

Defend the Soviet Union!

No Joke— Reagan Wants War!

Break with the Democrats, “Liberal” Wing of Imperialist War Drive!

“My fellow Americans,” began Ronald Reagan, warming up for his weekly radio chat. “I’m pleased to tell you today that I’ve signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes.” So said the man who has his finger on the button that can unleash 3,000-plus megatons of nuclear weaponry, enough to produce Hiroshima 276,000 times over. And five minutes is just the time it takes for those Pershing 2 first-strike missiles to reach the Soviet Union from their launch sites in West Europe. It was all a “joke,” the White House claimed. Soviet defense minister Marshal Ustinov isn’t laughing. He recalls the 20 million Soviet citizens who died throwing back the last attempt to obliterate the homeland of the October Revolution. The European bourgeoisies are not amused. They know that Reagan’s “limited” nuclear

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Der Spiegel



Rinascita

He means it. Pentagon plans nuclear first strike against Soviet Union.

Strikes Rip Britain

Bring Down Thatcher— General Strike Now!

LONDON, August 27—Coal is shut down. Now key docks are out. For the second time in a little over a month Britain hangs on the verge of a general strike.

On August 24 Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) leaders called a national dock strike. The strike was precipitated when Scottish

dockers at Hunterston, who had been blacking [refusing to handle] coal and iron ore shipments in solidarity with the striking miners, walked off the job after scab contractors and steelmen unloaded a coal-carrying ship. The strategically placed dockers, whose action poses a crippling of this island economy within a few weeks, now join

the 140,000 miners who have battled so heroically for nearly six months. And within minutes of dockers’ leader John Connolly announcing the strike—threatening to back it up with strike action by TGWU-organised lorry drivers—the rail unions issued instructions to honor dockers’ pickets and seamen began blacking cross-Channel traffic.

The British labour movement stands at a decisive crossroads. For 18 weeks the miners fought virtually alone against the bloodthirsty Thatcher and her army of cops, SAS men [British special forces] and scabs. Finally in July the dockers came out. The

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no credit

Out for almost six months, striking coal miners inspire the British working class.

Taft-Hartley and the Red Purge

Ithaca, NY
March 8, 1984

Workers Vanguard

Editors

Dear Comrades,

In your very interesting article on labor in the March 2, 1984 issue of *Workers Vanguard* [No. 349, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," since reprinted as a *WV* supplement] it is stated on p. 14 that "This [Taft-Hartley Act 'secondary boycott ban'] was linked to a ban on Communists holding union office" and later that the Act "also banned Communists from holding union office." In fact, Section 9(h) did not ban Communists from holding union office, but only, as stated in the article, "Communist-led unions were barred from going to the NLRB."

This is not a distinction without a difference. In fact, the distinction is in strong support of the very thesis that is asserted in the *WV* article. It is my understanding (as an attorney and not a historian I hesitate in such assertions) that some class struggle unions led by Communists refused to file the non-communist affidavits required by Section 9(h), preferring to keep militant leadership than to be able to use the bourgeois labor laws and agencies. Since the law did nothing other than penalize by suspension of these "aids," never of significant value, they continued to struggle under Communist leadership.

In fact, the 1947 Taft-Hartley attempt proved so ineffective that Section 9(h) was repealed in 1959 by the notorious Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure ("Landrum-Griffin") Act and replaced by Section 504 of that Act which *did* ban Communists from holding union office and provided criminal penalties, including up to \$10,000 in fines and federal imprisonment, for any Communist who served as a union official. (It should be noted that Section 504 was declared unconstitutional as a Bill of Attainder by the U.S. Supreme Court in *United States v. Brown*, 381 U.S. 437 [1965].)

The story of Section 9(h) of the Taft-Hartley Act can serve as an excellent example of how class struggle unionism can combat repressive measures, and how the state responds by more repressive measures that can then be used to sharpen the class struggle and can ultimately be defeated by courageous labor leaders, such as Archie Brown, the proud Communist who refused to not run for union office, despite the fact it could mean jail, and successfully fought back the state's attempt to imprison him for his beliefs under Section 504.

In struggle,
David S. Bahn

WV replies: The reader's point about the nature of the penalties under Taft-Hartley, and the differences with the Landrum-Griffin Act, is well taken. It must be remembered, however, that



In 1977-78 strike, miners told Carter to shove his Taft-Hartley injunction.

Taft-Hartley was only one of many weapons in the government's witch-hunt arsenal. Don't forget the anti-communist Smith Act, first used against the Trotskyists and Minneapolis Teamster leaders (with the wholehearted approval of the Communist Party) during World War II, and then against the CP in the late '40s. Then there were the harassment techniques—intimidating HUAC "investigations," FBI "visits" to the workplace or home, etc. Even when CP-led unions such as the United Electrical Workers (UE) tried to abide by Taft-Hartley provisions, they were pounded with grand jury contempt citations, deportation proceedings and the like. In this period if you were simply labeled a "commie,"

any number of serious consequences would result. And one way to get the "communist" label was to refuse to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavits—in effect a government loyalty test.

So if you didn't go along with the "slave labor law," the government did a lot more than simply suspend NLRB "aids." And when the ten CP-dominated unions were expelled from the CIO in 1950, they were raided by anti-communist unions in NLRB-supervised "elections" which excluded the CP-led unions and led to their decimation. To be sure, class-struggle unions would have fought back against such attacks with militant strike action. But the CP had long ago abandoned class struggle
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Wobblies and the State

New York, N.Y.
30 June 1984

Editors,

Workers Vanguard

Comrades,

It was with some surprise that upon reading *Workers Vanguard* No. 357 I found such a profound tilt towards anarcho-syndicalism. Having been an unshakable defender of the anti-political activist IWW for some time am able to see the Wobbly influence in others. Appearing in the party of revolutionary Trotskyism almost (but not quite) shocks me.

Am not referring to your page 2 quote from Cannon but the page 7 hox article "The State and the Strike: No Neutrals Here!" Why, a more sophisticated anarcho-syndicalist position hasn't been put forward since Joe Hill was an ordinary. If only Big Bill [Haywood] had of had such ammo back in '13, why the SP would have been very hard pressed to defend itself.

No, the bourgeois state is not neutral. Neither will the workers state be neutral following our victorious conquest of

power. Nor are the present degenerated workers states arbitrators between competing classes. No, comrades, the state will always kick ass. What we must make clear is that our state will kick the asses of the profiteers, manipulators, thieves, murderers and social scum produced by backwardness and decay. We shall also teach, support and lead the ignorant, weak and learning masses so as to bring the day closer when "every cook shall rule" and the state will fade away.

So, comrades, I'm not going to join the FOT (Far Out Tendency) over such a deviation. Just warning you of your slippage and expect you to get back on the communist path. I'm a patient man, as my mentors were with me. You can get on the rock hard red brick road again comrades and I'll be there to help you along the way.

Comradely,
for free love and state power,
Charlie M.

P.S. You did redeem yourself with "The Russians Crushed Nazi Germany." Thank you very much.

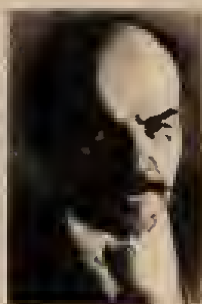
WV replies: A tip o' the hat to "Single Slim" for keeping us on our toes. Hope you caught our article "Make the Unions One Big Fist!" in *WV* No. 358 (6 July). ■



TROTSKY

The Russian Revolution and the American Revolution

James P. Cannon, a founder and leader of the American Communist and Trotskyist movements, was imprisoned by the Roosevelt administration for the Trotskyists' revolutionary opposition to U.S. participation in the imperialist Second World War. Shortly after his release, Cannon called upon the American working class to assimilate the Bolshevik legacy in order to live up to its historic mission.



LENIN

Here in the United States is the greatest imperialist power, a monster exploiting and oppressing the whole world. That is true, and we take full account of it. But here also is a still greater power—and that is the militant and undefeated American working class. Great historic responsibility surely rests on our shoulders. The two greatest powers of the world—the power for evil and destruction, and the power for the regeneration and salvation of mankind—are both here.

There is only one way for us to do our duty. That is to foresee the revolution and to prepare for it. And the way to prepare for it is to go to the American workers with the message of the party. Go to this source of power that is greater even than the power of American imperialism and teach them the lesson of the Russian revolution. Organize them and inspire them. And lead them to the socialist victory in America which will insure the socialist victory throughout the entire world.

—James P. Cannon, "The Russian Revolution—Twenty-Eight Years After" (1945)

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No. 361

31 August 1984

Send "Hardball" Supplements!

West Virginia

This is in response to your offer of supplements. You ask if people would be interested in distributing some. I would like to try to send out 20.

I am hoping to get these distributed where they will do some good come September. Although I don't know if I can, I'll try. Please, I would very much like to see in *WV* a big article laying the groundwork for [Mine Workers] strike coverage. I have a bad—very bad—

impression of [UMW president] Trumka, with his KKK buddy and selective strikes (?).

On your recent SWP article ["Barnes Axes Last Veterans of the Old SWP," *WV* No. 353, 27 April]: Don't you think one element of SWP (at least) will return to "Trotsky"? "Trotsky" being a Shachtmanite anti-Stalin caricature, who would leave a good taste in the mouths of those who have a distaste for being yet another Stalinist outfit? Maybe there will yet be a real fight between those who want to me-too [Michael Harrington's] DSA and those who want to me-too Castro.

S.J.I.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Protest Mass State Terror Against Lankan Tamils!

U.S. Imperialists Must Not Get Their Hands on Trincomalee!

One year after last summer's bloody pogroms against the Tamil national minority in Sri Lanka, when hundreds of Tamils were burned or beaten to death and tens of thousands driven from their homes, government troops and police have launched a new campaign of mass terror against the civilian population of the Northern Province. The right-wing government of J.R. Jayewardene has enlisted the aid of the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency, and British "mercenaries," killer-elite SAS commandos, in his murderous drive against Tamil separatists. Jayewardene's tactics now begin to resemble those of his tutors, who regularly inflict mass armed terror against defenseless civilian populations in Northern Ireland and in occupied Palestinian territory. And the racist South African apartheid regime, as part of the anti-Soviet U.S. imperialist axis, has delivered arms and ammunition for J.R.'s army to use to murder Tamils. But above all, "Yankee Dickie" Jayewardene is Reagan's man in South Asia. J.R.'s drive to crush the Tamils is part and parcel of U.S. imperialist ambitions to dock its nuclear submarines, destroyers and carriers at Trincomalee, in the heavily Tamil Eastern Province. Trincomalee harbor is a key to U.S. control of the Indian Ocean, for its arsenal of death aimed at the USSR and its allies.

