. Over the rest of the week, the comrades went back to the same locations to sell and distribute single copies of *WV*, sell subscriptions and talk.

Many of the workers we met were intrigued by our material and glad of our support for their struggle; many said they saw no alternative to supporting the Democrats but were open to arguing about it. At Jeep, we met a worker who told us he remembered Spartacist supporters from when he'd worked at Dodge Main in Detroit, where he'd been impressed by our perspective of sit-down strikes against plant closures. After Dodge Main shut down, he told us, he'd gone to try to get a job out at Honda, but they found out he was a union man.

During the week and weekend, according to our undoubtedly incomplete figures, a total of 7,600 supple-



A slogan from Kentucky coal miners is picked up by a picket line militant in Arizona Phelps Dodge copper strike.

ments were given out in Toledo, while 433 copies of *WV* were sold and distributed. Seven full-year subscriptions and 25 introductory subs to *WV* were sold on this trip, as well as five subs to *Young Spartacus* and one to *Women and Revolution*.

Right about the same time that Midwest comrades and friends were heading for Toledo, another team went from Los Angeles to distribute supplements and sell subs to the embattled copper miners in Arizona. On our second day in town, we came back to the picket line and saw that one woman had hand-lettered a picket sign which paraphrased a coal miners' poster shown in a photograph on the supplement's front page (see photo). A member of the *WV* team told us that

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TROTSKY

Class Struggle Will Decide

James P. Cannon, America's foremost communist politician, joined the Wobblies (IWW) and Socialist Party in the first decade of this century. He was a founder of the Communist Party and founded and led the Trotskyist movement in the U.S. In a 1942 lecture, Cannon explained the principles of proletarian class struggle which imbued the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis general strike of 1934.



LENIN

Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. Consequently, they expected from the start that the union would have to fight for its right to exist; that the bosses would not yield any recognition to the union, would not yield any increase of wages or reduction of the scandalous hours without some pressure being brought to bear. Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight.

—James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

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AMENA

U.S. Imperialism Fuels...

Persian Gulf Inferno

JUNE 1—As the Big Oil tankers went up in flames in the Persian Gulf and the U.S. rushed a second aircraft carrier to the scene, you could almost hear the cocking of the U.S. nuclear trigger. This is the region which Jimmy Carter vowed in his January 1980 State of the Union speech to hold on to by "any means necessary," including the first use of "tactical" nuclear weapons. Indeed, the whole rationale for Carter/Reagan's 300,000-strong Rapid Deployment Force is to protect Big Oil interests and threaten the Soviet Union, whose economic and military power stands as a chief obstacle to unrestrained imperialist domination of the world. Thus the squalid, senseless and unbelievably

taken to hanging deserters on public bridges and shooting them on busy streets. Now both countries are desperately escalating the war in an effort to find a quick and decisive victory.

In February, Iraq declared a "war zone" around Kharg Island, Iran's major oil terminal in the Gulf, and began to attack tankers in the area. As the squeeze on Iran increased, especially with the help of French Super Etendard bombers with their deadly accurate Exocet missiles, Iran's president Rafsanjani threatened, "if the Kharg Island route is not safeguarded, then no other routes in the Persian Gulf will be secure." The mad Shi'ite ayatollahs are prepared to blow up every oil field and

tionary pro-American regimes against the Soviet Union. But somehow such regimes always come to a bad end. Under the Pahlevis Iran, which shares a long border with the USSR, had been a linchpin in this anti-Soviet alliance. But the shah's fall in early 1979 at the hands of the Islamic fanatic Khomeini threw a monkey wrench into Washington's strategic plans. Nevertheless, the Khomeinists' recent campaign to annihilate the pro-Moscow Tudeh party has renewed imperialist hopes of winning Iran again to an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the Near East. In fact, Washington has looked the other way as some U.S. arms have been smuggled to Iran by third parties (such as Israel, which befriends anyone who kills Arabs).

Far right-wing columnist Patrick Buchanan, arguing against a U.S. attack on Iran, maintains:

"Taking the long view, the U.S. has no strategic quarrel with Iran, and many concurrent interests.... Tehran's long-term interests lie in association with the U.S...."

"Second, if there are any pro-American elements silent now inside revolutionary Iran, they are likely in the officers corps, particularly the air force. How do we maintain these assets by shooting the tiny Iranian air force out of the sky...?"

Buchanan further argues that "a military debacle could bring about the dismemberment of Iran, with the Soviets moving in to pick up the pieces" (*New York Post*, 31 May).

For the present, though, Washington fears that an Iranian victory would destabilize its other allies in the region, notably the feudal oildoms of the Arabian peninsula. At the same time, the U.S. does not want an Iraqi victory either, since in the Reaganite mind any country which receives MIGs and Soviet missiles must be an agent of world Communism. Actually the Baghdad Ba'athists are as fiercely anti-Communist as the Teheran ayatollahs and have bloodily suppressed the Iraqi Communist Party. For all its tough talk, the Reagan White House would prefer not to get directly involved in the war—especially in an election year—and would rather see Iran and Iraq wear each other down, "so that no one wins"

as the *New York Times* (22 May) fervently hoped in a recent editorial. To this end the U.S. has now made a certain tilt toward Iraq facing the menacing Iranian offensive.

Saudi Monarchy Built on Sand

Meanwhile the U.S. hopes that Saudi Arabia can protect Big Oil interests with the help of 400 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and 62 American-supplied F-15 jets, the latter kept aloft by midair refueling with KC-10 tankers supplied by the Pentagon. As former Pentagon chief James Schlesinger commented on the David Brinkley talk show, "let the Saudis, let the Gulf Arabs take the first blow." U.S. rulers remember what happened to their soldiers in Lebanon.

The problem for American imperialism is that its current anti-Soviet linchpin in the Persian Gulf, the House of Saud, also remembers what happened to the U.S. in Lebanon and has no stomach for an armed confrontation with Iran. The Saudi regime, despite its enormous oil wealth and billions of dollars in Western arms, is built on sand. It is a tiny feudal kingdom of perhaps 7,000 royal family members, existing on the exploitation of a sea of foreign contract labor. It is estimated that *one-third to one-half* of the population of about 10 million are foreigners—over a million Yemenites employed in manual labor, over 400,000 Egyptians in various capacities, Indians, Pakistanis and radicalized Palestinians, and many others. Even the U.S.-supplied fighter planes are piloted by Taiwanese mercenaries! Who will give up his life for the Saudi monarchy? And then there are an estimated 300,000 oppressed Shi'ite Muslims in the oil-producing northeast province. No wonder King Fahd and his luxury-loving brothers don't want to get into any kind of war, especially with the fanatical Shi'ite ayatollahs of Iran. This regime could blow away even more easily and quickly than the shah's did.

And that makes the situation all the more dangerous. "Saudi Arabia we will not permit to be an Iran," Reagan vowed in October 1981. Despite all of the Pentagon's arms and military

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Pavlovsky/Sygma

Iranian soldiers lie in trench as Iraqi village burns in background. One of the bloodiest, most senseless wars of our times.

bloody war between the reactionary regimes of Iran and Iraq threatens to become a nuclear sinkhole for the world.

So long as the oil flowed, Western imperialism cared little about the four-year slaughter taking place on the Iran/Iraq border. The Iranians had tried to make up for their shortage of tanks and aircraft by sending human waves, including young hoys, into the front lines. The better equipped Iraqi army made up for its ineptness at offensive operations by staying entrenched in fixed positions. The result has been a stalemate as the war settled down to static trench warfare reminiscent of World War I. Over and over tens of thousands of Iraqis and Iranians slaughtered each other in a day or two of battle for a mile or two of no man's land.

Latest reports indicate that *half a million* Iranians are now poised on the Iraqi border for yet another "final offensive" to cut the key Baghdad-to-Basra road and bring down the Ba'athist Hussein regime. With its much smaller population, Iraq can less afford a war of attrition, and the Iraqi government has

oil tanker in the region. And they may be able to do it.

The West was surprised to find that the Iranian air force was still able to launch attacks with its remaining American-made F-4 jets (sent during the shah's reign) and the war escalated in May when the Iranians knocked out Saudi and Kuwaiti tankers in the so-called "neutral" western part of the Gulf. (Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have so far provided \$35 billion for the Iraqi war effort. Some "neutrals"! Insurance rates quickly doubled and tripled for ships going to the northern part of the Gulf, and pretty soon Saudi sheiks were muttering that the oil flow would be cut not by bombs but by Lloyd's of London. The Persian Gulf region now looks something like the Balkans in the summer of 1914.

The Ayatollahs and U.S. Imperialism

Amidst the tangle of conflicting and shifting bloody conflicts in the Near East, U.S. imperialism has consistently maintained one overriding goal: to put together and arm an alliance of reac-

Persian Gulf war escalates as Iraq and Iran target oil tankers.



El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

card, the *New York Times* editorializes, let Duarte "try it his way." His inaugural speech, groveling before the military, is billed as a "promise" to "curb abuses." Don't hold your breath. But the Democrats dutifully vote the dollars for death.

Leftists are not the only targets of the CIA hit squads. Edén Pastora, "Contra Zero," blamed the American intelligence agency for the bomb intended to kill him at his jungle headquarters on May 30. The "democratic" counterrevolutionary was explaining to journalists his refusal to merge with explicitly Somozaist *contras* based in Honduras: "For several months, the C.I.A. has been preparing the ground...saying I am the only obstacle to unification.... This attack is punishment for not yielding" (*New York Times*, 2 June). The CIA felt obliged to answer with one of those "denials" that are practically an open admission of guilt: "We don't assassinate people. We don't plant bombs and blow people up. There's an executive order that prohibits us from that." Oh yeah? Tell it to Dím, or Trujillo, or Lumumba or Castro. And what about those "homemade" CIA mines in Nicaraguan harbors?

If you believe this one, then perhaps you will also believe that U.S. secretary of state Shultz was in Nicaragua on a "good will" trip last week. Shultz's surprise visit to Managua was the first time a high-ranking Washington official has met with the Sandinistas since General Haig was "in charge." Reagan will doubtless use this "let's talk" gesture to collect the \$21 million he's seeking from Congress for his overt "covert" war on Nicaragua. But on the Sandinistas' part, such talks may involve more than gestures. NBC reports that Nicaragua has told the Salvadoran guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) they will have to get out if there's an agreement with the U.S. Such a stab in the back would be criminally stupid opportunism, threatening the survival of the Nicaraguan revolution as well. Only a fight for workers revolution throughout the isthmus can defeat the Yankee interventionists and their kill-crazy puppets. Military victory to Salvadoran leftist rebels! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution!

