

Defeat Yankee Imperialism!

Reagan, Mondale Mean War on Central America!

Military Victory to Salvador Leftist Rebels!

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

In the United States there's an election. But in Central America revolutions are at stake. Revolutions that have been half a century in the making, against bloody tyrannies installed and protected by their American masters. Time and time again these tiny countries have been the landing ground for U.S. troops, who left behind their scavenging guard dogs, the Somozas and their ilk, to pick over the booty. And today the Yankee imperialists are threatening to invade once more. As Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega said at the UN this month, "The winds now blowing over Central America foretell of a holocaust for our peoples." But Hurricane Reagan could also unleash revolutionary storms, from the coasts of Central America to the heartland of North America.

CIA mercenaries in Nicaragua, CIA assassination handbooks for "contras," now CIA spy planes shot down by Salvadoran guerrillas—the U.S. is running a real Murder, Inc. down there. And that's only the beginning. They're supporting mercenary armies of more than 12,000 men against Sandinista Nicaragua, with American fleets cruising off both the Pacific and Caribbean coasts, a dozen new air bases and



Vietnam? No, El Salvador. U.S. helicopters ferry Pentagon chief Weinberger into embattled San Vicente province.

landing fields constructed in Honduras, and almost constant military maneuvers. Nicaragua's harbors are mined, the economy strangled, oil depots blown up, teachers killed. Why? It's revolution vs. counterrevolution in Central America. And the Yankee imperialists, Reagan and Mondale, Republicans and Democrats, are all *contras*.

Meanwhile the imperialist politicians politely debate the future they have in store for war-ravaged Central America. The Republicans openly state their intention to overthrow the radical Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) government: "Nicaragua cannot be allowed to remain a Communist sanctuary," says their platform, while

the CIA directs and finances counter-revolutionary terrorists besieging the country from north and south. Democrat Mondale announces that if the Sandinistas don't play by Washington's rules then the U.S. should "quarantine Nicaragua." If Managua gets the MIG jet fighters it needs to defend against American air strikes, that would be "intolerable," says Mondale, and the U.S. should "take steps" to get them out. And, of course, they all love Duarte.

A quarter century ago, in the 1960 elections, a similar "debate" was held, with the formal positions reversed: liberal Kennedy called for U.S. support to the Cuban *gusano* "fighters for freedom" while conservative Nixon, caught off guard, called for a "quarantine" of the Castro regime. And both of them knew that the CIA already had preparations for an invasion underway, the operation that ended in ignominious disaster at the Bay of Pigs. This time, also, the plans are far advanced but on a far larger scale. The munitions are prepositioned in Honduras, airfields carved out of the jungle to serve as staging points, sophisticated radar installations in place to guide American aircraft. Both Mondale and Reagan are more than willing to use negotiations to try to bludgeon the Nicaraguans into leaving themselves militarily unprepared to face U.S. invasion.

It's not just that the Central American policies of the twin capitalist parties look increasingly alike. They share a common framework: the anti-Soviet war drive. At San Francisco Mondale beat down every attempt to put the

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CIA Murder Manual

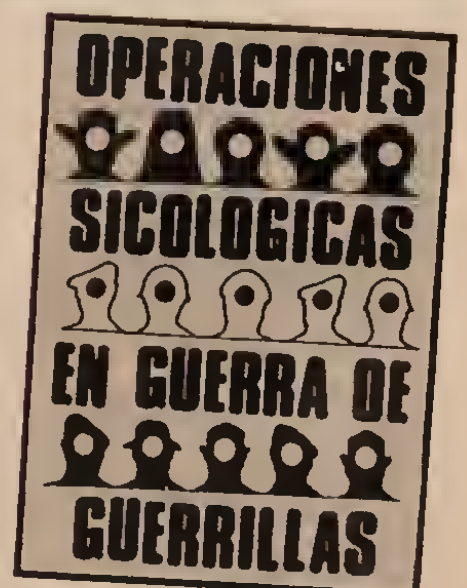
Talk about "state-supported terrorism"! The CIA murder manual made public this week is a veritable recipe book of provocation, assassination, blackmail, lying, kidnapping, sabotage...you name it, they've got it. This complete terrorist handbook is published by none other than the United States government to be handed out to the murdering Nicaraguan "freedom fighters." And it's accompanied by a how-to-do-it comic book on everything from stopping up toilets and pulling down power cables to putting dirt in gas tanks and nails on highways, setting off false fire alarms and hoarding and stealing food. All for the "Christian" campaign to overthrow the "godless" Sandinistas.

As we have repeatedly pointed out, the Reaganites' hysteria campaign against "terrorism" is the ideological banner of their anti-Soviet war drive... and a smokescreen to disguise the fact that the United States is the chief perpetrator of "state-supported terrorism" in the world today. Now it's all laid out in black and white. The CIA's 42-page Spanish-language primer, entitled "Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare," directs the *contras* to, through "selective use of violence," "neutralize carefully selected and planned targets, such as court judges, police and state security officials." "Professional criminals should be hired to carry out selective jobs," it counsels, to "bring about uprisings and shootings

that will cause the death of one or more people to create a martyr for the cause." Also, provocateurs "armed with clubs, iron rods and placards and, if possible, small firearms, which they will carry hidden," along with other "shock troops" equipped with "knives, razors, chains, clubs and bludgeons" should "march slightly behind the innocent and gullible participants" as the counter-revolution progresses.

The White House's clumsy attempts at cover-up reek of Watergate: the president had "not known" of the document; it was only "the first draft"; "everything that was not policy was deleted"; the author was a "low-level contract employee" of the CIA; it was

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In black and white: "state-supported terrorism" made in U.S.A.

Is Koch a Fascist?

4 September 1984

Dear Comrades:

I apologize for the lateness of this letter. I think the issue involved is important enough that late is better than never.

The article about Mayor Koch in *WV* No. 351 characterized him as, except for some rounded edges, "as chemically pure a fascist as you can get," comparing him politically to Meir Kahane, who just now has also "made it up the greasy pole" into a Knesset seat.

Koch certainly is a racist pig, who specializes in insulting, slandering and humiliating the oppressed. If *WV* wants to call him a borscht-belt fascist or Ilse's Jewish nephew or whatever, well, giving him a taste of his own medicine is only fair play. But as a serious political characterization it's way off.

Koch's rhetoric, style and mindset are nasty. But in terms of what he's actually *done*, which is surely the criterion for Marxists, the difference between Koch and the rest of them is quantity, not quality. He's certainly not the only big-city mayor these days who's been slashing social services, mobilizing the Yuppies against labor and siccing the cops on blacks. Koch's slogan, insofar as he has one, is "I love New York." In 1973, the Chilean reactionaries who were paralleled to Koch in the article scrawled "Djakarta" on walls and buildings in Santiago. It is important to remember that the political content here is quite different.

Hypocrisy may be the tribute vice pays to virtue, but it's not the dividing

line between a fascist and a right-wing bourgeois-democratic politician. In "Third International After Lenin," Trotsky defined fascism as "a state of civil war on the part of capitalist society waged against the rebelling proletariat." That's not what Koch is about. He's simply a New York right-wing demagogue, reflecting and amplifying the rightward motion among the local white, and in particular Jewish, petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy. Or, putting it another way, he engages in his sick antics not because he's an extremist fanatic, but because they get him votes.

Calling Koch "the counterpart of the present hutchers in power in Jerusalem" is fine; if he moved to Israel he'd undoubtedly support Likud over "Lahor." But that doesn't make him a fascist. Now that there's a real fascist in the Knesset, the distinction should be clear. Even the hatcher Sharon has disassociated himself from Kahane—for the moment at least.

Koch's ultra-Zionism may actually have less to do with deep-seated political conviction than cynical political calculation. This spring, parading Sharon through Queens seemed like a smart political maneuver. Koch's hysterical anti-Jackson campaign also looked like a winning tune—until the Democratic convention, where he discovered he was singing off-key. He was actually quoted describing Jackson's apology speech as "superb"—probably because he'd been warned the party tops might not hack him against primary challengers if he didn't clean up his act.



Conrad/NY Times

Koch with Israeli mass murderer Ariel Sharon (left).

In *RCY Newsletter* No. 11, there's a very good article titled "Jews and American Fascism." It states:

"To identify fascism as extreme ethnic nationalism is completely anti-Marxist. Fascism is a counter-revolutionary movement whose base is the bulk of the petty bourgeoisie and lumpen elements reacting to the proletariat's failure to take power in a revolutionary crisis. Ethnic politics, even in its most reactionary forms, is bound up with bourgeois democracy to the extent it makes concessions to pressure groups (or, for that matter, allows them to exist)."

There *are* figures on the fringes of American politics, like the late unlamented Congressman McDonald, who are ideologically quite close to fascism, with corners more or less rounded depending on their constituencies. In fact, although McDonald's John Birch Society is not a fascist organization, the ideology it propagates is in some ways a "chemically purer" variant of 100% American fascism than that of the Southern-particularist KKK. Koch is very bad, but he's not in the same league. He is, now, the worst big city mayor in America, only because the Yortys, Rizzos, and other white backlash mayors of the late '60s have all been replaced by blacks. But a fascist he isn't.

Comradely,
J. Horowitz

WV replies: Abstract Ed Koch from his environment, analyze him under laboratory conditions and what you will get is a chemically pure fascist. Brother Horowitz wants to pretend that we simply say Koch=Kahane, so he says U.S.=Israel. He ignores the very different contexts in which these two racist pigs operate.

Our article noted that the difference between Koch and the fascist killers in Israel led by Meir Kahane is that "Koch made it up the greasy pole in a bourgeois democratic society." But his racist antics are more than vote-getting stunts. Koch

is a racist demagogue, liar and general megalomaniac—in short, his "psychic apparatus is part of the standard fascist profile." At the same time we pointed out, "Of course, as the Jewish mayor of New York City in the United States of America, he has a few restrictions. He can't lead an American nativist movement in white sheets. He's out of time and out of place. For Edward Koch really belongs in the ruling establishment of Israel, terrorists who enjoy the respectability conferred by power."

To build a fascist movement takes more than being fascist-minded. There has to be an *opportunity*, and in America Jewish fascism is not in the cards. Rather, Jews would be among the fascists' victims, as we have frequently stated. Koch's problem is precisely that he *can't* lead a mobilization of middle-class rage nationally, he's stuck in New York, so he takes out his frustrations on the city's minorities (who are the majority in this city) and unions. This mayor of New York treats blacks and Hispanics like he was the Israeli military governor of the Gaza Strip! And Koch's connections with Ariel Sharon are more than just "political maneuvers": Koch and the hatcher of Sahra/Shatila are real soul brothers. A *New York Times* reviewer of Koch's autobiography, *Mayor*, noted that the author "displays an almost paranoid sensitivity to slights" and "oozes with the sweat that Philip Roth squeezed from Portnoy, Zuckerman and Eli, the Fanatic." More like "Eli the Wolf," the all-purpose terrorist from Long Island who left a trail of bodies from Vietnam to the West Bank.

On the other hand, our reader makes far too much of the shadings between Sharon and Kahane; see "Zionism's Fascist Shock Troops Polarize Israel," *WV* No. 364, 12 October, which notes that the anti-Arab terrorists are intimately tied to Sharon's pals in the army. Trotsky pointed out more than once that "it would be unpardonable...to convert Bonapartism and fascism into two logically incompatible categories." The difference is in their road to power: the bonapartist relies on the saher while the fascist mobilizes the enraged petty bourgeoisie against the organizations of the working class, oppressed minorities and the institutions of democracy. But, "having arrived in power, the fascist chiefs are forced to muzzle the masses who follow them by means of the state apparatus" ("Bonapartism and Fascism," July 1934).

Experiencing the Koch years in NYC, one is reminded of the film *Sleeper*, in which Woody Allen reawakens a few centuries hence to learn that his civilization was wiped out in a nuclear war. He asks, how did this war begin? We really don't know, comes the reply, but we think a man named Albert Shanker acquired the atomic bomb. Just think what would happen to civilization if Ed Koch got hold of nuclear weapons! But his cohorts in Israel already have. ■



TROTSKY

Honor John Brown and Harpers Ferry Uprising

October 16-18 was the 125th anniversary of the 1859 anti-slavery uprising at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, led by the revolutionary abolitionist John Brown, which prepared the civil war that ended slavery in the U.S. In 1881 Frederick Douglass, former slave and leading black radical democrat, delivered an oration at Harpers Ferry on his friend and comrade:



LENIN

But the question is, Did John Brown fail? He certainly did fail to get out of Harper's Ferry before being beaten down by United States soldiers; he did fail to save his own life, and to lead a liberating army into the mountains of Virginia. But he did not go to Harper's Ferry to save his life. The true question is, Did John Brown draw his sword against slavery and thereby lose his life in vain? and to this I answer ten thousand times, No! No man fails, or can fail who so grandly gives himself and all he has to a righteous cause. ... If John Brown did not end the war that ended slavery, he did at least begin the war that ended slavery. If we look over the dates, places and men, for which this honor is claimed, we shall find that not Carolina, but Virginia—not Fort Sumter, but Harper's Ferry and the arsenal—not Col. Anderson, but John Brown, began the war that ended American slavery and made this a free Republic. Until this blow was struck, the prospect for freedom was dim, shadowy and uncertain. The irrepressible conflict was one of words, votes and compromises. When John Brown stretched forth his arm the sky was cleared. The time for compromises was gone—the armed hosts of freedom stood face to face over the chasm of a broken Union—and the clash of arms was at hand. The South staked all upon getting possession of the Federal Government, and failing to do that, drew the sword of rebellion and thus made her own, and not Brown's, the lost cause of the century.

—Frederick Douglass, "John Brown: An Address at the Fourteenth Anniversary of Storer College" (1881)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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1980 NYC transit strike: Koch incited middle-class commuters against heavily black union.



Levin/Black Star photos



WORKERS VANGUARD

Ulrich Sandhaus: Dangerous Nazi Punk

Readers of Workers Vanguard may remember one Ulrich Sandhaus, expelled from the Trotzistische Liga Deutschlands in 1982 as a "proto-fascist" whose cause was later taken up by the self-proclaimed "External Tendency" (ET) of North America and their cointhinkers in Germany, the Gruppe IV. Internationale (GIVI—Fourth International Group). (See "The 'External Tendency': From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning" in WV No. 349, 2 March.) Defense of the "honor" and "democratic rights" of this scum was taken up as an obsession for a few months by the ETs, later to be quietly shoved on the back burner. Now, as the article below (adapted from the TLD's Spartakist No. 51, October 1984) shows, Sandhaus has been definitively exposed for what he is: a dangerous Nazi-punker thug, an enemy of all decent people.

After the article appeared in Spartakist, the TLD received a pathetic letter of protest from the GIVI. They start out by condemning the attack on Gisela Borowski. Then they squeal:

"Your public accusation that we are responsible for this attack, or that we provided political cover for such an action to the circle around Sandler [Sandhaus], is criminal slander!"

But after demanding, "lay your proof on the table," they provide it themselves:

"Some comrades who are now members of the Gruppe IV. Internationale, who correctly supported U. Sandler's 1982 campaign against your slanders, without thereby giving him—or any other signatory—a blank check."

Well, like we said. We warned the left and workers movement about this guy. You chose to vigorously take up his defense. What do you think about your "slandered" hero now, ET/GIVI?

ADAPTED FROM SPARTAKIST
NO. 51, OCTOBER 1984

On the night of August 22, Gisela Borowski, a supporter of the Trotzistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency) was lured into a trap and brutally attacked in the West Berlin subway, suffering a dangerous head injury. The assault was planned and supervised by the 29-year-old

phone calls from Borsch.

In the emergency room of the West Berlin hospital the gash was stitched up. There was a straight line of gashes running diagonally from the temple across the left ear, a distance of over three inches. An inch in either direction and it could have been fatal, punctured her temple or taken out an eye! As it is, serious damage has been done to the muscles and probably nerves at the temple, seriously impairing movement of the jaw. This may require complicated surgery and long-term treatment and



Spartakist

"Direct action" by Uli's idols. Skinheads bloody anti-Nazi demonstrators in Gummersbach, April 28. Among the victims were 70-year-old survivors of concentration camps.

woman's former boyfriend, Ulrich Sandhaus, an ex-leftist who is now a rabidly anti-communist, skinhead punker well known for his violent proclivities. The assailant, Sandhaus' present companion who was just doing his dirty work, was Elisabeth Borsch.