The many hundreds killed in last year's massacre were memorialized in late July by a "hartal," a total stoppage by the populace in the Tamil Northern Province. Over the last year, J.R. has greatly expanded his repressive arsenal—Mossad agents, SAS commandos, helicopter gunships supplied by the U.S.—and when they were ready to move, with their massive imperialist materiel in place, they launched a drive, using the small-scale Tamil nationalist guerrilla activities (mainly bank robberies and attacks on the police and Sinhalese army) as an excuse. Armed patrol boats of the Sri Lankan navy bombarded a coastal village in the North, Valvettiturai, on August 5. Convoys of armored vehicles attacked the village, shelling schools, shops and

kovils (Hindu temples). Naval bombardment killed as many as 100 civilians; hundreds of homes and shops were destroyed; thousands of villagers were forced to flee. Troops rounded up and arrested all the young men over age 12 (some 700 of them) and took them to detention camps 350 miles to the south. In Point Pedro, another coastal village, government forces seized another 300 youths in a house-to-house roundup of suspected "Tigers" (guerrilla fighters for an independent state of Tamil Eelam).

On August 12 in Mannar, 50 miles south of Jaffna, virtually the entire town was burned to the ground by Sinhalese government troops. Hundreds of shops were destroyed; 5,000 were left homeless. "It is like an army of invasion flattening everything in its path," said Mannar's Catholic bishop (*New York Times*, 14 August). Arrested youths suspected of Tiger sympathies have been found dead, their bodies mutilated by torture. Repeatedly, innocent civilians have been massacred to vent the rage of the police and army at their inability to crush the Tamil rebels, who enjoy widespread support among the Tamil populace. Seeking to whitewash the Sinhala communalists and provide a further pretext for outlawing the Eelamist and leftist parties, Jayewardene absurdly accuses the leftist JVP of infiltrating the army and provoking the bloody pogroms.

A grisly example of J.R.'s method of blaming the victims for their own massacre was the bombing of the Chunnakam police station on August 11, where some 22 "suspected Tamil terrorists" were bound and gagged, imprisoned in an evacuated police station boobytrapped with explosives set up to detonate when a rescue was attempted. There is also pervasive suspicion about who was responsible for the bombing of innocent bystanders at the Madras airport on August 2, an act clearly aimed at discrediting support for Tamil rights among Indians and denounced by Tamil separatist groups ([London] *Guardian*, 6 August).

Agitation is widespread among Tamils in India on behalf of the Lankan Tamils. In Madras on August 12, a thousand protesters stoned the U.S. consulate, denouncing American backing for Jayewardene's bloody pogroms. On August 15, the day Indians celebrate their independence from the British, some 5,000 demonstrators were arrested in Tamil Nadu after a demonstration of solidarity with victims of the repression in Sri Lanka. While protesters de-

**Bomb planted
by Sri Lankan
government
forces destroyed
Chunnakam
police station,
killing Tamil
prisoners and
their rescuers.**



nounced the Indian government's "attitude of indifference" to the plight of the Tamils in Lanka, Indira Gandhi—with the blood of the Sikhs fresh on her hands—called for national unity "against forces of division encouraged by foreign elements or agencies" (*Le Monde*, 17 August). Gandhi, executioner of the radical nationalist Bangladeshi Mukti Bahini, of Indian religious and ethnic minorities from Amritsar to Andhra Pradesh, will not liberate the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Under the motto "divide and rule," bloody communal divisions were fostered through centuries of colonial domination, and today are nurtured by capitalism in its death agony. Only proletarian revolution, on the island and throughout the Indian subcontinent, can end communalist terror and ensure Tamil national rights.

Our international tendency is known on the island and abroad as a forthright and consistent defender of Tamil rights, including the right to Tamil self-determination—the right to Tamil Eelam. However, our slogan "No faith in Indira Gandhi, butcher of Sikhs and

Mukti Bahini!" has elicited opposition in the Tamil exile community, along with attempts to exclude our tendency. This reflects growing political polarizations within the exile movement, with bourgeois forces seeking respectability and accommodation with the imperialist and Indian bourgeoisies while more militant sectors see themselves fighting for a socialist Eelam, and both wings have deep illusions in Gandhi's regime.

The reformist Sinhalese "left," cowering in the face of J.R.'s bonapartism, looks toward a new popular-front coalition. They criminally refuse to support the unconditional right of Tamil self-determination. Of course they bemoan the bloodbath and claim to support concessions to the oppressed Tamil people, "but not if it means splitting the country." Indeed they are tied intimately to the "left" wing of Sinhala chauvinism. In the mid-1950s the Ceylonese left abandoned the Tamil people by forming a bloc with the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), in the name of "fighting the right." To form its popular-front coalition with the SLFP, the "United Left Front," the left dumped its longstanding position favoring equal status for both Ceylon's vernacular languages, Sinhalese and Tamil, and came out for the main SLFP slogan of chauvinism, "Sinhala only." The political splitting of Ceylonese society along communal lines was reflected within the union movement and in the emergence of the Federal Party as the bourgeois electoral voice of the Jaffna Tamils from 1956 onward. The left parties were rewarded by their bourgeois allies with ministerial portfolios, including an LSSP minister for plantations to oversee the super-exploitation of the stateless "Indian

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Britain...

(continued from page 1)

government was rattled. The pound fell to its lowest level, interest rates rose dramatically—the Iron Lady could have been toppled. Then the TGWU leaders capitulated and the bosses again smelled blood. But now the miners' hard and tenacious battle, which has inspired huge sections of the labour movement and the oppressed, has again won them a major ally on the picket line. The dockers' renewed strike means that the power to defeat Thatcher is palpably there. This time there had better not be any retreat: either it's fought through into a hard political challenge threatening this government or it's capitulation to Thatcher and the crippling of British labour.

Today a series of strategic unions are either striking alongside the miners or taking some sort of official action in their support. Militants must call on the leaders of these unions to launch all-out coordinated strike action now. As we wrote a month ago:

"The NUS, NUR, ASLEF [railway engineers] and TGWU must call all their members out in immediate strike action. If rail, transport, mines and maritime are shut down, that will be a general strike. It will lay a powerful basis for pulling out other key sections of workers, especially in steel and power, over the heads of their scabberding misleaders... A revived, fighting version of the Triple Alliance of miners, dockers and railwaymen is the way to organise a general strike now, based on united common strike action by these key national unions and over the heads of the craven TUC [Trades Union Congress]."

—“Miners, Dock Workers, Shutting Down Britain,”
WV No. 359, 20 July

Such a general strike must be organised around a set of concrete demands: Victory to the miners—Smash the attack on the dockers union! No more redundancies—No more denationalisations! For a 10 per cent wage rise across the board linked to full cost-of-living indexing! Drop all charges against victimised strikers! These modest demands won't be granted by the existing



South Yorkshire: funeral procession for coal miner Joe Green, killed by scab truck on the picket line, June 22.

Tory government. But a determined fight for them can weld together decisive sections of the labour movement in a struggle that topples war-monger Thatcher. The key is a leadership prepared to go all-out in a battle against the capitalist state, a battle which necessarily poses the question of power: which class rules?

The TUC and Labour Party leadership fear and hate the prospect of such class struggle above all else—and are doing everything in their power to sabotage it. While the TUC's Cold War right-wing leadership openly scabberds, Labour chief Neil Kinnock has been working frantically to forestall the threatened “big bang” of union struggle in the autumn. “I don't think that the trade union leadership would go for it because it would be such a monumental gamble and because it is not the way

British trade unionism works,” said the despicable Kinnock of the prospect of a hot autumn of political strikes (*Guardian*, 14 August). Throughout the miners' battle he and his deputy Roy Hattersley have echoed Thatcher in calling for a strikebreaking ballot and denouncing “violence” by strikers.

The same kind of backstabbing defeatism is displayed grotesquely by the outfit called the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), led by Tony Cliff. On the day the Scottish dockers went out, with

a national strike about to be launched, Cliff gave a public meeting in London and his entire speech consisted, incredibly, of proving how “isolated” the miners were! Challenged by a Spartacist League supporter and NUR (National Union of Railwaymen) militant who has fought to spread strike action to his union, Cliff responded by boasting of SWP members crossing picket lines at half a dozen steel plants. You'd think this was a meeting of scabs in Nottinghamshire! Cliff has a peculiar theory of the “downturn” whereby the trade unions are supposed to have been decisively defeated for the last several years; he even claims that “the miners' strike is an extreme example of what we in the Socialist Workers Party have called the ‘downturn’ in the movement” (*Socialist Review*, April 1984). With their disgusting scabbing Cliff & Co. are

Look Who's in Bed with the Iron Lady

Walesa Loves Tory Union-Basher Thatcher

Forget the black madonna of Jasna Gora; Lech Walesa's found his true mistress in the Iron Lady, Britain's would-be bloody dominatrix Maggie Thatcher, who yearns to grind the coal miners and their embattled union into the dirt. The head of Solidarność, Poland's counterrevolutionary company union for the CIA, explained in a July 29 interview with the British *Sunday Mirror*, titled “Why Scargill is wrong—by Lech,” how “much respect” he has for the vicious prime minister. “With such a wise and brave woman, Britain will find a solution to the strike,” said “Lech.”

Attacking the coal miners, in a desperate battle for their livelihoods and their union, Walesa said, “I disagree with any violence. The workers should demand the maximum, but not at the risk of bankrupting the employer.” As our British comrades noted, “At the beginning of the strike we observed that Scargill [head of the miners union, who had earlier denounced Solidarność], unlike most of the Labour/TUC leaders or for that matter the so-called revolutionaries, could at least spot a scab in Poland as well as in Notts” (*Spartacist Britain* No. 60, August 1984).

“Lech” is a big fan of Reagan's too: When PATCO was smashed, Solidarność said not a word in protest. Walesa however hailed Reagan's 1980 election as “a very good sign for the world and for Poland.” Echoing tsar-lover Solzhenitsyn, this “union” leader complained that workers have “too much affluence and laziness in the West.” So now he openly backs Thatcher's bloody union-hashing.

Meanwhile, coal shipped by the Polish government is still



arriving in Britain. A revolutionary opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy would demand, as the British miners rightfully have, that these scab shipments stop. Instead of scab coal General Jaruzelski should ship scab “Lech” over, so he can get a good taste of what life in impoverished Britain is really like under the Iron Lady's heel.

doing their best to make defeat and downturn a reality.

Build Picket Lines, Don't Cross Them!

The British workers movement today sees a sharp polarisation between those who want to fight and those who believe that the trade unions are beaten or fear to mobilise their power. The Cold War defeatists are prepared to see the unions crippled rather than fight. But millions of workers want to smash the scabberding.