American Guns Kill American Nuns...and a Lot More

First they claimed that "democrat" Duarte would "crack down" on the death squads. When that was denied, a commission was created to "investigate" the more murderous massacres, with the investigators trained by the FBI, the U.S.' anti-communist secret police. Sure, like the investigations of the 1961 attacks on freedom rider buses in Alabama, the 1963 Birmingham church bombing and the 1965 assassination of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo—racist terror attacks all of which were investigated by the FBI's people! The most notorious death squad murder is the hideous 1980 rape/murder of four American nuns. For three and a half years the "investigation" stagnated. Then last week five National Guardsmen were tried in one day for this crime, the verdict delivered in one hour. The key question—who gave the orders?—was never asked, for the local Guard commander was a cousin of Defense Minister Vides Casanova. Duarte (who was president of the junta when the nuns were murdered) confirmed the minister of death in his post and yesterday announced there would be no investigation of the case. A few triggermen were sacrificed, but the apparatus of the murder machine remains intact.

The direct U.S. role in the creation of the bloody death squads has been exposed in an exclusive report by Allan Nairn in the May issue of *The Progressive* magazine. According to Nairn,

officials of the State Department, the CIA and the U.S. military have:

- "conceived and organized ORDEN, the rural paramilitary and intelligence network," precursor of the death squads;
- "conceived and organized ANSESAL," the Salvadoran National Security Agency, an elite secret police unit;
- put key security officials, such as General José Medrano, a former senior National Guard officer and founder of ORDEN and ANSESAL, on the CIA payroll;
- "supplied ANSESAL, the security forces, and the general staff with electronic, photographic, and personal surveillance of individuals who were later assassinated by Death Squads";
- "instructed Salvadoran intelligence operatives in the use of investigative techniques" that employed "physical and psychological torture."



FMLN guerrillas capture the town of San Francisco Javier, January 1983. No negotiated sellout! Leftist rebels: Go for military victory!

Additional revelations of U.S. complicity in the death squads abound: on March 3 the *New York Times* reported that a former ranking Salvadoran military officer "had direct knowledge of the participation of Mr. d'Aubuisson, General García and Colonel Carranza in the process of selecting death squad victims, many of whom have been trade unionists, student leaders, peasant organizers and others considered potentially sympathetic to the left." It also reported "Colonel Casanova's involvement in the killing of the churchwomen." And on March 22 the *Times* revealed that Colonel Carranza, head of the murderous Treasury Police, "had received more than \$90,000 a year from the C.I.A. as an informant for the last five or six years." General García is the former war minister, since replaced by Vides Casanova. D'Aubuisson, the former deputy chief of ANSESAL, is president of the Constituent Assembly. Thus the heads of the death squads are one and the same as the heads of the armed forces, and the whole bloody network is intimately connected with the U.S. government.

The program to systematize repression and destroy political opposition was launched by the Democratic Kennedy administration's Alliance for Progress. In response to the Cuban Revolution, the "Alliance" attempted to combine increased government repression and stepped-up capitalist development in order to pre-empt social revolution in Latin America. As the director of the AID Public Safety Program wrote in an internal memo in 1967 describing the program's objectives, the United States was "developing within the civil security forces...an investigative capability for detecting criminal and/or subversive individuals and organizations and neutralizing their activities." And JFK himself declared that "Governments of the civil-military type of El Salvador are the most effective in containing communist penetration in Latin America." Thus together with Washington's penchant for junta rule went the creation of the death squads.

Washington has projected this "anti-subversive" alliance throughout Central America, using the fascistic National Liberation Movement (MLN) in Guatemala as a model. Created by the U.S.

as marionettes for the CIA's 1954 overthrow of liberal reformer Jacobo Arbenz, the MLN became the "party of organized violence" that has visited a 30-year reign of terror on the Guatemalan working masses. According to Amnesty International, in the decade between 1966 and 1976 paramilitary squads in Guatemala were responsible for the assassination of 21,000 victims. And when it was felt that similar death squads were necessary in neighboring El Salvador, D'Aubuisson was dispatched to Guatemala for some quick "hands-on" training. A close collaboration between Guatemalan and Salvadoran death squads continues to this day.

Key to setting up this Murder, Inc. in El Salvador was General Medrano, who established ORDEN (Spanish for "Order") as a spy network of anti-communist *orejas* (ears) throughout the countryside. As for the individuals

fingered by ORDEN, Medrano was clear: "They don't have the rights of Geneva. They are traitors to the country. What can the troops do? When they find them, they kill them." A former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador explained that the *Mano Blanco* (White Hand) death squad "was an offshoot of ORDEN, and the same people in ORDEN were to some extent the same people in the *Mano Blanco*." In recognition of Medrano's value to the United States, Lyndon Johnson presented the death squad chief with a silver presidential medal for "exceptionally meritorious service."

It was during 1980-82 that Roberto D'Aubuisson, a Medrano protégé, came into prominence. "Major Blowtorch," so named for his favorite torture technique, began as an officer of the National Guard intelligence section. However, when reform-minded officers came to the fore after the October 1979 "human rights" coup, D'Aubuisson was assigned to organize a counteroffensive. Armed with information supplied by the CIA, D'Aubuisson made a series of video recordings for TV broadcast giving names and pictures of "subversives." One of his associates disingenuously remarked, "Unfortunately, when we mentioned a person, *poom*, they'd shoot them. Then they started linking us with the Death Squads" (*Progressive*, May 1984). Among the victims assassinated after being fingered on television were leading Christian Democrat Mario Zamora and Archbishop Romero. Later a briefcase belonging to D'Aubuisson was recovered containing a hit list and details of the murder of Romero. This information was in the possession of then junta president Duarte and the U.S. embassy as early as May 1980.

For Workers Revolution!

More than 50,000 Salvadorans have been murdered by the military and the various death squads (*Mano Blanco*, General Maximiliano Hernández Brigade, Anti-Communist Secret Army, etc.) since the October 1979 coup. The victims—leftists, peasants and workers—include the entire original leadership of the opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), then headed by dissident coffee scion Alvarez

Córdova, annihilated in November 1980. Even American CIA agents working with the land reform office have been executed by these paid killers. Yet they enjoy protection up to the highest levels of the regime. The *New York Times* (3 June) has noted that "the Salvadoran Government has never investigated or prosecuted a military officer." Why should they start now?

So how can the killing be stopped? During the recent election, bought and paid for by the U.S. (not only the \$2.1 million funneled into Duarte's campaign but another \$10 million to pay for the computerized voter lists, ballot boxes, etc.), Christian Democrat Duarte was portrayed as the candidate of "moderation." Once "elected," however, he dropped all talk of wiping out the death squads and now talks of "mending fences" with the military. Yet last week the FDR called, on Radio Venceremos, for the Duarte government to investigate the murder of Archbishop Romero. What a farce! Duarte had proof of D'Aubuisson's guilt four years ago and did nothing. FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora, whose own brother Mario was a victim of the death squads, recently offered to "negotiate" the issue: "The question of whether there would be trials, or even the question of who would be tried and who would not, could be the subject of mutual agreement" (*New York Times*, 30 May).

The petty-bourgeois nationalists seek to keep the struggle of the Central American working masses safely within the limits of capitalism. By "mutual agreement" they mean capitulation before the class enemy, setting the workers and peasants up for a bloodbath. Here in the United States the reformist left echoes the FDR/FMLN call for "negotiations" with the imperialists and their agents. "Defeat Reagan" proclaims CISPES' *El Salvador Alert* (June 1984), meaning "elect Democrats in November." Yet the Democrats—who voted for the Salvador war budget, who accepted Reagan's "human rights" certifications of the Salvadoran junta—only have tactical differences with Reagan's Central American policies. They want to promote war on the Soviets by *buying off* Sandinista and FDR "moderates."

The Spartacist League fights for leftist insurgents to win the war in El Salvador through decisive victory on the field of battle, to open the road to socialist revolution. Workers and peasants governments in Central America would unleash agrarian revolution, expropriate the bourgeoisie, the bank-rollers of the death squads, and smash the officer corps which directs the mass killings. Revolutionary tribunals would mete out proletarian justice to the death squad scum.

The Salvadoran death squads, like the gangster regime of Batista in pre-revolutionary Cuba, are the scum of the earth. The Cuban *gusanos* in the U.S., well depicted in the movie *Scarface*, have become all-purpose imperialist hit men, from drug pushers and Watergate burglars to the murderers of Chilean Socialist Orlando Letelier. Every decent working person should want to see these sadistic criminals and their imperialist masters get what they deserve. American working people have a direct stake in the victory of revolution in Central America. The fight for military victory to Salvadoran leftist rebels, and for defense of the Nicaraguan revolution, strikes a blow against the anti-Soviet war drive and domestic repression. Thus the Spartacist League calls for labor boycotts to stop death cargos to Central American dictators, and for workers strikes against full-scale U.S. intervention. The copper miners' fight in Arizona and the auto workers' struggle in Toledo are part and parcel of the fight for proletarian revolution throughout the Americas. The only real solidarity with the struggle in Central America is to wage class war in the belly of the imperialist beast. ■

Miners Must Not Stand Alone!

Smash Thatcher's Rampage Against British Miners!

The British coal miners strike is at a crucial point. The miners and their families have fought for 13 weeks, forced to live on £20 (\$28) a week. Thousands have been arrested and one picketer killed. Emboldened by smashing the printers and (at the CIA's behest) the civil service union at Britain's Cheltenham spy center, the Thatcher government has precipitated the sharpest and most deepgoing conflict of British labor since the turn of the century. The "Iron Lady" is waging preventive civil war. Her aim: to cripple for a long time the trade unions' capacity to struggle. The strike must be spread *now* to defeat this deadly threat to all British labor!

Last week Thatcher took the war to South Yorkshire, a center of miners' militancy and home base of National Union of Miners (NUM) president Arthur Scargill. When pickets massed at Orgreave cokeworks in an attempt to stop the flow of coke to the nearby Scunthorpe steel plant, thousands of cops were mobilized—not only with the riot gear and police dogs so familiar to Irish Catholics in the Bogside and to blacks and Asians in Brixton, but with cossacks on horseback trampling down pickets fleeing from the police truncheons.