Getting off the subway car at her home stop, Gisela's path was blocked by Sandhaus and Borsch who stepped directly in front of her. Borsch grabbed the young woman and screamed: "If you guys call Uli a fascist once more, something's going to happen to you!" and began hitting her, particularly in the face. Borsch, clad in punk regalia, was visibly armed; she wore a leather armband with sharp spikes. As Gisela defended herself and attempted to free herself, Borsch swung around a plastic carrier bag containing a sharp object and smashed it into Gisela's left temple. The blow knocked Gisela almost unconscious. She was staggering and bleeding profusely from a deep gash and other cuts on the head. Gisela narrowly escaped from the station. As she arrived home a few minutes later, she was immediately barraged by threatening

there is the danger of a permanent handicap. Gisela has filed charges against Sandhaus and Borsch.

Who Is Uli Sandhaus?

Sandhaus was a contradictory figure who, over the course of several years, moved from Marxism to punk-fascism on the transmission belt of the "new German nationalism." When he joined the TLD in 1979, superficially he appeared to be a normal youth, deeply discontented with society as it is. He seemed to accept the Marxist solution to the crisis of capitalism. On the other hand, he consistently sought fulfillment in black jackhops, lots of studded leather, chains, macho behavior. Little by little—through ever shorter haircuts, Wehrmacht-style pants, etc.—he began to embody his skinhead ideal. He developed a preference for fascist skinhead "Oi" music. ("Oi" is the infamous "Paki bashing" battle cry of the British fascists of the National Front. They scream it at the moment their jackboots kick in the heads of Asians and blacks.)

After he was expelled from the TLD, he was celebrated as nature's nobleman and encouraged in his development by a group of ex-Trotskyists, the so-called Gruppe IV. Internationale. Caught up in the current of bourgeois nationalism, he gravitated steadily toward the lumpen skinhead scene. There—in the fluid transition between the "no future" generation and the "master race" ideology, in a spectrum of the youthful lumpen-proletariat, utterly estranged from the process of production and the organizations and goals of the workers movement—a process of ultranationalist regroupment is taking place. Fascistic elements can develop here and recruit by and for "direct action," i.e., terror.

In 1982 we had a key fight in the TLD over resurgent bourgeois German nationalism, the dominant mood in the "new Germany" of today. This was the point at which we parted ways with Sandhaus, as we took up the indispensable struggle against the poison carried by social-democratic "left" nationalism into the left and workers movement. When politically confronted, Sandhaus defended the black steel helmet with German eagle and swastika in his living room, his glorying in "Deutschland über Alles," the fact that he had begun to openly mimic and ridicule the Turkish language, as "private" matters, questions of "taste." Moreover, he had provocatively and savagely bragged that "one German is worth 50 Tamils"! Why not? That is, after all, the meaning of "Deutschland über Alles."

Sandhaus' head is full of German eagles and swastikas and the hideous splendor of resurgent German nationalism—but in fact he belongs in one of the more squalid sections of Hitler's SA. Sandhaus' whole political profile became that of a brownshirt of Weimar Germany. This revolting individual and his ilk must not be allowed to set foot again in any public function of the left or workers movement and certainly have no place in any workers organization, especially the trade unions! It is exactly this kind of person who, in the course of the class struggle, must be confronted by the German workers movement, disarmed and rendered nil. We called him a proto-fascist at the time of his expulsion. Now, after the attack on Gisela Borowski, it is clear that he has opted for "direct action" and stands firmly on the side of those who carry out terrorist assaults against leftists, communists, women, foreign workers.

Sandhaus Under the Wing of the "External Tendency"

The Gruppe IV. Internationale has politically nurtured Sandhaus over the last two years. Members of the GIVI left the iSt as the most eager apologists for German nationalism. And since Sandhaus virtually reeked of it, it was not surprising that, having been taken under their wing, he was one of the main political collaborators on their only "program," a critique of the iSt ("Where is the iSt Going?").

Last December, the ETs tried to slander us with a "petition campaign," a COINTELPRO-style provocation, saying that we had "physically attacked" one of their honchos, a certain Bob Mandel, because supporters of the SI./U.S. confronted Mandel politically at a strike rally in San Francisco about his role as a scab and a liar. As plenty of eyewitnesses unanimously reported, no one laid a finger on him. In their recent documents they have now backed off, writing, in the ET version, that Mandel



Ulrich Sandhaus

Spartakist

"could have been" attacked. In the GIVI version, it reads: "He barely escaped being beaten." Truth, lies—they don't give a damn.

You don't have to be an FBI or Verfassungsschutz (West German political police) agent to serve the anti-communist witchhunt that is accelerating against us. And the ETs did just that—violence-baiting us, setting us up for repression and persecution by the bourgeois state. With Sandhaus there's a difference. With a little help from his friends of the ET, he has joined the irregulars of that state. The ETs have nurtured and encouraged him in his anti-communism, and thus gave him the green light for this violent assault. But watch out, Bob Mandel! Sandhaus doesn't like foreigners, commies, women. We can't imagine that he likes Jews either. And he doesn't tend to waste words in expressing his hatred; he is quite direct.

The GIVI is now left with the millstone around their necks: the Nazi helmet, "Oi" music, the spiked leather armbands, the chains: all are "private" matters, questions of "taste," as the ETs described it to us on both sides of the Atlantic. Tell it to the Kurdish and Turkish leftists and workers, to the Tamils and Palestinians, who are already victims of the Gestapo methods of the West German and West Berlin state powers.

We have warned repeatedly that it is necessary for revolutionaries to wage a sharp struggle against resurgent German nationalism—both of the social-democratic and rightist varieties. This struggle is fundamental to the program we fight for in the left and workers movement. If you don't take up this struggle, you find yourself very soon doing the hiding of the class enemy and in bed with the scum of the earth like Sandhaus and his attack dog. ■

Latest Spartakist: Defend East Germany/USRR against West German Imperialist drive! For revolutionary reunification of Germany! Back page (in Turkish): "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!"

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Vote Spartacist

SAN FRANCISCO—On picket lines, at union halls and in working-class and black and Hispanic neighborhoods, the Spartacist campaign of Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman for SF Board of Supervisors is reaching out to working people disgusted by the "choice" between anti-Soviet nut Reagan and Cold War hawk Mondale. Our candidates are campaigning to hammer home the simple truth that this racist capitalist system won't be brought down through the ballot box but through revolutionary class struggle. What's needed is a workers party, which will be built in the fight to smash the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive which threatens all humanity with thermonuclear annihilation. It will be built in the struggle to mobilize the power of U.S. labor in real internationalist solidarity *action* to aid our class brothers and sisters fighting apartheid terror in South Africa and junta death squads in Central America. It will be built in the fight to mobilize labor's power against the KKK/Nazi terrorists emboldened by the rampaging bourgeois reaction, and against the *migra* deportation raids, right here in California.

The campaign comes as the powerful San Francisco labor movement has been hit with a concerted union-busting assault by the employers, from the local Greyhound bosses who enlisted the Democratic mayor's cops for head-busting during the Greyhound strike to the arrogant owners of posh restaurants and hotels (including Mayor Feinstein herself) and the department store bosses who locked out hundreds of workers in

Bradley and Coleman for S.F. Board of Supervisors!

Richard Bradley brings campaign to Muni transit workers.



retaliation against the recent Macy's strike. Meanwhile, the Feinstein administration is running a nasty little witch-hunt against the Muni bus drivers and city housing workers.

The class lines have been drawn sharply in TWU Local 250-A, the heavily black transportation union of Muni drivers in San Francisco. Mayor Feinstein has conducted a ten-year racist, anti-labor vendetta against the Muni workers, going back to her

sponsorship in 1974 of "Proposition L" to slash city workers' wages and her strikebreaking role during the 1976 city workers strike. Feinstein, who has built her career as a swaggering enemy of city workers, has tried to whip up the petty bourgeoisie of "gentrified" San Francisco (a city less than 13 percent black, in contrast to Oakland across the Bay, which is almost half black) against the Muni workers, painting a picture in the press of a bunch of lazy, tax-evading thieves, high on drugs, etc.—these are the men and women who sweat to meet backbreaking schedules in broken-down old buses on the hills and crowded streets of the city! In August a black Muni driver was hospitalized after a teenage punk threw battery acid in the driver's face as he drove his route.

Yet even as she yearns to dismantle the TWU, the Muni workers' executive board (which is itself mainly black) is backing Feinstein and her union-busting administration to the hilt. When Bradley and Coleman spoke at the October 1 E-board meeting, they were met with open hatred by the Muni bureaucrats. It was Richard Bradley who twice last April sealed the 50-foot flagpole in SF Civic Center to rip down the Confederate flag of slavery, striking a blow against the arrogant "Dixie Dianne" and for the program of integrated class struggle. Yet TWU local president Jonnie Gilbert, who denied Feinstein's attacks on Muni drivers, stood with Feinstein and the flag of slavery when he baited Ritchie to "find another flagpole to climb"! Union members felt differently.

The reason for the bureaucrats' hostility became clear at the October 18 membership meeting as Muni drivers, who know that the Dixie "Stars and Bars" had been aimed at them, enthusiastically greeted the Spartacist candidates and slammed their misleaders. "They ain't together, man; that's why we're trying to get rid of them," a black driver told Bradley. Another black driver spoke for many workers when he shook Bradley's hand outside the meeting. "You're the guy that pulled the flag down! It was on the news. I'll give you a vote." A third worker told of being sickened by having to drive past the flag of racism and KKK terror every day on his route, saying he was proud he could now tell his children it was torn down.

Bradley and Coleman have brought the campaign to the picket lines of Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, now in the eighth week of a strike crippled by the union bureaucrats' impotent strategy of selective strikes, consumer boycotts and refusal to shut down all the restaurants and hotels as

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Government Out of the Bedroom!

Spartacist candidates for SF Board of Supervisors held a press conference October 16 to oppose Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein's order closing down the gay bathhouses. Even before the city's most recent moves to force closure of the bathhouses and other gay establishments, Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman had made this question an issue in their campaign. Their campaign brochure states, "While her cops turn a blind eye to gay-bashing in the Castro, Feinstein's campaign to close the bathhouses is an attempt to whip up anti-gay hysteria utilizing the real medical AIDS crisis as a cynical pretext." Below are excerpts from Coleman's statement to the press:

"Feinstein is trying to do what Jerry Falwell could never get away with.... She wants to show that she can sanitize San Francisco, and that's part of a national effort by the Democrats to 'out-Reagan' Reagan. If AIDS is to be eliminated it will be done through effective financial funding for scientific research. This measure will simply ensure that gays who are forced out of the bathhouses become the victims of gay-bashing and police violence.

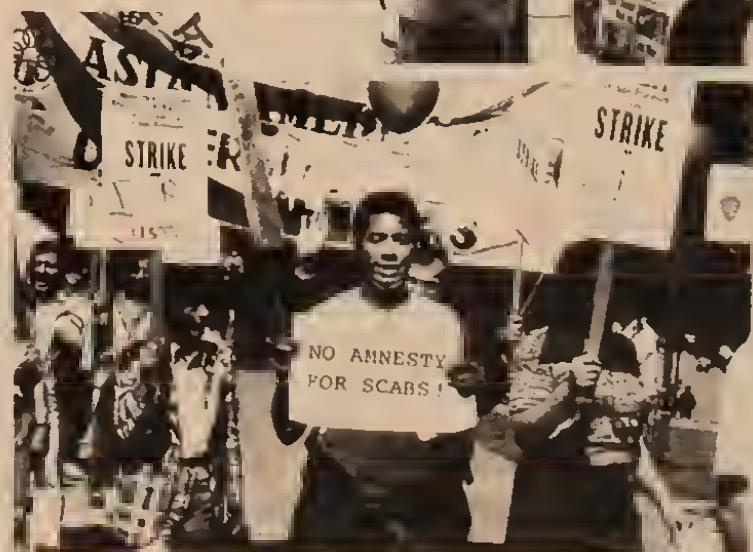
"What is happening in San Francisco is part of a larger picture, part

of regimenting the American population for war against the Soviet Union, and it has created a reactionary social climate where the separation of church and state is under attack, where abortion clinics are being firebombed in the name of 'right to life' and where the Moral Majority invades the classroom and the bedroom.

"The gay Democrats like Harry Britt, of the Democratic Socialists, are power brokers for the huge bloc of gay votes which they have channeled into support for Feinstein and the Democratic Party. Now they dutifully fall in line behind the Democratic Party right-wingers from Feinstein to Wendy Nelder in approving the closing of the gay bathhouses and sanctioning this anti-gay witchhunt. Disgusting, but not surprising.... It only confirms the Spartacist League view that the Democratic Party, one of the twin parties of capitalism, is no friend of labor or the oppressed.

"The working class, armed with a vision of a truly free society, is the only social force which can defend all the oppressed and lay the basis for a new society by uprooting the material bases of social oppression. That's what our socialist election campaign is all about."

Diana Coleman joins striking restaurant workers on picket line, calls for all-out support to strike from SF labor movement.



Restaurant strikers rally, September 15. Bradley and Coleman say: Picket lines mean don't cross!

Longshoremen: "Hot-Cargo"

South African Apartheid Butchers!

SAN FRANCISCO—The October 18 meeting of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Local 10 voted to refuse to work South African cargo on the next ship of the Nedlloyd Lines (which handles West Coast-South Africa shipping), in solidarity with the millions of South African blacks defying murderous repression. The Spartacist League supports class-struggle unionists' efforts for an emergency international labor boycott of all shipping to and from South Africa at this

As we go to press, it is reported that 7,000 soldiers and police sealed off three black townships south of Johannesburg October 23, arresting more than 340 people in an attempt to choke off the continuing township revolts against apartheid rule. Soldiers and police laid siege to the huge black ghetto of Soweto about 40 miles from Johannesburg before dawn, searching thousands of homes for leaders of the protests. Now more than ever there is urgent need for international labor action in solidarity with the embattled black toilers of South Africa!

crucial time. While the ILWU Local 10 motion falls far short of this, it nonetheless poses concrete *union action* in defense of South Africa's embattled black toilers. Longshoremen must seize this opportunity and fight to stop *all* shipping for the South African apartheid butchers.

Militant longshoreman Stan Gow, a veteran of 25 years on the docks and a

member of the local's Executive Board, attending his first union meeting since a serious industrial accident four months ago, put forward a motion that longshoremen refuse to handle all shipping to and from South Africa during the present savage repression against the black masses. He denounced reliance on Cold War Democrat Mondale and criticized the Executive Board's token proposal to stop the next Nedlloyd Lines ship on a one-shot basis. Howard Keylor, a small-time aspiring bureaucrat and supporter of the anti-Spartacist "External Tendency," spoke in support of the Executive Board proposal, originated by him, because, he said, "it would get good publicity for the cause and for the union."

But even this modest proposal for nice words and "publicity" rather than determined union action to strike a blow at the apartheid regime at a point of real vulnerability was too much for long-time Communist Party sympathizer Leo Robinson. In a ten-minute diatribe he attacked Gow and the Executive Board motion and put up an amendment that longshoremen should work all ships, refusing to handle only the specific South African cargo of the one ship, making it difficult even to locate what's to be boycotted. The officers gladly supported this amendment, and the now further watered down proposal carried.

In Local 10, whose members are two-thirds blacks, and in the face of the broad sympathy among Americans for the victims of apartheid terror, the bureaucrats and their "left" advisers felt compelled to do something. Stan Gow



Oakland, June 1983—Protesting South Africa-bound ship, Nedlloyd Kimberly, longshore and warehouse militants appeal to fellow workers to "hot-cargo" apartheid butchers.

has made "hot-cargoing" goods to South Africa a real issue in Local 10. In June 1983 Gow and Militant Caucus members from ILWU Local 6 (warehouse) organized an emergency picket of the South Africa-bound *Nedlloyd Kimberly* to protest the apartheid regime's execution of three African National Congress guerrilla fighters (Robinson openly opposed this effort while Keylor merely spit on it). At the time Gow was facing a trial in the local for trying to stop the loading of an El Salvador-bound freighter as part of his campaign for labor action to stop

American arms shipments to the bloody Salvadoran dictators. Gow's fight to mobilize action against the South Africa-bound ship deepened the respect he had won among the members, who defeated the bureaucrats' witchhunt.