At stake in this fight is the existence of real picket lines and other weapons of labour solidarity without which effective unions are impossible. The bosses have focussed their hatred on the militant, mass flying pickets of the miners—and with good reason. The miners have fought with unrivalled tenacity against state assaults, provocations, thousands of arrests, two picket line murders. Thousands-strong picket lines have seen barricades of flaming tires and burnt-out Coal Board lorries, spreading the strike and stymieing the bosses' back-to-work schemes. It is the deep traditions of trade union solidarity on which Tony Cliff et al. spit that have engendered such broad support for the miners and threatened to blow the Thatcher government away.

Thus when John Connolly announced the second national dock strike, he cited the accumulated rage of his members, who day after day had to rub shoulders with scab lorry drivers earning £140 a day for transporting coal: “Quite frankly, our people at Hunterston got sick of it.” Racial and national divisions too have been transcended by a common hatred for a common enemy. Striking miners have marched shoulder to shoulder with Republican militants in Northern Ireland. Young blacks in Brixton have formed defence guards to drive off cops who sought to break up collections by strikers. A general strike would tap massive sentiment throughout society to smash the Tory onslaught on jobs, living conditions and services.

To date, several port areas have not yet joined the dockers' national strike. Militants must fight for mass flying pickets of miners and dockers to ensure all ports are shut tight and to spread the strikes further. Joint elected strike

committees, drawing in representatives of other unions taking action alongside miners and dockers, as well as the coal field women's groups, the unemployed and oppressed minorities, can provide organisation at the base and prevent bureaucratic sabotage. Disciplined union defence squads are needed to defeat the cop/scab terror on the picket lines and elsewhere. Striking lorry drivers in their juggernauts could provide a firm antidote to the scab cowboy owner-operators who threatened to burn down the port of Dover in an effort to break the strike last time. Call the TGWU lorry drivers out on strike now! Union security provisions of the National Dock Labour Scheme must be extended to the non-registered ports like Dover and Felixstowe. And no settlement for the dockers which leaves the miners out alone!

The defeatists and backstabbers inside the labour movement are linked by a common attitude toward Thatcher's anti-Soviet war drive. This was established last autumn at the TUC congress, when miners' president Arthur Scargill was roundly witchhunted for his correct condemnation of CIA-backed Polish Solidarność, the favourite “union” of Thatcher and Reagan. TUC general secretary Len Murray and his cohorts used the attack on Scargill to push through their “new realism” policy of lie-down-and-play-dead—and that was the go-ahead for Thatcher to attack the miners. A year later, the most hardened pro-CIA Cold Warriors of the labour movement like Bill Sirs of the Steelworkers and Frank Chapple of the Electricians have been the most vociferous in urging their members to cross miners' picket lines. Similarly, the anti-Soviet SWP is at least consistent in supporting a scab union in Poland and scabbing at home.

The Labour/TUC “lefts,” while today compelled by the depth of Thatcher's attacks to put up some resistance, also fear the prospect of all-out conflict with the capitalist state. The dockers' leaders called off the last strike in exchange for worthless paper promises at a time when Thatcher was threatening to call out the troops. The rail union leaders made their own separate pay settlement earlier to avoid striking alongside the miners, and are talking about a work-to-rule to protest British Rail redundancies weeks

(continued on page 10)

Postal Workers: Screw Arbitration! You Gotta Strike to Win!

LAS VEGAS—Thanks to sellout union presidents Moe Biller and Vincent Sombrotto, Ronald Reagan had his way at the postal workers' conventions held here August 20-24. In "negotiations" with the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC), Postmaster General William Bolger demanded a three-year wage freeze, cuts in COLA and sick pay, increased use of part-timers working without fringe benefits and below union scale, and a one-third pay cut for new hires. With over 600,000 members located in every major city, the APWU and NALC ranks don't have to stand for this garbage. Ask Nixon. In 1970, the postal workers struck against the Federal government—and won. That's what's needed today—a solid nationwide strike to spark a labor offensive to reverse the tide of union-busting! But instead the NALC convention explicitly handed its contract over for binding arbitration while the APWU authorized "whatever steps" Biller wants to take. Either way it's a capitulation to the Postal Service.

Biller Plays Post Office with Bolger

When negotiations with the Postal Service collapsed on July 21, Biller talked tough. "Some union had to stand up against the concessionary bargaining and the antiunion behavior that have been going on ever since President Reagan broke the air traffic controllers' union," Biller said. "We refuse to kowtow." That's a laugh. That same day, when the national contract expired, Biller and Sombrotto told the ranks to "stay cool"—i.e., to keep working, thereby spitting on the principle of "No contract, no work." With "leaders" like these, no wonder postal workers are worried about striking.

With PATCO in mind, the ranks take seriously Bolger's threat to fire strikers and they have no assurance that Biller, Sombrotto & Co. would do anything about it. (These fakery actually contributed to PATCO's annihilation in 1981 by rushing to accept a sellout rather than striking alongside the air traffic

Postal union bureaucrats Moe Biller (left) and Vincent Sombrotto work overtime to shove cutback contract down ranks' throats.



controllers.) In Biller's pro-arbitration speech at the convention, he pounded the podium so hard for a sellout that the union's crest crashed ignominiously to the floor. The symbolism unfortunately is all too apt.

In an article before the Las Vegas conventions, the *San Francisco Examiner* (5 August) headlined, "Only 'PATCO fever' keeps angry postal unions from striking." But the postal workers ain't no PATCO. If Bolger tried to fire and replace 600,000 strikers, he'd soon have class war on his hands from coast to coast. That's why Congress for now has rejected Bolger's "two-tier" pay scheme

for new hires—the capitalist lawmakers, Republican and Democrat, are afraid of a postal strike before the elections. A joint APWU-NALC strike could win if the power of the postal workers and that of their allies throughout the labor movement is brought to bear. This means mass picket lines that nobody dares cross and militant solidarity actions by Teamsters, railroad and airline employees to ensure that the mail must not go through. Reagan and Bolger would learn, like Nixon did, that you can't sort mail with bayonets!

The postal workers' struggle is above all political: the boss is the capitalist

state itself. They're fighting Uncle Sam. But fearful of any sort of "trouble" which might jeopardize their cushy jobs as "labor statesmen," Biller and Sombrotto's advice to the ranks is to elect a new capitalist master. Anti-Reagan, pro-Democratic speeches were the mainstay of both conventions. An endless list of Democratic politicians hammered away with the message "Don't strike, vote Mondale," and the APWU tops tried to raise \$50,000 for Mondale and Ferraro by selling campaign buttons at \$10 a shot.

Mondale, however, has already proven that he's an enemy of postal workers. Under Carter and Mondale in 1978, the U.S. Army released details of "Operation Graphic Hand," a military mobilization in the event of a postal strike. The plan called for the occupation of the post offices by 96,000 Army and National Guard troops backed up by units of the Marines, Navy and Air Force. And guess who was Carter/Mondale's postmaster general? It was Bolger, same as under Reagan. Maybe "Son of Jimmy" Mondale will keep Bolger on the job in light of his long experience as a strikebreaker.

The bankruptcy and gutlessness of the postal union bureaucrats couldn't be clearer. Bolger simply threatened to take off the gloves and Biller and Sombrotto ran away. The ranks have no such option, however, and many postal militants are open to a class-struggle alternative. Convention delegates, many of them blacks from the South, bought some 40 introductory subscriptions to *Workers Vanguard* and took more than 4,000 copies of the *WV* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" Our salesmen met postal workers from Washington who had participated in the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization in November, 1982 which kept the KKK off the streets of the capital. With auto and coal contracts coming up in September, a strike by the heavily integrated APWU and NALC ranks would spark a labor offensive which could bring down Reagan and his strikebreaking government. Under sellouts like Biller and Sombrotto, the unions have been taking it on the chin for a long time. We need class-struggle leadership so labor can start to return the favor with interest. ■

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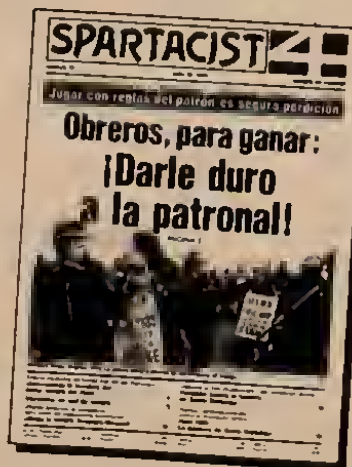
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No Joke— Reagan Wants War!

(continued from page 1)

war fantasies are to be played out on and over their territory. And large sectors of the American population don't want to be vaporized to fulfill Ronald Reagan's anti-Communist wet dreams.

Right after his "joke" Reagan called for rejection of any interpretation of the 1945 Yalta Agreement "that suggests American consent for the division of Europe into spheres of influence." Three days later, Secretary of State George Shultz repeated the threat—"We will never accept the idea of a divided Europe." Preparing for a new war the U.S. ruling class has dusted off the hoary old anti-Communist battle cry of Cold War I, when Eisenhower and the Dulles brothers vowed to "roll back" Communism in the Soviet bloc. Now

the battle cry "overturn Yalta" has been taken up by the new Cold War alliance, from Republican Reagan to French social democrat Mitterrand to the Polish nationalists of Solidarność. "Down with Yalta" is the rally call for World War III.

Reagan's "joke" is no "slip," but a program. And it's not the first time it has come into the open. Just after Reagan took office one of his high National Security Council officials, Richard Pipes, announced that the Soviet Union had the "choice" of either "changing their Communist system in the direction followed by the West or going to war." He got a slap on the wrist for talking out loud. In June the Marine chief of staff for plans, Lt. Gen. Bernard Trainor, said "limited war" with the Soviets was

an "almost inevitable probability" in the next few years. He ought to know. As for Reagan's "voice test," the Soviet news agency TASS was authorized to state:

"The episode has been justly seen as a manifestation of the self-same frames of mind which have already been formulated officially before in calls for a 'crusade,' the doctrines of limited and protracted nuclear wars and in military-political plans of securing world dominance to the United States."

Provdla added, in what must be one of the understatement of the century, "The incident further confirms the need to maintain the highest vigilance before the aggressive plans of the United States and NATO." Absolutely!

Ronald Reagan dubs the Soviet Union the "source of all evil." For this Hollywood huckster of "free enterprise" and the "magic of the marketplace" the very existence of the Soviet Union—where capitalism was overthrown more than six decades ago—is intolerable. But for the billions of oppressed and working people on this planet the Russian October Revolution raises a beacon of hope, showing the way to a future without poverty and degradation. Despite its bureaucratic degeneration under the regime of Stalin and his heirs, the tremendous social and economic conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution remain—the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a planned economy.