On Tuesday, May 29 more than 7,000 pickets massed at Orgreave, but brutal charges by 2,000 police permitted the truck convoys loaded with coke to pass. In the fighting, 41 cops were injured, along with 28 picketers, including one with a fractured skull. In the early morning of the 30th, NUM leader Scargill was arrested in a calculated provocation. More than 3,000 pickets fought a pitched battle with the police that day. Telephone poles were used as battering rams, stone block barricades were built across roadways, a mobile police command post was overturned and set on fire. Again on Thursday and Friday thousands of South Yorkshire miners kept up the fight at Orgreave. But through the running battle which lasted



McPhee/The Guardian

Orgreave, South Yorkshire, May 29—Mounted police charge repeatedly into picket lines as militant miners battle back.

all week, the vicious police charges allowed scab convoys to pass.

The murderous British ruling class is reliving the days of the Indian "Raj," but this time it's here in "Little England." As Arthur Scargill remarked, "What you have now in South Yorkshire is an actual police state tantamount to something you are used to seeing in Chile and Bolivia." National Coal Board (NCB) chairman Ian MacGregor thinks himself a little Pinochet who can slash tens of thousands of miners' jobs with his austerity ax with impunity. Indeed, the Tory government announced last week it was launching exercises codenamed "Lionheart" to expand the role of their Territorial Army and train it for strikebreaking.

The determined coal miners have beaten back a treacherous campaign for a national strike ballot. They have dispatched flying pickets to the scab collieries of Nottinghamshire as well as to power stations, docks and steel works. But Scargill has shackled their militancy, limiting the pickets to stopping coal instead of bringing out the workers in

related industries and extending the strike into a class-wide action. The Tories' vindictive attempts to starve women and children as ransom against the miners' militancy has steeled entire communities in a magnificent display of working-class solidarity. Thousands of strikers' wives have taken their place on the picket lines, facing down scabs and cops and braving arrest as Ann Scargill did on May 14. But hardnosed go-it-alone determination is not enough. If the Trades Union Council (TUC) bureaucrats and Labour Party tops succeed in isolating the miners, the result will be bloody disaster.

The British coal strike has been criminally stabbed in the back by the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy, which in order to gain some hard currency to pay off the Frankfurt bankers continues to ship coal to Britain. Attempting to hide their own treachery, TUC leader Len Murray, Labour "left" Tony Benn and various fake-Trotskyist Labourite satellites heap vitriol on the Warsaw bureaucracy while embracing Solidarność, the only "trade union" beloved by Reagan and Thatcher. A revolutionary workers

government in Poland would cancel the imperialist debt and provide real international solidarity with their class brothers fighting the Western capitalists.

The outcome of this decisive class confrontation will shape the destiny of British labor for years. Only the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/Britain have fought for elementary working-class solidarity, nationally and internationally, which is key to victory. SL supporters at British Leyland's Rovers Solihull plant and in London Transport have fought to mobilize their unions in joint strike action alongside the miners. And after the Orgreave cop rampage a militant Sheffield bus driver addressed a mass meeting of 2,000 calling for mass mobilization to defend labor against Thatcher's war. Thatcher is one of Reagan's closest allies in Europe. American workers have a direct interest in a victory by British miners which must bring down the "Iron Lady," thereby weakening Reagan's union-busting campaign and anti-Soviet war drive. We reprint below a leaflet distributed last week by the SL/B at the height of the miners' battle in South Yorkshire.

Spartacist League/Britain Leaflet

They're out to *kill* the miners! From the picket line murder of young militant David Jones the first week of this bitter three-month-old strike to the blood-thirsty Cossack charges at Orgreave in South Yorkshire, Thatcher and MacGregor have made their stand clear. They don't just want to close down some pits, they want to close down this whole goddamn union, and they want some militant miners' scalps as souvenirs. The Tories are waging full-scale civil war against Britain's workers with the same bloodlust the Iron Lady displayed against the 500 young men on the *Belgrano*.

No union, however militant, can take on the power of the capitalist state alone. The bosses' press is crowing about the miners' isolation. It is the treachery of the trade union misleaders, who have allowed the miners to fight alone, which emboldens the Tories and their cops to ever more provocative assaults on the NUM: the charges of riotous assembly after Mansfield, the imprisonment of Kent area president Malcolm Pitt, the arrest of Arthur Scargill and the scarcely veiled promise

of more picket line killings by the Police Federation chairman. All it took was a dozen signalmen to shut down rail service in South Yorks on the day of action. It was the mobilisation of tens of thousands of engineering and other workers who downed tools that made Saltley Gates a success against massive police presence.

And right now, tens upon tens of thousands of workers from every union should be converging upon Orgreave in a mass labour mobilisation to shut down Orgreave, stop coke going to Scunthorpe and to put a stop to the cop rampage *before* another miner dies. Scunthorpe—and every other steel factory—should be shut down through strike action. Bill Sirs' scabbing hasn't saved one steel job, either in 1980 or since. Scab deals which allow continued steel production in Ravenscraig, Port Talbot and Scunthorpe, are stabbing miners in the back. The Yorkshire and Humberside Regional TUC should be calling every union in the region out on strike—and not just for a day. Militant strikers must not be allowed to get

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**Miners lobby
union
delegates
conference in
Sheffield,
April 19.
Spartacist
League/Britain
says: Rally,
steel, power,
docks—Join
the strike now!**



Spartacist Britain

Profit-Gouging Enrages Auto Workers

Big Three Bosses Rape America

DETROIT—There is no mistaking the grunts and squeals coming from the corporate headquarters of GM, Ford and Chrysler. It is the sound of auto executives lining up at the trough to collect their "fair share" of the \$3 billion in first-quarter profits raked in by the auto companies. In a blatant display of corporate greed, the auto bosses decided to get while the getting's good, collecting hundreds of millions in salary raises, bonuses and stock options. GM distributed over \$180 million to executives, with chairman Roger Smith leading the pack with \$1.5 million. Ford's Philip Caldwell collected about the same, while Lee Iacocca—corporate America's leading egomaniac—modestly restricted himself to a 30 percent pay hike, since he has \$8 million in stock options waiting in the wings.

Iacocca defended the profits and bonuses, denouncing the "wardance" of criticism from government officials and hypocritical United Auto Workers (UAW) tops. A few years ago Chrysler was on the edge of bankruptcy, and Iacocca now presents himself as the "superman" of American capitalism. But what are his super feats? Chrysler's \$700 million profit during the first quarter amounted to \$7,000 profit per worker—surplus value extracted by means of wage cuts, speed-up and grueling forced overtime. Chrysler's "comeback" was initially financed by a \$1.5 billion government bailout at taxpayers' expense. That's "free market" capitalism for you. The bailout was made conditional on tearing up union contracts, amounting to givebacks of

and bonuses "will make negotiations more difficult this fall." For whom? Fraser's been on the Chrysler board of directors, and Bieber wants on. Fraser has the gall to demand his UAW pension in addition to the money he's gotten from Chrysler.

Facing the expiration of the GM and Ford contracts in September, the UAW bureaucrats are worried sick that things might get out of hand. And they're not the only ones. One of the reasons that the big business press has generally disapproved of the auto bosses' bonuses is that they know this can only infuriate the UAW ranks and make them all the more determined to win back the givebacks and then some. Angry workers are already exacting retributions for concessions by turning local UAW officials out of office left and right. And now that the bosses are reaping and pocketing the benefits of billions in concessions, the Solidarity House piecarts try to pretend it's somebody else's fault. What's the matter, didn't they read the contracts before they forced them on the membership? Of course they did. They see their job to ensure labor peace and profits for the capitalists. Their present displays of anger are due to the fact that they're sitting on a powder keg.

The new UAW president Owen Bieber may be forced to lead a strike this fall to, in the words of one industry analyst, "prove that he's on the workers' side." Certainly now is the time to strike. Everyone knows the current "auto boom" isn't likely to last much longer—even Iacocca predicts that "there will be

insane enough to try to pull a PATCO or Greyhound through massive use of scabs, then answer them with mass picket lines and union defense guards. Fighting class struggle—that was the reply by UAW militants to blatant union-busting at AP Parts in Toledo, Ohio.

Even with massive unemployment in

for war against the Soviet Union. Anti-import protectionism, which pits U.S. workers against their class brothers in Japan and Europe, "protects" only the banks and stockholders while auto workers at plants like Chrysler Jefferson and Ford Rouge slave 56 to 60 hours a week without even a pretense of a union defense on the shop floor. And why

Lee Iacocca (left) rewards then UAW president Douglas Fraser for giveback contracts with a seat on Chrysler board of directors.



the city's ghettos, it would not be easy to recruit scabs among Detroit's jobless black workers and youth. Practically every black in this town has a close relative or friend in the UAW. Despite the racist policies of the Solidarity House gang, there remains a deep sense that this is a union town and that the auto bosses are the real enemies of the people, especially the black people. And this sense has just been enormously reinforced by the Big Three executives' obscene salary increases amid the desperate poverty of Detroit's ghetto hellholes.

As in the 1930s, when the UAW was built, labor must mobilize the unemployed and champion the oppressed, now fighting for demands such as a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to reduce unemployment; for unlimited union recall rights; for unlimited and unconditional unemployment compensation, welfare, disability and old-age benefits at a union wage scale with full COLA. Key to successful class struggle and ultimately workers revolution in this racist, capitalist country is linking the ghetto to the factory in struggle. Detroit's black proletariat will be in the vanguard of a nationwide auto strike.

The UAW tops do not want a strike this fall because it would make things hot for the Democrats and their man Mondale in November. For this reason the fight to take back the givebacks through a nationwide auto strike is integrally tied to breaking the unions from the Democratic Party and building a workers party on a class-struggle program.