Stan Gow is fighting for labor action to enforce international working-class solidarity on behalf of those struggling for freedom in South Africa. His fight is a part of building a real class-struggle leadership in the ILWU. Longshoremen must join with Gow to extend the Local 10 motion into an emergency boycott of all shipping to and from South Africa. ■

Friend of Vietnam Assassinated

We print below a statement issued October 22 by the Spartacist Campaign Committee.

On Saturday, October 13 Professor Edward Lee Cooperman, 48, was shot through the neck in his office at California State University/Fullerton by reactionary Vietnamese assassin Minh Van Lam. Dr. Cooperman, a nuclear physicist and national chairman of the U.S. Committee for Scientific Cooperation with Vietnam, was widely known for his efforts to aid war-ravaged Vietnam. One of the first Americans to travel to Vietnam after the fall of Saigon, he was a frequent visitor thereafter. Targeted by the sinister, highly organized Vietnamese *gusano* network in Orange County, he was cut down as he was embarking on a major study of the effects of the defoliant Agent Orange on Vietnam. The assassination of Edward Lee Cooperman is an outrage, and his death is a loss to every partisan of the Vietnamese Revolution.

In Hanoi, the Vietnam News Agency charged October 17 that the CIA had masterminded the slaying of Dr. Cooperman, well known for his political views and his studies of the herbicide. They linked the Cooperman assassination to the brutal death squad attack in San Francisco last May 29 on two elderly Vietnamese patriots with long histories of defense of Vietnam against imperialism. In that attack,

Nguyen Van Luy was critically wounded and his wife Pham Thi Luu was killed. Although responsibility for this murderous assault was claimed by the ultrarightist "Vietnamese Organization to Exterminate Communists and Restore the Nation," an outfit both known and feared in the SF Vietnamese community, the FBI claimed to have "no information" on the group.

In the last months of his life, Dr. Cooperman received repeated death threats, of which he informed the FBI and on whose advice he bought a gun and practiced with it to defend himself and his family. Yet now the FBI denies any knowledge of the threats, and is not investigating the murder, while the Fullerton police are obscenely stating that the murder stemmed from a "personal relationship" between the killer and his victim!

CIA spokesman Patti Volz responded to the charge of masterminding the Cooperman slaying: "It's totally absurd. We don't engage in assassination" (*New York Times*, 20 October). This at the very moment the CIA murder manual of assassination and other "state-supported" terrorism aimed at toppling the Nicaraguan government has become public knowledge!

The arrogant U.S. imperialists, smarting from the first war they ever lost, still long to teach Vietnam a



EDWARD LEE COOPERMAN

LA Times

"bloody lesson." To this day they refuse to recognize the government in Hanoi. And those in this country who remind them of their defeat—like authentic Vietnamese patriots Luu and Luy, and Edward Cooperman who worked for solidarity between the Vietnamese people and the Americans whose sons were used as cannon fodder of the imperialists' dirty coloni-

al war—are mowed down in the streets. And now the White House has proposed to bring thousands more "refugees"—the CIA-trained ARVN generals, torturers, drug-pushers, pimps left behind in Vietnam when their imperialist masters were driven out—to this country where they are given a free hand (at least) to spread their counterrevolutionary terror.

Not simply a vicious vendetta, this terror campaign is intimately linked to the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive aimed at reclaiming for capitalist exploitation and imperialist plunder everything from Ho Chi Minh City to Havana and Moscow. But the imperialists will not succeed! The heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants fought for over three decades to liberate their country from Japanese, French and American imperialism. That struggle was the inspiration for a generation of American radical youth. Now they confront U.S.-abetted aggression from Thailand, Cambodian reactionaries and China. The future American socialist revolution will liberate the resources of our country to carry forward the work undertaken by Edward Cooperman, helping in the socialist reconstruction of a land devastated by the phosphorus bombs of the decadent American imperialist order. And that revolution will settle accounts once and for all with the kind of CIA/fascist assassins that struck Edward Cooperman down.

Victory to the Miners! Shut Down Britain!

Margaret Thatcher: Enemy of the People

LONDON—It wasn't the "big bang" of industrial action needed to push the miners strike forward to victory, but it certainly shook up the Tory government. The bomb blast that ripped through the Grand Hotel in Brighton in the early hours of October 12, the last day of the Conservative Party conference, came closer to obliterating the government of the day than anything since Guy Fawkes tried it 380 years ago. Within hours the Provisional IRA had phoned in a statement claiming responsibility for targetting the "British cabinet and Tory warmongers." The IRA message openly taunted the Tories: "Today we were unlucky, but remember we only have to be lucky once. You will have to be lucky always."

Luck was about the only thing Margaret Thatcher & Co. had going for them that morning. As Whitehall helatedly instituted a top secret internal security investigation (which someone will no doubt shortly leak), recriminations flew about the abject level of security in Brighton. The editor of the *Times* claimed that 11 hours before the blast he had been allowed to promenade through the hotel lobby and several public rooms without once being checked for identification. It turned out an FBI tip-off only two weeks earlier had warned of a major IRA attack. And while Fleet Street gutter rags "revealed" with shock-horror that the IRA now had access to "microminiaturised" timing devices (roughly the sort to be found in a video recorder), an anonymous senior minister complained that the massive police deployment in Brighton had spent most of its time looking for striking miners armed with tomatoes.

Little more than a year after its sweeping electoral victory, the arrogant, complacent Thatcher clique is today widely despised and deeply isolated, its rally-round-the-Union Jack "Falklands factor" in shreds. In contrast to the wave of anti-Irish hysteria which greeted several past IRA mainland bombing campaigns (like the periodic, indefensible pre-Christmas High Street bombings or the vicious Birmingham pub bombings of ten years ago), reaction among wide layers of the population to this IRA



Hated Iron Lady and her minions were almost blown to kingdom come by IRA bombing of Grand Hotel in Brighton, October 3 (right).



Photographers International

attack against the Tory cabinet ranged from a shrug of the shoulders to adulation to hilarity. Even "respectable" bourgeois papers focussed on the security ball-up, not on the fact that the Iron Lady and her minions were almost blown to kingdom come.

Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock predictably extended his sympathy to the hated Thatcher, even congratulating her on her determination to "carry on." But in the factories and coal fields the response was worlds apart. One large Birmingham-area car plant erupted in spontaneous applause upon hearing that Thatcher's hated bully-boy trade and industry secretary Norman Tebbit was among those injured. One worker quipped that the cops would have a hard time making arrests—there were 50 million suspects! A joke circulated in mining communities that whoever carried out the attack should be shot... for missing their target. Even local elected Labour councillors refused to condemn the IRA. Said one in Camden, North London, "I do not regard the target of the bombing—Margaret

Thatcher—as being in any sense an innocent target" ([London] *Standard*, 18 October). Certainly not. Thatcher's regime is currently driving anti-apartheid fighters out of the British consulate in Durban into the torture dungeons of her racist anti-Soviet ally, Botha's South Africa.

This bloodthirsty Tory government, which has presided over the deaths of Irish hunger strikers, brutalised black and Asian youth from Brixton to Birmingham, wantonly butchered hundreds of Argentine sailors on the *Belgrano*, systematically pauperised millions of its own people through mass unemployment, unleashed brutal cop terror against the miners and their communities, is today in deep trouble. What the IRA blast illuminated in its wake is the product of seven months of hard and bitter *class struggle*.

The heroic miners strike has brought on a social and political crisis of British capitalism which has sharpened and augmented the chronic economic crisis. When the traditionally conservative pit deputies union NACODS [foremen and safety inspectors], which for three weeks sat on an 82 percent strike vote, finally announced the date for a strike which could shut even the scab Nottinghamshire coal field, the Stock Exchange dropped 30 points, the largest fall in history. On 1 October the Bank of England was forced to organise a massive emergency bailout operation involving more than £300 million when Johnson Matthey Bankers' bankruptcy threatened to throw the city financial centre into chaos. (Clearly, "uneconomic" pits are one thing, "uneconomic" banks another.) The hardline Tory *Economist*, which for months has urged the government to inflict a crushing defeat on the miners, now expresses open pessimism about an outright victory for the government and concern about the state of "Thatcher after Seagill." Even the Church of England, a vital pillar of the Tory establishment often dubbed "the Tory party at prayer," has openly attacked the government's handling of the strike.

Key sections of the ruling class are today concerned not simply about the likelihood of defeating the miners but about the prospect of irreparable damage to the social fabric of British society with its centuries-old institutions designed to attenuate revolutionary explosions. The police, the courts and the elected government are viewed with disrespect and even contempt among millions. With some five million chronically unemployed, even many delegates to the Tory party conference found Thatcher's "Let them eat cake" arrogance a bit too much. This government *can be defeated* and the capitalist system which stands behind it blown apart. It is not through hurling a few bombs that the British ruling class and its apparatus of repression will be dislodged but through the hursting of British capitalism *from within* through revolutionary class struggle. The social crisis posed so starkly in this country today can only be resolved in favour of the working class through a socialist revolution which the workers' misleaders seek might and main to stifle.

The miners have taken more than 8,000 arrests, seen two of their comrades murdered on the picket lines and thousands more injured, their families deprived of daily necessities. Now their union, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), faces massive court-ordered fines, sequestration of funds and possible jailing of its leaders. All signs point to a hard, cold and bitter winter. Renewed negotiations instigated by NACODS have again broken down, with NUM president Arthur Scargill accusing the Coal Board of attempting to assassinate the union, and Thatcher brazenly ordering her hachetman Ian MacGregor to toe the line of no compromise. All but the government's own kept analysts acknowledge that by December coal stockpiles at the power stations will be dangerously depleted. Selective power cuts have already been reported in the northeast of England, vindictively targetting schools, hospitals and old-age homes. The long-awaited confrontation over the movement of



Sturrock/Network

At coal mine near Leeds militant miners take on Thatcher's scabherding police.

coal from the pitheads now looms on the horizon, and Thatcher will not hesitate to use the troops.

Yet for all the cheap words of praise and empty promises of support at the recent Trades Union Congress (TUC) and Labour Party conferences, the miners are still alone on the picket lines. And if the labour misleaders have their way, they will be left to fight alone throughout the winter. There is today in Britain a profound crisis of leadership of the labour movement. While literally millions want to back the miners and heat the scabherders, the reformist Labour/TUC leaders fear and hate the prospect of a serious class-wide confrontation with the capitalist state which poses the question: *which class shall rule?* Thus they are ready not only to let Thatcher off the hook but to isolate and sabotage the miners' struggle. Stop this treachery! The miners must not stand alone! Strike with the miners to win!

Labour Movement Polarised

A year after being pilloried and seemingly isolated by the TUC bureaucrats for his outspoken opposition to anti-Soviet warmongers Thatcher and Reagan and their creature, counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, Arthur Scargill has today become without doubt the most popular figure in the labour movement. What was graphically clear at the Labour Party conference early this month was that deep and antagonistic forces are pulling and tugging at the party, pointing on the one hand to cowardly parliamentarist crawling before Thatcher and, on the other, toward class struggle which could sink the Iron Lady. Kinnoek himself posed the issue in his speech: change government through the ballot box or by defiance of Tory laws? He of course wants only the former which, translated, means bowing to police terror and Thatcherite union-busting, and despicably condemning the "violence" of striking miners.

Even as Kinnoek spat on the miners' struggle, one of Thatcher's hirelings provocatively infiltrated the Labour conference to serve Scargill with a writ threatening imprisonment for contempt, which led to a massive £200,000 fine being levied against the NUM plus another £1,000 against Scargill personally. (The latter fine was subsequently paid anonymously, the donor stating he didn't want to see Scargill imprisoned and turned into a martyr.) The NUM leader's response contrasted admirably with "Judas" Kinnoek: "I want to make it absolutely clear that if the choice facing me is to be committed by the High Court to spend a prison term in Pentonville or any other jail for standing by this trade union or our class, or alternatively having to live with the imprisonment of one's mind for betraying one's class then there is no choice as far as I am concerned. I stand by my class and my union."

For all Kinnoek's denunciations of "violence" (i.e., industrial action to defend jobs), it was evident that even a significant section of labour movement officials are not prepared to subordinate their future to the racist, union-busting "law and order" of the Tory reactionaries. Kinnoek was hattered and hruised from the first day of the conference when resolutions supporting the miners and denouncing police violence were passed against his scarcely veiled opposition. A further motion to support defiance of government spending limits by local Labour councils was adopted, and after Scargill was resoundingly cheered.

Yet in the end, the left stepped in to hail out Kinnoek. They do not want a full-scale confrontation with Thatcher any more than he does. Resolutions that would have committed the labour movement to concrete *action*—even a feeble proposal for a 24-hour day of action—were hastily scuttled. The Kinnoek/Hattersley nightmare ticket was unanimously re-elected. In the

**September 3:
Spartacist
League/Britain
marches outside
Trades Union
Congress,
demanding all-
out labor action
to bring down
Thatcher.**



interests of maintaining "unity" with the strikebreakers, finks and open CIA-lovers in the Labour right, the "lefts" were prepared to betray the millions of workers and oppressed who want to fight alongside the miners *now*. Leading "left" Tony Benn baldly defended the refusal to attack Kinnoek: "Nothing would give greater pleasure to the government if they thought we were falling out among ourselves..." To the contrary: the current crisis has demonstrated the burning necessity to *split* the Labour Party, to break the working-class base from its pro-capitalist misleaders, in order to forge an authoritative revolutionary workers party.

Even Scargill, who has emerged head and shoulders above the rest of the trade union and Labour "lefts," is incapable of providing a programme to unite the working class in struggle against Thatcher. Limiting the fight to the confines of a narrow industrial dispute, all he offers is a reformist scheme to bolster British industry through protectionist import controls and a reworded version of Wilson/Callaghan's "Plan for Coal" to be implemented under a future Labour government. Thus no more than the rest did Scargill pose a direct challenge either to Kinnoek's leadership or his electoralist treachery.

The British Communist Party (CP), with its wide influence amongst miners in Kent and Wales as well as Scotland where their own Mick McGahey reigns as NUM vice president, has actually blocked efforts necessary to *win* this strike. It was McGahey who struck the treacherous deal to keep funnelling coal into the Ravenscraig steelworks. Given its narrow Labourite reformism, the CP is incapable of providing leadership for this struggle which so obviously could bring Thatcher down and shake British capitalism to its foundations.

Arthur Scargill has been hounded by the bourgeois press and Labourite Cold Warriors alike for his forthright denunciation of Lech Walesa's Polish Solidarność, the only "union" Thatcher and Reagan like. The CP has stood by and watched him twist in the wind. Scab Walesa has now made clear where he stands on the strike in a message to a delegation from the "National Working Miners Committee" (scabs) which came to Poland seeking his support: "I am very sympathetic to your movement. My greetings to the British miners who are fighting for democracy in their union" ([London] *Daily Mail*, 9 October). Meanwhile, the British Stalinists have done nothing to *stop Polish scab coal*, a move which would be a real shot in the arm for the strike and help win the miners to see their direct interest in defending the Soviet-bloc deformed workers states. A revolutionary opposition to the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy would organise to support the NUM's rightful demand that these scab shipments stop now!

Shut Down the Country!

Twice already, with the two national dock strikes, the country was brought to the verge of a general strike—a general strike which could have been realised

had the "left" leaders of the rail and transport unions seriously implemented their pledges of solidarity and joined the miners in all-out strike action. Both times, the docks union leaders and TUC engineered a sellout, the second time ignominiously so. What is needed is to reverse the sellouts and for all unions which claim to support the NUM to *strike with the miners*. This is the road to the general strike needed to bring this hated Tory government to its knees. The pit deputies must stop equivocating and come out now. *Trade union defence squads* must be organised to repulse strikebreaking cop/scab terror.

The miners must appeal to other unions to strike alongside them against all redundancies [layoffs], as well as raising demands for no denationalisations and for a substantial wage rise with full cost-of-living protection. Such a fight for jobs would not only win the allegiance of millions of unemployed, but could act to undermine the strike-breaking capacity of the troops, many of them working-class lads forced into the army as an alternative to the dole queue [welfare lines]. Militants from other

striking unions, the women's support groups, the unemployed and minority organisations must be drawn in to form *joint elected strike committees* which could lay the basis for alternative organs of power to the strikebreaking capitalist state.