To all those misguided peaceniks who call for "Disarmament—East and West," we say: if it were not for Soviet nuclear weapons the U.S. imperialists would be riding roughshod all over the world: Havana would be in the hands of the Mafia and the drug traffickers, Marshal Ky would be goose-stepping in Saigon and doddering tsarist officers would have been dancing on Lenin's



NATO
Pershing 2, only five minutes from Russia.

tom. The labor movement in the West would be smashed and every democratic gain for blacks and other minorities crushed under heel. All class-conscious workers and friends of human freedom are duty-bound to defend the Soviet Union—the main military/industrial powerhouse of the deformed workers states—against the imperialists.

Reagan's sinister anti-Soviet war drive can and must be spiked by the restless giant of American labor. The Republicans think they can ride the modest upturn in the U.S. economy back into the White House. But from



Reagan and Nancy in the bunker. The man with his finger on the button is not "joking" about plunging world into nuclear war.

Abortion Clinic Bombings: Moral Majority Terrorism

Ronald Reagan and his ruling class co-conspirators are selling the Big Lie that "state-supported terrorism" is threatening America. They have been busy trying to paint the left as a bunch of violence-prone crazies. But Reagan & Co. haven't said a word about the real wave of arson, bombings, death threats and kidnappings sweeping the country. That's because it's "their people," religious nuts of the far right, who are in fact the terrorists. And their target is working-class and poor women.

Abortion clinics across the United States are being hit by an escalating wave of violence. This July 4 the National Abortion Federation office in Washington, D.C. was bombed. Three days later a Planned Parenthood office in Annapolis, Maryland was blown up. Over the summer a family planning clinic in Birmingham, Alabama was smashed with sledgehammers and a Pensacola, Florida facility was bombed by religious fanatics. "There is a reign of terror throughout this country. Patients and staff at abortion facilities are being harassed, clinics are being invaded and machine-gunned," said National Abortion Federation director Barbara Radford. The Abortion Rights League has charged Reagan, stating "that the emotional tenor of his public statements against reproductive choice is fueling unprecedented violence against facilities which provide abortion services" (*Washington Post*, 7 July).

A group calling itself the "Army of God" bragged to the sinister Moonie press *The Washington Times* that it

was responsible for the Annapolis bombing, claiming, "We will send every abortion clinic to hell." "Army of God" terrorists also kidnapped an abortion clinic doctor and his wife in

But it isn't just isolated nuts spearheading this terrorist campaign. The Reagan reactionaries have launched a sweeping offensive to force women back into childbearing "good house-



Bomb rips abortion clinic in Pensacola, Florida.

Illinois in 1982, terrorizing them for eleven days in an abandoned army bunker before releasing them. The only thing that's going to stop these supposedly "god-fearing" reactionaries from spreading their murderous attacks against poor and working women is to put some *real* "fear of god" into them: next time they try to firebomb and maybe murder some scared kid trying to get out of a bad fix, they ought to be met by a strong workers defense guard protecting women's rights!

wife" roles frighteningly reminiscent of Hitler's "*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*" (children, kitchen, church) definition of woman's place. This summer's media-hyped hysteria over sex abuse at childcare centers serves the same end: after every scandalous story, another day-care center gets closed down, while working women are warned the only "safe" place for kids is locked back at home with them. (Disgustingly, even the "mainstream" bourgeois feminist *Ms.* magazine has fallen in line, featuring a very pregnant

woman wrapped in the stars-and-stripes on its September cover on "Giving Birth in America": the message obviously being it's *patriotic* to have babies, and probably un-American not to.)

Meanwhile, at the recent United Nations population conference in Mexico City wealthy conservative James L. Buckley, currently president of the CIA-sponsored anti-Communist Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, announced that the U.S. will not support any organizations which "perform or actively promote abortion as a method of family planning." After practically labeling the Planned Parenthood Federation "comsymps," Buckley praised "free enterprise" as the "natural" method of birth control. Sure, through poverty, disease, starvation, war and the "rhythm method" of periodic mass unemployment endemic in the capitalist system!

Of course it's never the wives, daughters and mistresses of the rich men who rule this country who suffer—they've always been able to get their abortions, whether legal or not, in plush privacy with every consideration. The people most hurt by this violent, reactionary offensive are the poor, young teenagers who "get in trouble," and working-class women who simply can't afford to have any more children, who desperately *need* the right to free, safe abortions if something goes wrong. We say: free abortion on demand is a fundamental right.

So, yes, there's some support for "state-sponsored terrorism" in this country. But it's the "right-to-lifers" who are the killers. And it's this reactionary, capitalist state that's breeding and encouraging right-wing terror, whose intended victims are the working people. For labor action to bring down Reagan and smash his terrorist nightriders!



War Games In Los Angeles whipped up "Long Boor Freestyle Jingoism" (Sports Illustrated).

the copper fields of Arizona to the auto plants of Toledo-Detroit, that upturn has begun to generate a renewal of industrial struggle recalling the militant class battles that built the CIO. Workers are determined to take back the "give-backs" their misleaders gave to the bosses during the recent depression. Militant postal, auto and coal strikes, combined with genuine labor solidarity with the heroic Phelps Dodge strikers, can bring down Reagan. But the power of the racially integrated labor movement is shackled by an ossified labor bureaucracy forged in the McCarthyite Cold War and tied to the Democratic Party of racism and imperialist war. The "answer" to Reagan of AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland and his cronies—"don't strike and vote Democratic"—is to march for Mondale on Labor Day and vote for his watered-down version of Reaganism on election day.

Just as black struggle for equality shattered McCarthyism, so labor and black struggle can shatter the far more dangerous Cold War II of Reagan and Mondale. Black people, socially segregated at the bottom of this society, are the most alienated from "American dream" illusions and have the most to gain from smashing the racist, imperialist status quo politically represented by both Republicans and Democrats. The Achilles' heel of U.S. capitalism is the powerful position of black workers in strategically key industries. Black unionists now constitute 31 percent of the AFL-CIO membership, concentrat-

ed in Detroit auto, Chicago steel. East and Gulf Coast longshore and New York subways. These black workers are integrally tied to the ghetto poor whose liberation is manifestly impossible without the destruction of the capitalist system and a radical redistribution of social wealth under workers' rule.

To unchain the integrated labor movement, working people must break with the Democrats and form their own class-struggle workers party. Black workers will be in the forefront of the emancipation of American labor. U.S. workers don't need a reformist party like the British Labour Party, which while based on the unions aspires to administer the capitalist state for the bosses. The central lesson of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky is that the social emancipation of American labor, this most powerful yet politically backward working class, requires a proletarian vanguard of class-conscious fighters steered and united by the Leninist-Trotskyist program of world revolution.

Third World War Games

A couple of months ago Reagan declared the Los Angeles Olympics would be "a great morale builder—a chance to wave the flag together." The White House was determined to have its display of hate-the-Soviets jingoism even without the Soviets there to be abused and threatened. So as August

continued on page 8



Labor/black struggle is needed to spike Reagan union-busting, anti-Soviet war drive.

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FBI/KKK/New York Times... Disinformation, Inc.

In early July a letter signed by the Ku Klux Klan was mailed from the Washington area to 20 African and Asian countries. Titled "Olympic Games for Humans, Not Apes!" the disgusting hate sheet boasted, "We have forced the Soviets out of the Olympics. We shall not permit the apes to be present either!" and threatened "If your curs dare to come to the Summer Olympics in America, they will be shot or hanged." It was the all-too-familiar language of American racism, yet the instantaneous opinion of Secretary of State Shultz was that "it is hard to believe" the KKK did it! A few weeks later the FBI blamed it all on the Soviet KGB (secret police). And then the "responsible" *New York Times* lent its authority to this latest anti-Soviet smear campaign in an August 9 editorial, "Olympic Sabotage."

"The F.B.I. . . is now satisfied that the hate mail was actually produced by the K.G.B.," say the *Times* editors. The proof? "Attorney General Smith and F.B.I. Director Webster say" they are "sure" . . . and anyway, "The Klan denies writing the hate letters!" Following the classic unanswerable smear technique, the FBI is withholding the "evidence" for reasons of state, and we are supposed to simply take the feds' word for it! In its July 11 article on the letters the *Times* claims that they "contained expressions not commonly used in American speech." Like the hate sheet's references to "whites only," or "death to the blacks," or its threats that "apes" will be "shot or hanged"?

The fact is, this kind of murderous racism is unfortunately as American as apple pie. During the '60s civil rights movement, Judge W. Harold Cox of Jackson, Mississippi (appointed by the Kennedy administration) complained about blacks registering to vote: "Who is telling these people they can get in line and push people around, acting like a bunch of chimpanzees?" Racism is at the core of American bourgeois politics, as KKK-endorsed president Reagan knows all too well. After all, it was "democratic" U.S. imperialism that stripped Jim Thorpe of his Olympic medals and banned Jesse Owens from competition shortly after his triumph at the Berlin Olympics.

"This is hardly the first time the K.G.B. has been convincingly accused," the *Times* editorializes. We suppose they are referring to their own front-page article last June 10 by "journalist" Claire Sterling blaming the attempted assassination of the pope on the KGB. The *Washington Post* (18 June) conducted its own investigation and soon discovered that the only "evidence" for this assertion is the coached "confession" of the assassin Agca—not exactly a sterling character. But the "Terror Times" is more than willing to take the word of a fascist assassin, or a Claire Sterling (who for years worked out of the *Rome Daily American*, an acknowledged CIA "asset") or the KKK/FBI, if it serves the purpose of smearing the Soviet Union.

It was clear this was U.S. government disinformation from the beginning: when the hate letters started turning up in early July, even before the FBI launched its so-called investigation. Secretary of State Shultz and State Department spokesman Alan Romberg were already spreading innuendoes that the Soviet Union was to blame. The FBI

"report" followed a few weeks later, neatly timed to coincide with the "anti-terrorist" Olympics, whose flag-waving atmosphere has encouraged every jingoistic, racist nut in the country. Now the *New York Times*, the snooty "grey old lady" of the "free but responsible" bourgeois press, drops its mask of objectivity to peddle this "story" cooked up in the J. Edgar Hoover Building. It only shows how willing they are in the government-orchestrated "news" conspiracy.

To cite the FBI and Attorney General Smith as "authorities" on racist terror is like quoting Jack the Ripper on sex murders. Which secret service is it, after all, that has proven ties to the KKK killers? The FBI's agents/informers have been involved in Klan terror for decades—the beating of Freedom Riders, the murder of civil rights workers like Viola Liuzzo, the 1979 Greensboro massacre, you name it, the feds were in on the racist murder. At Greensboro, the FBI's "informer" rode in the lead car, yet this act of government-sponsored Klan/Nazi terror witnessed on TV by millions was evenhandedly dismissed by the oh-so-"objective" *Times* as a shootout between two "fringe" groups!