Not Chauvinist Protectionism, But Socialist Planning

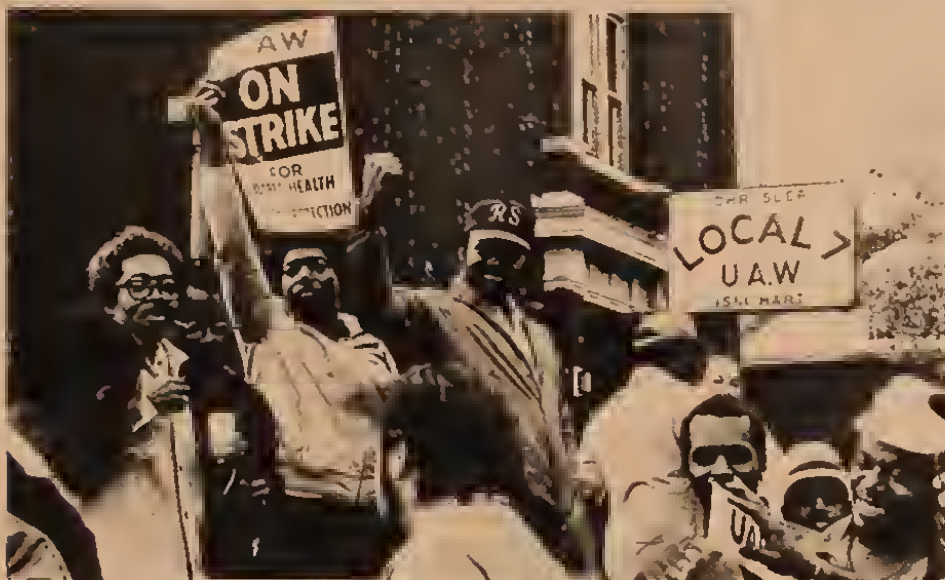
The present "comeback" in auto is based in good part on protectionist quotas against superior Japanese competition. And the Solidarity House gang is if anything even more rabidly protectionist and anti-Japanese than the auto bosses. Indeed, the UAW tops along with the rest of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy are working overtime to elect Democrat Walter Mondale whose only answer to Reaganomics is economic war against the Japanese. The climate in Detroit around this issue is so poisonous that two years ago a Chinese American, Vincent Chin, was bludgeoned to death by a racist auto foreman.

The hysterical "Buy America" campaign feeds into the flag-waving jingoism that is part of a mobilization

should American working people pay more for their cars just to listen to Lee Iacocca's big mouth on television?

While Iacocca and his friends are celebrating the auto boom and wallowing in their profits, for the hungry and unemployed of the Motor City there isn't much of a difference any more between an upturn and a downturn. The recent boom has meant that local unemployment fell from 22 to 15 percent, while an average of 34 percent of the city's population existed on public assistance during 1983. The decay of the capitalist system is obvious in Detroit, a place where today's good times looks like yesterday's depression. U.S. bosses can't save their dying system, so they grab all the loot they can carry in between ever more frequent depressions. But for the hundreds of thousands of workers thrown on the scrap heap there is no future under capitalism.

Remember how we were all taught in high school civics that Karl Marx was "obviously wrong" when he predicted the increasing gap between the poverty of the working masses and the immense wealth of the capitalists? Well, a Ford worker who compares his measly \$400 "profit-sharing" check with Philip Caldwell's \$1.5 million doesn't have to be a communist to know that Marx was right. But it helps to be a communist to know what to do about it: build a workers party to destroy this rotting capitalist system and replace it with a workers government to administer a rationally planned socialist economy. ■



Militant black workers take the lead in Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant wildcat, September 1982.

another \$1.5 billion, and throwing tens of thousands of workers onto the streets, all with the aid of the treacherous UAW bureaucrats who conspired with the company—then-president Doug Fraser got a seat on the Chrysler board—to cram givebacks down the workers' throats. The Chrysler bailout set the stage for massive givebacks at GM and Ford. All told, the UAW bureaucrats have given away over \$5 billion in union wages and benefits since 1979.

Now the labor traitors in Solidarity House are sputtering in fake outrage over the executives' bonuses, hoping the workers will forget who it was that sold the givebacks which made these profits possible. UAW president Owen Bieber blustered: "If these executives who are providing so well for themselves think for one minute that they can convince workers to do without an up-front raise this summer, they'd better think again" (Time, 7 May). And his predecessor Doug Fraser remarked that the profits

a cyclical downturn very shortly"—so the robber barons of Detroit are stuffing their pockets like there's no tomorrow. The last thing the auto bosses want is a stoppage of production at this time. But despite the favorable economic situation and the anger and determination of the ranks, the wretchedly defeatist UAW tops could pull a token strike and a sellout. To prevent such a sellout, the ranks must form strike committees, electing militants with a class-struggle program for victory. And none of this "apache strategy" business. Shut down the Big Three—for a nationwide auto strike! Take back all the givebacks and then some! Wipe the smirk off Lee Iacocca's pasty face!

Despite all the givebacks and sellouts in recent years, the United Auto Workers—especially in the black, proletarian center of Detroit—is not like the air traffic controllers or even long-distance bus drivers. The UAW is at the core of industrial unionism in this country. If the Big Three bosses are

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Smash Scabherders in Toledo!

Toledo labor exploded on May 21, and won an inspiring picket line battle—over cops, hired gun thugs and scabs. But now the strikers of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 14 in Toledo are at a critical point in their struggle against the AP Parts company. Some 230 scabs—a full pre-strike workforce—are in the plant. Union leaders are kowtowing to a court order limiting pickets to four per gate. Truck shipments leave daily. Yet in the past two weeks, no one among the local, regional and International UAW officials has called for mass picketing to stop the scabs.

It was a militant force of united

Rip Up the Injunction!

Toledo labor which won the battle of Matzinger Road. Local 14 militants were backed up by 4,000 unionists—from Jeep and Champion, from the struck Sun Oil refinery, from the building trades and the Teamsters, from CWA Local 4319. They faced the bosses' cops and they won. This is the fighting spirit needed now. Busloads and car caravans of pickets, working-class fighters from Detroit, Akron, Cleveland should be pouring in. If the

cops try to bust the union and workers' heads, then this kind of labor force can pull everybody out in a general strike!

To beat GM in 1937, it took sit-down strikes by auto workers and mass picketing by coal miners, rubber and steel workers who converged on Flint. That's how the UAW was born. It took class-struggle tactics then and it'll take class-struggle tactics today. Take it home to Detroit and link this struggle up with those of the heavily black

working class in the stronghold of the UAW's power! Such a struggle will be felt in every factory, every union hall and on every picket line in America.

The day after the Toledo workers battled the cops and drove out the scabs, *Workers Vanguard* reporters visited Local 14's picket lines. In the next few days we passed out over 8,000 copies of our special supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win." In Toledo, they know it. Holding up the last issue of *WV* with the article on Toledo, some workers complained to union officials, "Why the hell didn't you guys put this out?" And they told us their story.

Report from Toledo

Tuesday, May 22, at 6 p.m. we left Ford's River Rouge plant in Dearborn to begin the 50-mile trip to Toledo where it had been flashed on the news that 4,000 workers had battled the Toledo police department to a stand-off in an effort to stop the scabbing at AP Parts, an auto supply shop.

Midnight and raining outside the AP plant. We approached the picket line where eight to ten guys were standing around a fire burning in a trash can. The road is strewn with rocks, pieces of pavement, and the remains of glass from smashed windshields. It's a battlefield. One sign on a makeshift table says, "Goon Squad: A threat to your life, liberty & pursuit of happiness."

We told them we are from Detroit. Two guys from Ford's and two from *Workers Vanguard*, the paper that fights for working people. "You got to play hardball to win," and you've been playing hardball and you won. The pickets are very pissed at the cowardly security guards who hide behind not one hut two chain link fences. Both were built special for the strike.

Things were peaceful on Monday until the cops started in on tear gassing the demonstrators. Even hitting people in the head with tear gas canisters fired from their guns. Then there were the wooden bullets, fired from guns similar to the tear gas guns. This was the first we had heard of it—there was no mention in the bourgeois press about any wooden bullets being fired. They leave huge welts where you get hit. In Northern Ireland the cops have killed people using rubber bullets.

The strikers here know about how Ray Phillips was murdered on the picket line during the Greyhound strike. And they remember the 1934 strike in Toledo, where for a week the workers battled the National Guard in the streets and won.

There are less than a dozen pickets, and they suggest that we go look at



Toledo Union Journal

Jeep transport—a "workers' tank"—blocks Toledo AP Parts plant gate as strikers battle scabherding cops.

something they are all especially proud of. An 8x8 railroad tie through the windshield of one of Nuckols' trucks. Two cop cars arrive. They try to intimidate the pickets, but there is only contempt for the scabs in blue. The cops lost on Monday.

We get some buttons that support AP strikers. At every plant in the city there are workers wearing this button. The AP workforce is overwhelmingly white, mostly older. Many guys have 25, 26, 28 years in the plant—even one with 29 years and 10 months seniority. And the company wants to do away with 30 and out! The company pushed these guys beyond endurance. They worked for two months without a contract. They didn't want to strike. The workers even went back with a 35 percent pay cut—

\$5.84 an hour in wages and benefits lost. But the company kept pushing. Putnam and Deming, the AP bosses, laid off a hunch, then tried to beat them out of their unemployment money. Finally the AP workers took to the streets, and then it was something else.

The company was ready for a strike. They had food and cots brought in for preparation. The bosses want to bust the union, period. So they brought in Nuckols, Inc. These rent-a-cops in their black windbreakers have broken strikes from Tennessee to Michigan. As Leon Trotsky wrote 50 years ago, the capitalists' private armies of armed goons are the nucleus of fascist bands. And these thugs are doing their best to imitate the infamous Black Legions, hired killers backed by the likes of Henry Ford, who were responsible for the deaths of over 50 union organizers during 1933-36. In the late '30s, the UAW's Flying Squads ran the fascists out of town. Nuckols, Inc. deserves the same fate today.

On the news there is the announcement of a mayor's task force to put an end to the strike. The mayor, Donna Owens, is a Republican. Many workers in Toledo have Mondale buttons or bumper stickers. These guys ought to talk to the coal miners about the way Carter and Mondale used Taft-Hartley to go after the miners during the coal strike of '78. The miners ignored the federal injunctions, the marshals, and kept their picket lines. But the Democrats' main weapon is that they have the labor fakers in their pocket. And that's

going to be the big political problem in Toledo, too.

Downtown on Tuesday night is another rally, this one for construction workers. One hundred fifty workers attend. Last Wednesday was a mass picket at the Sun Oil refinery: 200 pickets. By Friday, the judge limited picketing to six pickets at only three of the eleven gates. At Sun, they had scabs stay inside to operate the plant. All over Toledo are little strikes. The workers are tired of being pushed around. "They think they are being smart going after the unions," one worker said. "But they are making the unions into one fist."

Eighteen of the 41 people arrested were from Jeep. Workers at the Jeep plant had known for several days that the solidarity march was going to happen. Monday comes and mysteriously the first shift on the CJ line at Jeep is sent home early at 1:30 p.m. Immediately the word went out: It's "Operation Grah-A-Scab," are you going? We're playing a game of ball with the scabs up at AP, everyone bring your bats. The same process seems to have taken place at the other plants. Workers at General Motors HydraMatic Division got the call a half hour later, and soon just about every factory in Toledo knew about the demonstration. At Teledyne they had a phone tree.