A victory for the miners will not only bring the vindictive Iron Lady to her knees but open the road to doing away with the class system whose savagery and horror she so well embodies. As moth-eaten British capitalism seeks to revitalise itself on the blood of its workers, it raises again the spectre of the mass misery on which it rose to imperialist dominance. A tragic harbinger of what Thatcher intends for the British working class when she talks about a return to "Victorian values" is the recent death of a striker's 14-year-old son killed while scavenging a spoil tip [waste pile] for coal to heat the family home. And then the government denied the family Social Security funeral benefits as punishment for supporting the strike.

The depth of self-sacrifice and the breadth of support for this strike is a recognition that on its outcome hinges the fate of trade unions, entire communities and the livelihoods and security of every working-class and minority family. This country is a tinderbox of social contradictions. There is only one solution for Britain's workers and oppressed: the struggle for a workers government to expropriate the profiteers and warmongers and establish a planned economy capable of making this country a decent place to live in. Key to this is the fight for a revolutionary leadership of the labour movement uncompromisingly committed to class struggle against capitalism. Only then can the myriad crimes of this long-outlived imperialist ruling class be finally avenged. That is why we say: The miners must not stand alone! Strike now with the miners! Bring the Iron Lady to her knees! ■

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Cold War "Terror" Scare



San Francisco cops brutalize fake liberal/reformist demonstrators seeking to pressure Democratic Convention. AFL-CIO bureaucracy marches for Mondale (below, left).



WV Photo

and the Democratic Convention

Nothing excites a capitulator as much as a chance to indict a revolutionist for something the capitulator is himself guilty of. Hence after the Spartacist League last July offered to defend the Democrats' rights against cop bonapartism and rightist violence, polemics charging us with being soft on the Democratic Party were penned by several opponent groups: the Morenos, the Avakian group, the sinister Workers League and the so-called "External Tendency." The ET differs from the others in that, while behaving as the most vicious of our enemies, it professes to critically support the SL, being composed of some former SL members, of generally rightist coloration, who quit the party in fear of the Reagan years.

These groups now accuse us of inventing a fictitious threat to the Democratic Convention, so as to get close to the Democrats under cover of "defense." To make such a case our critics must dismiss the whole reactionary climate of bourgeois intimidation and victimization in this period: cop bonapartism, government-protected racist/fascist terrorism, FBI witchhunting, the ideological mobilization for war. (Such touching faith in the stability of bourgeois democracy is displayed by our opponents only when it suits them. A couple of years ago, Bob Avakian himself applied for political asylum in France (!), while the Workers League's crisis-mongering proclivities are legendary—they once maintained that the use of the National Guard in Boston to clean up after a blizzard was a "dress rehearsal for military rule.")

For the ET, which remember is supposed to stand in some kind of solidarity with the SL, belittling the bonapartist climate expressed around the Democratic Convention serves an additional function: it enables them to belittle the dangers confronting our revolutionary party directly, the better to excuse the way that they themselves criminally abet the real, actual, operational, deadly dangerous campaign which targets the Spartacist League for bourgeois repression and cop violence.

But the issues of ostensible concern in the ET letter (see page 9)—centrally, the question of democratic rights—are worth examining dispassionately. Because for Marxists—unlike the opportunists of all stripes, for whom "defense" is synonymous with an appetite to suck up to the forces you are "defending"—defense of democratic rights is integral to defense of the oppressed.

Reagan/Shultz's "anti-terrorism" campaign was brutally enforced on the streets of San Francisco during the Democratic National Convention. Preceding the convention, the press carried a barrage of articles citing "police sources" as concerned about supposed "terrorist" attacks. Under this pretext, a massive police mobilization did indeed—as we had earlier predicted—turn the convention into a militarized zone, unleashing cop violence against the tame liberals and reformists who demonstrated in conjunction with the Democratic gathering. The demonstrators, who were threatened in advance in the press, penned in by the cops, some of them beaten and arrested, were there to lobby the Democrats on behalf of various liberal causes. Their mistreat-

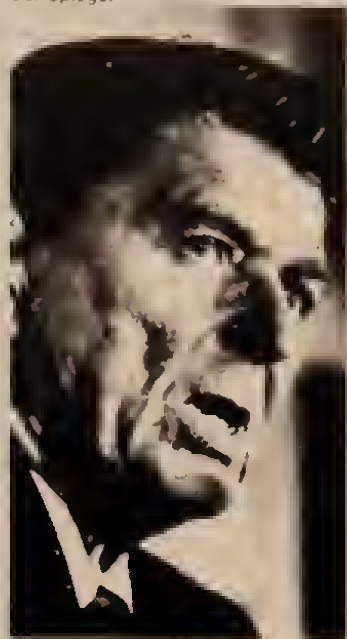
ment was part of a concerted effort to intimidate that bourgeois gathering politically and physically—and it worked. The delegates stayed underground, in the convention center bunkers; San Francisco businesses, from restaurants to prostitutes, complained bitterly at not getting the patronage they expected. After the convention, some small fraction of the delegates ventured into the city, finding to their surprise that it was not such a bad place after all.

As we have pointed out before, genuine Marxists are hardly the only targets of Reagan's campaign of domestic reaction backed up by increasing state bonapartism. The drive for anti-Soviet war abroad means attempted regimentation at home; thus the new FBI guidelines which officially equate political opposition to the government with "criminal terrorism," thus the Supreme Court decisions and presidential directives granting sweeping powers to the police and secret police, thus the unleashing of native fascist groups against blacks and minorities. In San Francisco, the government threat of violence against political opponents was exercised against the Democrats'

radical/liberal "fringe." What happened at the Democratic Convention was sinister, it was orchestrated, and it was intended to include the Spartacist League among its targets.

As early as April, the *San Francisco Chronicle* (20 April) carried a story listing the SL as among "some of the small, ultra-left groups operating in the Bay Area that police fear may play a violent role in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in July." The other groups listed were Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party, the Communist Workers Party and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. This malicious smear job was picked up and elaborated by the *New York Post*. Our specific inclusion in this violence-baiting libel was no accident; it appeared just a few days after SL supporter Richard Bradley, dressed in the uniform of a Union Army sergeant, sealed a 50-foot flagpole in SF Civic Center to tear down the Confederate flag—banner of slavery and KKK terror. This popular action by the SL proved both ultimately successful (the slavery flag flies no more and has been replaced by a historic Union flag) and

Der Spiegel



Finascila

As Reagan prepares "Star Wars" against Soviet Union, fake-lefts embrace "lesser evil" Mondale, certified Cold War hawk.

Der Spiegel



intensely embarrassing to Democratic mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein.

In a statement to the *Chronicle* (published after we threatened to sue for libel, citing our remarkably successful record of legal challenges to efforts to set us up), SL spokesman Al Nelson presented our attitude toward the convention. While emphatically upholding the right of those who did wish to demonstrate there to exercise that right without being subjected to police violence, "terrorism" smears or ultra-rightist assaults, the statement said:

"For our part, we think the Democratic Party convention will be a monumental bore. We have no interest in seeking to lobby or pressure this party of racism and imperialist war. To do so would only serve and strengthen the unfortunate illusion that this party has something to offer working people."

In fact it is our opposition to tailing the Democrats which is the SL's real crime in the eyes of our opponents. While the rest of the left has moved sharply to the right over the past decade of accelerating bourgeois reaction, the SL, refusing to bow to the pressure of the anti-Soviet popular front, has become the visible communist opposition to the new Cold War. Our intransigent defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism's war threats, our leadership of mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the Klan/Nazi fascists, our championship of victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador, our efforts to further class-struggle militancy in the unions—all this has earned us the unkindly attentions of the capitalist state, its secret police and their pals in the bourgeois press. And from the increased enmity of the rulers and their union-bureaucratic lackeys, it is but a short step to the intensified hostility of the left, which expresses its frenzied hatred of us with gangsterism and cop-enforced exclusions, and with a barrage of wholesale slander of us (as "violent disrupters" and everything from FBI agents to KGB surrogates). Simply put, the SL has become more visible, more important, and is seen as standing in the way of the hoped-for bloc with the Democrats which the reformist left sees as the way to "fight Reagan."

Indeed our present critics are up to



their ears in pro-Democratic Party pressure politics. The Workers League, with its ever-present calls for the AFL-CIO tops to build a "labor party," is among the most slavish tails of America's Cold Warrior union bureaucracy which stands in the right wing of the Democratic Party. The Avakianites demonstrated at the Democratic Convention as part of the Livermore Action Group of no-nuke pacifists. The Morenoites' main field of activity is the California Peace and Freedom Party, a classical rad-lib swamp.

For the ET as well, what rankles the most is the SL's "abstention" from the demonstrations outside the convention and our exposure of their guilty fiction—their claim that the demonstrators had nothing to do with lobbying the Democrats, or maybe even opposed the Democrats. Consider by way of contrast the radical demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago during the Vietnam War, where thousands of young radicals chanted, "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?" at the Democratic president. The man in charge of security for this year's convention, former Miami police chief Rocky Pomerance, observed: "I don't see the protests here having a hard-edged bitterness" of the late '60s and early '70s. "I see them as supportive" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 8 July). Indeed one of the demonstration organizers, Dan Siegel, explained in an interview on ABC News that the goal was "to work with the Democrats in

order to defeat Reagan. And for that reason we're not interested in disrupting the convention or in any way making it more difficult for the Democrats."

For the ET of course the popular front is where it's at. What matters is that, in the ET's words, "the reformists predict that hundreds of thousands will march in the labor, gay, peace and sundry other demonstrations scheduled for outside the Convention." Therefore they demand that the SL should seek to be the best organizers for those hoped-for multitudes, with our revolutionary slogans, of course.

On July 13 the *San Francisco Chronicle* duly wrongly reported that the Spartacists had participated in the liberal anti-Falwell protest outside the convention and "clashed with the police." As we noted in our press release that same day "...for the powers that be, evidently centered on the FBI 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."

If the ETs want to participate in pro-Democratic Party events, by all means they should. But we keenly resent that they do so under the false appellation of a "tendency"—external or extraterrestrial—of the SL. When the ETs showed up at a public forum in New York City on July 20, SL spokesman Joseph Seymour blasted them:

"We say that we intend to have nothing

to do with the Democratic Party Convention. So what does the External Tendency do? Our 'loyal opposition,' they march in what is basically a liberal-left fringe of the Democratic Party Convention under the sign, 'External Tendency of the international Spartacist tendency'."

Thanks a lot.

Eighty years ago, comrade V.I. Lenin denounced the Mensheviks' efforts to pressure the liberal *Zemstvo* (local government bodies) into opposition to tsarism. He attacked this capitulation, quoting from the Mensheviks' plan:

"Efforts are made to bring the masses into direct contact with the Zemstvo Assembly, to concentrate the demonstration before the actual premises where the Zemstvo assemblymen are in session. Some of the demonstrators penetrate into the session hall, and at a suitable moment, through the spokesman specially authorized for the purpose, they ask permission of the Assembly [?] of the Marshal of the Nobility, who presides at the Assembly, to read out a statement on behalf of the workers."

—"The Zemstvo Campaign and *Iskra's* Plan," November 1904

Our contemporary American reformists do not even go that far. They were content to demonstrate around the proposition that Walter Mondale ought to speak on behalf of the workers and oppressed.

A Proposal to Defend the Democrats' Rights

While we planned to stay away from the Democratic Convention and did so,

continued on page 10

ET Letter

External Tendency of the iSt
Toronto, Ontario

External Tendency of the iSt
Oakland, CA

July 11, 1984

Workers Vanguard
New York, NY

Dear Comrades:

We read with considerable interest your bizarre offer to send a dozen security people to defend the Democratic National Convention against "Reagan reaction" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 358, 6 July). Much of our recent experience with your marshalls has been when they have been used to prevent us from discussing politics with your members at the conclusion of your public events. This would at least be a new assignment for them.

How do you imagine your people would be deployed? Perhaps Richard Bradley, dressed in his Union army outfit, would be assigned to push George Wallace around in his wheelchair while the rest of the SL/LBLS/D marshalls stood by to ensure that he and the other Dixiecrats and war criminals in attendance weren't bothered by Confederate flag-waving hooligans.

If you are really serious about your defense proposal why not call on the Soviet consulate to supply some

manpower? They'd surely oppose any seizure of power by the Reaganites, and if the Democrats asked them nicely they'd probably be able to come up with at least another dozen marshalls. Such a call would be no more absurd than your own offer and would do far more, if it were accepted, to cut against the anti-Soviet terror-mongering.

Your proposal is predicated on the claim that by "implementing Reagan's anti-terrorism" campaign at the Convention the Democrats are inviting "ultrarightist assault against...the Convention itself." Who do you think is moronic enough to believe that Reagan and Feinstein, "if not...the Democratic National Committee itself," are jointly engineering a situation in which one of the twin parties of U.S. imperialism is set up for an attack by ultrarightists? Have you forgotten that just as the anti-Soviet war drive is based on a bipartisan consensus so is its domestic reflection? Your conclusion that *because* the Democrats have gone along with Reagan on this it is somehow necessary for the SL to offer to spearhead labor defense guards to protect them against their own "anti-terrorists" is so ludicrous that it defies comment.

The mock-heroic announcement that "the SL stands ready to defend the democratic rights of the Democratic National Convention" against "the real instigators and perpetrators of political disruption and violence, against the Watergaters [i.e. Republi-

cans] and Cold Warriors, against the witchhunters and their shock troops marching under the terror banners of the swastika and the Confederate slavery flag" echoes the CP's "unite against the right" crap. "The real instigators and perpetrators of political disruption and violence" are just as much a part of the Democratic party as the Republican. (Ever heard of Lester Maddox? What about Tom Metzger!) "Not a dime's worth of difference," remember?

The Klan and the Nazis are not just the shock troops of the "Watergaters"—they are the last resort of the entire American bourgeoisie to preserve its class rule. As for those who march under the "terror [banner] of...the Confederate slavery flag": need we remind you that a good chunk of the delegates in San Francisco will be Deep South racist Dixiecrats, including the governors of Georgia and Mississippi, states which both fly that banner as their flag?

Some of the liberals who presently endorse Reagan's witchhunt measures against the left may some day have their own toes stepped on. Some of them may even have their careers ruined in the event of a new wave of McCarthyism. But to assert as you do that "a fitting historical model for Reagan's exploitation of a 'terror scare' to smash political opposition can be found in the 1933 Reichstag... fire, which was...exploited by [the Nazis] to repress political dissidence and consolidate the Third Reich" is

positively weird. Have you so lost touch with social reality that you believe that Reagan plans a totalitarian coup d'état to "repress political dissidence" in the Democratic party and consolidate an American Reich?

We are inclined to suspect that the inspiration for this dramatic and "angular" proposal may have come from a little over-indulgence in some fine vintage one night at the CC library. Either that or just plain fear. Whatever the origin, the "angle" is off the wall. The fact that the new editor-in-chief could have let it get into print in *WT* stands as a shocking indictment of the political disintegration of the present leadership. What the SL *should* be doing, as we suggested in our letter of 26 June, is attempting to initiate a labor/black mobilization against the threatened fascist provocation. The reformists predict that hundreds of thousands will march in the labor, gay, peace and sundry other demonstrations scheduled for outside the Convention. Many of these people recognize the threat which the Klan poses to them and potentially could be mobilized in a broad ANCAN-type rally. Instead the SL leadership has chosen to spend its time making unrequited (and idiotic) approaches to "Fritz" Mondale's party of racism and imperialist war. It must be enough to make the serious political people in the SL wonder if their leadership is playing with a full deck.

Bolshevik Greetings,
External Tendency of the iSt

"Terror" Scare...

(continued from page 9)

as early as April we made a point of defending the democratic rights of the various liberal, labor and left organizations that did intend to demonstrate there. As the "terror" scare escalated and with it the danger of cop and rightist provocation, in early July we proposed a military defense of the convention:

"Labor defense guards are necessitated by the embracing of the Reagan administration's anti-terrorism' scare, if not by the Democratic National Committee itself, then at least by the city administration of Dianne Feinstein.... The beneficiary of this 'fears of violence' campaign, which claims the intention of protecting the Democratic Convention, is going to be the Reagan administration—not those who claim to oppose Reagan's policies and certainly not those who defend the democratic rights of the American people.... Against the real instigators and perpetrators of political disruption and violence, against the Watergaters and Cold Warriors, against the witchhunters and their shock troops marching under the terror banners of the swastika and the Confederate slavery flag, the SL stands ready to defend the democratic rights of the Democratic National Convention and calls on the labor movement to do so as well."