Under Reagan, the FBI has been explicitly forgiven for these previous so-called "excesses" and unleashed with a host of sinister new powers—as DeLorean's jury can tell you—and Attorney General Smith was the author of the FBI's new "guidelines." But the feds' say-so is good enough for Sulzberger. No doubt this explains the *Times*' curious silence over the KAL 007 affair in recent months. After having dutifully spread the Reaganite propaganda about Russian "murderers" last year, the *Times* has maintained an ostentatious silence on the subject even as a mountain of evidence has accumulated pointing to the White House as the source of the 007 provocation (see *WV* No. 357, 22 June, "Yes, KAL 007 Was On U.S. Spy Mission"). Evidently the Attorney General and the FBI can not only plant stories in the *Times*, but spike them as well.

The Soviets have rightfully dismissed this latest smear as the "delirious myths" of a government drunk with anti-Soviet hysteria. Seldom has there been a clearer case of the thief crying foul—here are the past and present masters of assassinations, the accomplices of KKK lynchers, the trainers of Cuban *gusano* terrorists, the suppliers of the Salvadoran death squads and paymasters of the Nicaraguan mercenary *contras*, accusing the Soviets of one of their favorite tricks of the trade! And now the authoritative news organ of the American ruling class repeats such smears as good coin.

Echoing Reagan's Cold War "terror" scare, the *Times* editorial ominously ends with the accusation that the Soviets have practically committed "an act of terrorism" on American soil. This is not just yellow journalism but war propaganda of the sort that used to come out of Goebbels' *Völkische Beobachter*. It demonstrates the ominous breadth of the bourgeois consensus over the anti-Soviet war drive: from the far-right *National Review* crowd to *New York Times* "liberals." Disinformation, Inc. is intimately tied to the CIA/FBI's Murder, Inc. and it will take workers revolution to put the whole stinking gang out of business.

Reagan...

(continued from page 7)

began, frenzied crowds were chanting "USA! USA! USA!" in an orgy of "new patriotism" at the L.A. games. Two weeks later at the Republican Party rally in Dallas, they were chanting "Four More Years!" The conservative London *Economist* duhded it "Reagan's Coronation," but to many it was reminiscent of Mel Brooks' parody "Springtime for Hitler," when Reagan proclaimed a "springtime of hope for America."

There hasn't been such a flag-waving, saber-rattling summer since 1936, when Hitler staged the Berlin Olympic games before crowds snapping the "Sieg Heil" salute and singing "Deutschland über Alles" as the Olympic torch was carried into the stadium. This jingoism prepared the social climate for German remilitarization leading to World War II. When Reagan opened the '84 Olympics telling the crowd to "Win it for the Gipper," he wasn't talking about amateur sports. These were war games, Third World War games, with full audience participation.

The way the Olympics were presented, they practically had Leni Reifenstahl trying to do *Triumph of the Will* nightly on TV, retitled *Going for the Gold*. "It's U.S.A. Über Alles, on the Tube," wrote *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Howard Rosenberg on August 2 of ABC's disgusting jingoist coverage. *Sports Illustrated* (13 August) suggested the network ought to get "medals for Large Boor Freestyle Jingoism," adding that "foreign athletes came to be dismissed as foils, necessary evils such as Joe Louis's Bums of the Month or the Harlem Glohetrotters' Washington Generals." Even America's "free world" allies were repulsed. ABC's bully-boy chauvinism was so extreme it prompted an unheard-of public protest letter from International Olympics Committee head Juan Antonio Samaranch.

Without the participation of the Soviet bloc athletes who would have won from half to two-thirds of the events, all the prattling about a "new American dominance" at the games is manifestly garbage. In May the Russians announced they were pulling out of the Olympics, citing the campaign incited and sanctioned by U.S. rulers of intimidation, harassment, possible kidnapping and right-wing violence against Soviet athletes. We hail Moscow's decision to stand up to Reagan: "Moscow finally said 'Enough!' and told Reagan to take his Cold War games and shove 'em.... Now the 'first capitalist games' will explicitly be nothing but the 'NATO Olympics'" ("Soviets K.O. Cold War Olympics," *WV* No. 355, 25 May).

The U.S. rulers tried to intimidate domestic opposition with their "Blue Thunder Olympics," whipping up a



Sloan/Newsweek

Mondale glad-hands racist LAPD cops. Party of Dixiecrats and Vietnam War cannot spike Reagan reaction.

"terrorism" scare to justify a 17,000-man security force, FBI machine gunners, helicopter squads, the works. Ominous threats were leveled against left groups including the Spartacist League. The government's "preventive terrorism" was nothing but a cover for a massive police-state military mobilization. It turns out the only act of "terrorism" at the Olympics was committed by the police. The police chief hailed the heroism of an LAPD cop who discovered and disarmed a bomb in a bus carrying Turkish athletes to an Air France jet. Later the "hero cop" confessed he was the one who planted the bomb in the first place!

S.F. and Dallas— Tale of Two Cities

For the last several months the U.S. population has been subjected to the quadrennial, multimillion-dollar spectacle of American bourgeois politics: the presidential "race" pitting Democrat vs. Republican.

It was a tale of two cities. In liberal San Francisco, there was a string of gay, labor and peace demonstrations representing different "constituencies" trying to influence the party of the American popular front. The cops set off a mini-concentration camp behind a cyclone fence to pen up protesters; of those who ventured outside, hundreds were arrested and many got their heads bashed as well. The Democratic delegates—17 percent black, 26 percent union members—if they ever made it out of the underground hunker of the Moscone Center might head for a strip joint in North Beach or visit a leather bar in the Castro district.

In Dallas, they held prayer breakfasts where Reagan declared politics and religion inseparable, and one after another evangelical preacher proclaimed the almighty was on the side of the G.O.P. Moral Majority pulpit-pounder Jerry Falwell hailed the convention's commitment to the "liberation of the unborn" and declared the Republicans "God's instruments in rebuilding America." This was a revivalist

convention of the right-wing crackpot fringe, where Reagan was a middle-of-the-roader. Falwell's prayer contained what the *New York Times* (24 August) called "a veiled threat against Vice President Bush, a moderate." Support for abortion was equated with communist revolution. And privately the delegates were grooving on the fact that Dallas was where Kennedy was assassinated. On the last night of the conven-



**Moscow
"Friendship
Games" 1984—
Soviet-bloc
athletes leave
"tree world"
Olympic
medallists in
the dust.**

tion someone set fire to the Texas School Book Depository.

The Democrats no less than the Republicans had everybody draped in the stars and stripes. Besides threatening to bore the American populace to death for the next four years, Mondale is campaigning as if his constituency were the Council on Foreign Relations, the Fortune 500 and the Trilateral Commission—incredibly calling for a tax increase, and generally trying to show he would be "more responsible" than Reagan at the helm of American imperialism. He wouldn't even stand up for his running mate Geraldine Ferraro by going after Republican fat cats like Bush who with their oil depletion allowances barely pay a dime in taxes. This could be interpreted as an attack on the "free enterprise system," you see.

Above all, Mondale & Co. are for the anti-Soviet war drive down the line. Under Reagan the "defense" budget has soared from \$117 billion in 1979 to \$264 billion in 1984. This is described as the largest peacetime military buildup in history, because in fact it is a war buildup. Yet in San Francisco, Mondale repeatedly proclaimed his support for continued growth in military spending—anyone who suggested that the defense budget could be trimmed even a little was ruthlessly squashed during the platform fight. As Andrew Cockburn wrote in the *New York Times* (13 August), Mondale above all wants to avoid being called "soft on defense" by

the "Conqueror of Grenada." Cockburn noted that "all existing programs to develop new weapons systems, with the single exception of the B-1 bomber, were begun in the Brown Pentagon," under the Democrats.

Over El Salvador, with Duarte now installed as the CIA's front man for "death squad democracy," the Democrats fell into line, voting for \$70 million additional military aid to Reagan's butcher army. In an astute article, "Mondale's G.O.P. Latin Policy" (*New York Times*, 24 August), Alan Tonelson, associate editor of the influential bourgeois journal *Foreign Policy* wrote that the Democrats' bottom line acceptance of the Republican policies in Central America "could make deeper United States military involvement inevitable no matter who wins in November." He points out that the Democrats' platform reference to "the strategic importance of Central America" indicates that "the party would support military intervention as a last-ditch effort to stave off a leftist takeover." It appears, he says, that "the only significant difference between the Republicans and Democrats over intervention in Central America is the speed

and the amount of guilt with which they would approve it."

The dangerous illusion of a "limited war" with the Soviets is clearly what Washington policy is aiming at, from the MX to the Middle East, and above all in Central America. In Dallas, Reagan, Bush and America's Madame Nhu, Jeane Kirkpatrick, repeatedly hellowed about their great "success" in invading tiny Grenada. And on the eve of the Dallas convention, Washington threatened to do to the new Managua airport what it did to the Cuban-built airfield in Grenada. One befogged delegate, recalling jingoist schemes as far back as Aaron Burr, even called for

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Down with S.F. Chronicle FBI "Correction"!

We print below a letter to the San Francisco Chronicle by Valerie C. West, Spartacist League counsel.

Valerie C. West
Attorney at Law
Oakland, CA
24 August 1984

Mr. Phelps Dewey
Assistant to the Publisher,
Administration
San Francisco Chronicle

Re: Spartacist League Demand for
Retraction

Dear Mr. Dewey:

The so-called "Correction," published August 2, to your July 13th articles "Police Battle Anti-Falwell Groups," repeats the libel contained in the original articles. On July 13th the *Chronicle* wrote:

"The protest began at 4 p.m. when about 1000 demonstrators from the Committee Against the Moral Majority, a leftist group made up of such groups as the Revolutionary Communist Party, Freedom Socialist Party and the Spartacist League gathered in Union Square. Chanting and waving their fists, they then marched a block away to picket the Moral Majority's so-called Family Forum gathering at the Holiday Inn.

"When they returned about 6 p.m., they were met by 100 grim-faced police in riot gear and 18 officers on horseback...the protesters marching from the Holiday Inn clashed with police at Sutter and Powell streets."

Earlier in the same article the *Chronicle* wrote:

"Several of them threw rocks and bottles at my men," Police Chief Con Murphy said. "If they act like that, we are going to respond."