People began to arrive at AP around 3 o'clock. At first there were no cops, only the Nuckols guards who immediately scurried for cover. They were behind their two fences, with several video cameras, special listening microphones and the watchtower on the roof. Plus a helicopter which Deming seems to get his jollies off by riding around in. By 3:45 p.m. there was a large congregation of workers shouting at the scabs and milling around. Then someone commandeered three Jeep semis which are used for transporting cars to the storage area.

One truck came driving up with two others behind held in reserve. The strikers are ready. They want to go inside and rout the scabs. At first no one knows which side the rig is on. Maybe it's a scab truck to run them over. But when the strikers realize it's theirs, 30-50 workers pile on and the truck charges up to the front gate...and then stalls! The workers began rocking the truck. They were literally inches from busting open the way to a plant occupation, to drive the scabs and goons out. But there was no class-struggle leadership.

Now the situation changes. The plant must be hunkered to stop the scabs from coming out. So the workers *picked up the truck* and moved it eight feet to block the entrance. Then at about 4:15 p.m., "Bang!" Suddenly the tear gas goes off and the cops attack. They tried to split the workers. Some were hit in the head with the tear gas canisters and it

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Nuckols, Inc. goons (right) find scabherding dangerous to their health. At left: Railroad tie smashes Nuckols van.



WV Photos

Down With the Ayatollahs! Down With the Ba'athists!

The four-year-old Iran/Iraq war has become one of the bloodiest arenas of mutual slaughter in our times: 250,000 killed on the Iranian side and 100,000 Iraqis. This is equivalent to 1.5 million Americans killed. It is estimated that every family in Iraq has lost at least one man. In Iran, too, millions of children have lost their fathers, wives their husbands and mothers their sons in this catastrophe inflicted upon them by their reactionary rulers.

As the war drags on interminably, both the Imam Khomeini and the Ba'athist colonel Saddam Hussein have resorted to ever more barbaric practices. The Iranians have used young boys, some only eleven, in human wave assaults on entrenched Iraqi positions and also to clear minefields. "We have so few tanks," one Iranian officer explained. These boys are roped together to prevent them from deserting. For its part, the Iraqis are using mustard gas and the Nazi-invented Tabun nerve gas against the human wave assaults. This is the first known use of this nerve gas, and the first use of mustard gas since Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in the 1930s.

The horrors of war are also the breeding ground for social revolution. And if ever two bloody regimes deserve to be swept away by their own people, it is Ba'athist Iraq and Khomeini's Iran. Yet at the outbreak of this war the main organizations of the Iranian left—the Islamic "populist" Mujahedin, the petty-bourgeois radical Fedayeen and the pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh party—supported their "own" reactionary rulers. Likewise, the Western left generally supported Khomeini's Iran against Ba'athist Iraq. This represented a continuation and deepening of their enthusiasm for the "Islamic revolution." When the Ayatollah Khomeini overthrew the butcher shah in February

For Revolutionary Defeatism in Iran/Iraq War!

1979, virtually the entire left in Iran and internationally hailed his clerical-reactionary regime as "progressive" or even "revolutionary."

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) uniquely warned *at the time* that the mullahs in power would seek to reimpose the veil, restore barbaric punishments (e.g., flogging, amputations), suppress the national minorities and crush the workers movement and left as ruthlessly as did the shah. Our slogan was "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" and our perspective was "For Proletarian Revolution in Iran!" There was nothing abstract or utopian about this line. Had Iran's combative and historically pro-Communist proletariat, especially the strategic oil workers, come forward *independently*, challenging the mullahs' claim to be "the opposition" to the shah's bloody rule, it could have united behind it all the oppressed and exploited of Iranian society. What prevented a revolutionary dynamic from emerging from the massive and many-sided opposition to the shah in 1978-79 was above all the Iranian left's prostration before the Khomeini-led "mass movement."

Of course, when the Khomeini fanat

ics won and began to massacre Kurdish villagers, smash Arab oil workers strikes, bloody the left and stone to death so-called "sinners," even some of the more enthusiastic partisans of the Islamic Republic began belatedly to distance themselves from the mullah dictatorship. In 1981 the Khomeini regime crushed the Mujahedin and its Fedayeen allies. And last year the ayatollacracy moved to annihilate even the slavishly loyal Tudeh. So today some of the same Iranian leftists abroad, who in 1978-79 broke up Spartacist meetings chanting "Long Live Khomeini!", are now chanting "Death to Khomeini!" and "Khomeini is the New Shah!"

The signal exception is Jack Barnes' idiosyncratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP), now the last of the mullah lovers. Cindy Jaquith's article on the "U.S. left and the Iraq-Iran war" (*Intercontinental Press*, 14 May) begins with one of the few truthful statements to be found in the SWP press recently: "The *Militant* is virtually the only paper in the U.S. workers movement that defends Iran...." In fact, the Iranian and Western left has quietly shifted from supporting Iran in the war with Iraq to pacifistic neutralism, calling for

"a just peace." For example, the organ of the Iranian Students Association in the U.S., which supports the Fedayeen, writes:

"We ask all freedom loving and humanitarian people of the world to show their solidarity with the people of both Iran and Iraq by protesting against the continuation of this unjust war and by condemning the military aid and the sending of arms for these reactionary governments...."

"Therefore, it is our united protest and efforts which can force these governments to stop this unjust war."

—*Iran in Resistance*,
May-June 1984

As if Khomeini and Hussein can be influenced by humanitarian protest! We stand for *revolutionary defeatism*, not pacifism nor above-the-battle neutralism. The task of revolutionaries is *not* to pressure these reactionary governments to conclude a "just peace" but to *utilize the war*—the masses' desperation for peace, the disruption of the normal functioning of society, the destruction of the bourgeois military cadre, the possibilities of mutinies in the army—to overthrow their own capitalist state. As we wrote a few months after the outbreak of this squalid, senseless and unbelievably bloody war:

"A defeat for either side could open revolutionary possibilities for the Iranian and Iraqi proletariat not seen in years. Given the Communists' historic strength among the strategic Iraqi oil workers, a humiliating outcome for Hussein's great military gamble could well produce a proletarian-centered popular explosion. As for Iran, a military defeat would give a revolutionary proletarian vanguard an exceptional opportunity to break the laboring masses from the chauvinism and obscurantism of the Shi'ite clergy. This is why revolutionary defeatism is not simply an internationalist obligation but the key to the liberation of the Iranian and Iraqi masses."

—"Iran Left and the Test of War," *WW* No. 271,
2 January 1981 ■

Persian Gulf ...

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training, these backward and degenerate regimes of the Arabian peninsula cannot defend themselves. And that leaves only the U.S. armed forces to shore them up. The Soviet Union has made it clear that the direct intervention of U.S. combat forces in the Persian Gulf region, so close to the southern border of the USSR, would have "dangerous consequences."

Tripwire for WW III

In short, because of imperialist designs, the Persian Gulf region has become a taut nuclear tripwire for World War III. It is not so much a sudden cutoff of oil à la 1973 which now worries Washington and its allies. There is currently an oil glut and many countries (including the U.S. and Japan) hold large reserves. But in Washington's strategic viewpoint, dominated by war preparations against the Soviet Union, it is vital to have "friendly" regimes in the Persian Gulf region.

To ensure this the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) stands waiting with nuclear arms in hand. The British-owned island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean now serves as base for the RDF. Washington is angling to get the strategic deep-water port of Trincomalee in Sri Lanka as well as a base in Saudi Arabia itself. A military expert for the Federation of American Scientists, Christopher Paine, described the role of the RDF in U.S. plans for nuclear war against the Soviet Union:

"The RDF has at its disposal some portion of the roughly 17,000 tactical nuclear warheads that are part of the

entire US force structure....

"There is a very great risk, in other words, of US military intervention [in the Persian Gulf] leading to confrontation with the Soviet Union which quickly threatens to become nuclear. Prevailing military logic dictates that a threat to begin the process of nuclear escalation must be made 'credible' by regional and ultimately intercontinental capacity to destroy preemptively an opponent's nuclear arsenal...."

"This bizarre and apocalyptic vision provides an all-too-plausible linkage between the prospective stability of the House of Saud and the Reagan administration's decision to produce and deploy the MX missile."

Thus Paine concludes that "US military planners have, in effect, wired up the Saudi throne, and those of the other ruling families in the area, to a nuclear tripwire" (*MERIP Reports*, January 1983). Should the Persian Gulf war escalate into an imperialist attack on the USSR, all class-conscious workers must defend the Soviet Union.

For its part, the Soviet government has rightly warned against "the amassment of U.S. warships and warplanes in the Persian Gulf area" (*New York Times*, 8 March). Yet the Kremlin's cynical efforts to buy friends and allies among the reactionary and mutually hostile bourgeois regimes in the region have *increased* the danger of a wider war. In this way the Stalinist bureaucracy undermines the defense of the Soviet Union, which continues to embody the social gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

While publicly denouncing the "senseless war" between Iran and Iraq, Moscow has supplied arms to Iraq, while its ally North Korea has armed Iran. Everything from MIGs to accurate SS-21 ground-to-ground missiles have been given to the Baghdad Ba'athists even though they bloodily suppressed the Iraqi Communist Party, a mass

party based on the strategically important oil workers. In Iran the pro-Moscow Tudeh party tried to woo Khomeini and his "Islamic revolution," going so far as to actively support the suppression of the leftist Fedayeen. This did not prevent the ayatollahs from executing top Tudeh leaders last year or from arming (along with the CIA) the Afghan feudalists fighting the Soviet army.