Our attitude toward the Democratic Convention was similar to our line on the Harold Washington mayoral campaign in Chicago last year. While the reformist left supported this black Democrat, we warned: Harold Washington will betray black Chicago. And

ile Disorder. It is worth reviewing some of the salient lessons of history. The Dreyfus case was genuinely an important learning process for the socialist movement. Many French socialists did not see that the frame-up and court martial of this Jewish officer of the general staff was being exploited by royalists, militarists and clerical reactionaries to attack the gains of the great French Revolution. Thus Guesde's Parti Ouvrier Français advised workers to take no side in this fight between Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards because "both are equally enemies of our class and of Socialism" (quoted in Aaron Noland, *The Founding of the French Socialist Party*, 1970). Very few of the socialists who opposed the defense of this rich, arrogant scion of the ruling class—an officer proud of his role in suppressing Arab rebels in colonial North Africa—were consciously anti-Semitic. But they failed to recognize that the Dreyfus case profoundly polarized French society, posing the imminent possibility of a royalist coup/counterrevolution against the republic, or of a proletarian revolution growing out of the mass mobilization against the Dreyfus frame-up. We've learned a few things since then. As Lenin put it, "...one of the many thousands of fraudulent machinations of the reactionary military caste (the Dreyfus case) was enough to bring the people to the brink of civil war!" (*"Left-Wing" Communism...*).

Comrade Lenin's insistence that communists must defend democratic rights including for bourgeois figures and parties was tragically borne out by

San Francisco, July 1981—SL demonstrates in defense of democratic rights, against California attorney general's "terrorism" scare.



ing history. *The Communist Party of Bulgaria: Origins and Development 1883-1936*, published in 1959, Joseph Rothschild writes:

"...the Bulgarian Communists could dismiss the overthrow of the peasant government as well-deserved retribution and vilify the murdered Stamboliski more than the triumphant Tsankov, while declaring that the replacement of the agrarian regime by a military-bourgeois government was an affair in which the proletariat had no stake. Truly they deserved the appellation of 'Narrow-minded'."

After they refused to resist the Tsankov coup, the Bulgarian Communists indulged in a terrorist adventure by blowing up the Sofia cathedral in 1925, killing a large number of bourgeois leaders. The subsequent bloodbath against the workers movement did not end until the Soviet Red Army liberated Bulgaria toward the end of World War II.

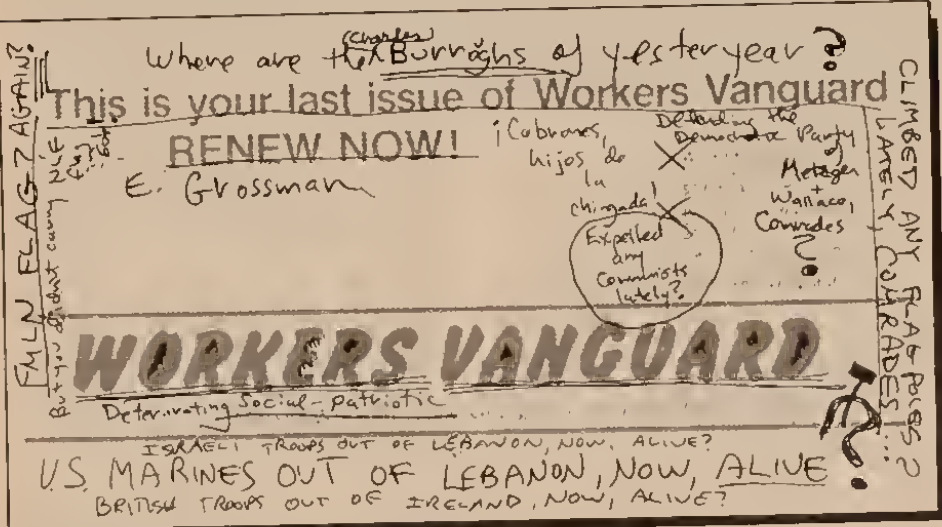
Closer to home, the McCarthy witch-hunt after World War II targeted not only reds and labor militants but also prominent New Deal liberals such as Alger Hiss, Harvard Law School graduate and high-level government official under Roosevelt and Truman. Hiss's crime was not merely that he had rubbed elbows with the occasional CPer during those days when the exigencies of world war had put the U.S. in a military bloc with Russia, but that he didn't shift fast enough from the New Deal rhetoric to the Cold War. The destruction of the bourgeoisie was an opening shot in a witchhunt which was to destroy the reputations and livelihoods of thousands of Communists and others. Significantly, Reagan recently awarded the posthumous "Medal of Freedom" to the psychotic anti-Communist perjurer Whittaker Chambers, the key witness in the Hiss trials. And Nixon, who earned his spurs in the Hiss case, evidently failed to assimilate the idea that rival bourgeois parties do not use the apparatus of disruption and repression against one another—remember Watergate?

At the GOP's own national convention in Dallas (where the Republicans were surely grooving on having chosen for their convention site the city where Kennedy was assassinated), mainstream

Democrats were attacked as soft on Communism—witness Jeane Kirkpatrick's tirade with its refrain that the Democrats "always blame America first." Crazy?—sure, but the capitalist system is crazy and finds in its extreme decay the appropriate political servants. Yes, Virginia, there are times when the trappings of bourgeois democracy are perceived as standing in the way of the needs of the system's defenders, in this case the need to regiment the whole population in the drive toward war.

The Avakianites are perhaps sincere in castigating us for defending the democratic rights of the Democrats. After all, they never had much of a knack for any kind of rights—witness their objective bloc with the rampaging racist mobs of South Boston against school busing. The rest of this crew, though, is transparently cynical. Consider the polemical "method" of the Workers League ("Bodyguards for the Democrats," *Bulletin*, 24 July). The WL quotes our statement that "The profound political and class difference between the Spartacist League and the Democratic Party in no way belies our position that the Democratic Party has the right to assemble and nominate its candidate." It then promptly asserts the opposite: "the Spartacists are in reality groveling before this imperialist political party and seeking to integrate themselves with its liberal wing." The WL relies on confusion—and none too subtly. It's like the story of the bourgeois politician who lost an election because his enemies said his wife was a thespian.

The ET meanwhile tries for shock value with the image that "Perhaps Richard Bradley, dressed in his Union army outfit, would be assigned to push George Wallace around in his wheelchair...." Regular readers of our press will be aware that this effort to evoke indignation on behalf of Bradley is the height of cynicism since the ET uniquely credits the removal of the Dixie flag to Democratic mayor Feinstein and considers Bradley's feat nothing but a cheap publicity stunt. However this raises an interesting point. When Wallace was running for office on a racist platform, he got shot by someone so far to the right that he didn't think the principle of



An ET supporter sends in his subscription renewal.

he has. But when after his election he faced a dangerous racist mobilization orchestrated by his defeated white opponents and with more than a hint of cop honapartism, we insisted that Washington had the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives of the mayor. Our opponents didn't hother to object, since for them defense equals political support and they were supporting Harold Washington. But we weren't, no more than we were supporting John DeLorean, maverick industrialist and horn-again Christian, when we defended his democratic rights against a nasty government set-up.

Our opponents seem unable to conceive of the possibility of rightist intimidation and disruption targeting the Democrats—a bourgeois party. Thus they demonstrate incredible illusions in the rationality and stability of American bourgeois democracy. Unlike any sane person concerned for democratic rights (and his own skin), these people seem to find nothing much to worry about in a war-crazy president, who "jokes" about nuking Russia in five minutes, acquiring powers of state honapartism. For example, the Avakian group considers the notion "that a Reagan police plot is afoot to sink the Democratic National Convention" to be a "bizarre scenario." For polemical purposes, all of these deeply popular-frontist critics find it convenient to espouse a version of the sectarian purism which Lenin castigated in his *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infan-*

the events of the 1920s, especially in fragile bourgeois democracies like Weimar Germany and imperial Japan. German fascists attacked not only Communists and Social Democrats but also bourgeois politicians who accepted the Versailles Treaty and supported the Weimar constitution. In 1922, for example, the brilliant Jewish foreign minister and millionaire industrialist Walter Rathenau was murdered by Freikorps thugs, who were later glorified by the Nazi regime. In Japan during this period, middle-of-the-road bourgeois politicians were assassinated by right-wing fanatics. Among the victims was prime minister Takashi Hara, the first commoner to hold this office. The terrorization of bourgeois electoralist parties paved the way for the consolidation of fascism in Germany and of militarism in Japan, helping to set the stage for the second imperialist world war.

In Bulgaria in 1925, the right-wing Tsankov coup overthrew the radical peasant leader Stamboliski. The Bulgarian Communists (formerly the "narrow" Socialists) were the party of the Bulgarian proletariat. At this critical point they missed a chance to make a proletarian revolution by mobilizing against the white terror, a mobilization which would have placed the proletarian vanguard at the head of the agrarian masses and led directly to the seizure of power. Instead they held themselves aloof. This policy of abstention turned out to be suicidal. In his outstand-

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segregation should be subjected to the voting process. The failed assassination attempt on Reagan more recently was similarly the work of a sick Nazi-lover. A review of the political assassinations in this country (and one can go back to the Confederate actor Booth's murder of Abraham Lincoln) from John Kennedy to Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X will reveal a pattern of rightist, racist pathology comparable to that of the mercenaries featured in *Soldier of Fortune*. Unlike the sometimes vicariously bloodthirsty ETs, we Marxists understand that the techniques of indiscriminate terror and political assassination are the property of the imperialist rulers and their fascist dogs of war. The quintessential victims of assassination are Medgar Evers, Orlando Letelier, the Greensboro martyrs.

Democratic Rights and the Class Struggle

The defense of democratic rights is inextricably bound up with proletarian class struggle. It is therefore important to be precise as to the meaning of such rights in bourgeois society. James Burnham's classic pamphlet *The People's Front: The New Betrayal* (written in 1937 when he was a leading spokesman of the Trotskyist movement) distinguishes between three kinds of rights. There are bourgeois property rights whose defense is the primary purpose of the bourgeois state. Burnham explains, "Such rights as these it is the aim of the proletariat to *destroy*, in exactly the same way that the bourgeoisie itself destroyed the special feudal and slave-holding rights."

Secondly, there are democratic rights, including those usually termed civil liberties, like free speech, free assembly, secular public education, which have their origins in the bourgeoisie's struggle for power. The proletariat recognizes that such rights must be defended and can be used in defense of its own class interests. The historic aim of the proletariat is to deepen and extend these rights by changing their social content and class bias.

Finally, there exist within capitalist society distinctly *proletarian* rights as the right to strike, picket and organize. As Burnham indicated, "The historical origin of these rights is in all cases to be found in the *independent* struggle of the proletariat *against* the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state." Such rights as have been won by the working class in struggle are by their very nature constantly under attack to one degree or another in capitalist society and must be constantly defended.

The proletariat has a direct and vital stake in the struggle for democratic rights for they provide the scope for its own independent organization. At the same time, the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, especially the struggle to organize its own political party to conquer power, is the front line battleground for the defense and extension of democratic rights.

The ET's despicable polemic, a cynical effort to buttress its transparently fraudulent posture as purported leftist critics of the SL, has nonetheless provided us with an occasion to explore important political points which are crucial to the orientation of authentic revolutionists, which should be of real concern to all those interested in the defense of democratic rights. And we want to make one thing quite clear: ETs—if you should get yourselves in real trouble in a way that impinges on the defense of democratic rights, ours or for that matter those of Ronald Reagan, we will defend you. And you will have no trouble believing that our defense implies no degree of political support. Although of course you're not too likely to find yourselves targeted by the dangers you belittle, since your central defining quality is that you are not an organization, but a cowardly conglomeration of hitler quitters organized to attack the revolutionaries of the Spartacist League. ■

SF Elections...

(continued from page 4)

well. A woman striker at a Local 2 rally in early September told Ritchie she strongly agreed with the SL's call for some hard, old-time class struggle, and asked why the union doesn't "just come on, pull everyone out and win this strike." The restaurant owners have announced they intend to start hiring "permanent replacement" scabs starting October 25. These scabs must be stopped! We need militant picket lines that nobody crosses—hacked by the rest of San Francisco labor!

In the 50th anniversary year of the San Francisco General Strike the bureaucrats are busy eulogizing the general strike while praying it will never happen again. So our call that "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" at the September 11 meeting of the SF Central Labor Council drove Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 2 president Charles Lamb into outright frenzy. When Richard Bradley spoke of the strikers' anger at the bureaucracy's crippling tactics, the "mod" Lamb, decked out in a motorcycle jacket, leaped up and began shouting incoherently. Bradley shot back, pointing to the '34 strike which shut down the docks and made San Francisco a union town:

"...the union should do what it did 50 years ago! What's needed in this country is a general strike. That's the only way we're going to beat back the union-busting that's going on in this country today."

In her remarks at the meeting, Diana Coleman noted:

"We say solidarity is *not* sending \$500 and a valentine. It's respecting picket lines. It means 'hot-carguing' struck goods. It means secondary boycotts, and if that's 'illegal,' that's too bad—because it's what wins that counts. People ought to stop eulogizing the San Francisco General Strike of 50 years ago, and let's start trying to do it again."

Diana told *WV* that during the 1980 Board of Supervisors campaign when she spoke at the Labor Council, the bureaucrats treated her as something quaint, reminiscing about Norman Thomas-style "socialists" they had known. When she ran in 1982 with Richard Bradley, she said, they asked about the Spartacists' opposition to Ronald Reagan and the CIA's favorite "union," Polish Solidarność. But this year with mounting pressure at the base of the unions and the labor hacks' frenzy to "get out the vote" for the Democrats, the bureaucrats see the class-struggle candidates as outright dangerous.

Thus, as Diana accompanied longshore militant Stan Gow to the first H.W.U. Local 10 meeting he has been able to attend since a terrible industrial accident four months ago, Local 10 officials threatened to call the cops and ordered Coleman's supporters out of the hall. In past years, Bradley and Coleman had traditionally brought their

Protest SWP Ballot Exclusion

The following telegram was sent October 18 by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Thomas W. Wallace
NY State Board of Elections
One Commerce Plaza
Albany, NY 12260

NY State Board of Elections' exclusion of Socialist Workers Party from November presidential ballot is attack on fundamental rights of minority and working-class parties to organize. Board's spurious excuse for this McCarthyite exclusion that SWP failed to list their electors underlines electoral college is institution for disenfranchising American people. Partisan Defense Committee, in anti-sectarian defense of labor's cause, demands SWP to be placed on the ballot.

Partisan Defense Committee



WV Photo

Bradley rips down Confederate flag of slavery in SF Civic Center.

campaign to the longshore hall. But some sharp struggle has gone down in between. Brother Gow had gone to the October 18 union meeting to raise a call for labor action against apartheid repression (see story, page 5). Last year hundreds of angry ranks routed the H.W.U. tops when these pieceards brought Gow up on charges for picketing ships bound for El Salvador with military cargo.

Also in CWA Local 9415 this year, the phone bureaucrats said they were "too busy" with internal problems (how to head off any fight against layoffs and sell Mondale to the members) to let our candidates speak. But if the bureaucrats are getting more hostile, everywhere we found the union ranks eager to talk. Throughout San Francisco, Bradley and Coleman have been greeted warmly by workers and blacks who are becoming familiar with the Spartacist League and our 20-year record of struggle on a range of issues—from the fight against KKK terror, to Central America and the Soviet Union.

San Francisco is a labor town—created in struggle through the 1934 General Strike which, along with the Toledo Auto-Lite strike and the Minneapolis Teamster battles of that year, was one of the three class battles that forged industrial unionism in this country. But the fat cats sitting on the Central Labor Council, working overtime for Mondale, fear class struggle like the plague. They want to keep the lid on in this city, where in 1981 Mondale was drowned out by angry shouts of "PATCO! PATCO!" and Feinstein was also booed off the stage at the "Solidarity Day" rally. PATCO and Greyhound were bitter strikes—mass picketing could have won them. Workers who want to fight are fed up with the bureaucrats who tell them their problems will be solved by flipping a lever on November 6 for the Democratic Party of racism, union-busting and war.