In the so-called "Correction" you wrote:

"In two articles July 13 about a violent confrontation between police and demonstrators in Union Square, the Spartacist [sic] League was identified as one of the groups that organized the demonstration. Contrary to the report, although one member of the Spartacist [sic] League did take part in the demonstration, the league was not one of the organizers."

You failed to retract the false statements that the Spartacist League attacked the police or in other ways provoked violence at the protest and thus you perpetuate those false statements. These false and damaging allegations are the substance of the demand for a retraction delivered to you on July 18. As a matter of fact, three supporters of the Spartacist League were present at the demonstration solely

for the purpose of selling its newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*.

This is the second time in a three-month period that the *Chronicle* has published false and damaging stories about the Spartacist League. A remarkable fact about these false stories is the spectacular speed, beyond that one would normally expect from the wire services, with which they were picked up and further embellished by East Coast papers. In both April and July your libels quickly precipitated an escalating frame-up against the group—in April in a column by one Niles Lathem in the *New York Post* and in July in a *New York Daily News* article.

In addition, the so-called "Correction" has a noteworthy and more sinister feature. The name of the Spartacist League is misspelled as Spartacist. In our experience this spelling is generally not merely a matter of typographical error. It is also a spelling found in F.B.I. reports about the Spartacist League obtained pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act. This is the only occasion on which the *Chronicle* has used this spelling; you spelled it correctly in the original article and in prior articles. The other occasions when such spelling appeared in the press were instances of false and libelous reports about which the Spartacist League had strong suspicions of F.B.I. influence. It is well known that in the investigations of the COINTELPRO activities of the F.B.I. the record is replete with cases of false stories planted by the F.B.I. to discredit and destroy political opponents.

The Spartacist League issued a press release on July 13 in response to your libelous article. It included these statements:

"But for the powers that be, evidently centered on the F.B.I. as chief instrument, our real absence from these scenes of police brutality means nothing. The press, very possibly in good faith and on the basis of information received, keeps putting us there anyway."

A genuine, prompt and factually accurate correction demonstrates good faith. The *New York Daily News* published a prompt and satisfactory apology. You received copies of this apology prior to publishing your so-called "Correction." History shows that when the press has taken upon itself to be in the service of government lies, it has not been popular when uncovered.

The original article as well as your so-

called "Correction" demonstrate malice. There was no rational or factual basis to believe the Spartacist League had participated in, much less was planning, disruption or violence at any demonstration associated with the Democratic Party National Convention or otherwise. In April, in response to the *Chronicle's* false report about police "fears" of "violence" from the Spartacist League at the convention, the Spartacist League told the *Chronicle* that it had no interest in demonstrating or even selling its paper at the convention. You published a letter to the editor to that effect. In the letter the Spartacist League stated that while it defends the right of those who wish to demonstrate to do so, it has no interest in lobbying this party of racism and imperialist war.

In early July the Spartacist League delivered another statement to you again notifying you that it did not intend to demonstrate or sell its paper at the convention. The July statement also warned that the danger of violence during the convention did not come from the groups planning to protest, but from the F.B.I., San Francisco Mayor Feinstein and her police. It was pointed out that the barrage of newspaper articles reporting police "concerns" about "violence" were a "bald attempt by the police to exonerate themselves in advance for cop riots and to send a clear message of intimidation to the whole populace." The attack by the police on the anti-Falwell protesters was a confirmation of this warning.

The Spartacist League is a Marxist political organization with a 20-year history of political activity in the United States. It takes seriously false accusations made about it. At stake is not only the reputation of the Spartacist League as a Marxist, not a criminal, organization, but the safety of its members and supporters. Characterizing the Spartacist League as an organization engaged in violent conduct against the police subjects the organization to potential police and right-wing violence, acts as a justification for government surveillance, infiltration and harassment, and has the effect of discrediting the organization as a Marxist political organization by isolating it from potential supporters and members in the community.

The Spartacist League has spent substantial effort successfully fighting the current governmental attempts to define Marxists and other political

opponents as violent and as terrorists. Similarly, as you already know, where newspapers have carried allegations of violent conduct the Spartacist League has taken steps to secure a corrective record.

In June of 1980, a well-known supporter of the Spartacist League, Jane Margolis, received an apology and \$3,500 from the Secret Service. In 1979, she had been dragged off the floor of the Communications Workers of America national convention to which she was an elected delegate, to prevent her from criticizing then-President Jimmy Carter. In 1981, the Spartacist League sued then-Attorney General of California George Deukmejian for including the Spartacist League in the "Terrorism: Left-wing" section of the 1979 Report on Organized Crime. Deukmejian's office issued a correction and sent a statement to law enforcement agencies throughout the country that the inclusion of the Spartacist League in the terrorist list was in error. Most recently, the *Washington Times* accused the Spartacist League of provoking violence against the police at the November 27, 1982 anti-Ku Klux Klan demonstrations in Washington, D.C. In response to a libel lawsuit, the *Washington Times* retracted its charges.

The Spartacist League has filed a federal lawsuit against the Smith F.B.I. Domestic Security Guidelines, seeking an injunction against any surveillance, disruption or investigation of the Spartacist League pursuant to the Guidelines. The suit is in defense of the basic constitutional rights of free expression, association and assembly against a definition of lawful political protest as support for "terrorism"; and Reagan's demand for "preventive or preemptive actions against terrorist groups before they strike" in the U.S. and abroad. It is part of the Spartacist League's fight against what it has called "McCarthyism with a drawn gun."

In this context the history of false stories in the *Chronicle* about the Spartacist League has grown, despite our efforts at correction. Proof of malice is cumulative. You have been and are again advised that reports that the Spartacist League has been involved in or provoked violence should be viewed as suspect.

Yours truly,
Valerie C. West

cc: Spartacist League

the annexation of Mexico so that the U.S. could supposedly share a common border with El Salvador! Meanwhile the Pentagon has concentrated task forces off the Caribbean and Pacific coasts of Central America. The administration may hold off until after the U.S. elections, but both Mondale and House Speaker Tip O'Neill have warned of a "December surprise"—an invasion of Central America—if Reagan wins in November.

A U.S. occupation of Central America will be no Grenada-style walkover but a long, dirty colonial war. And despite all the hoopla about the "new patriotism" (fueled by an Olympics without any competition), the American people do not want another Vietnam. Reagan's biggest imperialist adventure to date, sending the Marines into Lebanon, ended in a complete debacle after the Marine headquarters was blown up killing 241 U.S. servicemen. Moreover, a large percentage of U.S. combat forces consist of black and Hispanic youth, who certainly do not want to die for Yankee imperialism. Militant internationalist struggle by the American working class in alliance with their class brothers fighting in Central America can knock Reagan's rough



Rutz/Miller

101st Airborne hits the beach in Honduras. U.S. forces prepare for invasion of Nicaragua, attack on leftist guerrillas in El Salvador.

riders out of the saddle and stop Yankee imperialism in its tracks.

For Class Struggle Against Imperialism—At Home and Abroad!

The fighting raging in El Salvador and Nicaragua is not, as the muddle-headed CISPES rad/libs and assorted reformists see it, simply some narrow national fight for "self-determination." Central America is the hot spot of the new Cold War, the front line of the fight to prevent Reagan from "rolling back" revolutions, from Havana to Hanoi and

Moscow. This is what all the talk of Yalta is about. Reagan wants to rewrite the final act of World War II, by unleashing nuclear holocaust.

From Moscow to Havana to the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas in Nicaragua and leftist guerrillas in El Salvador—the Stalinists and nationalist reformists all look to Walter Mondale as a "lesser evil." Anyone but a blind man can see that there is more than "a dime's worth of difference" between Mondale and Reagan, yet despite their tactical disputes both are capitalist candidates, campaigning for the anti-

Soviet war drive which threatens the future of humanity. The imperialists only understand the language of power! The Democrats' hesitations over Central America are due to fears of sinking into another losing war like Vietnam. No negotiated sellout in El Salvador, but a rip-roaring guerrilla offensive—for military victory to leftist insurgents! In Nicaragua step one in securing the country against a counterrevolutionary invasion is to wipe out the domestic "fifth column" by expropriating the bourgeoisie: defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution!

Above all there must be class struggle at home. The pro-capitalist labor fakers and black misleaders treacherously tie American working people to the Democratic Party—the party of Vietnam, Taft-Hartley anti-labor laws and Dixiecrat racism. Reagan must be brought down through mass militant labor/black action! U.S. imperialists hands off Central America! Hot cargo all U.S. arms to Central America—For labor strikes against a Yankee invasion! Oust the labor fakers, break with the Democrats, the "liberal" wing of the anti-Soviet war drive! Build a workers party that fights for socialist revolution in America and the world! ■

Taft-Hartley...

(continued from page 2)

in favor of class collaboration via Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. For many years the Stalinists had preached reliance on the "friend of labor" FDR and the NLRB, and when their liberal "friends" turned on them with the onset of the Cold War the CP reacted not by fighting back but by trying to hide—literally trying to go underground. In the UE, for instance, CP organizers were at one point told to quit the party or quit the union.

Where we differ is basically over the role of the Communist Party. In fact, by the time Taft-Hartley was passed the CP was pretty discredited in the labor movement, particularly due to their gross class collaboration during World War II (upholding the CIO no-strike pledge to the bitter end, denouncing miners as "fifth columnists" and even recruiting scabs during the 1943 coal

strike). In January 1944, CP general secretary Earl Browder announced "we are ready to cooperate in making capitalism work effectively in the postwar period.... We Communists are opposed to permitting an explosion of class conflict in our country when the war ends." These were not empty words. In the 113-day 1946 GM strike, the Stalinists and the CP-supported Thomas/Ades UAW leadership dragged their heels and even sabotaged the fight—allowing social democrat Walter Reuther to appear as a militant, and subsequently get elected auto union president.

The CP's dogged loyalty to the liberal Democrats aided in their own destruction, as exemplified by what happened at the CIO national convention in 1946. Here CIO head Philip Murray declared: "We resent and reject efforts of the CP or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO." Yet three well-known Stalinists were part of the six-man committee which drafted Murray's declaration and voted for it! CP supporters did, of course, bear the brunt of the Cold War red purge in American labor. ILWU

leader Harry Bridges and CP longshoreman Archie Brown were prominent among the targets. Australian-horn Bridges fended off several attempts to deport him, and Brown won an important legal victory against Landrum-Griffin. But that does not make them class-struggle unionists. Not by a long shot.