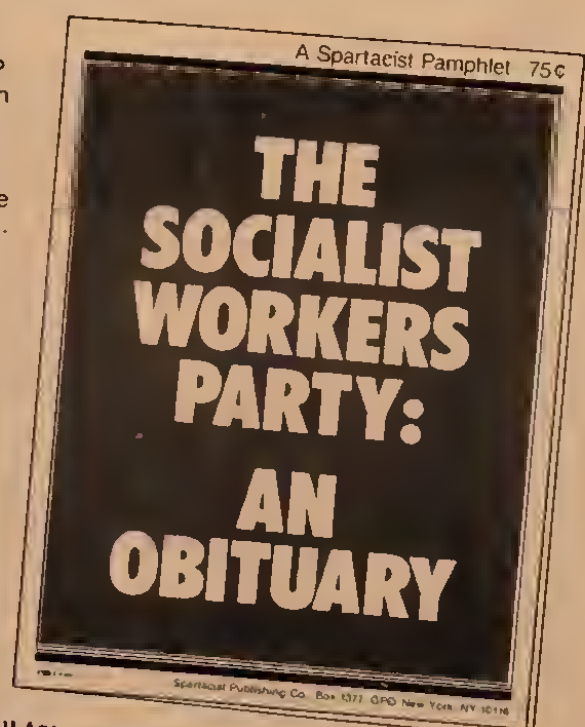
The only progressive solution to the escalating Persian Gulf war is proletarian revolution, from Iran to Iraq and Saudi Arabia, sweeping away the ayatollahs, sultans, princes, kings and Ba'athist colonels to create a Socialist

Federation of the Near East. Only in this framework can there be the liberation of the toiling masses and national justice for the many oppressed nationalities in the region. This requires the building of Trotskyist parties in this region, sections of a reborn Fourth International. Such a perspective is interlocked with proletarian socialist revolution in the imperialist centers of the United States, West Europe and Japan which can remove the danger of nuclear holocaust facing mankind and provide the industrial base for a world socialist economy. All class-conscious workers and enemies of imperialism must demand: U.S. hands off the Persian Gulf! ■

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Traitors Sakharov...

(continued from page 1)

day, no matter what happens to Sakharov." The bourgeois press has begun printing rumors that he has died, and indeed, Sakharov could be worth even more to the West dead, as a supposed martyr of "Soviet totalitarianism." This "free world" hullabaloo over the Sakharovs is a patent attempt not only to defame the Soviet Union but to blackmail Moscow into handing over to the West the father of the Soviet H-bomb, who may well have knowledge of vital military secrets.

The imperialists are not screaming for the freedom of Nelson Mandela, the black South African liberation fighter locked up for more than a quarter of a century in the Robben Island prison fortress, whose wife Winnie Mandela is banished to an impoverished rural "bantustan" and forbidden to speak publicly. No, these "democrats" brandish economic threats in the case of a Sakharov, who is a *traitor* to his country and the October Revolution. He performed great services to the Soviet Union, developing its capacity to defend itself against the imperialists' nuclear domination, for which he was duly rewarded. But today he actively campaigns for the U.S. to develop nuclear first-strike weapons and to blackmail the Soviet people with grain boycotts. We say: Try the traitors Sakharov!

The Sakharov Plot

While the U.S. claims that Sakharov is starving himself to death to press demands for medical treatment in the West for his wife, the statements have not specified exactly what is wrong with Ms. Bonner, alluding only vaguely to a

Behind the smokescreen about Ms. Bonner's health, for the past year the Sakharovs have been trying to defect to the West. A *New York Times* article of 12 May 1983 reported that Yelena Bonner had told Western reporters that the couple was prepared to emigrate to end the "nightmarish existence" they had been living since Sakharov was banished to Gorky in 1980. But TASS said at the time:

"It has been repeatedly pointed out in the Soviet press that, by virtue of his scientific activity, Sakharov is a person possessing important state and military secrets. For this reason and in the interests of national security, he is deprived of the possibility to go abroad. This ban stems from Soviet legislation and is the sovereign right of any state."

Just imagine what would happen, by way of comparison, if an eminent Israeli physicist working on their nuclear weapons tried to obtain asylum in Syria! And when American atomic scientists Alfred Savant and Joel Barr left the U.S. at the height of the Rosenberg witchhunt hysteria, they were labeled spies by the U.S. on the basis of no evidence at all. In addition to Sakharov's specific knowledge of military secrets, his intimate familiarity with Soviet defenses, based on 20 years' work at the highest levels of Soviet military industry, would be of incalculable aid to imperialism. Even the *New York Times* admitted that Sakharov has knowledge that "would probably still be of major value to foreign governments."

Nuclear Blackmail

The anti-Soviet propaganda mills like to present Sakharov's appeals to the liberal intelligentsia of the West. In 1975 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. This, of course, has nothing whatsoever to do with peace, but was in fact an award for contributions to the anti-Soviet war drive, as shown by its award two years earlier to imperialist mass



TASS

Soviet military power has prevented U.S. imperialism from igniting nuclear holocaust. Sakharov, father of Soviet H-bomb, would gladly spill military secrets to Pentagon and CIA.

dents, stripped him of his various medals and sent him into internal exile in Gorky.

But it was Sakharov's open letter in the Summer 1983 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine which really showed this counterrevolutionary's traitorous perfidy. Here Sakharov came out for Reagan's plans to build the MX missile, the first-strike weapon against the USSR, as well as for U.S. deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe! This places him to the right of the capitalist Democratic Party mainstream. "If it is necessary to spend a few billion dollars on MX missiles to alter this situation, then perhaps this is what the West must do," he wrote, arguing the imperialists should continue the arms race for "ten or fifteen years." *This is concrete aid to the enemy.* Reagan used the Sakharov article to whip up support in Congress for the MX, whose purpose is to give the Americans the capability to engage in nuclear blackmail, annihilate Soviet cities, and pose the destruction of the Soviet state itself. The Sakharovs should be tried as traitors!

The mass bloodletting of the Stalin regime is a thing of the past; today's political opponents are now frequently confined in the straitjacket and tranquilizer nightmare world of the mental hospital. Some, such as pre-eminent Soviet historian Roy Medvedev, are kept in isolation from the outside world, with a 24-hour guard posted outside their door. As Trotskyists, whose forebears were the prime target of Stalin's campaign of slander, suppression and murder, we know full well that the Kremlin bureaucracy knows only the methods of frame-ups, mindless intimidation, anti-Semitic slander and similar sledgehammer techniques. But our communist opposition to the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union is based on unflinching defense of the gains of the October Revolution. We insist that the USSR has the right to take measures to defend itself. At bottom it is the bureaucracy itself—with its conciliation of imperialism and commitment to "peaceful coexistence"—which has historically posed the greatest danger to the defense of the Russian Revolution.

The Stalinists frequently portray all dissenters as agents of imperialism. Indeed, with rare exceptions, the current generation of dissidents have become increasingly and blatantly pro-imperialist, that is to say, counterrevolutionary. They even go so far as to pass on state secrets, as was the case with Anatoly Shcharansky, the Zionist computer programmer found guilty of treason in July 1978. While the liberals shrieked in outrage at our headline, "Shcharansky Is Guilty as Hell!" (*WV* No. 212, 28 July 1978), we insisted that was literally the case, even attested to by bourgeois journalists who reported Shcharansky had passed on plans of secret defense plants. But for the rest of such Soviet dissidents, no matter how

reactionary and anti-socialist their political views, as long as they are not actively engaged in attempting to overthrow the gains of the revolution, we would as a norm uphold their freedom of expression. These Trojan horses for Reaganite imperialism inside the Soviet bloc should be fought *politically*.

The Sakharovs have been treated with kid gloves. Far from being confined in the cellars of Lubianka or the frozen *gulag*, their movements have been limited to the city of Gorky which is, while off limits to foreigners, no Siberian tundra but a thriving metropolis of one million, 250 miles east of Moscow. Here they have a four-room apartment, and with Sakharov's membership in the Soviet Academy of Sciences, access to all the special stores. Despite Sakharov's penchant for hunger strikes for personal ends, Moscow has, if anything, been rather flexible in this case. In 1981 the Kremlin even relented to their demands to allow Yelena Bonner's daughter to emigrate and join her husband-by-proxy in the U.S., where he was a graduate student at Brandeis. And this while Sakharov has been beating the drums for Reagan's war drive, and Bonner hobnobbing endlessly with Western "correspondents," who almost to a man are connected with the CIA, MI5, or what have you.

All this hue and cry is part of an imperialist propaganda barrage against what Reagan calls the Soviet "evil empire." Headlines proclaim "Sakharov's Kin Urge West to Act for His Freedom." *Extortion*, not freedom, is their aim. Compare this to the reception accorded the great Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky when he was booted out of the Soviet Union by Stalin. He was confined to a Turkish island, his requests for asylum, a historic democratic tradition, turned down by virtually every Western "democracy." Even requests to visit Germany for medical treatment were turned down. "I could appreciate the full advantages of democracy only as a corpse," wrote Trotsky in the last chapter ("The Planet Without a Visa") of his 1929 autobiography, *My Life*. In contrast, he noted, the toppled shah of Persia and the king of Afghanistan had no difficulties obtaining asylum from the crowned heads of Europe. Nor would the "dissident" Sakharov.

It is perfectly clear that Dr. Sakharov would blab everything he knows to the West. Even today he has valuable secrets which haven't necessarily decayed with time. And we have a modest proposal. Since the Reaganites claim their only concern is "humanitarian" and not strategic-military, the Kremlin might suggest a simple trade of "aging" scientists: Sakharov in exchange for Edward Teller, the father of the American hydrogen bomb and now a prime mover of Reagan's plans for the "Star Wars" program to annihilate the Soviets from space. ■



In 1977 Sakharov faults letter from U.S. imperialist chief Jimmy Carter, an opening shot in the anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign.

heart condition, nor where it is she wants to go. (The Soviets insist that Ms. Bonner has no need to seek medical treatment in the West as she has access to the best clinics of Gorky and to the central clinical hospital of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.) And a May 30 TASS statement denied Sakharov was on a hunger strike, claiming he "takes regular meals and leads an active way of life." Ms. Bonner, they added, is not hospitalized and "does housework and types a lot on her typewriter," adding sardonically that her writings go straight to the U.S. embassy in Moscow.

The Soviet statement reiterated earlier charges that the whole business had nothing to do with her health, but was part of a plot cooked up in the American embassy where Bonner would take "asylum" while Sakharov began his hunger strike. U.S. officials at first screamed the Sakharov plot story was a total fabrication. But on May 18 Washington admitted that copies of letters to the U.S. ambassador from Yelena Bonner detailing plans for the hunger strike and Bonner's temporary asylum had been left in an embassy car. It was also confirmed that American embassy officials had regularly kept in touch with Bonner, and that on April 12 when the letters were found, American diplomats had driven her to a railroad station in Moscow where she caught a train for Gorky.

murderer Henry Kissinger. The bourgeois media preferred Sakharov, having had certain difficulty selling an open worshipper of the tsar like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, a man who thinks houses should be no more than two stories high, who praises the anti-Semitic Black Hundreds and denounces the "decadent West." In fact, however, in recent years Sakharov has become so reactionary that his views are as anti-Soviet as those who want to return to the days of the obscurantism of the Russian Orthodox Church when the knout of the tsarist autocracy reigned supreme.