The theme hammered home by the Bradley/Coleman campaign has been, "You can't fight Reagan with Democrats. It will take hard class struggle to break the grip of Reagan reaction." We're getting some hard class struggle—from Morenci copper miners to Toledo auto workers to SF drivers, retail clerks, service workers, and more. The key is *leadership*. The fight for the *political independence* of the workers movement—for a workers party to fight for a workers government—is the key to unchaining the power of labor. Dump the labor traitors who shackle the working class to the bosses' parties!

Anti-Soviet War Drive = War on Labor, Minorities at Home

The anti-Soviet war drive has come home to chic San Francisco with a vengeance. Reviving a wartime tradition, Feinstein and Reagan packed the SF docks with 20 warships during this month's "Fleet Week," including the giant carrier USS *Constellation* and the sophisticated submarine USS *San Francisco*, all part of U.S. imperialism's Seventh Fleet. Feinstein, who is infamous for her photo posed as a SWAT team member while campaigning for gun control to disarm the city's workers

and minorities, was featured in the local press in the cockpit of an A-4 Skyhawk, part of the Blue Angels! Presumably she dreamed of strafing Muni drivers in her very own fighter plane as she roared over San Francisco.

More ominously, one of the Navy planes was reported to have buzzed the Soviet consulate on Green Street. This consulate has been targeted for a red-scare campaign by City Hall and by the local newspapers and TV stations. Soviet diplomats have been tightly restricted in their movements. After the KAL 007 provocation, one TV spot for a series aimed against the consulate depicted Santa's sleigh being blown out of the sky by a Soviet missile! The frenzy being whipped up against the "Green Street Reds" is *hot* war talk. Consulates are closed down by *war*. This is Feinstein and the Democrats' "alternative" to Reagan. It's a *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive; it's not simply Reagan, it's capitalism which threatens to plunge the world into nuclear holocaust.

In remarks to her own union local, Letter Carriers Branch 214, Coleman stressed:

"This whole union-busting offensive and the attacks on minorities in this

The following telegram was sent October 26, protesting the exclusion of the Communist Party ticket from the ballot in California.

Secretary of State March Fong Eu
1230 J St.
Sacramento, CA 95814

Your claim that the Communist Party does not qualify for ballot status after you voided 31% of the over 150,000 registered voter petitions submitted is an undemocratic ballot exclusion of a workers movement organization. While we have no intention of voting for Gus Hall or Angela Davis during this election, we fully support their democratic right to appear on the ballot and protest the two-party favoritism exposed in elections laws which are prejudiced against left organizations.

Reply is formally requested.

Sincerely,
Richard Bradley and
Diana Coleman

country are directly linked to Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. So it's this government, with bipartisan support, that is taking food out of the mouths of poor schoolchildren to fund MX missiles. So internationally our position is to call for military victory for the leftists in El Salvador, for defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism."

At an October 16 campaign meeting that drew members of several unions, and some student youth, Bradley/Coleman supporters mapped out plans for the last weeks of the campaign. Volunteers signed up to bring the Spartacist program to black, Hispanic and working-class neighborhoods; to plant gates and union meetings and into their own workplaces. Our task is to take the revolutionary program to the working people, to build the revolutionary workers party—like the kind the Bolsheviks built to lead the October 1917 Revolution—that will fulfill the campaign's central slogan: "Finish the Civil War! For Workers Revolution!" as part of the world socialist revolution. ■

Spartacist Forum

Meet the Candidates!

Bradley and Coleman for
S.F. Board of Supervisors

Friday, October 26, 7:30 p.m.
Ella Hill Hutch Community Center
1050 McAllister St.
For more information, (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

Central America...

(continued from page 1)

party on record against sending U.S. troops to Central America. The Democratic platform like the Republican asserts that "the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua have all encouraged instability and supported revolution in the region." Where they have differed is over tactics: the Reaganites dream of another Grenada, the Democrats have nightmares of another Vietnam. But in the face of Reagan's determination to wipe out the Sandinistas, Mondale has now made it clear that he will go along and accept a "fait accompli." Providing, of course, that it is an accomplished fact. Which is another matter altogether.

From the time Sandino rose up against the Marines in 1927 until the Sandinistas drove "the last Marine," dictator "Tacho" Somoza, out of Managua, the heroic people of Nicaragua lost more than 100,000 of their sons and daughters. Somoza's murderous National Guard was routed by a popular insurrection. The radical nationalist FSLN sought a middle way: "mixed economy," political "pluralism," "nonalignment." But Ronald Reagan isn't interested—to him all revolutions are communist. And the Yankee invasion is already planned: first stop Managua.

The present regime in El Salvador is the product of 50 years of military rule, beginning with the 1932 massacre of 30,000 Communist-led peasants and workers. The killing has never stopped—only the form changes. Under CIA "democrat" Duarte executions are down, indiscriminate bombing is up. Yet the leftist guerrillas of the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) and the liberal politicians of the FDR (Democratic Revolutionary Front) are seeking a "negotiated solution" with this death squad "democracy." This is a dangerous trap. If the rebels lay down their arms it will mean more massacres. The real choice for the Salvadoran masses is revolution or death.

Reagan's "two-track" policy consists of a tiny carrot and a very Big Stick. And the "alternative" pushed by various reformists and the "solidarity movement" is "Vote Mondale/Ferraro." Ultimately all the schemes for a "negotiated/political solution" in Central America come down to pressuring the Democrats, the imperialist party of Vietnam, Santo Domingo and the Bay of Pigs. We say: "Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents! Defend Nicaragua—Complete, extend the revolution!" And while the radicals campaign for Walter "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale, we look to the American working class—for militant labor action against U.S. intervention in Central America! What's needed to bring Reagan down is another Vietnam Tet

offensive of class struggle, from San Salvador to Detroit.

Two War Parties

At the anti-climactic Great Foreign Policy debate October 20, Republican Reagan replied to Mondale on Central America. "I thought for a moment that instead of a debate I was going to find Mr. Mondale in complete agreement with what we're doing because the plan that he has outlined is the one we've been following for quite some time, including diplomatic processes throughout Central America." Earlier, the editor of the establishment journal *Foreign Policy* made the same point in a *New York Times* (24 August) Op-Ed article, "Mondale's G.O.P. Latin Policy." The "only significant difference between Republicans and Democrats over intervention in Central America," he worried, is "the speed and the amount

of American—or anywhere in this hemisphere."

—*New York Times*, 28 April 1983

The Democrats' quarrel with Reagan's policies, Dodd spelled out, was that they are "a proven prescription for picking a loser." And another losing war—a repeat of U.S. imperialism's Vietnam debacle—is what they are worried about.

The radicals tail behind the Democrats with their slogan "No more Vietnams in Central America." The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League say, "Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in El Salvador!" And recalling a once-famous slogan of Che Guevara, we add, "Vietnam was a victory—Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" As Leninists, we understand that you cannot eliminate imperialist war by "reforming" capitalism into changing its policies. The whole system must be swept away through revolutionary class



Bosio/Gamma-Liaison

Nicaraguan soldiers vow to defend their revolution against U.S. imperialism.

of guilt with which they would approve it." And Walter Mondale does not seem beset with guilt.

Yet the reformist left and the so-called "anti-interventionist movement" have liquidated themselves almost totally into the Democratic Mondale/Ferraro campaign. CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) says: "Vote for Peace in November. Changing Presidents won't end the war in Central America by itself, but it is an important first step." Central American leftists share the same program of illusions. A publication of the Salvadoran FMLN's Radio Venceremos (*Señal de Libertad*, August-September 1984) wrote: "It is difficult to understand how the Democrats have fallen for the 'Duarte Difference' argument. Duarte, aside from being one of Reagan's puppets, also plays a key role in Reagan's campaign for re-election."

It's not so hard to understand about the Democrats and Duarte, and why Reagan and Mondale, Bush and Ferraro have non-debates over Central America. While they have tactical differences, sometimes important, they share a common political framework: the drive to refurbish the strength of American imperialism, to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" in order to drive toward war against the Soviet Union. It was under Democrat Carter, after all, that the post-Vietnam anti-Soviet war drive began, first in the guise of the "human rights" crusade and then escalating over Afghanistan. In replying to Reagan's appeal to Congress over Central America last year, Democratic Senator Christopher Dodd emphasized:

"So first of all, let me state clearly that on some very important things, all Americans stand in agreement. We will oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America. We will not accept the creation of Soviet military bases in Central America. And, we will not tolerate the placement of Soviet offensive missiles in Cen-

struggle internationally, in particular in the imperialist heartland. Through the misleadership of New Left and old left reformists, using the "peace movement" and "peace" candidates as the vehicle, radicalized youth of the '60s were led back into the Democratic Party they angrily protested over Vietnam. Today there are renewed attempts to build a popular-front "peace movement" and to push liberal "peace" candidates. In selling Walter "Quarantine" Mondale, they use the classic, despairing "lesser evil" arguments of old: the Democrats will give us more breathing space; if Reagan wins, he'll invade, if Mondale wins he'll only quarantine. But a blockade is the first step of the invasion.

What's needed is militant labor/black action to bring Reagan down. Revolutions, not elections, are key in deciding the questions of war and peace. And socialist revolution requires the leadership of a Trotskyist party, a class-struggle workers party built in struggle against all the pseudo-socialists who would tie the exploited and oppressed to their exploiters and oppressors. An international party that goes beyond empty "solidarity" by fighting for common struggle against the imperialist enemy, from San Salvador to Detroit. A party that tells the truth to the workers and fighters, that peace will come only by disarming the warmakers by smashing their class rule.

Nicaragua Needs MIGs, Now!

If today Salvadoran president Duarte is talking "dialogue," it's because the Yankees' invasion plans are focusing on Nicaragua. This is no news to the Nicaraguan government. At the United Nations on October 2, Sandinista junta coordinator Daniel Ortega warned that "new plans are being prepared in the Pentagon and the CIA, this time to prevent the November 4th elections in Nicaragua. Among other actions, they are contemplating renewed mining of our ports and aerial and naval attacks.

The military offensive is ready to begin October 15th...."

The invasion plans have already been worked out in detail, with units assigned, trial runs completed, estimates of casualties and cost run through the Pentagon and CIA computers. One scenario prepared by three Pentagon experts calls for a Marine division, an Army air mobile division, Army light infantry brigade and Ranger battalion, backed up with Air Force and Navy air support and logistics (approximately 61,000 men total). Assuming 32 days of "high intensity warfare" and three months to complete occupation of the country, the authors come up with a total of "between 2,392 and 4,783 dead with 9,300 to 18,600 wounded," at a cost of \$10.6 billion. "Casualties among the Nicaraguan population are likely to be very much higher," the study notes laconically, adding:

"This assumes, perhaps unrealistically, that the opposition to the American occupation diminishes dramatically over time, and that the internal resistance is effectively prevented from receiving support from outside the country."

—Theodore Moran, "The Cost of Alternative U.S. Policies Toward El Salvador, 1984-1989," in Robert Leiken, ed., *Central America, Anatomy of Conflict*, New York: Pergamon Press, 1984

Prior to last year's invasion of Grenada, many U.S. military officials felt that a takeover of Nicaragua could be accomplished before opposition in the U.S. had time to organize; optimists talked of dominating the country in ten days using just the Second Marine Division. The success of the Grenadian invasion may have made the military more eager to intervene in Central America, but the difficulties encountered also sobered them up. A blockade would require large numbers of U.S. warships (the Cuban blockade of 1962 took 284 ships, but the entire Atlantic Fleet today only has 250). The 1983 Caribbean exercises involving two carrier task forces and the battleship *New Jersey* led the editor of *Jane's Fighting Ships* to conclude, "the U.S. Navy simply does not have enough ships. NATO does not have enough ships."

As for an invasion, following Grenada the Sandinistas began distributing guns to the population so that today Nicaragua has well over a hundred thousand people under arms. The U.S. won't get anything like the 10-to-1 advantage that its counterinsurgency manuals say is necessary to success. Two Defense Department analysts concluded: "If reports of the extent of the Nicaraguan preparations are even partially true, U.S. forces could sustain daily casualties that approximate the Vietnam war figures" (Joseph Cirincione and Leslie Hunter, in Robert Leiken, *op. cit.*). Colonel Edward King, a former liaison between the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Inter-American Defense Board, estimates it would take 150,000 men on the ground—and even then it would be a "village-to-village, hill-to-hill" fight with the outcome in doubt. But Reagan's options are limited. As the Kissinger Report recognized, at present levels of aid the U.S.-backed forces can only hold on, barely. The Nicaraguan *contras* have failed to hold a single village in three years of war. And there are few additional steps the Pentagon can take short of introducing U.S. forces.

At the UN Ortega recounted how Nicaragua has made innumerable offers for negotiations, both bilaterally with the United States and through the regional "Contadora process." The Contadora group of "moderate" bourgeois regimes fears the spread of the revolutionary contagion in the region and seeks to head it off by mutual agreement. In early September they finally completed their draft "peace" treaty which would require Nicaragua to: grant amnesty to the *contras*, hold elections under international supervi-

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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sion, cut off any aid to Salvadoran rebels, send home Cuban and Soviet military advisers and let an "independent commission" decide how much military power it could have for defense! This would be a real setback for revolution in the isthmus. But on September 22 the Sandinistas announced they had accepted the Contadora treaty in its entirety, since once it was signed the U.S. would supposedly be obligated (morally?) to halt its aggression against Nicaragua. For months, the U.S. has been trying to hamstring the FSLN regime with Contadora negotiations, but as soon as Managua accepted the treaty, Washington rejected it. No matter how much they offer to sell out, Reagan just isn't interested.

At the UN, Daniel Ortega vowed courageously:

"...we want the world to know that the Nicaraguan people—barefoot, ragged, and with empty stomachs—are going to fight to the end, until we achieve peace, by either defeating the invaders or immolating ourselves if imperialist aggressiveness leaves us no other choice.... We are certain that our sacrifice would not be in vain and that all three million Nicaraguans could be annihilated, but our example would triumph and multiply among the peoples of the world and among the people of the United States as well. This is our contribution to peace."

Forcing the Nicaraguan people to fight barefoot and without adequate weapons is what the whole "Contadora process" is supposed to achieve. The survival of a revolution must not be sacrificed through diplomatic wheeling-and-dealing with the junior partners of Yankee imperialism! Nicaragua urgently needs sophisticated weaponry, from SAM anti-aircraft defenses to MIG aircraft. For several years, the Spartacist League has raised in demonstrations over Central America the demand, "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs!" This never fails to cause conniptions among various radicals who look to the Democratic Party and Contadora for "solidarity." We say, Nicaragua has the right to get whatever weapons it wants, wherever it wants—and the Soviet Union has the internationalist duty to supply them.

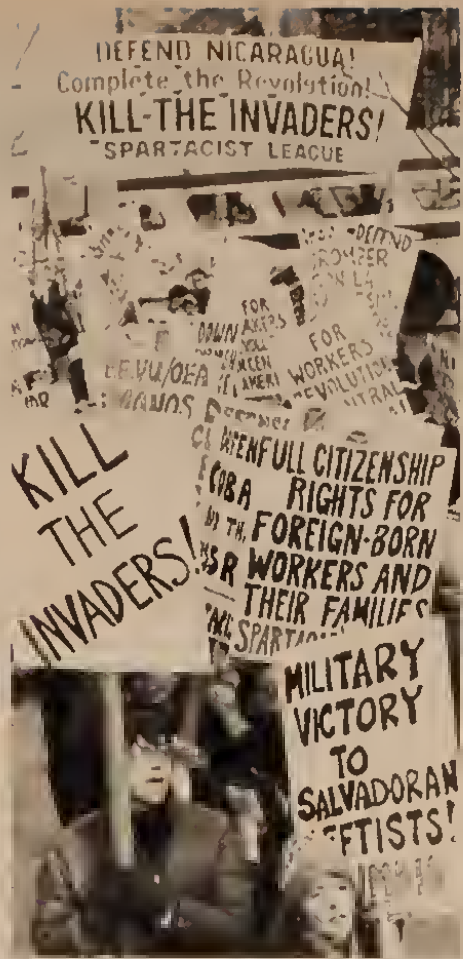
Meanwhile, the economic noose around Sandinista Nicaragua is tightening. Almost half a billion in loans has been cut off by the U.S.; hundreds of millions of dollars worth of damage has been caused by *contra* sabotage; vital imports were held up for months because of CIA mining of the harbors; and now Nicaragua is almost totally dependent upon the Soviet Union for oil supplies due to American pressure on Mexico and Venezuela. The country is facing economic devastation as shortages spread, yet more than half of

industry, commerce and agriculture is still in the hands of private capitalists. The land reform is still limited to lands taken over from Somoza, and workers are suffering under a wage freeze in place since 1979. The FSLN's commitment to a "mixed economy," like its "nonaligned" foreign policy and political "pluralism" for the bourgeois parties, increasingly become weapons in the hands of the counterrevolution. To defend the revolution which ousted Nicaragua's bloodsucking Somoza dynasty, it is urgently necessary to complete it, by expropriating the bourgeoisie as a class. And that requires a Leninist-Trotskyist communist party, not the vacillating petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas, whose program of conciliating the class enemy has repeatedly ended in failure.