Bridges and his errand boy Brown followed every treacherous twist and turn of CP policy. During World War II, Bridges tried to break the Montgomery Ward strike. The CP's West Coast *People's Daily World* (27 May 1944) proudly headlined Bridges' call for "No Postwar Strikes." In 1970 Brown boasted of killing Trotskyists in Spain during the 1936-39 Civil War. And inside the ILWU he always tried to torpedo class-struggle action proposals put forward by the Longshore Militant group, supported by the Spartacist League, such as implementation of a union boycott of Chilean cargo in 1974. The long decline of the ILWU can be traced to the giveaway "mechanization and modernization" contracts pushed through by Bridges with the help of Brown, eliminating tens of thousands of

longshore jobs (see "Requiem for a Class Collaborator," *WV* No. 140, 14 January 1977).

The key to successful class struggle by the labor movement today is to oust the "labor lieutenants of capital" and their fake-"left" henchmen. In one of his last writings, the Russian Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky noted the tendency of reformist-led unions to merge with the capitalist state, declaring: "In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," August 1940). As for how to deal with capitalist labor laws, Appalachian coal miners showed the way during their heroic 1978 strike by simply ignoring Taft-Hartley injunctions (imposed by the Democratic Carter/Mondale government) and ripping up sellout contracts negotiated by UMW chief Arnold Miller. The CP supported Miller, as they had ever since he was installed with the help of Nixon's Labor Department in 1972, while the miners burned this class traitor in effigy. ■

Britain...

(continued from page 4)

in the future when *now* is the time to act. Leading Labour "left" Tony Benn withdrew his brief call for industrial action alongside the miners when the party executive slapped him on the wrist. And Scargill, despite his genuine desire to win the strike and willingness to stand up against the anti-Soviet war drive, was locked away in worthless talks with the Coal Board during the last dock strike, when he should have been out addressing mass meetings of transport, railway and maritime unions. He refused to stand at the head of his class and organise for necessary classwide action when it counted.

Now the "lefts" are spending their time trying to cook up resolutions for next week's TUC congress in Brighton, when what is needed is immediate joint strike action by the TGWU, railwaymen and seamen with the miners. To hell with Len Murray & Co.—no militant worth his salt would entrust his fate to these backstabbers. Let's have a situation where not a train, not a lorry, not a ship is moving in or around Britain, and then a hundred thousand strikers descending on Brighton to inform their right-wing bureaucrats that anyone not prepared to join them is out of a job and out of the war.

Even as Neil Kinnock was being booed by militants at the Durham miners' gala last month, Scargill pointed to the election of another Labour government as the outcome of this class battle. But the hard-fought strike struggles of 1972-74 brought only a Labour government of strikebreaking and wage control. What's needed in the course of this historical class fight is for a new *revolutionary* leadership to begin to come to the fore, one that does not look to pro-capitalist Labourism for solutions but is ready to mobilise for the inevitable head-on confrontation with the capitalist class and its state.

Nobody doubts the lengths to which the bloodthirsty Thatcher would go to smash this strike—she's already called for a Falklands-style war against the "enemy within." And now wide sections of the population are aware that she had the *Belgrano* crew murdered for the sheer pleasure of it, and was prepared to nuke the Argentines. But the Iron Lady can't run this country without railways, docks, shipping, mines. And there are quite a few lads from working-class backgrounds in the army who would be reluctant to take up arms against hundreds of thousands of workers on strike.

The future of the British working class is at stake. The decisive battle in this months-long struggle is now shap-

ing up. There can be no retreat: it's either a "big bang" hot autumn of militant class struggle or nuclear winter under Thatcher. What's needed today is a general strike to smash the Tory government's attacks and bring it down. And that would open the road to the rapid construction of a revolutionary vanguard party which, splitting the working-class base of the Labour Party away from the servile pro-capitalist misleaders of the right and "left," would lead the fight for a genuine workers government to expropriate the capitalists and provide a future with jobs and decent living standards for all. *General strike now!* ■

Northern Ireland...

(continued from page 12)

RUC and British government spokesmen later claimed their aim was to capture Galvin for deportation. But the Noraid publicity director was able to slip away while the bloodthirsty sectarian cops unloaded round after round of bullets into the fleeing crowd. Even reporters from the Tory British press had to admit the attack was entirely unprovoked. Such brutal wanton state murder is a near-everyday occurrence in Northern Ireland—but this time TV cameras flashed the pictures around the world to the deep embarrassment of the Thatcher government.

The next day 10,000 outraged Republican supporters retraced the route of the march carrying black flags of mourning and protest. Two thousand more marched in Derry on Tuesday, while similar protests were held in Dublin and other towns in the Irish Republic. In London 200 protesters, including a contingent from the Spartacist League/Britain, picketed Downing Street on the evening of August 11. While the picket organizers restricted themselves to a call to "ban plastic bullets," appealing to the imperialists to "disband the RUC" and politely applauded a speaker from the strikebreaking capitalist Liberal Party, our comrades chanted, "Down with Liberal imperialism! Avenge Sean Downes! Troops out now!" Three days later 3,000 people marched through the city to demonstrate for withdrawal of troops from Ireland.

Sean Downes was the 15th person killed by RUC plastic bullets since their introduction in the mid-70s—joining hundreds of other overwhelmingly Catholic victims of state-sanctioned terror through the past 15 years. "Shoot to kill" is the RUC/army policy toward suspected Republican militants. When

three RUC officers were put on trial earlier this year for killing three unarmed Irish Republican Army volunteers (they sprayed more than 100 live bullets into their victims' car) the judge not only found them innocent but suggested they deserved medals!

The Thatcher government has continued the hardline policies of state terror in Northern Ireland inherited from past Labour regimes which dispatched the troops in the first place. The British army, RUC and Northern Ireland courts and prisons serve to shore up Protestant ascendancy over the specially oppressed Catholic minority in the sectarian Six County statelet. Northern Ireland serves the British bourgeoisie as a training ground for police/army repressive techniques later employed at home, from the inner city ghettos to the coal fields. Keeping the troops terrorizing Catholics in Derry and Belfast evidently suits the blood lust of Mrs. Thatcher, who so gloated dispatching hundreds of Argentine sailors to the bottom of the South Atlantic aboard the *Belgrano*.

The Labour Party leadership despicably agrees with the Iron Lady that



Belfast Bloody Sunday 1984— Protesters take cover as police fire plastic bullets at unarmed crowd, including children.

troops should remain in Northern Ireland. Spokesman Clive Soley could only moan after the August 8 events that the RUC was "put in an impossible situation" by the exclusion order against Galvin. But the pro-Labour *Daily Mirror*, reflecting war-weariness in parts of the ruling class, promotes withdrawal of the troops and "Irish unity," as does a section of the "Labour left" around Tony Benn. Benn, who was a member of the Wilson cabinet which dispatched the troops in 1969, recently published a draft parliamentary bill calling for British withdrawal. But his "alternative" is to dispatch United

Nations troops in their place! His model is the 1948 British withdrawal from Palestine, which was followed by Zionist terror against the Palestinian Arabs whose lands were then divided between the new "Jewish state" and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Benn's program for "Irish unity," also championed by sundry fake revolutionaries, amounts to a call for forcible reunification of the six counties with the clerical southern Republic. This schema dovetails with the favorite long-term "solution" of sections of the British and American capitalist classes, who would like to see a reunified Ireland under the NATO umbrella (the present Republic is constitutionally "neutral"). But there can be no just capitalist solution to the intertwined national and social grievances and oppression in Ireland. Revolutionaries demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British army, and combat all forms of Catholic special oppression, tying this to a program for Catholic/Protestant working-class unity against capitalism.

While many Protestant workers today follow sectarian bigots like Ian Paisley, they are hardly one reactionary mass. Witness only the Protestant trade unionists from Belfast who traveled to Ayrshire, Scotland for a miners support rally on August 26, where they marched under their TGWU banner bearing a portrait of the revolutionary socialist (and Catholic) union leader James Connolly. The present sharp class war in Britain is throwing together in common struggle against the common enemy, elements not only from the British working class but also from both normally bitterly divided communities in Ireland. What is needed is revolutionary leadership—Trotskyist vanguard parties in both Britain and Ireland—to organize and direct such common class struggle to victory.

The green nationalism of Sinn Fein, which leads to sectarian terror against Protestants like the 1982 Droppin Well massacre, is abhorrent in itself and serves only to drive Protestant workers into the arms of their worst enemies, the Paisleys and the British imperialists. A Trotskyist party would fight for the smashing of the sectarian terrorist RUC, for integrated workers militias to combat imperialist rampage and sectarian terror from both communities, and counterpose to the green nationalist call for forced reunification of Ireland the fight for an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles. It is through directing historic *class* battles like that of the miners today in the direction of proletarian state power that final vengeance will be won for Sean Downes, Bobby Sands and all the victims of imperialist and sectarian terror. Troops out now! ■

Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 12)

know in their bones that their oppression will not end until the entire apartheid system is smashed. Less than 20 percent of the eligible coloured voters cast ballots—and most of those who did lived in isolated rural areas where white farmers herded them to the polls in trucks. In the Cape Town area, where about half the coloured are concentrated, less than 10 percent voted. A coloured student's placard at a rally calling for a boycott of the elections summed up the mood: "We are not monkeys, so don't offer us peanuts." Even the *New York Times* (23 August) had to admit "the bulk of nonwhite South Africans to be consulted are opposed or indifferent to the changes." The election to the Indian parliament takes place a few days after we go to press, but the result will no doubt be another humiliating setback for the apartheid rulers and their nonwhite puppets.

With Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive South Africa—always an ally of U.S. imperialism—has become an increasingly important part of "the free world." Washington has backed to the hilt the South African army's ravaging of Angola, whose hard-won independence is being defended by 20,000 Cuban troops. As black South African leader Oliver Tambo explained, "South Africa has been given the license to mount an offensive against what Reagan called—to the delight of the South Africans—the Communist, terrorist aggression which Reagan was fighting all over the world" (*New York Times*, 11 August).

Thus Wall Street and Washington as well as the rulers in Pretoria hope that the new constitution along with the partial recognition of black trade unions and extension of freehold and trading rights to the black petty bourgeoisie will stabilize the apartheid system by somewhat broadening its base. But attempts to restructure apartheid from above cannot succeed. Each measure which affects the once-absolute dividing lines of racist domination can only embolden the black African toilers. "Enfranchisement" of the coloureds and Indians only highlights the disenfranchisement of the black majority on whose superexploitation white South African capitalism rests. Some liberals hope the new dispensation will be extended to blacks. But that would threaten the very basis of capitalist rule in South Africa. Significantly, the head of the giant conglomerate Anglo-American, Gavin Reilly, openly speaks about the need for a bonapartist dictatorship ("multiracial oligarchy") to stabilize the system. Only the black proletariat under a communist

leadership can liberate the nonwhite masses from the apartheid police state.

For a Black-Centered Workers and Peasants Government!

Black opposition to the new constitution and to new police-state measures tightening still further the hated pass laws has been led by a formation called the United Democratic Front (UDF). Launched only last year, it is South Africa's largest anti-apartheid political grouping in over two decades. But its politics are hardly new. Rather the UDF is an attempt to revive in a new situation the Congress Movement of the 1950s, a bloc between the nationalist African National Congress and the Stalinist

their muscle with strike waves and massive unionization ever since the Durban strikes of 1973 shattered the police-state silence of the 1960s.

The international Spartacist tendency has always recognized that it is the black workers who have the social power to smash apartheid. Now, faced with a burgeoning black labor movement, even the nationalists and reformists of the UDF are asserting "the leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle." Yes, petty-bourgeois nationalists are always willing to use the power of the working class for their own ends, usually presented as some kind of classless democracy. The South African Communist Party, a major force in the UDF, stands for the Stalinist two-stage

people of his own land?"—will seek most urgently a sellout "negotiated solution" with the apartheid butchers.

To counter such popular-frontist treachery requires the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party which fights *from the outset* for the political independence of the working class. But the UDF stands *opposed* to a workers party. The leaders of a trade union affiliated to this nationalist/Stalinist popular front argue:

"The other alternative would be for the unions to support/encourage the setting up of a 'Worker's Party' that will lead the workers in the struggle against the [constitutional] 'new deal.' This type of political grouping—it is argued—would ensure that the political goals of the working class are promoted. We disagree with this position...."

They then set up the straw man of a workers party "going it alone" (*South African Labour Bulletin*, November 1983).

A revolutionary workers party is here defined as isolated from the broad anti-apartheid struggle when in fact only such a party can mobilize all of South Africa's oppressed masses (for example, overcoming tribal divisions and enmities) in struggle against white racist rule. To conquer power a workers party must fight every form of racist oppression, making and initiating principled united fronts (that is, common *actions*) with all anti-apartheid forces. It would, for example, actively participate in the boycott campaign against the present anti-democratic constitutional "reform" while promoting the class unity of black and coloured (as well as Indian) workers. This policy is counterposed to popular-frontist *political blocs* such as the UDF, which is based on a liberal nationalist program.

South Africa's black nationalists and Stalinists have for years appealed to Western (i.e., imperialist) governments and institutions to isolate the apartheid state. Liberals have happily taken up this campaign (it's cheap), boycotting everything South African from sardines to Krugerrands and demanding that universities divest their stocks and bonds of any corporations with South African operations. These exercises in liberal moralism have no effect at all on South Africa while serving to prettify the "democratic" imperialist countries like Reagan's America. Real, not sham, solidarity with the struggle against apartheid in South Africa means, above all, strengthening the power of the black proletariat. The American and West European labor movements must together with their class brothers in South Africa force multinational outfits like Ford and General Motors to recognize black trade unions and to abolish the color bar and all forms of apartheid in the South African operations. Smash apartheid! Forward to a black-centered workers and peasants government! ■



South African coloured students march against anti-democratic apartheid "reform."

Communist Party of South Africa.

In the name of "unity of all progressive forces" against apartheid, the UDF brings together everything from trade unions to religious councils, traders associations to sports clubs. A student group affiliated with the UDF hailed it not as a means of class struggle, but for building the "unity of people of different classes" (*SASPU National*, September 1983). The UDF founding document envisions a "united, democratic... non-racial South Africa." In documents such as this what is not said is as important as what is, for it is precisely the fundamental questions that are buried: *whose* democracy? which class will rule?

The Achilles' heel of the entire apartheid system is its dependence upon black labor. Much as the white racists would like to relegate the country's 22 million blacks to the bantustan hellholes, they also know, as an economist for the Chamber of Mines put it, "You cannot run this economy on whites alone" (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 June). And black workers have been showing

program of bourgeois democratic revolution now, proletarian socialist revolution later (i.e., never). This popular-frontist strategy has for over half a century produced only bloody defeats for the working masses, from Spain in the 1930s to Indonesia in 1965 to Chile in 1973.

Neither the "progressive" bourgeoisie nor the various petty-bourgeois forces can fulfill the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution, which in South Africa means racial equality; a revolutionary constituent assembly based on one man, one vote; smashing the bantustan system, and land to the impoverished black rural masses. Apartheid will not be destroyed without massive struggle by the black proletariat. And that struggle will necessarily produce organs of workers power (e.g., strike committees, factory committees, soviets), placing the socialist revolution on the order of the day. In such a revolutionary crisis, misleaders like Rev. Allan Boesak of the UDF—who whines "why can't prime minister Botha sit down and make agreements with the

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 3)

Tamil" tea workers whose sweated labor is central to the island's foreign-currency revenues.

The Lankan left's class treachery in peddling illusions in the SLFP did not keep the capitalist "United Front" government of Mrs. Bandaranaike from eroding its support once in power. In 1971 an insurrectionary movement of young Sinhalese, the JVP, ignited the countryside and was mercilessly crushed. The drowning of the radical Sinhalese youth in blood was a national catastrophe and bloody "Mrs. B." ruled under state of emergency regulations most of the time thereafter.

In the 1977 elections the SLFP was routed by Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) so decisively that the main opposition in Parliament became, not the SLFP or the left parties, but the Tamil MPs. Meanwhile, in response to growing sentiment among Tamils in the

North for a separate Tamil state of "Eelam," the Tamil parliamentarians had now become the "Tamil United Liberation Front" which adopted on paper the platform of seeking Eelam. Last year the UNP, as part of J.R.'s bonapartist moves against parliamentary democracy, made the demand for Tamil separation a crime and proscribed Eelam advocates from Parliament. Thereby they disposed of the main parliamentary opposition as well as in effect disenfranchising the Tamil people of the North, moving them a step in the direction of the statelessness of the "Indian Tamil" plantation workers in the uplands. Yet the UNP regime of would-be bonaparte Jayewardene is highly unstable, with a chauvinist extreme right wing on the rise and outright mutinies in the army.

"Splitting the country"? It is J.R.'s UNP and the mutinous pogromists of the army who are forcibly separating the island's peoples. It is the genocidal terror as official state policy which has driven tens of thousands of Tamils from

the south into the economically barren north, while many of the Tamil militants have fled to India. Previously there was economic interpenetration of the population, with the Tamil bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie extremely important in Colombo, for instance. While the rest of the left opposed Tamil self-determination, we were for that *right* but argued against exercising it, pointing out that economically and in other ways it would be a catastrophe. Now this catastrophe has happened, national separation is a reality. Thus today we demand: "For the Right to Tamil Eelam! For a Socialist Federation of Eelam and Lanka!"

The chauvinist class collaboration of the reformist left has led many Tamil militants to conclude that common class struggle with Sinhala workers is no longer a possibility. But the enemy of the Lankan Tamils is also the enemy of women textile workers at Polytex (who recently successfully struck against attempts to fire workers); the enemy of students facing armed cop terror on the

university campuses. The Sinhalese workers and peasants are not South African whites—an elite which profits directly from the superexploitation of South African black labor—but are themselves pauperized and oppressed by the greedy capitalist rulers and the rapacious imperialist IMF. The defeatist strategy of guerrillaism only isolates revolutionaries from the real source of social and economic power that can bring down this racist capitalist system. The recent strike of Tamil plantation workers, who held out against great provocations to win their demands, points the road to liberation for Lanka's working people and national minorities, the road of class struggle. An authentic Bolshevik vanguard party, section of a reborn Fourth International, must link the struggles of Lanka's working people with the cause of Tamil self-determination through the fight to end capitalist exploitation and national oppression, the legacy of imperialist domination, in Lanka and throughout the subcontinent. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with South Africa Racist Election Hoax!

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

AUGUST 25—Shaken by the black labor militancy, guerrilla attacks and youth revolts of the last decade, South Africa's white rulers are trying to shore up their racist apartheid state by setting the 2.8 million "coloured" (mixed race) and 800,000 Indians against the 22 million black Africans. With much fanfare the Botha regime has proclaimed a "new deal": separate coloured and Indian parliaments subordinate to the white parliament. At the same time, this so-called constitutional "reform" strengthens the powers of the presidency against the white parliamentary opposition. Needless to say, South Africa's racist rulers have ushered in the new era of "ethnic consensus" with their usual methods—tear gas attacks and mass arrests during the elections to the new parliaments in late August. Workers throughout the world and all supporters of democratic rights must demand the freedom of all opponents of apartheid rotting in South Africa's prisons, "banned" or exiled.

The supposed beneficiaries of the new constitutional order are having none of it. The coloured and Indian masses
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Militant black workers in Johannesburg protest 1976 Soweto massacre of student youth.

ANC

British Troops Out of Northern Ireland!

Belfast Bloody Sunday 1984

"The RUC started rolling the jeeps into the crowd and some people were hit by them. Everybody got up to run and they started firing plastic bullets.... A man beside me was shot on the head. His blood was on my jacket and all over my trousers.... It was an incredible scene, it was hard to believe, I've seen nothing like it before and I hope never to see it again...."

—An Phoblacht, 16 August

So Sean Martin, a young New Yorker in Northern Ireland as part of a delegation from the Irish Republican fund-raising organization Noraid, described the horrific scenes in Belfast on Sunday, August 12. That afternoon in front of reporters and cameramen from around the world, the Royal Ulster Constabulary murderously assaulted a protest rally on the 13th anniversary of the introduction of internment without trial. Firing plastic bullets indiscriminately into an unarmed crowd including small children, the RUC hutebers

Royal Ulster
Constabulary
murders
Sean Downes
(far right)
as they open
fire on Irish
Republican
rally August 12.



injured dozens and left 22-year-old Sean Downes lying dead on the pavement, victim of a bullet fired at pointblank range into the heart. It was Bloody Sunday all over again.

Two thousand demonstrators had

marched up the Falls Road to Andersonstown, shadowed by hundreds of British soldiers and RUC men in armored Land Rovers. At the head was a British "Troops Out" contingent including, in a powerful display of

international workers solidarity, a delegation of striking coal miners. The first speaker at the rally outside Sinn Fein headquarters was a member of Nottingham trades council, who compared "what is happening in your country and what is happening in what are supposed to be our coal fields. The use of repression by the police against the striking miners... is directly culled from the repression that has been systematically used against the national-ist people for the past 15 years."

Then Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams asked the crowd to sit down in preparation for featured speaker Martin Galvin, the publicity director of Noraid who had slipped into Northern Ireland in defiance of a government exclusion order. Turning to the assembled police and soldiers, Adams warned, "If you want to kill men, women and children, this is your opportunity, because we are not moving." When Galvin appeared, police immediately moved forward in their armored vehicles and began to shoot.

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