Andrei Sakharov has long been the U.S. imperialists' favored anti-Soviet "dissident." Just weeks after Jimmy Carter took office in 1976, Sakharov became the linchpin of the Democrats' anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. Blustering State Department warnings were followed by a well-publicized "private" Carter letter to Sakharov. In January 1980 Sakharov really emerged as the imperialists' darling as he called for an Olympic boycott and for the West to take steps to force Russia to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. A Western correspondent reported the Sakharovs lamenting the "weakness" of U.S. "resolve in the face of Soviet totalitarianism." It was then that the Kremlin, complaining that Sakharov had blabbed military secrets in his innumerable chitchats with Western correspon-

Reinstate Anti-Fascist Postal Workers!

Beat Back McCarthyite Purge in Canadian Union!

This stinks! Last month seven Toronto postal workers were expelled from the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) for defending their union and the labor movement against William Lau Richardson, Canada's most notorious union-busting fascist and agent provocateur. At the same time Richardson, the self-declared "intelligence director" of the Canadian Ku Klux Klan, and his Nazi sidekick George Graham are trying to put two of these postal militants, Paul Schneider and Michael Mares, behind bars for defending a labor-endorsed abortion rights demonstration from these two fascists.

Labor support has poured in across Canada for the anti-fascist unionists. Ten union locals, 86 labor officials and

ists who supported their case out of the union! Such an undisguised McCarthyite purge hasn't been seen in Canadian labor since the Cold War red scares. An April 10 leaflet distributed by the seven to their local explained what was behind this witchhunt:

"...we put out a leaflet asking if there could be any relation to the fact that McGarry's brothers, Daniel and John McGarry, were the owners of Centurion Investigation Ltd. that hired Richardson to make bombs that were planted in the car of a UAW union official and a union organizer, to beat up organizers for the textile workers union. McGarry's answer: to put Schneider, Mares and the rest of us on trial two days before Richardson's trial of Schneider and Mares in the bosses' courts."

Testifying before his own kangaroo

have had to combat open defenders of Richardson and other fascist causes like the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee, which encompasses the now defunct fascist Western Guard and the Nazis. Recently an outraged membership had to vote down the attempt of the Toronto LCUC bureaucrats to readmit an expelled scab who had tried to run over a shop steward on a picket line! But when the seven union militants came out to the May 17 meeting of their local, as was their right under the union constitution which mandates the right of appeal before expulsion, goons sent out by the Toronto Local 1 piccards kept them out.

It's no coincidence that the same day the witchhunting conviction expelling these militants came down Robert McGarry pulled a Doug Fraser and announced he was taking a seat on the Canada Post Corporation board of directors. The LCUC chief has made a career out of servile collaboration with postal management. The LCUC national executive even made a movie about it entitled "The Other Way"! The LCUC witchhunters went after the seven Toronto militants because they fought to defend the union against union-busting and fascist terror by mobilizing the power of labor in its own defense, and because several of these militants are well-known supporters of the Trotskyist League of Canada, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. Now, like Fraser on the Chrysler board, McGarry sits as an open company cop policing the union for the postal bosses. This was not lost on the rabid labor-haters and red-baiters of the *Toronto Sun*, which gloated in a May 16 column: "Those who crave postal peace should applaud" McGarry's appointment. Two days later another *Sun* columnist wrote:

"Even the old trouble spots (Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto) are far less cranky and volatile. The relatively small number of Trotskyites who made class-warfare chatter the lingo of the post office as workplace haven't disappeared but they're more muted and seem to have less influence on the rank and file."

McGarry's witchhunt and Richardson's frame-up are not going unopposed either within the LCUC or in the Canadian labor movement as a whole. When McGarry tried to stop Vancouver LCUC Local 12 from defending Schneider and Mares, they told him to shove it and endorsed the demand to drop the charges against these two anti-fascist unionists. Five Local 12 executive board members sent an urgent protest to the national trial board denouncing the "lack of national [LCUC] support for Bros. Schneider and Mares—who regardless of their political views deserve our support in defending themselves against the likes of William Lau Richardson at a labor-sanctioned demonstration. We feel that this trial board hearing is unwarranted and that the timing is unfortunate considering that these Brothers have a civil suit pending."

On the eve of the national convention of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC, the national union federation), the Toronto CUPW local passed a motion condemning McGarry's despicable conduct (see box). The Toronto CUPW motion and the original leaflet exposing the relationship between the McGarrys and fascist union-buster Richardson were distributed to more than half the 2,300 delegates at the CLC national

Motion Passed by
Canadian Union
of Postal Workers,
Toronto Local, 27 May

WHEREAS:

LCUC national president Robert McGarry has had seven LCUC Local 1 members expelled from the LCUC because they fought to defend their union and the labor movement against the dangerous KKK union-buster William Lau Richardson by building labor support for LCUC members Paul Schneider and Mike Mares who are threatened with ten years in jail on frame-up charges brought by Richardson;

WHEREAS:

the expulsion of Schneider, Mares and five other LCUC Local 1 members weakens all of labor in the fight against our most deadly enemies like Richardson;

THEREFORE BE IT

RESOLVED:

that the CUPW Toronto local a) demands the immediate reinstatement of these brothers and sisters (Paul Schneider, Mike Mares, John Agius, Audrey Minton, Gerry Docherty, Jane Kirby, Ron Gaudet) as members of the LCUC;

b) recognizes that Robert McGarry's conduct both in expelling these unionists and in regard to the deadly union-busting Centurion Investigation Ltd., owned by his two brothers, is incompatible with the elementary principles of decency and labor militancy.



Spartacist Canada

Rally in Toronto defends postal worker militants victimized for defending labor-backed demonstration against fascist provocation.

more than 300 individual unionists have endorsed the demand of the Committee to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists for dropping all charges against Schneider and Mares. Recent endorsements have included the Toronto and Vancouver locals of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), the Vancouver local of LCUC, Scarborough GM UAW Local 303, Iron Workers Local 721, and the president of Local 721 and vice president of the Ontario Federation of Labour, John Donaldson.

Scandalously, however, the national president of the Letter Carriers, Robert McGarry, not only sabotaged LCUC support for this vital case but threw Mares, Schneider and five fellow union-

court Robert McGarry claimed he has no knowledge of the union-busting terror carried out by his brothers—despite headlines in the bourgeois press—and the fact that Daniel McGarry was jailed for his part in Centurion's dirty work and both Daniel and John McGarry received heavy fines. McGarry proceeded to testify that he would accept William Lau Richardson, Centurion's murderous union-busting bomb-maker and fascist mercenary, as a member of the LCUC!

McGarry is hell-hent on creating a union whose only "good" members are fascists and scabs, and where militant defenders of labor are chucked out. In their own local Schneider and Mares

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Dangerous Fascist



no credit

Canadian Nazi hoodlum George Graham wears Confederate flag T-shirt walking out of FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C.

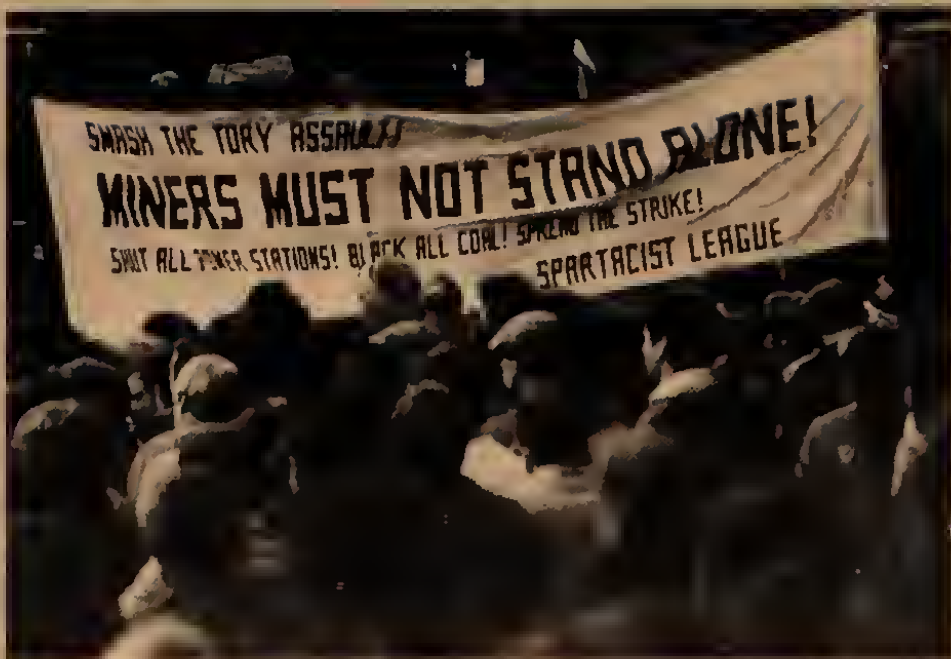
British Miners...

(continued from page 5)

picked off in isolation by a vicious, well-armed police force. It is absolutely necessary to organise disciplined trade union defence guards as part of the mass mobilisations of union power. Militant miners must seek to initiate elected strike committees in every locality and at every level—drawing in militants who want to spread the strike from other unions, from the women's support committees, from the minority communities which have years of brutal experience at the hands of racist police terror.

Why isn't it happening? The reformist misleaders of the labour movement would rather trample on the most elementary dictates of trade union solidarity than confront the capitalist state whose arse they lick. Len Murray *openly* denounces even the token day of action called by Yorkshire and Humber-side and by South Wales Regional TUCs. CIA-loving anti-communists Eric Hammond and Alastair Graham attack the miners in the language of the Tory front bench. Neil Kinnock and the Labour Party leadership spend all their time trying to force the NUM into sellout negotiations with the NCB—when they're not busy ballot-mongering and denouncing strikers' "violence."

And the vaunted "lefts" do not even make a pretence of covering their tracks anymore. "Left" MPs like Tony Benn have not uttered a word of opposition to the Labour leadership's ballot-



Spartacist Britain
Spartacist League/Britain calls for expanding the strike as miners mass outside union delegate conference in Sheffield, April 19.

mongering and violence-baiting. And for all their words of "solidarity" the TUC "lefts" act in practice no differently than right wingers like the ISTC's [steel union] Sirs. Jimmy Knapp and Ray Buckton shove British Rail's insulting 4.9 percent wage offer down the throats of railworkers in a desperate attempt to avoid any industrial action alongside the miners. Scottish T&G [Transport and General Workers] leaders scuttle the threat of a Scottish dock strike against blacklegs unloading scab coal in their ports while denying it has anything to do with the miners strike. BL Longbridge convenor Jack Adams, a prominent Communist Party supporter, makes no bones about supervising a scab operation in coking coal.