The Perils of La Palma

The "peace" talks between the government and the leftist insurgents held last week in the Salvadoran town of La Palma are a trap of the rebels' own making. Duarte bombastically claimed it was his own idea, though everyone understood that he could never have made the offer without the toleration of the military, and they would never have gone along unless the orders came straight from Washington. Reagan needed to pose as a "peacemaker" in the last lap of the U.S. elections; he needed something to one-up Mondale over Central America and to upstage the Sandinistas' Contadora publicity. So he got his bought-and-paid-for puppet, José Napoleón Duarte, to stage a media event in the village of La Palma. They talked about nothing, set up a commission to talk again, and two days later the Salvadoran army used its new UH-1H Huey helicopters to launch an offensive to encircle guerrilla forces in Morazán.

What was achieved by the talks? Duarte continues to insist that there's nothing to negotiate beyond participation in phony army-supervised "elections." The FDR/FMLN wants a "provisional government of broad participation" to organize elections, in other words "power-sharing." Neither side, however, laid any demands on the table. Even so, the FDR/FMLN claimed the talks were a step forward because they had achieved what Fermán Cienfuegos, head of the National Resistance faction of the FMLN, called "the recognition by the Salvadoran Government of the guerrillas." In return, FDR spokesman Jorge Villacorta declared, "There is a legitimate government, and we are being realistic" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 17 October). So it's, "How do you do, Mr. Duarte? Very well, thank you, Mr. Ungo." But the only place the military will "recognize" the leftist insurgents is in the morgue—



WV Photo

Spartacists say: Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution!

which is where they could end up unless they smash this murder machine which has assassinated more than 50,000 Salvadoran workers, peasants, leftists, women and youth in the last five years.

What, then, is to be negotiated? Are the guerrillas on the verge of victory, so that they're talking about the terms for a government surrender? Obviously not. Are the insurgents being defeated, as Washington claims, with their backs to the wall seeking to stave off collapse by suing for peace? Hardly. Government troops have not won a single notable victory in four years of civil war, and since the end of 1983 the FMLN has scored several heavy blows: destruction of an elite army brigade headquarters in El Paraiso, blowing up the Cuscatlán bridge, occupation of the Cerrón Grande dam. What has happened is that there was a lull in the fighting by the rebels through the March-May Salvadoran elections, because they didn't want to alienate U.S. public opinion. And this has been followed by a second "election truce" intended to make things easy for Mondale in the American voting. The fabled FMLN "fall offensive" was never anything more than a figment in a Reaganite official's imagination. Unfortunately.

In a recent interview, FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora observed that "...Duarte is the best man for a U.S.

invasion of El Salvador because he is the one who will give more cover—political cover" (*Frontline*, 20 August). D'Aubuisson is a notorious fascist assassin, and the American public already had their fill of the Marshal Kys in Vietnam. A Yankee invasion, as in Grenada, will be carried out in the name of "democracy"—for which they have their Christian Democratic front man. And Duarte's already proved he's worth his weight in dollars: within three months of his election, Reagan has secured almost half a billion dollars in military and "economic" aid from the Democratic Congress, more than double the amount for the previous year and a half.

So why does the FDR/FMLN bother negotiating with the CIA's stooge? Zamora goes on: "At the same time, if the need for dialogue and negotiation arises, Napoleón Duarte is also the best man," since D'Aubuisson will never negotiate. Mr. Invasion and Mr. Negotiation? Yes, because these are two sides of the same U.S. policy in El Salvador. And since the rebels' political program centers on achieving a so-called "political solution," *they need Duarte as much as Reagan and the Democrats do.*

Shortly after the La Palma "peace" talks, a reporter talked with market women in San Salvador to get their reaction. Asked whether they would support amnesty for the death squads, they said no. Speaking for all of them, one replied: "Here everyone wants peace, but no one wants reconciliation" (*Washington Post*, 18 October). The fight must be decided on the field of battle.

In Central America today, a civil war is raging against the brutal military/landowner regimes put in place half a century ago by the U.S. Marines and through bloody massacres of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran people. The killing has never stopped, but today there is a real chance of revolutionary victory provided the struggle is not confined by the straitjacket of narrow nationalism, or sold out in treacherous negotiations aimed at appeasing the class enemy. As Lenin wrote at the onset of the Russian Civil War:

"Either conquer the Kaledins and Ryabushinskys [White Guards] or give up the revolution. Either victory over the exploiters in the civil war or the collapse of the revolution. Such has been the issue in *all* revolutions, in the English revolution in the seventeenth century, in the French in the eighteenth century and in the German in the nineteenth century. How could it be thought that the Russian revolution in the twentieth century would *not* face that issue? How can wolves become lambs?"

—V.I. Lenin, "People from Another World," January 1918, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26 ■

CIA...

(continued from page 1)

"sort of a freewheeling, freelancing sort of thing"; "it was caught before anything serious happened." Not so, said Edgar Chamorro, head of the biggest *contra* outfit, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, and one of Somoza's old *guardia* buddies. He told reporters that hundreds of copies were distributed, his people were trained to execute Nicaraguan officials, and it was written by a high-level CIA operative. But the document was so crude, Chamorro said, that the *contras* began tearing pages out of the book. What bothers these sadistic killers is not the blueprints for terror, but that it is so obviously a CIA job; the comic book characters had gringo faces and contained instructions on how to steal mail out of the mailboxes—yet there are no mailboxes in Nicaragua!

It was of course no accident the media dropped this bombshell on the eve of the second Reagan/Mondale debate, just weeks before the election. But being "responsible" leaders of U.S. imperialism, the Democratic candidates and

Congressmen mainly ask "who knew about it?" and whether the how-to-kill primer violates U.S. laws against assassination! This parallels their response to the CIA mining of Nicaraguan harbors last April, when the Democrats were upset that the Reagan administration was flaunting their authority after Congress voted to cut off funds to the *contras*. Now they are once again "surprised" at proof of the U.S.' systematic attempts to terrorize the Nicaraguan people and topple the Sandinista government.

There have been more than 800 people assassinated by the CIA's mercenaries since the "secret" war began. Fifty medical centers, a hospital, four clinics and 45 local health centers have been destroyed; schools, grain silos, election officials and internationalist volunteers are among the favorite targets of these apostles of what's known in Nicaragua as "DemocracIA." Columnist Jack Anderson, certainly no friend of the Sandinistas, reported recently (*Washington Post*, 30 September):

- the kidnapping of respected Nicaraguan black legislature candidate Ray

Hooker by *contras* last month;

- notorious ex-Somozaist mercenary "Suicidio" went on a murderous rampage, killing several civilians and executing "dozens" of Sandinista prisoners before himself being "neutralized" by the *contras*;

- prisoners are routinely executed, after being tortured to gain information.

The head of one of the *contra* outfits told Anderson's associate: "I love killing. I have been killing for the last seven years. There's nothing I like better. If I could, I'd kill several people a day." As one Sandinista official said, "We didn't need a manual to indicate to us what dead bodies and destruction indicate already."

It's not that the liberals have had a sudden attack of moral principles, or even queasy stomachs. For years the Democrats voted millions for the overt/covert war on Nicaragua. In Vietnam they ran Operation Phoenix, responsible for murdering 30,000 so-called "Viet Cong sympathizers." The only reason they're trying to wash their hands of it now is that the sleazy *contra* operation is not only *not* winning, it's backfiring.

Today some of the liberals are piously saying that the CIA manual adopts "communist" methodology (e.g., an October 19 *Boston Globe* editorial, "The Leninists of Langley"). No, this recipe for murder is a prime example of a cop's perverted idea of what revolution is about. These methods are the classic M.O. of imperialism, for the simple reason that they are designed to terrorize the population; Marxists have the opposite aim, to *mobilize* the working masses for revolutionary struggle.

The Democrats want CIA director William Casey, Reagan's political bit man in his 1980 campaign, to resign. These murdering criminals should be brought to justice for their heinous crimes against the peoples of the world. But there can be no real "reform" of imperialism's murderous secret police under capitalism—alter Watergate, the CIA was ordered to stop assassinating, so they just fired a bunch of operatives and contracted them back as hired killers. It will take proletarian revolution to sweep away this terror apparatus along with the whole bloody imperialist system! ■

NYC Subway Inferno

The Brooklyn-bound Lexington Avenue Express had just emerged from the East River tunnel at 4:55 p.m. on October 11 when the undercarriage of subway car No. 9000 burst into flames. Thick acrid smoke filled first the car and then the whole downtown Brooklyn station, forcing 2,000 choking strap-hangers to stampede to subway exits. As 120 firefighters huddled the blaze, a Manhattan-bound train pulled into the smoke-filled station. While another 2,000 passengers were being evacuated from this train the third rail which carries 600 volts short-circuited, sending a tremendous explosion through the station. The subway fire burned out of control for more than an hour, melting the floor of subway car 9000. Meanwhile, at least two more rush hour trains were trapped for 45 minutes in the East River tunnel where three trash fires turned the tunnel into a massive gas chamber, sending ten riders to the hospital.

A freak series of accidents on the NYC subway? Hardly. That day alone six subway fires sent 13,000 passengers fleeing from burning trains and smoldering stations and sent 22 to the hospital. The next day there were 17 fires, and in the last three weeks there have been an unprecedented 174 fires. In recent years the subways have averaged 10,000 fires annually; so far this year there have been 587 fires serious enough to require firefighting assistance. The largest subway system in the U.S. is a deathtrap for its 3.4 million daily riders and the 36,000 members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 who risk their lives trying to keep the buses and trains running.

It is no secret who has turned the NYC subway system into a smoldering inferno: the hanks, the capitalist government from the White House to the State House and the mayor's Gracie Mansion, and the transit bosses.

In the 1970s NYC went bankrupt and solved its "fiscal crisis" by devastating essential social services, from schools and sanitation to hospitals and mass transit, and destroying the jobs, wages and working conditions of the workers who provided these services. The powerful and integrated TWU, which after its militant 1966 strike had been a pace-setter for municipal workers, became a prime target of "fiscal austerity." Under "deferred maintenance," meaning no maintenance, the workforce was slashed through a hiring freeze. A system whose tunnels, track bed and elevated structures were mainly built before World War I, and whose rolling stock is decades old, was turned into a deathtrap. But the capitalist class created another crisis for themselves: by destroying mass transit they were threatening the very survival of their financial and commercial capital.

The bankers and their henchmen, from the anti-Soviet maniac Reagan to so-called "friend of labor" Cuomo and racist pig Koch, have no intention of investing the billions necessary to rebuild and run a safe and efficient subway system in NYC. So Cuomo appointed a team of union-busting transit bosses: Vietnam-era CIA highshot Robert Kiley as head of the region-wide Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), and former Philadelphia transit head David Gunn as president of the Transit Authority (TA) which "runs" the subways. Unlike previous regimes, these "Boys From Brazil" don't even promise to improve subway service. In fact they admit subway service will get worse while they attempt to turn the transit system into a 19th century sweatshop or pre-Civil War plantation,

typified by the tyranny Ronald "Jefferson" Davis runs at the 207th Street repair shop (the system's largest) where he sports a bullwhip wrapped around an American flag.

On October 3 Kiley met TWU Local 100 president John Lawe in the so-called "Great Debate" sponsored by Rupert Murdoch's labor-hating *New York Post*. Kiley made his union-busting program clear, beginning with his plans to strip the more than 5,000 lower- and middle-level foremen of collective bargaining and representation by the Subway-Surface Supervisors Association. But the real target is the TWU. Kiley

Lawe made in the "Great Debate" was that productivity was poor at the subway repair shops because workers do not have parts. Kiley was forced to concede a 20 percent parts shortage. Gunn's response was to send one of his hundred-thousand-dollar "Boys From Brazil," executive vice president for operations David Feeley (nicknamed "Zombie" by Philadelphia transit workers), down to the Coney Island repair shop to make a late night raid, where the TA's ayatollahs allegedly found three bottles of booze and six cans of beer (among a workforce of nearly 900). The following day Gunn wrapped up the

workers were. In fact the present workforce has not been given the same possibility of a long and careful apprenticeship with experienced workers. Indeed the TA barons hate the old workforce too, militant workers who huilt the TWU and won decent pay and working conditions, including a 20-year half-pay pension. But as older workers began to retire in the late 1960s the TA downgraded their job titles and replaced them with less experienced workers at lower pay, thereby opening up what had been a predominantly white job trust to black workers. However, in the 1970s the TA imposed a hiring freeze and between 1973 and 1979, while its total labor force shrunk by 12 percent, in the car maintenance department it fell by 33 percent and training hours for transit workers fell 77 percent! Skills are transmitted by experienced workers and the TA consciously wiped out a generation of skilled and experienced workers, while reducing wages so that they are two-thirds to one-half the wages for comparable jobs in private industry.

Kiley and Gunn didn't come from nowhere; they were appointed by that so-called "friend of labor" Democrat Governor Cuomo. As *Workers Vanguard* (No. 340, 21 October 1983) wrote: "Lawe hacks Cuomo for governor and the transit workers get a \$150,000-a-year war criminal for their boss." And Lawe and the rest of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats are still at it with their Labor Day march to "Elect Mondale and Ferraro." To be sure, working people have plenty of reason to hate war-crazy Reagan—PATCO is seared into every unionist's memory. But you have not heard one peep from Cuomo's Democratic buddies Mondale and Ferraro about PATCO, because the machinery Reagan used to bust PATCO was put into place by Carter and Mondale.

And a lot of workers have not forgotten Carter/Mondale's 18 percent inflation, the gas lines and invoking of Taft-Hartley against the 1978 coal miners strike. In that tradition Cuomo called on PATCO-huster Reagan to invoke the National Railway Act against the MTA's Long Island Rail Road workers who have been without a contract for months. What did the Democrats ever do for the South Bronx besides make cynical, empty promises? No wonder most TWU members along with their fellow unionists stayed home on Labor Day.

Lawe was not exaggerating in the debate when he said "this town would shut down" if the TWU hit the bricks. With 250,000 city workers without a contract since June 30 and 1,100 workers without a contract for almost a year, a militant TWU strike against Kiley/Gunn's union-busting could galvanize city workers in a general labor offensive that would have ramifications far beyond the city, striking a powerful blow against the union-busters from Washington to Wall Street. But this is going to take a new leadership based on a program of intransigent class struggle such as the Committee For A Fighting TWU is seeking to build. As Committee spokesman David Brewer said:

"We need a leadership that fights for union safety committees with the power to stop unsafe cars from going out on the road and to shut down unsafe routes, including shutting down the whole system, like the UMW won in the coal mines. We need a leadership that fights for union control of hiring, training and upgrading. Abolish the dues check-off which gives the bosses the power to blackmail our union through their control of our treasury. For elected shop stewards to collect dues and prepare this union for strike action. This city needs a clean, safe, efficient free mass transit system. To get that we need to get rid of Kiley/Gunn and Company, the people who appointed them and the class they serve. We need a leadership dedicated to breaking labor from the Democrats and building a workers party that fights for a workers government." ■



New York City subways: 90¢ buys you the scare of your life.

hammered away at the contractual rights of the TA's 600 car cleaners to pick their jobs by seniority, which was even upheld in arbitration. Car cleaners are at the bottom of the pay scale in repair shops and inspection barns. They do hard, dirty work with toxic chemicals, and seniority rights for older workers are crucial for their survival.

Lawe tossed off a few references to Kiley's "stormtroopers," and "union-busting" but his spineless message was his willingness to "hand over backwards." He boasted that during the 1975 NYC fiscal crisis despite criticism from TWU members over "those dangerous cars out there," he kept them "running." "I know very well," said this labor traitor as he groveled before his audience of labor-haters, "that if I told my people not to operate them, that it wasn't safe, this town would shut down. But we didn't do that." That's right, instead he puts the lives of millions of riders and his union's 36,000 members in dire jeopardy every day.

In payment for these services rendered (to the subway bosses), Lawe is angling for a seat on the MTA Board of Directors. To show how "constructive" he could be Lawe offered to give back to Kiley/Gunn the car cleaner seniority rights just won in arbitration if only they would agree to "abide by the contract." Of course, if the TWU doesn't "abide by the contract" it gets hit with the draconian anti-labor Taylor Law. But the TA bosses rejected Lawe's offer. They are "gunning" for car cleaner seniority rights as a demonstration that they can trample on the contract at will, in order to bust the TWU.

One of the few legitimate points that

hooze and sent it to Lawe with a note stating: "I am forwarding to you a box containing liquor confiscated by David Feeley at the Coney Island shop on Wednesday, the same day you indicated that the only problem at Coney Island was parts." However, while the TA chiefs were liddling, the subway system was burning up again, this time right underneath TA headquarters in Brooklyn, a fire in which three passengers were treated at the scene and another 58 hospitalized.

The TA's response to the fact that they literally sit atop a smoldering inferno is of course to scapegoat transit workers. Just as they claimed last year's rash of derailments was due to "cowboy motormen," today they claim subway fires are due to "incompetent" car inspectors. This anti-union scapegoating is nothing new for the TA bosses. In July 1981, motorman Jesse Cole was killed in a wreck caused by inoperative signals that were installed in 1918. As Cole lay trapped and bleeding in his crumpled cab, then-TA chief John Simpson was already on the scene blaming the victim for his own death. But the blood of Jesse Cole is on the hands of Simpson and his ilk and the class they serve, TWU members: Remember Jesse Cole!

Behind this obscene scapegoating there is another bitter indictment of the MTA: in its union-busting efforts to turn the subways into a sweatshop, the skilled labor force necessary to running a modern mass transit system is being destroyed. Kiley and Gunn express nostalgia for the "old Irish" workforce, thus pushing the racist lie that black and other minority workers just can't be skilled workers like the Irish subway

Class Line in Mitterrand's France

Renault Strike: The Battle for Picket Lines

As Reagan's recruiting sergeant in Europe, NATO Socialist François Mitterrand is committed to building up France's nuclear strike force (*force de frappe*) with money stolen from the French working class. Thus the Mitterrand regime has undertaken a series of austerity programs more savage than its bourgeois predecessors ever dared. Unemployment is now at the highest level in decades. Over 40 percent of all jobless have not worked in more than a year!

Last year this "socialist" austerity provoked militant resistance by the steel workers of Lorraine and the predominantly North African immigrant workers in the auto plants of the notoriously anti-union Talbot and Citroën. But these potentially explosive struggles were isolated by the reformist union bureaucracy loyal to Mitterrand's increasingly unpopular front. Especially treacherous was the role of the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), affiliated with the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the strongest union federation in the country.

Last June Mitterrand repaid the Communists by throwing them out of the government as he moved even further to the right. Many French workers, who hate Mitterrand, saw in

this the signal to finally express their anger and militancy. Now let's have class struggle, they demanded. So the CP/CGT tops are willing to allow the workers to let off some steam. This forms the political background for the present strikes at Renault, the big nationalized auto producer and historically a bastion of the CGT and of French working-class organization generally. While launching a new model, the Super-5, to refurbish its falling sales, Renault is "rationalizing" production by laying off 10,000-15,000 workers. Beginning in mid-September this provoked strikes at Le Mans, Sandouville, Cléon, Douai and other plants.

The Renault strikes have seen a tactic all too rare in the French workers movement, namely, *mass picket lines*. The heart of any strike is to *shut down production*. The British miners strike, which is bringing Iron Lady Thatcher to her knees, has vividly reinforced the key lesson: a picket line means "Don't Cross!" This is qualitatively more effective than the one-shot "rodeo" actions or blocking traffic on highways favored by the French union misleaders. Mass picket lines can rally the hesitant, organize strikers for action and above all protect the workers against scabs and cops and extend the strike to other

factories.

In France today "normal" union actions, factory by factory, sector by sector, are wholly insufficient to defeat the ruthless attacks by the bourgeoisie and its state. The lessons of the immigrant workers strikes in auto last year are still fresh. When French workers did not join in common struggle, the overwhelmingly North African production workers at Talbot saw their factory occupation shrink to a single department in a plant crawling with scabs and company goons. What is needed as a guide to these strikes against the "socialist" austerity of Mitterrand is a clear political perspective: the fight for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

The Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), French section of the international Spartacist tendency, has advanced this perspective of revolutionary struggle which unites all sectors of the French working class. As an LTF leaflet, distributed to workers at the Renault plant in Cléon, near Rouen, said:

"What is needed now is an all-out strike against Renault! Not a single Super-5, not a single car comes off the line! The CGT and CFDT [union federation associated with Mitterrand's Socialist Party] have the power and should



Delahay/Moba

Strikers at Renault-Billancourt, a historic bastion of the French workers movement, fight "socialist" austerity.

organize such a strike! Organize mass pickets! Mobilize the strikers in front of the factory gates to stop scabs from coming in.

"We must avoid another Talbot, where hundreds of scabs were massed in front of the gate to attack strikers. Picket lines will shut down Renault. And we say: No layoffs! No deportations! Work must be divided among all the workers with no wage reductions and with a sliding scale of wages and hours.

"An all-out strike at Renault can be the spearhead for a general strike, the only answer to the government's attacks. Only a workers government can rationalize and readjust industry without damaging the working class." ■

Reagan's Rape of Grenada...

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with Bishop. Their first and only political statement upon assuming power declared, "...there is need to encourage much more positively the role of private investment, including both local and foreign investors."

So why the invasion? If Coard & Co. were the pretext, the reformists absurdly claim that the motivation was Wall Street's insatiable drive to suck every last dollar from Grenada's nutmeg crop. Reagan, on the other hand, in his "Star Wars" speech, claimed it was because of an airport with a 10,000-foot runway and Grenada's strategic location near a "very important passageway for our international commerce and military lines of communication." Bishop stated the obvious when he replied that Grenada "constitutes no threat to the United States nor indeed to any other country." Now that the U.S. is running the show, a Reagan administration spokesman, asked if Washington was still worried that the airport could be used for military purposes, replied: "No, not if we are the ones using it" (*New York Times*, 18 October).

Defend Cuba and the Soviet Union!

In invading Grenada, Reagan wanted to "break the ice" on using U.S. military force in Latin America again and send a "warning" to the Sandinistas about what happens to countries which attempt an even slightly independent line. Especially after Beirut, Washington wanted an easy "win" in its drive to roll back revolution from Managua to Havana to Ho Chi Minh City to Moscow. And the majority of the U.S. left, which systematically capitulates to anti-Sovietism, *cannot* defend social

revolutions, or even, in the case of Grenada, independence from colonial rule. From the beginning, Caribbean/Central American "solidarity" demonstrations were geared to building an "anti-Reagan" popular front with the liberal Democrats. And then they act betrayed when Mondale comes out for a "quarantine" of Nicaragua and for the Grenada invasion. Twenty years ago the Stalinists supported LBJ, who brought the 1965 invasion of Santo Domingo, and in the 1930s they backed FDR who in the name of "good neighborliness" supported "our SOB's" like Trujillo and Somoza.

One group which has denounced the left's support for the liberal imperialists, and criticized both the Bishop and Coard wings of the Grenadian New Jewel Movement for seeking to conciliate imperialism and the local bourgeoisie, is the Marxist-Leninist Party USA (formerly COUSML). However, these ex-Maoists, turned hard "Albanians" and now (since February of this year) Stalinists without a country, claim that what was going on in Grenada was rivalry between the U.S. and "their other imperialist rival—the Soviet Union" (*West Indian Voice*, November 1983)! Cuba, they incredibly claim, is a "neo-colony" of "Soviet social imperialism." The proof? Cuba has "hallooning trade deficits" with the USSR. That amounts to a huge *subsidy*, and in fact even prominent bourgeois politicians, such as the president of the Dominican Republic's senate, have bitterly complained that Cuha sells sugar to the Soviets at 40 cents a pound while they get 6 cents a pound on the capitalist world market. Some "neo-colony"!

By refusing to recognize the historic social conquests in Cuba and the Soviet Union, they cannot explain why Cuban workers acquitted themselves so heroically and the Grenadian army ran away. In fact, they don't even mention the role of the Cuban construction workers (were they there to keep Grenada in

bondage?) or try to pretend they resisted against Castro's orders. And by *refusing to defend* the deformed workers states against imperialism they inevitably get sucked into the anti-Soviet war drive. The MLP's Nicaraguan comrades of MAP-Frente Obrero, for instance, join Ronald Reagan and local reactionaries in criticizing the Soviets and Cubans for "foreign interference"—like their military advisers, doctors and teachers? The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League, in contrast, say there is *not enough* Soviet aid. We demand: "Stop Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!"

Especially for the tiny nation fragments dotting the Caribbean—which are, like it or not, very much in the backyard of Yankee imperialism—nationalism and "self-reliance" are no

road to liberation. But, as we wrote last fall:

"It will take more than a 'Grenada high' to restore the 'American century' which ended in the swamps of Indochina as the most powerful imperialist war machine in history was defeated by the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers. In raping Grenada Reagan sought to retaliate for the American humiliation—not only in Beirut but in Cuba, Nicaragua, and above all Vietnam. A revolutionary war throughout Central America would threaten Yankee imperialism with a new Vietnam-type defeat, this time in its own backyard."

—W/1 No. 342, 18 November 1983

Reagan's racist assault on Grenada can be avenged, by linking the proletarian struggles of Central America and the Caribbean to those of both American continents. ■

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(Signed)
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Editor

WORKERS VANGUARD

Smash the Racist Anti-Soviet War Drive!

Reagan's Rape of Grenada

Ronald Reagan and other frustrated Yankee imperialists saw the U.S. invasion of the black Caribbean island of Grenada last October 27 as a chance to "get back" after their humiliating defeat in Vietnam. At the Republican convention and along the campaign trail, the roughrider from Hollywood points to the rape of that tiny island as the USA standing tall again. That it took almost 7,000 American troops, hacked up by twice that many on a fleet of 20 ships, to defeat a few stragglers from Grenada's ragtag army and 700 heroic Cuban construction workers, most of them over 40, is supposed to be an example of good old American derring-do, ranking right up there with the halls of Montezuma and the shores of Tripoli. The Pentagon actually gave out more medals for this operation than there were U.S. soldiers on the island! And now Democratic challenger Mondale, who is supported by most of the left, says that he too would be a gladiator invader of Grenada.

Actually it was a convenient diversion from U.S. imperialism's ignominious disaster in Beirut where 241 Marines were blown to smithereens in Reagan's biggest foreign policy fiasco yet. The racists grooved on TV shots of white boys shoving their M-16s in the faces of a defenseless black population. Today Reagan's trying to exploit the "Grenada factor" in his re-election bid. They're even touring the "rescued" medical students to campaign for four more years, presumably kissing the ground from Peoria to Palo Alto. And the Pentagon's threatening to do it again—last week they announced guidelines for "surprise military operations." But Central America won't be another Grenada, and the superficial "new patriotism" will quickly evaporate when the body bags start coming home.

Grenada was above all a victim of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. The Soviet embassy on the island was seized. Its personnel were hauled to the airport, hands behind their heads, and for eight hours searched, photographed and their belongings ransacked by armed U.S. paratroopers before being expelled at gunpoint. To invade a country and do this to a Soviet embassy is an act of war. If Russian soldiers had done anything like it to American diplomats anywhere, Reagan could have blown up the world.

While U.S. soldiers lorded it over tiny black West Indian island of Grenada.



Over Lebanon, where there was a mass outcry over the pointless "sacrifice of American lives," and no one in the myriad feuding communalist sects was fighting imperialism, the Spartacist League said, "Marines Out of Lebanon. Now, Alive!" In Grenada, where the proletariat had a side, the SL proclaimed, "U.S. Out of Grenada, Dead or Alive!" We hailed the spirited resistance by the Cuban workers. And now it is revealed that they foiled an attempt to seize the Port Salines airport, pinning down a special operations group and taking out at least ten more American dead than Washington ever admitted (*Boston Globe*, 21 October). This caused a panicked switch of plans in mid-invasion, and it will surely make the Pentagon think again about invading Cuba.

A Grenadian Revolution?

In 1979 charismatic black Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop and his left-wing populist New Jewel Movement (NJM) overthrew the brutal and corrupt right-wing dictatorship of U.S.-supported Sir Eric Gairy. Forced by imperialist hostility to adopt a radical nationalist posture, the petty-bourgeois NJM was

hardly "communist." One of a string of tiny impoverished islands divided by seven different colonial powers, Grenada could hardly develop a viable capitalist economy, let alone a socialist one.

Last October the popular Bishop was overthrown and murdered in a palace coup by his factional rivals in the NJM, Bernard Coard and Hudson Austin. The turmoil created by this coup gave Reagan a useful pretext for the invasion, for which plans had long been prepared. Why did the Grenadian "People's Revolutionary Army" dissolve, throwing away their uniforms, while the Cuban construction workers tenaciously fought the Yankee invaders? Certainly, the anti-Bishop coup—itsself symptomatic of an unstable petty-bourgeois nationalist regime—demoralized the New Jewel Movement's supporters. But there is a deeper reason. We wrote:

"The difference between the regimes in Cuba and Grenada was a fundamental class difference. The Cubans had something to fight for: a social revolution which had sent the Cuban bourgeoisie swimming to Miami. Even though that revolution was bureaucratically deformed from the outset, with political power solely in the hands of the all-powerful Comandante Castro, Cuban workers have resolutely defended it arms in hand, from the CIA's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion to the present day. In contrast, Grenada has experienced only a series of palace coups, not revolutions."

—"Yankee Big Stick Hits Grenada," *WV* No. 341, 4 November 1983

In fact, after the Yankees installed the neocolonial regime under their puppet Sir Paul Scoon, not one major social "conquest of the revolution" was undone—because there were none to begin with. And one former NJM cabinet member, Lyden Ramdharry, a prominent businessman, after the fact supported the American invasion as a "rescue" mission!

Since the U.S. invasion of Grenada, conditions on the island have visibly worsened. Unemployment has risen as

high as 50 to 60 percent and the islanders have shown only cynicism and indifference toward the U.S.-imposed neocolonial regime. Now former tyrant Gairy is back, no longer a "wanted man," claiming he was unjustly maligned for calling on the UN to pay more attention to flying saucers, and that he isn't a devil-worshiper, only a Rosicrucian. Meanwhile, Bishop supporters have sought to revive his memory with a campaign to name the soon-to-be-completed airport after him. They have also formed a new political party called the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement for the upcoming colonial elections in December. But as far as actual resistance struggle is concerned—nothing.

With incredible hypocrisy Reagan even lamented the death of Maurice Bishop, a man he had repeatedly threatened as a "dangerous Soviet surrogate." The current government is also attempting to take advantage of Bishop's popularity by trying his factional rivals and assassins, Bernard Coard and "General" Hudson Austin, former military commander and leader of the coup, along with 17 others. Coard and Austin are despicable criminals, but the agents of the Yankee imperialists responsible for the murder of more than two million Vietnamese have no right to judge them. Perhaps you could get a semblance of justice if Coard and Austin were shipped to Cuba to stand trial for their crimes before a tribunal of the construction workers who so heroically fulfilled their internationalist duty!

The reformists have taken up Washington's claim that it was the "hardline Marxist" Coard clique that triggered the invasion. The lesson these fake-leftists seek to draw is that any "ultra-leftist" opposition to "class alliances" with sectors of the bourgeoisie plays into the hands of the imperialists. However, far from being Marxists, or even hardliners, Coard & Co. were just an out-faction with no substantial political differences

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Castro honored heroic Cuban construction workers who resisted Yankee invasion of Grenada.