The labour misleaders would do anything rather than rely on the power we have, the organised might of the labour movement. Lobbies of Parliament like the one proposed for June 7 are no answer to anything. Who are we going to lobby—the Tories? the SDP? open strikebreaker Peter Shore? Let those Labour MPs who want to stand with the miners come out to Orgreave and call other workers out! And while the cops bash heads and the MPs make speeches, rumours fly of a "compromise" with the NCB. Why are the negotiations taking place in *secret*? Every striker must know what discussions are taking place about the future of their jobs, their union and their communities. Scargill's perspective of

pressuring Parliament (through another Labour government) and relying on protectionist import controls and subsidies to "save" the coal industry (the "Plan for Coal") is a dead-end. The only way to defend jobs and stop closures under capitalism is through class struggle, for a shorter working week at no loss in pay. And British industry can only be saved when it is ripped out of the hands of this corrupt capitalist class through workers revolution. Thatcher/MacGregor have a "Plan for Coal"—it's called breaking the NUM!

The ruling class is intent on a bloody victory designed to set the labour movement back by decades. If they're prepared to plunge the whole world into thermonuclear holocaust to "roll back Communism," of course they'll plunge the coalfields into a police reign of terror to roll back the workers' gains at home. This is a struggle to defend the very existence of effective trade unionism. *The miners must not continue to stand alone!* Railworkers: tear up Knapp/Buckton's sellout deal! Steelworkers: dump Sirs' backstabbing—the way to save steel jobs is on the picket line! Dockers: shut down the scab operations at your ports! If the chief battalions of the trade union movement come out in joint strike action alongside the miners, they can still spearhead a counteroffensive which turns the Tory rampage into a humiliating rout. Dump the class traitors! Defend the unions! Rail, steel, power, docks—join the strike now! Build massive mobilisations of labour and minorities to smash the cop/strikebreaking terror! Bring the Iron Lady to her knees!

Spartacist League
31 May 1984

"Hardball" A Big Hit...

(continued from page 2)

"when the guys found out we were leaving Friday morning they tried every argument they could think of to get us to stay, including making up all kinds of 'big actions' planned for the weekend which we would just kick ourselves for missing. We said we'd be sure to make it back for a demonstration July 1, the one-year anniversary of the strike, and they invited *WV* to come back then with enough people to enter the baseball team playoffs."

The *WV* team's visit to the Arizona copper strikers even got us a mention in the *New York Times* (3 June); the article, surprisingly sympathetic to the copper strikers, noted that:

"Another echo of the copper union's stormy past has been the appearance here of representatives from left-wing political groups such as the Spartacist League and the Socialist Workers Party, bringing with them the fiery language of class struggle and workers' democracy."

The team sold 13 full-year subs.

Our comrades were heartened by the warm response we got from the copper miners in Arizona. When an older Spartacist comrade heard the stories from the returning sub team, he observed that it's the message of "that old-time class struggle" now coming full circle. Our "Hardball" article is neither new nor particularly creative; it's a restatement of some crucial lessons of the class struggle in this country, lessons learned in sweat and blood by our predecessors of the revolutionary workers movement, and particularly the revolutionary syndicalists of the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), the old "Wobblies."

The Wobblies occupy a place of honor as the pioneering industrial unionists and working-class revolutionists. Their understanding of union struggle as a class war between labor and capital attracted the best militants of their generation and was carried into

the communist movement by men like James P. Cannon. And the metal miners in the West, in places like Bisbee, Arizona, were a stronghold for the Wobblies. Jim Cannon, a founder of the Communist Party and then the founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party, which was for many years the Trotskyist organization in this country, learned in the Wobbly school of class struggle crucial lessons which have been passed along to us, the Trotskyists of today. This experience is what we sought to capture in the "Hardball" article. We seek to be the revolutionary memory of the working class, to forge the indispensable revolutionary leadership which carries the lessons of working-class struggles forward to win final victory over capitalist exploitation and oppression. ■

Toledo...

(continued from page 7)

burns like a son of a bitch. Canisters were thrown back at the cops. Then the wooden bullets come out and the cops began firing on the workers who have never seen such things before. The cops waded in to take away the workers who were on the semi.

The police came up to workers and told them they were arrested. But hundreds of workers surrounded the cops and chanted "set him free." Several workers were released. The crowd began to chant, "Union, union, union!" The workers were hot. They made sure that there were no AP strikers in sight: an elementary measure of precaution for those who are most vulnerable. The cops ignited the crowd with their tear gas, and "from then it was spontaneous combustion." The rocks were flying, over one, two sets of fences. A javelin smashed through the windshield of a Nuckols station wagon.

It's a stand-off. The crowd thins, and the cops pick up more workers for arrest because they do not move fast enough down the road. But they're afraid to move the scabs out and the cops and



Toledo cops choke auto worker in explosive AP Parts strike.

goons keep them locked inside until the next morning. Toledo workers know they won this round. On Tuesday there were contingents of workers dressed in their gear and lined up in gas stations along Detroit Ave. and in the suburbs waiting for the word to go back down to Matzinger Road. But the word never came.

The next day there were only four official pickets. The sergeant tells the picket captain that 12 management are

going to come in. One picket, Charles Greenwade, a black man, is the only person walking the picket line. He is frustrated because he can't stop the scabs. But he can at least walk the line. So the cops jump and choke him. The deal was that no scabs would go in on Wednesday. But then ten squad cars arrive, and another 40-plus cars with at least 122 scabs! Some "deal"! They *all* have to be stopped to win this strike. That is what is posed now in Toledo. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

S.F. Confederate Flag Trial Ends in Hung Jury

Hail Richard Bradley!

We print below the Spartacist League press release issued in San Francisco on June 4.

Today in SF Municipal Court, the trial of Richard Bradley—the black Spartacist candidate for Board of Supervisors in 1982, who twice in April tore down the Confederate flag in the Civic Center and then put up the Union battle flag of Fort Sumter—ended in a hung jury (8 to 4 for acquittal). Bradley, who was charged with “vandalism,” said the trial vindicated him in exposing real racist crimes of Mayor Dianne Feinstein’s administration: flying the flag of slavery and Ku Klux Klan terror for years over our city, and personally ordering the removal of the flag of victory over the slaveocracy—the Fort Sumter flag—and ripping it to shreds.

Bradley said, “I have welcomed this trial all along, and if the prosecutor wants a new trial, let’s have it!” Tomorrow Bradley has another court date on more charges stemming from putting up the Fort Sumter flag.

The Spartacist League had said they would use the trial to show that “Dixie” Dianne Feinstein’s pledge of allegiance to the Confederate flag was an act of conscious racism and an insult to every decent person in the city. And the trial did expose an attempt to cover up a racist conspiracy.

- Deputy mayor Rotea Gifford testified that the Fort Sumter garrison flag was taken down at the express order of Mayor Feinstein, and brought to the mayor’s office. Trial evidence proved that the Union flag was shredded and thrown away.

- Under cross-examination, Tom Malloy, Recreation and Parks general manager, revealed that the city flew the Dixie flag in violation of its own policy not to fly the Confederate battle flag, a policy established by the Parks Commission in 1964 after a civil rights march had pulled the flag down.

- Witnesses testified to the use of the Confederate flag as an incitement to racist terror, not a historical artifact. Along with the swastika, the Confederate flag is used by the fascist fringe of the anti-Soviet war drive, the KKK and the Nazis. Bradley’s attorney, Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Valerie West, tried to introduce into evidence the videotape of the 1979 Greensboro Massacre which shows the Klan and Nazis acting under these banners when they murdered five civil rights activists and leftists in cold blood. Judge Timothy A. Reardon denied the Greensboro film on the grounds it was “too good” and would “prejudice” the jury.

- The trial testimony showed that the Confederate flag is still a burning issue in the Bay Area. Bradley testified that race-baiting white police officers at the

Northern Station where he was hooked have posted up a picture of the notorious Richmond Police Department’s racist “cowboys,” clad in Western garb, carrying weapons and sporting the Dixie flag. The posting of this “cowboy” picture on the wall of the SF police station shows that for the SF police, the brutal racist “cowboys” are models. As Bradley’s lawyer remarked in her summation, “One thing the ‘cowboys’ are not—they are not a historical society.”

- Bradley testified that what he did was part of a fight against race-terror. “I don’t think what I did was wrong. ... I stopped San Francisco from becoming another Greensboro, or another Chattanooga, Tennessee, 1980, where Klansmen shot four black women just because they were black!”

- The D.A. failed in his effort to trivialize Bradley’s act—openly and proudly proclaimed in court—as “vandalism.” In her opening statement to the

Finish the Civil War!



WV Photos



Dixie flag no longer flies over S.F. Civic Center: Richard Bradley clad in the uniform of a Union soldier rips down the Confederate flag for the first time on April 15.

terrorists to this day. Other witnesses included Peter Woolston, General Executive Board member of the International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union Local 6, who burned the Confederate flag Bradley tore down on April 15; Diana Coleman, who ran together with Bradley as Spartacist candidates for SF Board of Supervisors in 1982, making the flying of the Dixie flag at the Civic Center a major issue in their campaign; and Jeff Higgins, steering committee member of the Labor Black League for Social Defense, which acted together with the labor/socialist Spartacist League in removing the Confederate flag from the Civic Center.

On the stand, Bradley recounted early childhood experiences in segregated South Carolina, his involvement in the first class of black students who integrated the University of South Carolina, and his ten-year history as an activist and militant in the United Auto Workers. Bradley explained his past as a fighter for all workers and stated his belief that the promise of black equality, unfulfilled by the Civil War, will require integrated class struggle leading to a third American Revolution, a workers revolution, to bring about socialism. ■

jury, attorney West explained that Bradley and the Spartacist League “acted because they understood that it was necessary that someone speak dramatically, that this flag so deeply offensive to many people should not fly in San Francisco because it is an incitement to racist terror.” And she added that Ritchie “had to speak in the same way Rosa Parks had to speak when she sat in the front of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama. And he is no more guilty of the crime of vandalism.”

The District Attorney and Mayor

Feinstein had brought to trial more than Richard Bradley and the Marxist Spartacist League. In taking up the lost cause of the Confederate flag against the Union flag they had made an enemy of the whole course of American history. And in the end it was they who were on trial.

Important testimony came from an expert witness on the Civil War and black history, Mr. Joseph Hann, who spoke on the bloody history of the Confederate flag, banner of the slave-owners and of the Ku Klux Klan race-

We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery!