

From World War II to World War III

Reagan Forgets Death Camps, Forgives Nazis

APRIL 15—The New Right kept saying that after his re-election we would see the "real Reagan" unleashed. Reagan himself declared ominously on election night, "You ain't seen nothin' yet." And barely three months into his second term, the U.S. president is certainly acting like he's free of electoral—or any other—restraints.

In preparation for Reagan's upcoming visit to Europe, coinciding with the 40th anniversary of the Allied victory over Nazi Germany (V-E Day, May 8), he announced last month that he would *not* visit the site of the Dachau concentration camp in Germany because "the German people have very few alive that remember even the war." (This was in the same press conference

where he alibied the recent massacre in South Africa, blaming the blacks for bringing it on themselves.) This brought forth a storm of protest against Reagan's half attempt to hury the horror of the Holocaust. But now Reagan has decided he will "remember" World War II after all—by laying a wreath on a German soldier's grave at the Bitburg military cemetery,

where both regular army and elite SS troops are buried. So everybody from Zionist Elie Wiesel to the American Legion are angrily pounding on the White House door.

It's not just "insensitivity" or "poor staff work," as one anonymous administration official tried to explain. It isn't a senile Reagan tripping over his

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Nicaragua: Smash Reagan's Terrorists!

The Contra/Nazi Connection

In February, Ronald Reagan proclaimed openly what has been administration policy on Nicaragua all along: "You can say we're trying to oust the Sandinistas," he told a press conference, unless of course they "say uncle." To carry out this threat, Washington has been running a 15,000-strong mercenary army based in neighboring Honduras. As the Congressional vote on whether to resume financing of the CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries ("contras") comes up next week, Reagan put the squeeze on wavering legislators by offering a temporary ceasefire in his "covert" war if the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) government would "negotiate" with the terrorists who have been murdering, bombing and pillaging their country. Nicaraguan foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto replied that this was no peace proposal but a virtual declaration of war: "What President Reagan has said is: 'You drop dead, or I will kill you.'" Nicaraguan ambassador Tünnermann's answer to Washington's *diktat* was simple: "never!"

The White House has made no secret that if the "contra aid" bill is passed, they will use it as another "Gulf of Tonkin resolution"—a green light for direct U.S. military intervention against Sandinista Nicaragua. At the same time, Secretary of State Shultz threatens that if the \$14 million *isn't* voted, "the stakes will be higher and the costs greater"—namely, again, direct U.S. intervention. Right now they're carrying out large-scale military "exercises" in Honduras to drive that point home. Seven thousand U.S. troops (including large numbers of Spanish-speaking soldiers from the Texas National Guard) are participating in the Big Pine III maneuvers. According to Managua's *El Nuevo Diario* (8 April), the whole southern part of Honduras has been evacuated, turned into a war zone for a "mock tank battle" involving 130 M-60 and British Scorpion tanks along with

U.S. Bloody Hands Off Central America!



With Managua in the gunights, Yankee tanks stage practice landing in Honduras.

Barrica's

47 armored vehicles. This exercise is to be followed up by the Universal Trek maneuver, with another 4,000 U.S. troops landing on the Caribbean coast of Honduras.

Reagan's cynical squeeze play (a rerun of his ploy that got the MX first-strike missile funding passed) shows that he has taken the measure of the pusillanimous Democratic "opposition." On April 19-22, the anti-Reagan popular front will assemble in Washington, D.C., San Francisco and other cities for four days of "protest and witness" aimed at pressuring Congressional liberals. But even if after all their lobbying Congress turns down the administration

request it will hardly end the flow of guns and dollars to the contras. Not only has U.S. aid been rerouted through allies and puppets like Israel and El Salvador, not only has Congress continued to send money through other channels (more than \$7.5 million in "humanitarian assistance" for "Nicaraguan refugees" in Honduras last year, for instance), but a whole network of "private" mercenary aid has sprung up leading to... the Contra/Nazi Connection.

Rats Flee the Bunker

They ran like rats from Somoza's Bunker in Managua, fearful of the

advance of the Sandinista-led popular insurrection that was about to topple one of the most ruthless dynasties of the Americas. First "Tacho" Somoza himself, then the officers of his despised mercenary National Guard, fled for their lives before the just rage of the Nicaraguan masses. *Time* correspondent Bernard Diederich, in his book *Somoza* (1981), quoted one young Guardsman: "It's not the guerrillas I'm afraid of but the people. I know they hate us and they could overwhelm us." In scenes reminiscent of the U.S.' helter-skelter withdrawal from Saigon, they stripped off their uniforms, dropped

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Reagan...

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lines. He wants to "let bygones be bygones" with his West German allies so he can take up where Hitler left off in his anti-Communist crusade to smash the Soviet Union. Reagan is embarking on a new Operation Barbarossa, to be fought this time with nuclear weapons rather than Panzer divisions. He wants to "forget" the World War II alliances in order to shore up his axis for World War III. From South Africa to West Germany. As White House press spokesman Larry Speakes explained, "The President will, in his visit, stress the solidarity of the Western alliance" (*New York Times*, 12 April).

Thus while Reagan was planning to bypass Dachau for a family reunion in Bühlburg, Washington made a point of announcing a boycott of this month's anniversary gathering of U.S. and Soviet veterans on the Elbe river, where the two victorious powers met on 25 April 1945. This snub was the administration's response to the shooting of U.S. Major Arthur Nicholson, who the Pentagon now admits was caught red-handed snapping pictures inside the open window of a tank shed belonging to a regiment of the Soviet Second Guards Army at a base near Ludwigslust in East Germany. Reagan is also attending a European "summit" to tell his allies to forget their complaints about the dollar and instead dream of Star Wars against the Soviets.

Nazi genocide—not only of six million Jews, but also eleven million other *Untermenschen* ("inferior peoples"), and the 20 million Soviet citizens who died in the war—these for Reagan are something best forgotten. At last June's D-Day ceremony at Normandy, Reagan moaned that, "Some liberated countries were lost"—i.e., "lost" to the imperialists, because the Soviet Red Army crushed Hitler's army and liberated Eastern Europe from capitalism, albeit in a bureaucratic manner. So now the

U.S. is rebuilding an anti-Soviet alliance with the West German state which asserts its legal continuity with Nazi Germany—even claiming sovereignty over Germany's 1937 borders, thus including large areas today in Poland and the USSR.

Are the horrors of the Nazi fascists so easily forgotten? The mass executions, the gas chambers, the bodies piled high of men and women and children, the grisly tortures, the "medical" experiments, the walking skeletons who, somehow surviving, looked out through the barbed wire at the Allied troops when the camps were liberated? These things must never be forgotten! And Reagan's obscene dismissal of the

all the major parties of the Bonn regime, the West German ruling class is riddled with ex-Nazis. (Unlike Reagan, however, they may have learned something about war against the Soviet Union, and are reluctant to have the next war carried out over their country.) German chancellor Kohl indicated his enthusiasm for the anti-Soviet campaign by announcing that he will speak this June to the fascist revanchist Silesian exiles, under the slogan "40 years of expulsion—Silesia remains our future in a Europe of free peoples." (Silesia is Polish.)

Reagan & Co. deeply wish that World War II had turned out differently—namely they wish Hitler had broken the power of the Soviet Union. It's not just a

single white middle-class American.

The Social Democrats and Stalinists allowed the Nazis to come to power by demobilizing the working class and sabotaging Trotsky's call for united working-class action against fascism. Then, to evade their own responsibility they peddled the line of "collective guilt." Marxists reject this lie which blames the German masses for the crimes of their rulers. And we do not forget the crimes of our "own" imperialists—from the firebombing of Dresden and Tokyo to the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the carpet bombing of Indochina. Roosevelt, who had the Japanese Americans hauled off to detention camps, refused to open America's borders to any but a token number of Jews fleeing the Holocaust (nor did the Zionists oppose FDR on this, because they wanted European Jews forced to go to Palestine). It is America's ally, the Israeli Zionists, who today talk and think in the racial terms learned from the Nazis, as in the Israeli "purification" campaign in Lebanon.

The Second World War between the major capitalist powers was *not* a "war for democracy" as the liberals and Stalinists claimed, but an imperialist war to redivide the world, as demonstrated by the reoccupation of the Western colonies at the end of the war. But the war of the Soviet Union against German imperialism was a *progressive war*. The Red Army *smashed the Nazi war machine*, not only saving the gains of the October Revolution and the Soviet peoples from the Nazi jackboot, but also liberating all of Eastern Europe from the landlord/capitalist regimes and their various homegrown goose-stepping brownshirts, blackshirts, green-shirts, etc. Now Reagan, aiming to overturn the historic gains of collectivized property forms and reinstitute capitalist exploitation, threatens to unleash the final *Götterdämmerung* (twilight of the gods)... unless the world proletariat grabs the nuclear trigger from the imperialists before it is too late. ■

East German commemoration on 40th anniversary of liberation of Buchenwald Nazi concentration camp. Reagan wants to forget Holocaust, but the working class will remember.



Holocaust victims only emphasizes that it would be the height of hypocrisy for him to shed a tear for the cameras at Dachau.

As a spokesman for a Holocaust survivors' group wrote in protest: "many of the killers of Treblinka, Bergen-Belsen, Dachau and all the other death camps were in their 20's and 30's" during the war (*New York Times*, 30 March). How many of them are alive and well in Munich and Washington, continuing their anti-Soviet crusade on the payroll of the CIA's Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe? And from ex-Deutschebank president and Vatican financial adviser Hermann Abs to the Flick family empire which has financed

kinky Reaganite idea, either. The day after Hitler invaded the USSR in June 1941, then-Senator Harry Truman said that "if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and in that way let them kill as many as possible." And in 1945 General Patton wanted to keep heading East to finish off the "Russkies" and "commie sons of bitches." (It was only the might of the Red Army that deterred him.) So today we have a nut in the White House who's slightly more deranged than Hitler during his last days in the Bunker, talking of financing a trillion-dollar war drive by repossessing welfare Cadillacs, fantasizing about conquering the Soviet "Evil Empire" with a sci-fi space shield without losing a



TROTSKY

Solidarity With Indochinese Revolution

In April 1947 the Trotskyist Fourth International issued an appeal denouncing the participation of the French Stalinists in a popular-front government engaged in the colonial reconquest of Indochina, and demanding international working-class solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Indochinese toilers for national emancipation and social revolution.



LENIN

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International proclaims its complete solidarity with the colonial peoples struggling to shake off the century-old tyrannic yoke of French imperialism... The Indo-Chinese section of the Fourth International, on the morrow of the country's "Liberation" and at the very beginning of the Indo-Chinese revolution, was deprived by the criminal hands of Stalin's GPU of many of its leading elements, among them the heroic figure of comrade Tu-Thu-Tau...

The International Executive Committee... calls upon the French section of the Fourth International to continue its struggle for the victory of the Viet Nam people and for the defeat of the French capitalists...

It calls upon all workers' organizations to demonstrate their solidarity with the struggle of the Indo-Chinese and colonial masses and to boycott the production and transportation of war material to the imperialist armies.

—"Against the War in Indo-China!" *Fourth International* (June 1947)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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19 April 1985

Spartacist Forums

Striking Civil Liberties Victory in Reagan's America MARXISTS VS. FBI REPRESSION

FBI forced to admit: Marxists are not terrorists! Rachel Wolkenstein, Spartacist League General Counsel, will speak on the strategy behind the SL lawsuit against the FBI's sinister attempt to brand Marxists, black and labor activists and other political opponents as terrorists—the first successful legal challenge to the FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines.

- For Class-Struggle, Anti-Sectarian Defense Against Government Repression—Fight the New McCarthyism!
- For Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan and Nazis!
- A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!
- How to Defend Democratic, Civil and Labor Rights—A Marxist View on Law, the State and Revolution

Speaker: Rachel Wolkenstein, Spartacist League General Counsel
Special Guest Speaker at NYC forum: Conrad Lynn, Civil Rights Attorney

NEW YORK CITY

Friday, April 26, 7:30 p.m.

Harkness Theater, Butler Library, Columbia University
(Take IRT #1 to 116 Street & Broadway)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Friday, May 10, 7:30 p.m.

Location to be announced

For more information: (415) 863-6963

BERKELEY

Saturday, May 11, 7:30 p.m.

Boalt Hall, Room 110
University of California

For more information: (415) 835-1535

This forum commemorates Toni Randall (1943-1982), founding secretary of the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League

WORKERS VANGUARD

SWEEPS LEFT PRESS AWARDS

"The craziest, most lively, most humorous, most nasty, most intelligent and most pig-headed of the left sectarian organs." —"Emma" Awards, WBAI, 1 April

At midnight on April 1, the First Annual "Emma" Awards for the American left press were announced on New York City's WBAI-FM, an affiliate of the Pacifica Radio group. Named after the anarchist Emma Goldman, the awards (for material published in 1984) were presented by WBAI talk show host Lenny Lopate and social-democratic journalist Dennis King, who said they "frankly concede they are acting on their own." *Workers Vanguard*, the biweekly organ of the Spartacist League, was one of a dozen papers considered, and frankly, we swept the awards (see below). Overall, King and Lopate described *WV* as "the craziest, most lively, most humorous, most nasty, most intelligent and most pig-headed of the left sectarian organs," King added.

"It is an amazing little publication. I know even people who violently disagree with everything it says, read it with fascination because it is so unpredictable and weird, although it can get quite vicious at times."

We found other of their comments apt as well. Runners-up for "Most Boring, Least Inspired Newspaper" award were the SWP's *Militant* and *Workers World*, but the prize had to go to the

Communist Party's *Daily World*, said King, because "they actually have resources" and still it is stultified. "It is the product of a little party bureaucracy that is dry as dust, and the paper reflects it." The only exception, they said, was the occasional TASS dispatch. "Most Tiresome Obsession" went, of course, to the Workers League's *Bulletin* for "Who Killed Tom Hanchan?" King and Lopate got the rad-lib *Guardian*'s number, which poses as "the *Time* magazine of the left" and essentially rewrites from the *New York Times*.

King and Lopate are sure to be getting an earful from most of their rad-lib friends about the awards program: the SL's communist politics and polemical style have made us not exactly beloved in this milieu. Those with anti-Spartacist axes to grind—like WBAI's own John Fisk, who has made something of a career out of calling us "FBI agents" over the airwaves—must be wondering whether a "Trotskyite fifth column" lurks under the beds over there at the radio station.

Of course we're delighted with the kudos. We noticed, though, that what the WBAI pundits liked about our paper was the social commentary and features, while avoiding the hard politics. No winner for "investigative journalism"? Our continuing investi-

gation of Ronald Reagan's murderous KAL 007 anti-Soviet provocation, both the 1983 articles collected in a Spartacist pamphlet and our several articles last year, beat the *Nation*'s exposé by a full year, put together a wide range of military-technical data and drew the political lessons. The entire American bourgeois press and much of the left (most despicably the *Guardian*) bought Reagan's attack on the Soviet "evil empire." *Workers Vanguard* published the TASS dispatches on the KAL 007 affair, while the "détente"-deluded hacks of the *Daily World* ran the shameful headline, "Soviets Deny Downing Plane."

We're also proud of our front-page article, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" in March 1984, which brought lessons from the Wobblies and the CIO struggle for industrial unionism to today's labor battles. "Hardball" was reprinted as a supplement distributed to more than 100,000 American workers, many of them involved in bitter class struggles, from copper miners in Morenci, Arizona to auto workers in Toledo and oil workers in the Virgin Islands. Finally, we would like to mention the painstakingly compiled index to *WV*, published annually in the last issue of the year and included in the bound volumes, which enables us to serve, as Lenin said communists should, as the memory of the working class.

"Most Gallant Defense of an Ideological Opponent" Award

Defend the Scoundrel!

Village Voice's Cockburn Up a Creek

MENSCHWEAR

When left-wing columnist Alexander Cockburn was fired by the *Village Voice*, Dennis King said, *Workers Vanguard* "wrote an article that was sort of defending Cockburn, but in an ironic sort of way. After all, he had been a sort of ideological opponent of theirs. But they did it in a way where they perfectly mimicked Cockburn's style. It was almost like Cockburn himself had written the article. Now I tell you, if I was a guy who just lost my job like that, and if I picked up a paper from a little group that had been attacking me for years and they had done me the tribute—somebody must have spent days sitting there to figure out how to perfectly imitate his style—if somebody had done that, I think I would have felt a little better about getting fired."

"Most Irrelevant Factional Bullshit" Award

The "External Tendency"

From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning

ET Follies

"There are long and turgid accounts of a battle between the Spart loyalists and the expelled faction called the External Tendency. A lot of polemical skill and passion are expended on points that only a few dozen Spart activists alone among the entire American public could hope to understand." For WBAI, this was supposed to be a "negative award," but we take it as a compliment. How many of Lenin's polemics could you say the same thing about? We figured we were a shooin for the "most sectarian" award from the rad-libs; in fact, if we didn't get it we'd be worried. Taking on the

arguments and actions of political opponents, no matter how minuscule, is elementary political hygiene. Stalin, of course, preferred other methods. By the way, the ET wasn't expelled, they quit.

"Best News Coverage of a Political Activity" or "Gee, Guys, Look at Us, Aren't We Great" Award

Racist Confederate Banner Won't Rise Again in San Francisco!

We Tore Down The Flag of Slavery!



When Spartacist Richard Bradley twice tore down the Confederate flag from an SF flagpole, "that was a good thing to do," but "one article's enough from this, guys." Actually, we also put up the Fort Sumter Union flag under which the Civil War, the second American revolution, was fought. And mayor Dianne Feinstein didn't just "give up." We had to fight to get our day in court over three sets of criminal charges. Besides, what "Dixie Dianne" did was really stupid, and when you get a chance like that you've got to run with it.

"Most Contradictory Headline" or "Having Your Cake and Eating It Too" Award

Zionist Racists Exploit Jesse Jackson's Disgusting Anti-Semitic Slur



"Actually, there's an article in that headline," said the WBAI commentator. Quite right. And not a word

more than necessary to express the Marxist position on this all-sides-sordid affair.

"Best News Commentary" Award

Dirty Hypocrites Mug Miss America

Viva Vanessa!



Rad-Lib Nonsense Over Skulls From South Africa

Anti-Evolution = Racism



Our writing was described as "brilliant, witty, imaginative, scurrilous and frequently/occasionally profound." Host Lenny Lopate said, "*Workers Vanguard* of all of these newspapers is probably the most popular among non-party members because it's fun to read. I know people at the *Village Voice* and other places who read it for fun." Dennis King added, "one person will buy an issue of the *Workers Vanguard* and they'll pass it around. So I'd imagine the circulation of it is fairly significant. I think the thing about that paper is that they have some coverage, some commentaries on domestic events that sometimes are really very good and show surprising insight."

The award cites our article on the "Ancestors" exhibit at the NYC Museum of Natural History: "The Spartacists wrote a very lively and very entertaining analysis in which they put forward their unique view in a really creative way. . . . They were for displaying the skulls. They say science is science and politics shouldn't interfere into science."

Also cited was our article defending the first black Miss America, Vanessa Williams, against the perverted hypocrites who stole her crown. They quoted from *WV* that the "vindictive act in stripping Miss America of her crown is anti-sex, anti-woman and anti-black. It's too bad Miss Williams didn't decide to tough it out and refuse to resign. Those *Penthouse* pictures do a lot more for her and American womanhood than anything that's happened in Atlantic City." *WV*, they said, "cut through to the heart of the issue." ■

Koch's D.A. Morgenthau: He's Gross, Too

On March 27 a grand jury indicted Bernhard Goetz, the white NYC subway rider who shot four black youths trying to shake him down on the IRT No. 2 train last December. The charge: four counts of attempted murder, assault and possession of an unlicensed gun. Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau said the indictment showed, "We don't have summary justice.... I think the right thing has been done." Funny about that. Two months ago when an earlier grand jury impaneled by Morgenthau did not indict the subway shootist for anything but the gun-possession rap, Morgenthau praised that jury as "conscientious." In fact, in both cases Morgenthau got what he wanted. He almost always does. Morgenthau is the kingpin of the criminal "justice" system in Koch's New York.

Koch and Morgenthau have been running this city together for most of the past decade, and in "Fear City" today almost everybody is afraid of...the cops. Nobody is safe: a boozed-up maniac police sergeant runs down an elderly doctor on posh Park Avenue; an off-duty cop beats up a Hispanic woman who dared to enter an abortion clinic, then slaps her in jail where she is held for more than 24 hours and denied medical attention. Under pressure for even a token prosecution in the Upper East Side hit-and-run Morgenthau disingenuously complains about the cops' "conspiracy of silence." But everybody knows that the Mafia/cop code of *omertà* extends right to the top. The killer cops act like they're above the law, and the D.A. is there to ensure that they can kill with impunity.

Both Koch and Morgenthau are up for re-election this fall, and as the *Daily News* headlined, "Eddie Loves Morgy." Once again they're playing up racist "crime-in-the-streets" frenzy and trying to get the heat off the cops. Morgenthau is known as a cops' D.A. When Patrolmen's Benevolent Association chief Phil Caruso called out a mob of 10,000 armed NYC police to surround the Bronx courthouse February 7, threatening a cop revolt against the slap on the wrist they gave the murderous cop Stephen Sullivan who blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, Caruso pointedly excluded the Manhattan D.A. from his list of targets. (Koch & Co. got the message. On April 12 a compliant Bronx judge threw out all charges against killer cop Sullivan.)

In the Goetz affair, Morgenthau has been manipulating the grand jury from

Manhattan
D.A. Robert
Morgenthau:
"justice" for the
rich and cops.



Washington/NY Times

the beginning. First he wouldn't put any of the four black youth on the stand, refusing to grant them immunity from prosecution. But when they decided to "get Goetz" the D.A.'s office granted immunity after all. *Village Voice* reporter Stanley Crouch contrasted the kid-glove treatment initially given Bernhard to what would happen if a black person had successfully fought off a lynch mob:

"I doubt that if a black man, say bus driver Willie Turks, had shot those white guys who had attacked and killed him then skedaddled home, the Queens police would have left a polite note under Turk's door requesting that he come in for questioning as the Manhattan division did in the Goetz case."

—*Village Voice*, 12 March

When Morgenthau decided to go for a conviction, suddenly the kid gloves came off. Morgenthau planted in the press the story that after his first four shots Goetz said to one of the black youth, "You don't look so bad, here's another one," and fired at him a second time. This comes from Goetz's videotaped statement to the New Hampshire police that was given short shrift in the first grand jury. "I am the one responsible for making that statement public," said Mr. Morgenthau smiling," reported the *New York Times* (24 March). The article noted, "Mr. Morgenthau... has a masterly talent for dealing with the press."

So what happened to cause the turnaround on Goetz between January and March? Everyone knows grand juries are the D.A.'s rubber stamp. As a chief New York state appeals court judge put it, prosecutors can manipulate a grand jury even into "indicting a ham sandwich." And this D.A. adroitly manipulates public opinion as well as he does grand juries. At first Koch and Morgenthau hoped the Goetz affair would just go away. There was an implicit deal: let Goetz off the hook, except for the crime of crimes for the bourgeoisie—gun possession—so long as he keeps his mouth shut. Instead Goetz got a couple of publicity-hound lawyers, Joseph Kelner and Barry Slotnik, who want to use the case to whip up racist sentiment for "stronger control over crime." And Goetz began speaking out against gun control and for the right of self-defense, granting interviews right and left.

Meanwhile, something had to be done to defuse the outrage over the recurrent police murders and assuage his liberal establishment cronies. So they decided to go after Goetz precisely because he's not a cop. Above all, they are protecting the state monopoly of armed force. This is what Morgenthau means when he says the indictment of Goetz shows "you can't take the law into your own hands." As for the forces that have been fanning the flames of racist vigilantism, notably Rupert Murdoch's *Post*, they would love a show trial to make Goetz into the Gerry Cooney of

the subways, the "great white hope" of New York. And they may get it.

Morgenthau's the One

Koch and Morgenthau are doing some fancy footwork with Goetz, but they are really up against it in the case of Koch's coroner, Elliot Gross. With no less than five separate inquiries now in process, the case of the cadaver-switching, eyeball-gouging "Dr. Gross the Ghoul" has become New York's newest growth industry. There are literally hundreds of people involved in some aspect of the city, state or federal investigations. The NYC medical examiner's handling of the Bumpurs and Stewart cases were already notorious. But a four-part exposé by *New York Times* reporter Philip Shenon in Janu-

what he was supposed to do, namely, investigate. Morgenthau had the indictments thrown out on the grounds the jury was "tainted."

Morgenthau was also the prime mover in the 1979 firing of Michael Baden, Gross' predecessor as chief medical examiner. The D.A. led a campaign complaining about Baden's "lack of cooperation" (i.e., he told the truth) in the choke-hold murder of black community leader Arthur Miller in 1978, and lambasting Baden for going public with the juicy facts around the death of former governor Nelson Rockefeller. That the Butcher of Attica ordered the massacre of scores of prisoners was no crime in Morgenthau's eyes, but frankly stating the billionaire-hanker-politician died during sexual intercourse, and with someone other than his wife, is breaking the "gentleman's agreement." Baden wouldn't cover up, so they got someone who would. The *New York Times* reported (31 January):

"If there had been any doubt about who in the law-enforcement community cast the longest shadow, it was resolved by Mayor Koch's decision to remove Dr. Michael M. Baden from a position that had been considered a lifetime appointment."

"Alone among the five district attorneys, Robert M. Morgenthau of Manhattan raised objections to Dr. Baden's judgment and temperament.... His opposition was pivotal."

The key to the career of Robert M. Morgenthau has been knowing and taking care of all the "best people." After being disappointed in a 1962 bid for New York governor, liberal Democrat Morgenthau has traded on his "distinguished family" ties (his father was FDR's secretary of the treasury) to build his "law enforcement" empire. A *New York Times* (24 March) article noted that when Morgenthau appeared as a character witness for Israeli mass-murdering General Sharon in his libel suit against *Time* magazine, the judge



any revealed cases that are, if anything, even more monstrous, if only for their utterly gratuitous barbarity, such as that of library worker Allen Shapiro, hideously abused and murdered by his "attendants" at Manhattan Psychiatric Center in 1979. Not only do the mountains of evidence of Gross' staggering malfeasance, corruption and criminal cover-ups grow daily, but all the vectors point straight to Morgenthau.

As we wrote when the Gross affair first broke, "The Gross case is just lifting the lid of the can of worms that is the Koch administration: violence, lies, frame-ups, murder and total corruption." In the Stewart case, even though (it's now revealed) at least 40 witnesses saw the 11 transit cops bludgeon and kick Stewart during and after his arrest, even though he arrived at Bellevue Hospital hog-tied and handcuffed with more than 60 wounds on his body, and despite the fact that Gross secretly snuck into the morgue and gouged out Stewart's eyes to remove evidence of strangulation, Morgenthau dragged out the first grand jury investigation for almost a year hoping to defuse public outrage, withholding key evidence from investigators and jurors. When a courageous grand juror, schoolteacher Ronald Fields, finally went out and did

hearing the case, Abraham Sofaer, was a former Morgenthau assistant D.A. So was the judge hearing the General Westmoreland vs. CBS libel suit down the corridor, nine other federal judges in New York, a former police commissioner, and Congressman Charles Rangel:

"All appear in a slim blue book as members of the Robert M. Morgenthau Association, a list that the district attorney keeps in the top right-hand drawer of his desk. The group of 250 former assistants meets twice a year.... His network of friends extends far beyond his district of Manhattan. John F. and Robert Kennedy were boyhood friends. In state politics it includes Governor Cuomo, whose son, Andrew, works for Mr. Morgenthau."

For Robert Morgenthau, "justice" is only for the rich and the cops. Everyone in the Social Register is off limits, and it's open season on the rest of the population. But in this election year the bourgeoisie is worried that the cops' wanton murder of the black citizenry has reached a point it threatens to touch off an explosion. Already in 1983 angry blacks drove Koch out of the Harlem police brutality hearings. The Harlem black weekly *Amsterdam News* (9 March) noted:

"Gross, as all too many others in the past, 'followed orders.'... As is endemic in matters that affect institutions such as these, somebody's head will roll. It



They're trying to whip up "law and order" backlash in Reagan's America.

Rape and Bourgeois Injustice

In 1977 a teen-age girl's testimony sent an Illinois man to prison on a rape conviction; now, after he's served six years of a 25 to 50 year term, she's come forward to say he's innocent—but shockingly, the judge won't accept her testimony and the accused man, Gary Dotson, is back behind bars. The sensational case has attracted national attention, as it glaringly exposes the cruel contradictions and injustices of this bourgeois legal system, particularly as it intersects the explosive issue of sex.

Cathleen Crowell Webb explained she had panicked when she thought she was pregnant after sleeping with her boyfriend. She said she framed Dotson, a total stranger whom she'd picked out of a police photo file, after having scratched and bruised herself to make it look real. But when she retracted her original testimony before Illinois judge Richard L. Samuels, who'd presided over the original trial, he refused to believe her. After letting Dotson out for a week on bond, the judge slapped him back in Joliet state prison to finish his sentence on April 11, as Webb burst into tears, screaming "He's innocent!"

The judge says he relied on the legal precedent that no conviction has ever been overturned in Illinois because testimony was recanted. But in this case the recantation was made by the *only* eyewitness and accuser! Particularly in cases of rape, this is an explosive issue.

Rape used to be the only felony for which the uncorroborated testimony of the victim was insufficient. Recent changes in the rules have made it easier for women to prosecute; they have also made it easier for the courts and cops to railroad the accused.

Everyone has an ax to grind in rape cases. For this bourgeois society the rape laws represent a moral code based on the institution of the nuclear family, that sees the "violation" of a woman as damaging her value as a "pure" transmission belt for the inheritance of capitalist property. Women who are raped are still regarded as having been defiled and shamed, adding to the legitimate fury of women seeking justice. Yet for many feminists, this spills over into the false assertion that the violent crime of rape is simply the logical continuum of male sexuality. Rape generates fear and hysteria—it is the classic cry of the lynch mob hunting down blacks in the South. And it is the most easily fabricated of felonies, because rape transforms what is normally an act of consensual sexual pleasure into a violent, degrading assault.

Cathleen Webb has insisted on taking a lie detector test, undergoing trial for perjury, being judged by a "jury of her peers," in order to prove her story and free the man she sent to prison six years

ago. "I was a good liar and I was a good actress," she said, even making up details about the car she claimed she was raped in, because she was terrified, and could not face the shame of being an unwed pregnant teenager. It's utterly believable that all the enforced guilt and ignorance about sex pounded into young people so traumatized her that she preferred to mutilate herself, lie and frame up a stranger, rather than having people in her conservative Midwest home town find out she'd been having sex with her boyfriend.

The "reformed" rape laws were supposed to undercut the accused's defense that the woman was simply lying—yet the searing irony of this case is that the judge is insisting that the woman is *now* lying, only this time about the innocence of the man she accused. Under this set-up, there's no chance in hell an innocent man, once convicted, can ever get out. Here we have the perfect poisonous intersection of this bourgeois order's sick hypocrisy regarding sex and its legal system's utter inability to deal equitably with rape: a man is still rotting in prison year after year and a woman's credibility is being torn to shreds again—her testimony was enough to convict him, but now it isn't good enough to free him. Truly, as we wrote in *Young Spartacus* (No. 29, February 1975): "Within the confines of capitalist society and through the



Judge sent Gary Dotson back to jail; his accuser says, "He's innocent!"

'justice' of the bourgeois state, the search for an equitable administration of justice for the crime of rape is caught in a maze with no exit."

will likely be Gross. Morgenthau is not too far behind, but he is a patrician... of that social genre that must be protected."

"Law and Order" Backlash

Above all, they are protecting the bourgeois state's monopoly of armed force. To critics worrying about the escalating costs of beefing up the repressive apparatus, New York's "law and order" Senator D'Amato got up at the *New York Post's* media event forum on "Crime: Fighting Back" March 14, saying it could all be done on the cheap: "We don't have to build Taj Mahals for prisons. Let the private sector come in and do it. And there are such things called prison farms, and you can electrify the fences." Hell, the ball and chain is one of the most cost-effective devices around. And concentration camps are pretty cheap too. One outraged liberal, Judge Burton Roberts, shot back:

"If you want 100 percent law-and-order, then let's do away with the procedural safeguards that have taken hundreds of years to establish, let's do away with due process. Hitler with Mussolini not only made the trains run on time, their criminal justice system operated most effectively and most efficiently."

But Koch has already gone D'Amato one better, proposing to set up a special subway court right on the platform, open 24 hours a day. He wants to nah

the "perps," hook 'em and ship 'em off to Rikers Island in one swoop. That'll really make the A train run on time!

As poverty and hunger continue to spread among the ghetto population in Reagan's America, so has lumpen criminality. Now right-wing forces are trying to cash in on this by whipping up a racist "law and order" onslaught. *Time* (8 April) magazine seized upon the Goetz case, advertising a cover story on "The Backlash Man," saying "Bernhard Goetz has become a symbol of a new hard-line attitude against crime." Goetz "Thugbuster" T-shirts crop up in the same atmosphere which has seen the proliferation of "crime stoppers" and other vigilante organizations across the country, they note. The Reaganite "crime-busting" package is a sweeping

attack on legal rights, from gutting the "Miranda ruling" (where suspects are to be informed of their right to remain silent and have a lawyer) to allowing searches without warrants and detention without charge. And in decision after decision the Supreme Court has buried the Bill of Rights and sanctioned police state measures. The Democrats are also in on the act: liberal Senator Edward Kennedy was a leading sponsor of the omnibus federal crime bill which among other measures has introduced pre-trial detention of "dangerous" defendants.

With the numerous contradictions in the Goetz case, it is interesting to note that the main actors *all* share a common faith in Robert M. Morgenthau. Racist Ed Koch says, "I have implicit faith in

Bob Morgenthau's judgment." Liberal William Kunstler, lawyer for Daniel Cabey, the black youth paralyzed with a severed spinal cord as a result of the shooting, says Morgenthau was acting as a "responsive public official" in calling for the second grand jury when he got the word from "a great many other people whom he respects, people in institutions" (read: Mario Cuomo's office). And Goetz himself says he's got no hard feelings for Morgenthau over the indictment: "Don't blame him, he is doing his job."

Morgenthau is doing his job all right, just as killer cop Sullivan was doing his, upholding the racist capitalist order that means Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpurs will die and their killers walk free. We aim to change all that. ■

Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs! Killer Cop on the Loose Again

Stephen Sullivan—the NYPD shotgun executioner of black, 67-year-old Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs—is armed, back on the streets and ready to kill again. On April 12, acting State Supreme Court judge Vincent A. Vitale threw out a grand jury's second-degree manslaughter indictment of the killer cop as "legally insufficient." Instead of a slap on the wrist, Vitale gave Sullivan a slap on the back. It's officially sanctioned racist murder. New York's racist pig mayor Ed Koch, who denounced the grand jury for charging Sullivan with anything at all, crowed "All's well that ends well" when he heard Sullivan was cleared. Killer cop Sullivan told reporters, "I'd do the exact same thing again."

Sullivan was the triggerman on the SWAT-like "Emergency Service" team which kicked in the door to Mrs. Bumpurs' public housing apartment last October 29. She owed \$387.40 in back rent and the city ordered her out.

The police, equipped with shotguns, mace, bulletproof vests and gas masks, swarmed at her with riot shields and "restraining bars." The first blast from Sullivan's 12-gauge blew away the old woman's hand which the cops say held a knife. Then Sullivan fired the second, fatal round at her chest. Bronx district attorney Mario Merola says he's going to appeal Vitale's ruling, but the cops made Merola bow before (after he compared Sullivan's murderous eviction squad to Nazi killers who were also "following guidelines").

Benjamin Ward, Koch's black front man police commissioner, has stated repeatedly that the killing was "within departmental guidelines." And on February 7, 10,000 armed cops surrounded the Bronx Supreme Court building demanding the overturn of Sullivan's indictment—a sinister show of force against any civilian control over their guns. (As a hideous added touch, the cops' Emerald Society

selected Sullivan as their honorary marshal for the St. Patrick's Day parade.) Thus the stage was set for the Koch-appointed, compliant judge Vitale (his mob-connected father was kicked off the bench in 1930) to sic Sullivan on the New York City populace once again.

While Sullivan and his fellow nightriders in blue were celebrating, Mrs. Bumpurs' daughter Mary stated: "The judge and the police department are saying, 'If you're poor, if you're black, then there's no justice.'" That is the bitter truth. Racist killers like Sullivan should be locked up for life and the Emergency Service death squad abolished. What's needed is a massive mobilization of labor and blacks to stop Koch's mad-dog cossacks and bring down the whole racist, capitalist system. The working class in power will neither forgive nor forget the murderers of Eleanor Bumpurs.

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Zionists Kidnap 1,100

Israel's Scorched Earth Terror in Lebanon

It was a "population transfer" which had to remind you of the Nazis. On April 2 the Israeli army forcibly removed 1,100 men and teen-age boys, primarily Shi'ite Arabs, from the notorious south Lebanon Ansar concentration camp and torture chamber, and deported them to "somewhere" in Israel. Ansar's inmates were handcuffed and loaded onto specially prepared buses (reminiscent of the Nazi *Sonderzüge* (special trains) used to deport Jews, Slavs, gypsies and other Holocaust victims to the so-called "resettlement" or death camps. An Israeli communiqué claimed detention in Israel would be "temporary." This "temporary solution" is likely to be the "final solution" for many of the Shi'ite villagers guilty of nothing more than being Arab.

However, Israel does not have the economic and military power to impose a "final solution" on the Shi'ite Arab population of Lebanon. Indeed, the Lebanese adventure has turned into a bloody disaster for the Zionist rulers. Zionist "dove" Abba Eban pointed out that Begin/Sharon went into Lebanon to wipe out 15,000 Palestinian commandos only to turn a million Shi'ites into fanatical enemies of Israel. Not a very good exchange. And instead of withdrawing from southern Lebanon quietly, the Zionist madmen are terrorizing the population as they go. As the late Shah of Iran and Iraqi strongman Saidi Hussein learned much to their regret: don't mess with the Shi'ites!

Even the U.S. State Department felt compelled to wag a finger at its Israeli ally's latest, stupid atrocity: "It appears that Israel's actions are inconsistent with the pertinent provisions of the Geneva Convention." These provisions were drafted in 1949 in response to the Nazi genocide of occupied civilian

populations, especially the Jews, a grotesque irony that was not lost on either Washington or the Israelis. Equally grotesque was the imperialist hypocrisy: ask the Vietnamese who survived saturation bombing, napalming, tiger cages and mass assassinations

allocated, for Washington's chronically mendicant anti-Soviet ally in the Near East. There is a bipartisan Cold War consensus of "support to Israel," and that includes picking up the bill for its Nazi-like, if short-lived, occupation of Lebanon. After watching 241 U.S.



Tyre, southern Lebanon, August 1982. Aftermath of the Zionist blitzkrieg.

about American "fidelity" to the Geneva Convention.

At the same time Foggy Bottom was tut-tutting, up on Capitol Hill the House appropriations committee was speeding along another \$1.5 billion, in addition to the \$4.6 billion already

Marines blown to smithereens and its last diplomatic personnel scurrying out of the country to avoid the truck bombs, the State Department's Geneva Convention moralizing is a belated warning to Israel: don't make a bloody mess out of south Lebanon, too!

"Iron Fist" in a Horner's Nest

But the Israelis aren't listening. Israeli terror is now being directed at the very Shi'ite population which welcomed the 1982 Zionist blitzkrieg with its aim of "purifying" Lebanon of Palestinians. Ansar was one of the many concentration camps set up in the first days of the invasion when most of the prisoners were Palestinians, who were subject to mass roundups and detention. One Israeli soldier told a French correspondent the "selection process": "terrorists are identified by their physiognomy." Liberal Zionist Uri Avneri reported: "In El Ansar Palestinians are detained just because they are Palestinians" (*Haolam Hazeh*, 15 December 1982).

Today the Shi'ites are being subjected to the same fate. Two years under the

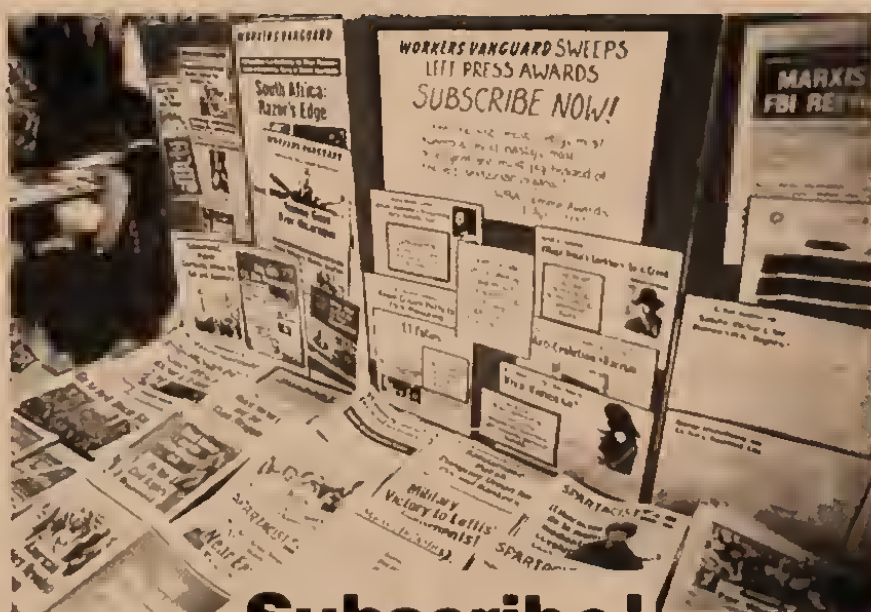
Israeli jackboot has turned the Shi'ites into a virulently hostile population which longs to return in kind what the Israeli army has meted out. Each Shi'ite killed by the Israeli army creates more sons, brothers, sisters and grandfathers willing to be martyrs in the fight against the Zionist Satan. The supremely arrogant *Zahal*, the "Israel Defense Forces," accustomed to being the hunter, soon became the hunted. Over 130 Israeli soldiers have died in the occupation of southern Lebanon. The Zionist bully boys responded with an "Iron Fist" policy of wanton murder, mass detentions, the bulldozing of whole villages and poisoning of precious water resources. But Israel has stuck its "iron fist" into a hornet's nest.

Confronted with a demoralized army, an economy bled white and a population back home weary of endless funerals for its sons, the Zionist rulers decided to "withdraw" in stages from south Lebanon. What they have accomplished in the meantime is to transform a once relatively secure northern border, controlled and policed by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), into a mini-Iran seething with newly converted Khomeinist fanatics.

Now fearing Katyusha rockets raining down on northern Israel after complete withdrawal, an Israeli defense ministry official warned that if Shi'ite attacks continued, southern Lebanon will "cease to exist." Israeli defense minister Yitzhak Rabin was more explicit, promising there will be "scorched earth in Lebanon just as there was scorched earth in Jordan at the end of the 1960s." After the 1967 war, "scorched earth" in Jordan meant the depopulation of areas on the East Bank of the Jordan River which were staging grounds for PLO attacks on Israeli forces in the newly occupied West Bank. Massive artillery and air strikes, including napalm, either killed or made refugees of the civilian population.

Trotsky called the Zionist goal of creating a Jewish state in Palestine a "death trap" for the Jews. Thanks to the Zionist führers in Jerusalem, who are behaving like Hitler in the bunker, Israel is speeding along a path of national suicide which will more than confirm Trotsky's prediction on the eve of World War II. The urgent requirement to head off this catastrophe is the crystallization of a revolutionary internationalist party among the Hebrew working class and oppressed Arab masses, dedicated to championing Palestinian national justice while breaking the masses from all wings of Zionism and Arab nationalism in the struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

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Azoulay/Paris Match

Israelis invaded Lebanon to implement "final solution" for Palestinians.

WORKERS VANGUARD

30 April 1975: "Giai Phong!"—"Liberation!"

We print below an excerpt from Our Great Spring Victory (1977), the memoirs of Vietnamese People's Army chief of staff General Van Tien Dung, who was commander of the final offensive which liberated Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) on 30 April 1975.

The American evacuation was carried out from the tops of thirteen tall buildings chosen as landing pads for their helicopters. The number of these landing pads shrank gradually as tongues of fire from our advancing troops came closer. At the American embassy, the boarding point for the evacuation copters was a scene of monumental confusion, with the Americans' flunkies fighting their way in, smashing doors, climbing walls, climbing each other's backs, tussling, brawling, and trampling each other as they sought to flee. It reached the point where [U.S. ambassador] Martin, who

wanted to return to his own house for his suitcase before he fled, had to take a back street, using the rear gate of the embassy. When "Code 2," Martin's code name, and "Lady 09," the name of the helicopter carrying him, left the embassy for the East Sea, it signaled the shameful defeat of U.S. imperialism after thirty years of intervention and military adventures in Vietnam. At the height of their invasion of Vietnam, the U.S. had used 60 percent of their total infantry, 58 percent of their marines, 32 percent of their tactical air force, 50 percent of their strategic air force, fifteen of their eighteen aircraft carriers, 800,000 American troops (counting those stationed in satellite countries who were taking part in the Vietnam war), and more than 1 million Saigon troops. They mobilized as many as 6 million American soldiers in rotation, dropped over 10 million tons of

Rats on the roof of U.S. embassy building mark imperialism's final hour in Vietnam.



bombs, and spent over \$300 billion, but in the end the U.S. ambassador had to crawl up to the helicopter pad looking for a way to flee. Today, looking back on the gigantic force the enemy had mobilized, recalling the malicious designs they admitted, and

thinking about the extreme difficulties and complexities which our revolutionary sampan had had to pass through, we were all the more aware how immeasurably great this campaign to liberate Saigon and liberate the South was.



Smiles on a Hanoi street corner, 1985, where B-52s once rained down terror. Right: Museum of U.S. War Crimes in Ho Chi Minh City.



Vietnam Was a Victory...

(continued from page 16)

Those who would fight against death squad terror in El Salvador, against CIA-backed "contra" murder in Nicaragua, must learn from the Vietnam War that there is no "political solution," no "middle road" between capitalism and social revolution; that only the international extension of insurrectionary class struggle can prevent imperialist-inspired counterrevolution. A movement against imperialist war bound to any wing of imperialism cannot win. In Vietnam, it was the heroic NLF/DRV forces which drove

the U.S. and its puppets from the country, while the liberal-led antiwar movement dissolved. The task remains today to build a genuinely anti-imperialist movement which looks to the international working class to advance the cause of the oppressed to victory.

The revolution in Vietnam established a society like the Soviet Union, where capitalism has been overthrown but a privileged caste, the bureaucracy, maintains political control over the workers. Those youth of today who are groping toward a Marxist understanding, a program to guide them in the struggle to change the world, have much to learn from the indomitable revolutionary will of the Vietnamese combatants. But youth must also understand

the bitter fruits of Stalinism—the nationalist ideology of a bureaucratic strata seeking "peaceful coexistence" with capitalist reaction—which today finds its most grotesque expression in China's obscene counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR and Indochina. For proletarian political revolutions to shatter the Stalinist bureaucracies, establish mass organs of workers democracy and open the road to socialism!

Vietnam today, despite enormous poverty, has taken great strides forward in achieving genuine national reunification, regaining self-sufficiency in food

production, reconstructing a land devastated by four decades of imperialist aggression, persevering in the face of a vindictive international blockade of foreign trade and technical assistance. Recent victories by Vietnamese and Kampuchean forces have driven out of Cambodia the last nests of CIA-sponsored counterrevolutionaries fighting to return to power the genocidal Pol Pot clique. Today, ten years after the liberation of Saigon, we hail these victories, and fight here in the belly of the imperialist beast for workers rule, under the Trotskyist banner of international socialist revolution. ■

Telegram

Sunday, 7 February 1965

President Ho Chi Minh
Democratic Republic
of Vietnam
Hanoi, North Vietnam

Spartacist in fullest
solidarity with defense of
your country against
attack by United States
imperialism. Heroic struggle
of Vietnamese working
people furthers the
American revolution.

Spartacist Editorial Board



ORV

Spartacist called for military victory of NLF/DRV forces from outset of Vietnam War. 1965 solidarity telegram (left) to Ho Chi Minh (right).

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PDC British Miners' Aid Campaign Revives Traditions of Labor Solidarity

Workers Hands Across the Sea

When they marched back after 12 gruelling months of class war, the British miners were able to hold their heads up, defiant in defeat, in large part because of the tremendous outpouring of international support which their militant struggle inspired. The British miners' strike galvanized the world working class on a scale no recent class battle has. French dockworkers dumped truckloads of scab coal before they reached port. The Soviet trade unions sent £1 million to the miners. Even the savagely oppressed black South African gold miners, battling the bloody apartheid regime, sent contributions and messages of support.

While Tory prime minister Maggie Thatcher was doing her best to rip up the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), the most conscious American unionists recalled how her fellow labor-hater Ronald Reagan destroyed the PATCO air controllers union. Their dollars sent through the Partisan Defense Committee helped revive traditions of labor solidarity going back to the 1920s, in sharp contrast to the protectionist poison dished out by the AFL-CIO tops (who didn't send a penny to support this crucial class battle). The PDC's Aid to Striking British Miners' Families campaign collected over \$23,000, including official donations and collections from over 70 local unions and contributions from scores of *Workers Vanguard* readers and PDC supporters. Pledged contributions are still being forwarded to the NUM's Miners' Solidarity Fund, where they are desperately needed to support the hundreds of sacked miners and those facing criminal charges from the strike.

Well aware of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's criminal sabotage, British miners are deeply appreciative of the PDC's campaign. A letter from the NUM, dated March 25, acknowledging receipt of funds transmitted, adds: "would be most grateful if you could extend our sincere gratitude to all of those who have rendered such magnificent financial support." And in a message to an educational conference of the British section of the international



Kent coal miners passing the bucket. Despite cold-shoulder by AFL-CIO tops, support from American unionists helped keep the strike alive.

Spartacist tendency, a Yorkshire delegate of the NUM, Dave Douglass, thanks the Spartacist League "for their coverage of the strike, which was fair unlike the bulk of the disruptive and counterproductive trash turned out by other elements allegedly on the left and ... for your extensive efforts in raising funds on the other side of the water and for raising the issues of the miners strike with our American fellow workers."

Based on an appeal to North American trade-union locals, the PDC campaign was backed by those who recognized the need for concrete international labor action to defend the heroic British miners. From Bay Area hospital workers to Los Angeles letter carriers to Chicago and New York transit workers, these labor men and women were proud to aid the fight of the NUM. Over half the funds raised came from *WV* readers and PDC supporters who responded to the appeal. (In addition, many of these same individu-

als have given generously to the PDC to help pay for the costs of the recent victory of the Spartacist League/U.S. over the FBI's attempt to brand our Marxist revolutionary politics as terrorist.)

These donations, which were transmitted to the NUM's Miners' Solidarity Fund in their entirety, are notable particularly when compared to the paltry efforts of the social-democratic establishment in Britain. Eleven months into the strike, a full-page advertisement appeared in the London *Guardian* (27 February) signed by Labour Party leader "Judas" Kinnock, Tony Benn and other assorted "nobility" of the British labor movement. The £100,000 raised by these hignigs only undersees what striking miners saw demonstrated month after month: that the Labourites' "aid" was a cover for their sabotage of the strike and their disgusting alliance with the "Iron Lady" (Thatcher). The Soviet unions gave ten times this, and

even with our modest resources the ISL raised a quarter of what Labour's "lords" saw fit to give.

International Response to PDC Campaign

One thing capitalists everywhere agreed on was beating the British miners: while Thatcher's hired judges impounded NUM funds at home, the courts in Dublin, Luxembourg and elsewhere in Europe stole union money deposited abroad and turned it over to the Iron Lady. The Spartacist tendency mobilized its resources internationally to back the embattled British miners against Reagan/Thatcher reaction. In addition to the PDC drive in the U.S., Canada and Australia, our comrades in France and West Germany raised hundreds of pounds; the French section sponsored a highly successful fundraising tour of two British miners. We were also instrumental in forging links between the British miners and striking Phelps Dodge copper miners in Arizona and black St. Croix oil workers locked out by the racist union-buster Leon Hess.

Above all, we fought for a revolutionary political perspective that could defeat Thatcher. The SL called for class-struggle tactics, including the "hot-carguing" of scab coal, in Britain and internationally, to mobilize labor's power behind the miners. The Spartacist League/Britain, whose paper *Workers Hammer*, circulated widely through the coal fields, waged a hard fight against Thatcher's lackeys of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Labour Party—the "lefts" as well as the Kinnocks—who sabotaged every action in support of the courageous miners. The SL/B counterposed to impotent appeals to the TUC traitors the call for a fighting Triple Alliance of rail workers, transport workers and miners, raising the Bolshevik program of Trotskyism as the answer to wretched Labourite defeatism.

As a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, the Partisan Defense Committee undertook this campaign not simply to provide desperately needed funds for the striking miners and their families, but also to spur a political defense of the miners by the proletariat internationally. Recalling Reagan's assault on PATCO, workers in public employees unions were particularly receptive to the PDC campaign. Black workers, least susceptible to the bureaucracy's Cold War anti-communism, were also prominent in support of the miners. Many of these unionists were familiar with and had endorsed the SL's successful anti-fascist mobilizations at home. Comrade Eibhlín of the Spartacist League/Britain and *WV* reporter Jon Brule, who had spent ten months in Britain during the strike, addressed trade-union executive boards and membership meetings across the U.S. In the Bay Area after hearing comrade Eibhlín's presentation, SEIU Local 250 doubled its usual maximum to donate \$500. An official noted with pleasure that it was an Irish comrade appealing to American workers on behalf of the British miners.

Despite our modest resources, a slow start to the campaign, a virtual year-long blackout of the strike in the U.S. press, and the treachery of the American labor bureaucracy, the PDC broke new ground with our class-struggle defense work. Under our own colors, and approaching hundreds of union locals

LEICESTERSHIRE STRIKING MINERS

VICTORY TO THE WORKING CLASS NO SURRENDER

'THE DIRTY THIRTY'

SUPPORT THE MINERS!

Miners' Office, Room 346, Municipal Bldg.

The courage of the "Dirty Thirty," the only striking miners among 2,000 scabs in Leicester, was legendary among NUM members. We reprint below their appeal to the PDC fund drive, received by *WV* in late February, near the end of the strike. The PDC forwarded their appeal to two union bodies in New York State who had indicated they wanted to give and directly to an NUM area in Britain.

Stoneygate,
Leicester, England

Dear comrades

I am writing to you to try and explain the situation here in Leicester-shire.

I don't know if you have heard of us, but we are known as the DIRTY THIRTY, as there are only 30 men on strike here in Leicester. We have been

on strike since the beginning back in March '84. But now as the winter takes a grip on us times are getting very hard, as our biggest commitment to this strike is traveling up and down the country keeping the morale of other strikers high. But funds are getting very low, and the need for a morale lift in most of the areas is becoming more and more needed.

As there are only thirty of us on strike, the big areas look on us as some kind of heroes, because the amount of intimidation from the police and the SCABS is unbelievable. In fact we are treated like scabs by the working miners, but that doesn't matter to us because although we are known as the dirty thirty our conscience is clean.

To get money for us to survive, we go on the street with tins and ask the public to support us. We have been

getting some good support from the public in the past but at the moment things aren't looking too good. We don't get any help from the national hardship fund because all the money from the national fund has to go through the area official, whose name is Jack Jones, and he supports the working miners so he will not do anything to help us.

In the past we have been in a position to send thousands of pounds in food, etc. to other areas in a similar position to us, but at the moment we can only just manage to keep ourselves from near starvation. We have some friends over here who sell the paper called *Workers Hammer*, and it was off them that I got your paper called *Workers Vanguard*. There in the centre pages I saw the fantastic help that your paper has given to the national hardship fund, and I was wondering if you can help us and others like us who get no help from the fund that you have been so good to.

Even if you could just put an ad in your paper we would be more than grateful. Please help us to help others like us.

Yours fraternally,
D. Douglas

for the first time, the PDC fought for real international solidarity. And we did it in the face of what the NUM frankly termed "the unsupportive position of the AFL-CIO." Prostrate before Reagan's union-husting, these servile lieutenants of capital have shackled the American labor movement with racist protectionism, class collaboration and anti-communism. Some union officials opposed *any* defense of the striking miners on the grounds they were "foreigners"; others, habituated to being the bosses' pawns for givebacks and plant closures, sided with Thatcher in claiming that "unprofitable" pits should be closed.

But the mainspring of hostility from Lane Kirkland & Co. to the British miners' strike was their hatred of the Soviet Union and NUM president Arthur Scargill for denouncing pro-CIA company "union" Solidarność in Poland. The TUC and Labour Party tops, assisted by the scurrilous *Newsline* rag of Gerry Healy, witchhunted Scargill for correctly stating that Solidarność is anti-socialist. The AFL-CIO hacks picked up the cue. The notoriously CIA-linked bureaucracy of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), for instance, circulated a letter to its locals advising them to steer clear of the PDC. It wasn't just that they objected to a cause undertaken by American "reds"; from the standpoint of the CWA's "free trade unionism" (such as exists in Pinochet's Chile), the British miners are themselves led by reds.

As we noted introducing our response to the CWA's scab letter (*WU* No. 372, 8 February), these fat cat bureaucrats said to send your money to the TUC—which opposed the miners' strike, was doing everything to undermine it, and *wasn't raising any money anyway*. Kirkland and the rest of the labor traitors spent millions in workers' dues on Walesa's Solidarność and loser Democrat Mondale, while stalling PATCO in the back and letting British miners go down to defeat.

Anti-Sectarian Class-Struggle Defense

We sought to get unions to donate officially to the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund, but locals who supported the PDC drive were often hucking their national leaderships, and some did not want their contributions publicized for that reason. Union dues are supposed to be for building a labor war chest. But the hostility of the AFL-CIO tops resulted in a high proportion of our trade-union contributions coming from "passing the hat" at membership meetings or workplaces. Thus at a February 16 meeting of UAW Local 719, at the GM ElectroMotive Diesel plant outside Chicago, after a PDC spokesman gave an eyewitness account of the hard-fought strike, an international rep squashed a donation from the local treasury. A worker then demanded that a collection be taken up: "Don't you watch television and see what Thatcher



PDC campaign revived the traditions of the International Labor Defense, founded at the initiative of the early Communist movement. Left to right: Max Eastman, James P. Cannon, "Big Bill" Haywood in Moscow, 1922.

Hands Across the Sea

8,000 miners have been arrested since the British Miners' strike began. Union funds, have been impounded. Miners' children have been killed scavenging for coal to heat their homes. It's the same old story again. Many of us ran to the aid of the Polish people during their strike. The Partisan Defense Committee has contacted this paper, asking us to publish their appeal for aid to our British brothers. Therefore, we are publishing their letter. (We take this opportunity to also remind you that the American Linen Supply Company workers from Laundry and Dry Cleaners Local 201 are also still out on strike. We hope to have more information on this local strike in our next Newsletter. Anyone wishing to join or aid the Linen workers can come to the picket line at 518 North Hudson Ave., Stillwater.)

Partisan Defense Committee

Founding Member: Tom Sawyer (1943-1982)
Chairman: Tom Sawyer, Director: Deborah MacLean, Treasurer: Mary Brown, Staff Counsel: Victor A. Davis, Public Relations: Dear Brothers and Sisters

Enclosed please find an urgent appeal by the Partisan Defense Committee on behalf of the heroic British miners and their families. Striking British miners are appealing internationally to trade unions and working-class organizations to come to their aid. The PDC has initiated the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families and is assuming all the expenses of this campaign. Every penny of your donation will be rapidly and securely forwarded to these courageous brothers and sisters. Contributors will receive numbered receipts. Financial records of this fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization. We urge you to act quickly.

For more than a decade the PDC has championed the interests of the working class, and the oppressed. We stand in the tradition of the early International Labor Defense, which defended and assisted strikers and class-war prisoners and their families. In 1976, a successful international campaign organized by the PDC secured the safe exit of Chilean copper miner leader Mario Muñoz from Argentina, then ruled by a bloody military junta. We heartily backed the defense campaign in Orland, California which broke the racist anti-labor lie-mongers of phone militia Luis Moya and Ray Palmero, richly rewarded during the 1983 nationwide phone strike. Most recently the PDC has aided striking Arizona copper miners and St. Croix Hosiery workers fighting to defend their unions.

As Britain heads into a hard winter of class war, the striking coal miners remain firm in their battle, and thus desperately need your financial support. We trust this appeal will receive your urgent attention.

Fraternally,

Reuben Shillman

for the Partisan Defense Committee

P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013
P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101

(212) 732-7061
(415) 863-6954

Newsletter of Public Employees Federation in Albany, New York reprinted PDC's appeal for aid to British miners.

is doing to those miners?" he asked. Almost \$150 was raised on the spot.

The PDC's appeal noted:

"We invite socialist and defense organizations in the U.S. to organize efforts parallel to our own on behalf of the British miners. Given the enormous political differences between us and other groups, an attempt at a united-front campaign would create more problems than benefits for the miners, but we stand ready to coordinate with others to achieve the largest mobilization of trade-union support for the miners' side of the class war in Britain."

In fact, the PDC ran the only sustained, national campaign in this country to support the strikers and their families. For the most part the reformist fake-left took their cue from the labor fakers and did nothing—in some cases even opposing donations being sent through the PDC. Nonetheless, there were a few notable exceptions where veteran socialists and unionists with long-standing political differences with the Spartacist League welcomed and aided the PDC campaign.

Where others had taken the initiative in particular union locals to raise funds for the British miners, we supported those efforts, encouraging unionists who did not want to give through the PDC to donate directly to the NUM's Miners' Solidarity Fund. We also encountered several British coal strikers collecting funds in the U.S. and Canada on behalf of individual collieries or areas, who had run into the brick wall of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, receiving handshakes, promises and little else. Spartacist supporters in Detroit and Toronto assisted such miners in approaching union locals where we have friends, resulting in several large donations.

A Notts striker who met the SL while raising funds in Detroit later invited and introduced British Leylands auto militant Patrick Sliney to speak at an NUM memorial meeting for David Jones, a striking miner murdered on the picket lines by Thatcher's scabs and cops. Sliney, a well-known supporter of the

Spartacist League/Britain, was fired for advocating that his union strike alongside the miners. And at the recent SL/B educational, a south Yorkshire miner expressed his appreciation for the reception he got from our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada:

"I went down to the Steelworkers union and I seen this leaflet. It was the Spartacists. So I got in touch with a fellow and he showed me all the contacts, where to raise money, go to all these meetings...."

The testimony of such miners, as well as the accounts of the fund drive in our press circulated widely in the British

coal fields, attracting a fair amount of attention among the strikers.

PDC Reviving Traditions of International Labor Defense

The PDC's work, including the miners' aid campaign, is modeled on the International Labor Defense (ILD) and its forerunner (to which it later affiliated), the International Red Aid. The ILD was founded in 1925 at the initiative of the then-revolutionary Communist Party because of the need for:

"...a large mass centralized defense organization which could serve as a weapon and a shield of the workers in this period of intense class struggle; an organization that would be able not only to provide the persecuted workers with legal aid and moral and financial support, but one that would be able to fight effectively for these workers and to mobilize the broad masses in their support."

—"What is the International Labor Defense"

While lacking the broader base of the ILD and the authority of the early CP, the Partisan Defense Committee stands in the tradition of the ILD's uncompromising militancy and anti-sectarianism in defending class-war prisoners such as Sacco and Vanzetti. The ILD defended any member of the working-class movement, regardless of his or her views, who suffered persecution by the capitalist state because of activities in the class struggle. Class-war prisoners were sent \$5 a month, and their families received funds raised through an annual Christmas appeal. The ILD fought not only for victimized trade unionists, but

continued on page 10

Aid to Striking British Miners' Families

Accounting of Receipts Nos. 1-254

Partisan Defense Committee Donation	\$5,000.00
Trade Union Donations	6,873.94
including contributions from:	
TWU Local 100 (NYC)	
ATU Local 241 (Chicago)	
ATU Local 1575 (San Rafael, Calif.)	
Library of Congress Employees Union	
Local 2477 AFSCME	
AFSCME Local 171 University of Wisconsin Employees	
Atlanta Georgia Public Employees Local 1644 AFSCME	
AFSCME Local 444 (Oakland)	
UFCW District Union No. 442 (Atlanta)	
Ratcliff Clerks Union Local 648 UFCW (San Francisco)	
Butchers Union Local 120 UFCW (Oakland)	
ILA Local 333 (Baltimore)	
Hospital and Institutional Workers Union Local 250 (San Francisco)	
SEIU Local 18 (Oakland)	
Social Services Union, American Federation of Nurses Local 535 SEIU (Los Angeles)	
SEIU Local 680 United Stanford Workers (Stanford, Calif.)	
IBT Local 208—Local Freight Drivers (Los Angeles)	
Brotherhood of Teamsters and Auto Truck Drivers Local 70 IBT (Oakland)	
CWA Local 4309 (Cleveland)	
CWA Public Employees Local 4512 (Cleveland)	
UAW Local 148 (Lakewood, Calif.)	
IAM Air Transport Lodge 1726 (Medford, Mass.)	
National Association of Letter Carriers Branch No. 2200 (Pasadena)	
Graphic Communications International Union Local 507 (Madison)	
Construction and General Laborers Union Local 22 (Boston)	
Construction and General Laborers Union Local 596 (Holyoke, Mass.)	
Carpenters Local Union 67 (Dorchester, Mass.)	
Taylor Business Institute Chapter of Local 1460 of the United Federation of College Teachers (NYC)	
Union Membership Collections	1,901.25
including members of:	
Tunnelworkers Local 147 (NYC)	
Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union Local 2 (San Francisco)	
USWA Local 1010 (East Chicago, Ind.)	
USWA Local 1011 (East Chicago, Ind.)	
IAM Local 824 (Richmond, Calif.)	
IAM Local 597 (El Segundo, Calif.)	
IAM Local 68 (Daly City, Calif.)	
UAW Local 719 (La Grange, Ill.)	
UAW Local 600 M&C Unit (Detroit)	
UAW Local 148 (Lakewood, Calif.)	
IBT Local 315 (Martinez, Calif.)	
Bay Area Typographers Union Local 21 (San Francisco)	
AFSCME Local 444 (Oakland)	
AFSCME Local 183 (Iowa City)	
International Molders Union No. 164 (Oakland)	
Austrelian Postal and Telecommunications Union	
Individual Donations	9,279.91
Total Collected (as of 13 April 1985)	\$23,055.10
Amount Sent to Miners' Solidarity Fund	21,857.25
(as of 13 April 1985)	
Amount on Deposit (as of 13 April 1985)	1,197.85
	\$23,055.10

Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families.

PDC British Miners' Aid...

(continued from page 9)

waged campaigns against deportation of the foreign-born and against the oppression and lynchings of blacks, and mobilized in defense of the gains of the Russian Revolution. The ILD enrolled individual members who agreed with its aims, and also affiliated unions, minority groups and other organizations on a collective basis.

The International Labor Defense was conceived in discussion between exiled IWW leader Bill Haywood and James P. Cannon in Moscow in 1922. Cannon, pioneer American Communist and founder of American Trotskyism, was the ILD's first National Secretary. Rose Karsner, Cannon's lifetime companion, was also active in the ILD, as well as the International Red Aid. In a 1924 appeal on behalf of striking German coal miners, Karsner set down the principle of international working-class solidarity which was the foundation of the PDC's campaign for the British miners:

"They call! These One Million German workers. Not for themselves. For their families. Not for charity. For international working class solidarity to help them in their fight which is the fight of Labor the world over. Upon their victory or failure depends the victory or failure of labor in other lands."

—"The Call of the German Workers," *Soviet Russia Pictorial*, August 1924

Throughout the miners' aid campaign the PDC has maintained the scrupulous financial responsibility which was the hallmark of the ILD under Cannon. With numbered receipts, every penny collected going to the miners (the PDC assumed in excess of \$1,700 in administrative expenses for travel, postage, publicity, bank fees), and the financial records of the campaign open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization, the PDC's work stands on the model provided by the ILD.

This contrasts dramatically with, for example, the ostensibly Trotskyist "United Secretariat," which claimed it



Militant miners' wives fought alongside the strikers on the picket lines.

had collected £30,000 for the British miners but offered no accounting, breakdowns of figures or verification whatsoever. Workers appreciated our meticulous accounting—they knew their money was going where it was supposed to go. A CWA local official whose union had voted to contribute received our notification that his local's donation had reached the NUM the same day the CWA's scurrilous attack on the PDC campaign arrived in the mail. The International's slander sheet went into the trash.

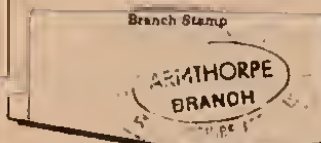
Another example we recall with satisfaction occurred at a February 14 membership meeting of AFSCME Local 44, representing Bay Area waterworks employees. After a collection was taken up and an additional \$100 voted from the treasury, a supporter of the Labour-loyalist British "Militant" group intervened to oppose sending funds through the PDC. This sabotage was spiked when the local voted to send half via the PDC and half via the "Militant" backer. One worker rose to challenge the latter, however: would he be able to give the members as good an accounting of how the money reached the miners as the PDC had done?

Of course, no matter how scrupulous you are, there are always some people who, out of political malice or simple anti-communism, will accuse those who carry out class-struggle defense work of having "ulterior motives." We ran into a

NATIONAL UNION OF MINeworkers

YORKSHIRE AREA

180



Name of Branch Armthorpe
19th March 1985

S. Yorkshire, England

Dear Paul,

I am writing to thank you for the way you assisted our member Eddie Loschy on his recent visit to Canada. Without the help of yourself and people like you he probably wouldn't have been as successful as he was.

Although we are now back at work the money he collected will still help towards the hardship of our members as we have all built up large debts during the strike. So it is going to be used properly.

Once again thanks for your help.

Yours Sincerely
M. McAdam
Branch Committee

NUM Armthorpe branch acknowledges assistance by Trotskyist League of Canada comrades in Toronto.



SOCIAL SERVICES UNION AMERICAN FEDERATION OF NURSES

Local 535, Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO
648 South Spring Street, 10th Floor, Suite 1017, Los Angeles, California 90013
(213) 622-6660

March 14, 1985

Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

Dear Friends,

Enclosed is our check for \$100. These funds were voted by the membership of our chapter of Local 535 at our last membership meeting, following a presentation by members of your organization on the plight of over 140,000 members of the National Union of Mineworkers who were on strike against the Thatcher government of England for nearly a year.

Although the strike is over, the struggle clearly is not.

During the course of the strike, broad support was won to the miners' cause from among those who saw their own fate as linked to that of the National Union of Mineworkers. Trade union activists, Blacks, women, gays and many others joined hands to aid the miners in their fight against the Thatcher administration.

Hard work and broadly-based solidarity efforts will continue to be needed to help our British brothers and sisters to overcome the effects of nearly a year without work or income.

Your organization is to be commended for its initiative and hard work on this issue.

In solidarity,

Walter Lippmann
Walter Lippmann
Secretary

BALE OFFICE
2738 McCourt Avenue
Oakland, CA 94609
(415) 893-6786

BACARENTI OFFICE
1220 1st Street, Suite 200
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 447-2784

BALE OFFICE
3098 North Park Way
San Diego, CA 92104
(619) 255-0107

BALE OFFICE
1850 N. Gateway Blvd
Fresno, CA 93717
(209) 251-0201

BALE OFFICE
545 North 1st Street
San Jose, CA 95112
(408) 279-2857

SANTA BARBARA OFFICE
1220th Santa Barbara Street
Santa Barbara, CA 93101
(805) 963-4411

couple of characters like that. Jim Cannon, whose years of work in the ILD gave him plenty of experience with these sorts, answered such sectarian hackstahbers:

"Professional anti-communists always proceed from the premise of that man in the Bible who did not believe that any good thing could come out of Nazareth. Or, to paraphrase the modern expression of confidence men, they never give a communist an even break. For example, one of them once described my motives in helping the IWW prisoners through the ILD as 'not altogether philanthropic' because, as a communist, I was serving the interests of the party."

"The description is inaccurate. My motives were not 'philanthropic' at all. I really believed in the principle of solidarity with all class-war prisoners—the tradition in which I had been brought up in the radical movement of the earlier days. To be sure, I was an undisguised communist, and I thought and said that the honest work of solidarity practiced by the ILD would bring, at least indirectly, some credit to the Communist Party. But don't people who represent all kinds of causes and organizations do what they consider their good works with this double motivation?..."

"I don't like the implication of a double standard for communists and others. But that hypocritical moralism runs like a greasy thread through all anti-communist writings."

—James P. Cannon, *The First Ten Years of American Communism*

The PDC's aid campaign demonstrated the need for a fighting defense organization in political accordance with a genuinely communist party. This is the history of the ILD and the International Red Aid, which emerged from the experience of the Russian Civil War, when the Red Cross refused to aid the Soviet victims of famine and imperialist attack. The reformist trade-union bureaucracy has the same politics today: the British miners didn't get the time of day from the anti-communist AFL-CIO tops.

We extend our thanks to those who fought hard on behalf of the striking miners in this campaign, and we appeal for continued support of the Partisan Defense Committee's anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense work. From the defense of black and working people in deeply racist, capitalist America to the need for international working-class solidarity to aid great class battles like the British miners strike, the PDC seeks to enlist the support of all those who are 100 percent partisan on the side of the exploited working masses and the oppressed. ■

Against Apartheid...

(continued from page 16)

violation of the "temporary restraining order" granted Columbia by the courts. Two South African students active in the protest face possible deportation to their country where at a minimum they could be jailed for 20 years. "It is risky and scary what I am doing, but it is important" said one of the South African students (*Amsterdam News*, 13 April).

Outraged and disgusted at the "free world" butchery and oppression which is South Africa, a new layer of student youth have entered the political arena. Building occupations and blockades have taken place at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and Rutgers University in New Jersey. As was the case in the early days of the struggles against Jim Crow and the Vietnam War, liberal illusions in the "moral conscience" of American imperialism—its cops, its courts, its Democratic Party politicians and its universities—abound. Largely as a result of such illusions in imperialist "democracy," the protests have centered on the liberal/utopian demand for divestment.

At Berkeley, militancy is more widespread due to the anti-student cop rampages there over the last five months. Spartacus Youth League member Guillermo Bermudez—whose arm was broken when he was subjected to a potentially lethal choke hold by UC cops January 29—faces nearly three years in prison for protesting Marine recruiters; Berkeley anti-apartheid protesters have also endured choke holds, beatings and jail terms. Among those arrested this morning were SYL activists Stefan Arnold, a Berkeley student, and Cathie Schling.

Meanwhile at Columbia, both the administration and the attorneys for the Committee for a Free South Africa (CFSA, which organized the blockade) are engaged in legal shadow-boxing over the student action. To the credit of the blockaders, when Columbia Dean Rosenthal tried to move them, in a ploy to prove legally that "obstruction" was going on, they did not move. The court has not granted Columbia the permanent injunction it seeks and in another hearing, CFSA won a restraining order against Columbia's use of "improper" force against the students. Thus far the cops have been restrained, as Columbia maneuvers to avoid a repeat of 1968 when it earned worldwide notoriety for the brutal and bloody dispersal of student strikers. Some 50 protesters "identified" by administration surveillance have received letters threatening disciplinary action.

As student anger boils to the surface, the enemies of social revolution in South Africa and genuine struggle "at home" are working hard to co-opt and render impotent the burgeoning campus protests. It is no accident that Columbia's president Sovern and the CFSA vie for Bishop Desmond Tutu's mantle. Tutu's statement of support for the student action warned not against Columbia's well-documented history of violence against student protesters, but instead lectured the students: "would be distressed if your campaign degenerated into violence between yourselves and police..." None other than Sovern traveled to Johannesburg in 1982 to confer an honorary degree on Tutu for his role as the voice of "peaceful opposition to the injustices of apartheid" (*Village Voice*, 16 April). This from a man who, despite the pious denials, is quite prepared to send two young South Africans to face prison or death for protesting apartheid.

Black and white Democratic Party politicians who started demonstrating against apartheid terror following the 1984 election campaign have a new bandwagon but an old purpose: keep the lid on. After speaking at Columbia

April 15, the ever-visible Jesse Jackson announced the fruits of his meeting with Sovent: an agreement to "attempt to convene a meeting of Ivy League presidents" to discuss South Africa. Jackson went to Columbia not to encourage militant struggle, but to broker some sellout on the administration's terms. The trustees, Regents, courts and "liberal" capitalist politicians are, as the New Left used to say, "part of the problem." This became clear during the student and black upsurges of the 1960s when the state crackdown was more often than not directed by the same Democrats responsible for the genocidal war against the Vietnamese people. Today Reagan—who would like to treat any political opposition to U.S. policy as a terrorist, criminal enterprise—is in the saddle. But his Democratic "opposition," such as it is, has only tactical differences on how to smash the struggles of the oppressed at home and abroad.

The social power of the working class organized independently of the capitalist parties by a revolutionary vanguard is the key to real, effective solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle. Concrete acts of labor solidarity—political strikes, refusing to handle military cargo bound for South Africa—would carry infinitely more clout than any exchange of corporate portfolios, not to mention hypocritical Democratic Party hot air. The black proletariat of South Africa, five-million-strong, with its strategic power in the gold and diamond mines, is destined to be the gravedigger of apartheid. An international party dedicated to workers rule from Pretoria to Washington must be built to smash U.S.-backed apartheid slavery and racist oppression at home.

In contrast to such a strategy, the "divestment" demand is at best meaningless, at worst counterproductive. It is a call for an international strike of capital against apartheid—the net result of which is to allow some sharp speculators to buy South African shares at a discount. Indeed, the Columbia trustees "promised" divestiture in 1978 and got rid of \$50 million in stock. The impact on the apartheid regime has been demonstrably minimal. As we wrote in *Young Spartacus* (No. 126, April 1985):

"In the absence of a fighting workers movement engaged in concrete acts of solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle, by default many students see 'divestment' as a means to express their opposition to the South African regime. In those instances, such as at Columbia, where the divestment demand becomes in effect a referendum on apartheid, we take our side with the opponents of the South African rulers while maintaining our opposition to this strategy of pressuring the 'democratic' hypocrites who are mass murderers on a scale unknown to Pretoria and are the senior partners of apartheid to boot."

We Marxists wish to see the South African ruling class "divested" once and for all by the black workers who produce the country's wealth. Here in the belly of the imperialist beast, those committed to the liberation of the black majority in South Africa must break from all wings of U.S. imperialism, which relies on Pretoria as an important regional gendarme in the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. Militant student actions can be an important component of and catalyst for labor action.

Now it is the responsibility of our Marxist youth organization to intervene in the anti-apartheid student activism to bring our fighting program and Marxist understanding to the youth who are being forcibly divested of their illusions in a "democracy" which deals with opposition through the business end of a police club. No reprisals against anti-apartheid protesters! Drop the charges against the UC Berkeley 171! For militant student action independent of the Democrats and Republicans—for international labor solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle! Smash apartheid—for workers revolution in South Africa! ■

Contract Fraud, Election Scandal in NYC Hospital Union

1199 Must Clean Its Own House!

Keep the Feds Out!

The New York hospital workers union, Local 1199 RWDSU, one of the nation's largest unions with a heavily black and Hispanic majority, is being ripped apart by the competing cliques of sellout president Doris Turner and a pro-labor Department "opposition." In January, former 1199 executive vice president David White charged that Turner's May 1984 re-election was a black bag job—the result of massive forgery, alteration and destruction of thousands of rank and file ballots—and that it was all supervised by Turner herself. Taking their election fraud complaint to the union-busting feds, however, as the dissident Unity & Progress slate has done, is, if anything, an even worse crime against the union.

All sides are squalid in this sordid affair which threatens the future of this once-proud union which has been seen as a fighter for the oppressed. As for the 1199 rank and file, they're still waiting for *any* of the gains supposedly won in last summer's 47-day strike against the League of Voluntary Hospitals, a strike which Turner betrayed and which White and Unity & Progress didn't want in the first place. On March 27, some 300 union members demonstrated at a Unity & Progress-sponsored rally in front of the hospital bosses' headquarters to demand the raises they thought they won in August.

White told his story to the Labor Department. So did the "progressive" opposition. Turner, too, went to court a year ago to prevent a union trial from hearing an array of charges against her. This all-sided trust in Reagan's labor

broke the story that there was no 5 percent pay increase, no Every Other Weekend Off and, in fact, no contract at all. "1199 Hospital Workers Shafted" was our headline. The Communist Party's *Daily World* and the SWP's *Militant* cynically claimed the "settlement" was a victory and in a front-page headline *Workers World* declared, "Hospital workers' victory blazes way for labor upturn." We told the truth.

\$350,000 in fines stemming from the walkout last summer. And what about the more than 100 picketers arrested during the strike? That's the kind of "justice" unionists get from the feds.

The bureaucratic infighting in 1199 today threatens to polarize the union along racial lines. The stronghold of Turner's support is the union's Hospital Division which is mainly black; Unity & Progress's base is among the mainly

Workers Vanguard
(14 September 1984) scooped contract sellout, while others lied.

1199 Hospital Workers Shafted

Doris Turner's Hidden Sellout

When New York City Hospital Workers Local 1199 RWDSU voted to accept a new contract, it was a sellout. The union's rank and file were deceived by a hidden agenda of fraud and forgery. The union's leadership, headed by Doris Turner, had secretly agreed to a new contract with the League of Voluntary Hospitals (LVH) for a period of one year. The contract provided for a 5% pay increase, no Every Other Weekend Off, and no contract at all. The union's rank and file were told that the contract was for a 5% pay increase, no Every Other Weekend Off, and no contract at all. The union's leadership, headed by Doris Turner, had secretly agreed to a new contract with the League of Voluntary Hospitals (LVH) for a period of one year. The contract provided for a 5% pay increase, no Every Other Weekend Off, and no contract at all. The union's rank and file were told that the contract was for a 5% pay increase, no Every Other Weekend Off, and no contract at all.

WV Exclusive

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and proved it by printing a facsimile of the secret hit list—initiated by Doris Turner—which offered *tens of millions of dollars* in givebacks to the League. Today 1199 members still don't have a contract. Instead, hundreds have been laid off since the strike.

According to White, who admits to his own involvement in the fraud, it was quite a scene at union headquarters on West 43rd Street last May 6. White says that at 11:30 p.m. Turner announced that the tallying of ballots had ended for the day. When observers for Unity & Progress were gone, Turner had the doors locked, blinds drawn, drapes closed and guards posted. The 3,000 votes for Unity & Progress in the union's Guild Division were deposited into garbage bags. Two-thirds of the votes in the Registered Nurses Division were altered. According to White, Turner directed the operation at all times.

Turner denies everything, but it's true that a loss in any of the union's four separate divisions would have forced a run-off. In order to avoid such embarrassing problems in the future, Turner rammed through new constitutional bylaws to strengthen her lock on the presidency. Elections are to be every three years instead of two, the necessity of winning a majority of the votes in each of the union's divisions is to be abolished, and three years in the union instead of one will be required to run for office. Another outside group, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund, is also contesting the new bylaws in the bosses' court.

For hospital workers fed up with Turner & Co., Unity & Progress is no alternative. When thousands of 1199 members were on the picket line in July and August, the "oppositionists" were nowhere to be seen. Why? Because these "progressives" didn't want a strike. Today Unity & Progress echoes White when he says a better contract could have been gotten *without a strike!* Such anti-strike defeatism is central to their attack on Turner, and is meant to reassure the government that the "opposition" could run the union without disturbing "labor peace." It's no surprise, then, that in an August 31 press release Unity & Progress stated their confidence that a Department of Labor investigation would return democratic rights to the ranks. Fat chance! Already the NLRB has ordered 1199 to pay

white technical workers in the Guild Division. At a conference called by Unity & Progress last October 13 to get the union "back on track," a group of Turner supporters showed up with a hullhoro, obviously intent on disruption. As tempers flared, Unity & Progress members signaled to an undercover cop waiting nearby and Ed Koeh's racist police restored "order." Whether it's cops on the street or Reagan's NLRB, when the government shows up, workers lose.

Nobody ever gave unskilled black and Hispanic hospital workers a thing. Anything 1199 members have today was won through blood, sweat and struggle, and it is that history which all wings of the 1199 bureaucracy renounce. Reliance on the Democrats, who today enforce Reagan's austerity, is the program that *both* Turner and Unity & Progress inherited from the pro-Communist Party old guard of Leon Davis and Moe Foner. In '76, Davis and Foner called out goons against militants intent on stopping scabs, and then sold out the strike in order not to "spoil" the NYC Democratic Party convention which nominated Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter. When Unity & Progress complains about Turner, 1199 members may reasonably ask, "Where were you, Khrushchev?" He may have regretted it later, but it was Davis who hand-picked Turner to succeed him.

The hospital bosses couldn't break 1199 last summer but thanks to the treachery of Turner, White and the misnamed Unity & Progress, the ranks of this combative union won nothing, not even a contract. Both wings of the bureaucracy have betrayed this heavily black, Hispanic and female union. Turner sells the membership out and Unity & Progress invites the racist government in. Real victories require leadership which recognizes that the government is not neutral and that the precondition for union democracy is the labor movement's independence from the capitalist state. Employing class-struggle methods—mass pickets, labor boycotts and sympathy strikes—1199 should champion the struggle of all the oppressed. Defend busing—stop Klan terror with labor/black mobilization! To hell with the Democrats and their agents in the workers movement—we need a workers party to fight for a workers government. ■



WV Photo

Doris Turner on Labor Day: Thanks for what?

police points up the bankruptcy of all these traitors. 1199 members, make no mistake: hospital workers will get no justice in the bosses' courts. The feds don't give a damn about union democracy—in fact, they hate it—but they'd love to get their hands around 1199's neck. Reagan *annihilated* lily-white PATCO. What will his union-busters do inside predominantly black and Hispanic 1199? Union members must dump the likes of Turner and the links who rat to the feds. Get the government out of the union—labor must clean its own house!

And there's plenty of cleaning to do. In September, while the rest of the left was hailing Turner's "settlement" with the hospital bosses, *Workers Vanguard*

"Best Builders" of April 20

The League of Squeezed Lemons

Even before last November's elections, that weather vane of radical opinion, the *Guardian* (10 October 1984), ran a column of suggestions on "Avoiding post-election depression." For the previous nine months, virtually the entire reformist left had been caught up in the capitalist elections—more particularly the campaign to "Dump Reagan," "Vote for Peace in November," etc.—that is, to get out the vote for loser Democrat Mondale. Soon after the vote, the protests at the South African embassy began, led by black Democrats eager to refurbish their tarnished images. And now on April 20 the "anti-intervention," anti-nuke and anti-apartheid "movements" are going to have the annual Spring "do" in Washington and San Francisco. The reformist dream of repeating the giant May 3, 1981 D.C. demo when tens of thousands of liberals came out to voice their disappointment after Reagan's first election.

The politics of April 20 are about as right-wing as we've seen in years of ritual "Spring Mobes." The four insipid slogans—"No Intervention," "Build a Just Society," "Reverse the Arms Race," and "Oppose Apartheid/End Racism"—are designed to offend no one to the left of Ronald Reagan, and mainly to give each "constituency" a sop. In Washington, the emphasis is on lobbying Congressmen to vote against Reagan's \$14 million "contra aid" bill. And on the West Coast where the social democrats are firmly in charge, SF Spring Mobilization organizers refuse to oppose U.S. intervention in the Middle East, tried to exclude any speaker from the Salvadoran FDR/FMLN leftist rebels, and have refused an invitation to Arthur Scargill, leader of the bitter year-long British coal miners' strike. April 20 is an attempt to revive the pro-Democratic Party popular front, which means dead-end hostility to revolutionary opposition to Yankee imperialism.

This time around among the cries of



Fake-leftists build popular front with Democrats. SF rally excludes British miners' leader Scargill, Salvadoran leftists.

national day of protest...seven months later! Why the delay? Because from the beginning their purpose was to pressure much larger liberal forces into action.

At Cleveland, Socialist Action (SA), the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) and the Internationalist Workers Party (IWP) voted for a resolution calling for an action "joining together anti-interventionist trade unionists, peace groups, solidarity networks, the religious community...and all others who oppose the governments' interventionist policies." The IWP wrote afterward: "We believe that the Cleveland Conference was important because it pressured the 'official' leadership of the solidarity and pacifist movements to carry out activities such as the April 13 [now April 20] mobilization" (*Working Class Opposition*, December 1984). They had already sealed the deal with the endorsement of Cleveland black Democratic Congressman Louis Stokes. Well, you asked for it, you got it.

dove Senator Alan Cranston. To organize the SF march they've even got some of the same people who orchestrated the pro-Mondale "labor" demonstration outside the Democratic Party convention last July.

From the Trotskyoid IWP, SA and FIT to the now openly anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), they all claim to be the best builders of April 20. In particular the SWP, which blew it in a big way on May 3, 1981, allowing the Workers World front PAM (People's Anti-War Mobilization) to outflank them, has been scrambling not to be left out in the cold this time. But for the most part they are on the outside looking in, frozen out of the planning and with no say on the politics. The April Days of Action Coalition in D.C. is so right-wing they even excluded PAM for a while. Now these "best builders" are even worried about attempts to prevent them from marching as the "April Days" organizers threaten to remove "people with signs against the purpose of the demonstration"—i.e., anyone who challenges its pro-Democratic Party politics.

The people who built last September's Cleveland conference had certain leftist pretensions. Socialist Action, supporters of Ernest Mandel's misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," have criticized the Salvadoran FDR/FMLN's latest call for a "government of broad participation." SA has also recently opposed including calls for a "negotiated solution" to the Salvadoran civil war in "anti-intervention" protests (on the nationalist grounds that it's up to Salvadorans to sell out the struggle). The IWP, followers of Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno, object to Contadora negotiations with the Yankees, on the grounds that they violate the right of self-determination.

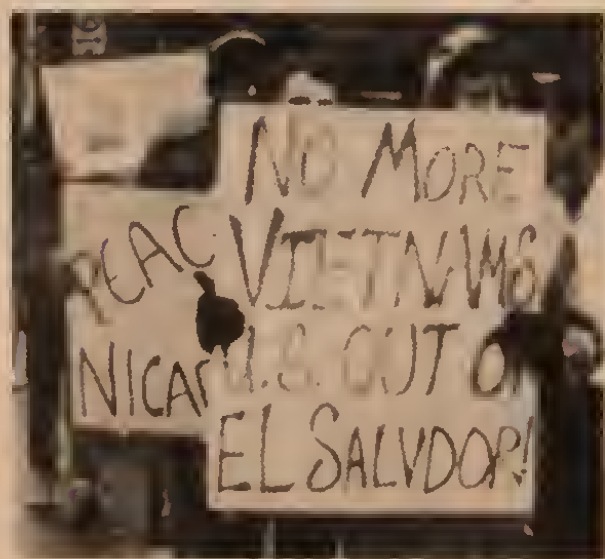
But now they're all "best builders" of a liberal "anti-intervention" crawl that won't even let the FDR/FMLN speak for fear of being identified with "the enemy." On paper, these Trotskyoids say you mustn't subordinate the struggle to the capitalist Democratic Party. But in concrete action they build the Democrats by organizing the "left wing" of the popular front. And then they are thrown away, to use Stalin's famous phrase, "like squeezed lemons." In Cleveland, trailing after conference organizer Jerry Gordon, today a bureaucrat of the United Food and

Commercial Workers, they talked of "labor focus" while waving around the endorsement of "dissident" Steelworkers local president Ron Wiesen, a chauvinist protectionist who in 1983 tried to present U.S. Steel with a "Benedict Arnold Award" for the "betrayal of our nation's vital interest."

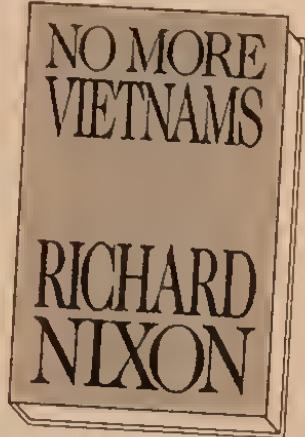
This League of Squeezed Lemons uses talk of labor to pave the path to the Democratic Party. Socialist Action's first public activity was to act as goons for the sellout union bureaucrats and cops trying to keep militant workers from shutting down the SF bus terminal during the 1983 Greyhound strike. SA and the FIT both hark back to the "heyday" of the SWP's Vietnam-era peace crawls, which brought out the loot soldiers for the bourgeois defeatist opposition to the war politically led by the imperialist doves. That's why their fabled "movement" disappeared every two years in favor of Democratic Party "peace" candidates. The Stalinists led the way for this electoral support to the liberal capitalist party while the SWP specialized in "mass mobilization," but it was only a division of labor. *Politically* there was no difference between the "peace" crawls and the "peace" candidates.

While these fake-Trotskyists are going "all out for April 20," doing the donkey work for pro-Democratic labor fakers, anti-Japanese protectionists and strikebreakers, the Spartacist League fights for militant working-class action against the imperialist warmakers just as we did in the Vietnam War. Back in the early '70s, the NPAC "antiwar" popular front was sealed in blood when SWP goons, along with Tim Wohlforth, assaulted and excluded "reds" like the Spartacists and PL for protesting against capitalist speakers like Democratic Senator Vance Hartke. In those days the SWP's "marshals" linked arms to prevent thousands of youths with NLF flags chanting "Victory to the Vietnamese" from crashing their "peaceful, legal" peace crawls.

Perhaps the SWP's most heinous crime in its NPAC days was to besmirch the name of Trotskyism with their social-patriotic "bring our boys home" reformism. For Marxists, "our boys" were the Viet Cong, just as we stand today with the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants of Central America. The SL fought to intersect the militant radical youth with our revolutionary program, calling at the time of the 1970 Cambodia invasion and Kent State massacre for "All Indochina Must Go Communist," fighting for working-class opposition to imperialist war; for labor strikes against the war, break with the Democrats, dump the bureaucrats,



Militant



Liberals and Tricky Dick agree, "No More Vietnams." We say "Vietnam Was a Victory!"

Now they're bringing out the liberal/black Dems in force to build April 20. At Washington, the rally will be chaired by Congressional Black Caucus leader Walter Fauntroy, with the featured speaker being Jesse ("I made up with George Wallace") Jackson. New York City coordinators include liberal local Democrats Frank Barbaro, Ruth Messenger and Miriam Friedlander. And on the Coast they've really gone to town: prominent Democratic politicians involved in the Spring Mohe include black Berkeley mayor Gus Newport and black Congressman Ron Dellums (both members of the Democratic Socialists of America), and liberal

the defeated Democrats you may hear a few whimpers from what we call the "League of Squeezed Lemons." This coterie of ostensible Trotskyists proudly claims to have launched the April 20 "Spring Mohe" at an "emergency conference" held in Cleveland last September. The Cleveland conference? We almost forgot ourselves, though you can read about it in our article "Fake-Lefts' Fake Solidarity With Central American Struggle" (*IWP* No. 366, 9 November 1984). This confab was supposed to give a "special labor focus" to "anti-intervention" protests, and so this "emergency conference" called on the labor bureaucracy to organize a

Spartacist Forums

Vietnam Was A Victory!

Speaker: Joseph Seymour
SL Central Committee

Friday, April 26, 7:00 p.m.
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For more information: (213) 384-9716

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, April 27, 7:30 p.m.
145 Dwinelle Hall
UC Berkeley
For more information: (415) 835-1535

BAY AREA

Nicaragua: Will the Real State Please Stand Up

Rarely do we see a really apt polemical jibe at us, so it's a pleasure to share this box from the *Internationalist Worker* with readers of *IWW*. The New Haven-based RCL-(I), or Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), knows how to tell a nicely turned nighteluh joke. The story is of three unidentified Spartacist supporters who give contradictory answers to the RCL-(I)'s unnamed acquaintance concerning the "class nature of the Nicaraguan state." No state in Nicaragua? Ha, ha, that's a good one, is the implication.

Five years after taking power, the Sandinistas still haven't decided whether they will defend capitalist private property or collectivized proletarian property forms. That's an anomaly, all right, but the problem lies in reality, not in our theories. And Ronald Reagan seems bent on resolving this contradiction sooner rather than later. The anti-Soviet crazies in the White House may already have rung down the Iron Curtain on the nationalist Sandinistas, but slightly less near-sighted sections of the U.S. rulers worry that Washington could force the Sandinistas into consolidating "another Cuba," a bureaucratically deformed workers state, in self-defense.

When the Nicaraguan masses ousted the hated Somoza dynasty dictatorship, it was a popular, democratic political revolution with profound social implications, which, however, have still not been carried through. (The Sandinistas' formula of "political pluralism" and "mixed economy" reflects their continuing balancing act between the bourgeoisie and the toiling masses.) The populist revolutionary government remains afloat *without a specific defined set of property relations* which it is committed to defend. There is a Sandinista regime, but a *state* in the precise Marxist sense does not exist in Nicaragua today.

We appreciate the RCL-(I) comrades trying to show us the error of our ways. We, in turn, have sought to engage them in discussions in hopes of breaking them from their ultra-objectivist "global class war" schema, a Cold War impressionism inherited from Sam Marcy (who split from Trotskyism to Stalinism in the late

INTERNATIONALIST WORKER

—January-February 1985

THREE CONCEPTS OF THE . . . NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

An acquaintance of the RCL-(I), a long-time member of the Socialist Workers Party and subsequently of Workers World, related the following story to us.

About a year ago, mystified by contradictory Spartacist writings on Nicaragua, our friend entered a Midwest office of Spartacist.

"What is the class character of the Nicaraguan state?," he asked, evidently using "Global Class War terminology."

"Capitalist, for sure," a Young Spartacus member immediately shot back.

"Wait!," the local Spartacist organizer interjected. "Nicaragua currently has a petty-bourgeois workers' and farmers' government."

"Hold on, comrades!," yet another, more senior Spartacist representative said. He then proceeded to call New York headquarters. After getting off the phone, he said, "There is no state in Nicaragua."

1950s and now heads the extremely unappetizing, grossly reformist Workers World Party). Instead, the RCL-(I) has opted to seek a home for itself in the disunited "United Secretariat" (USec) of Ernest Mandel (the erudite Trotsky-talking apologist for Mitterrand-style anti-Soviet social democracy) and his super-Sandinista/Fidelista nemesis Jack Barnes.

What then is the class character of the Nicaraguan regime, comrades of the RCL-(I)? We Spartacists say that the petty-bourgeois Sandinista government must be replaced by a workers and peasants government in order to "defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution." You, in contrast, label Nicaragua today a

"bourgeois state." You say "defend and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution," but *not* complete it, and grotesquely *oppose* our demand for *Soviet military aid to the Sandinistas*.

There are two, three, many concepts of the Nicaraguan revolution in the USec, which hails the "socialist" Sandinistas. Now throw in the RCL-(I), who call the FSLN regime capitalist? Maybe Mandel won't even notice, amid all the other flora and fauna in his swamp. It's an unlikely marriage, but they agree on one thing: refusing to call for a Trotskyist party to lead the fight for *permanent revolution*, in Nicaragua and throughout Central America. ■



WV Photo

Spartacist League's Anti-Imperialist Contingent raised defense of Cuba, USSR against Imperialism at El Salvador demonstration, Washington, D.C., 3 May 1981.

build a workers party.

Occasionally (especially when they've been frozen out of where the reformist action is), these fake-Trotskyists even mimic elements of our Leninist program. Thus the Morenoite IWP prominently raised—in their more radical-sounding Spanish-language *El Bolchevique* (Winter 1985), not their grossly labor-reformist English-language *Working Class Opposition* of course—the call for "Military Victory of the Central American Revolution." But even their empty rhetoric can get them in trouble in their attempts to break into the reformist big leagues. Thus the Communist Party's *Daily World* (9 April) recently ran a crude batchet job titled "Trotskyists Oppose the United Front" which reads like it was written by one of Stalin's most cynical hacks back in 1937. The SWP, Socialist Action, Workers World and assorted myriad front groups are accused of calling for

opposition to the Democratic Party, for a "victory to the left forces in El Salvador" and similar "crimes" of which they are manifestly innocent.

Socialist Action, shameless in its appetites to serve as waterboys for the bureaucrats, has made it into various steering committees while various others of the Cleveland conference crowd have been relegated to the sidelines. Recently a group in the Bay Area calling itself the "April 20 Coalition for Democracy" complained of threats of physical violence from Socialist Action member Carl Finnemore if they attempt to raise demands not on the approved list. What's happening is that even the most slightly left eritics are now getting a little of the treatment usually reserved for the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League. Beginning at the May 3, 1981 march on the Pentagon when the SL showed up with red flags, the Salvadoran FMLN banner and our signs call-

ing for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador" and "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America," the reformists set up "daisy chains" to "quarantine" the Spartacists. Soon they were calling on the capitalist cops to keep their parades for the Democrats free from "reds."

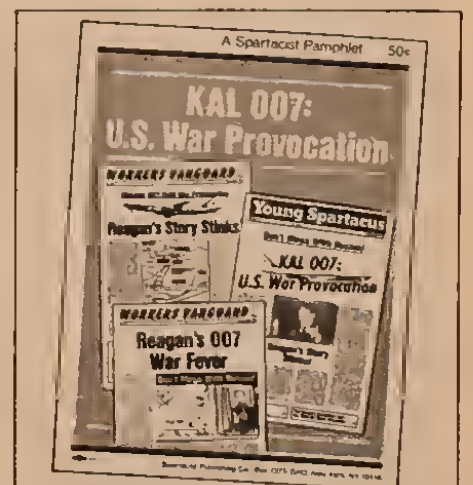
Meanwhile, in the Bay Area there appeared at our office a pathetic draft leaflet inviting us to join a bloc to "ensure our right to march in the Spring Mobilization" and complaining that the steering committee is "attempting to subordinate it to the Democratic Party." Big surprise! This whining yelp is signed by every Trotskyoid varmint in the Bay Area, including the "External Tendency of the ISI" (a clot of embittered white ex-members who quit the SL in fear of the hard struggle required in the Reagan years) as well as the IWP, FSP, RSL, RWL and WSL. Simply by listing their complaints against the Spring Mob—exclusion of the Near East demand "End U.S. Intervention in the Middle East," attempted exclusion of an FDR/FMLN speaker, rejection of British miners' bead Arthur Scargill—they prove the thoroughly *anti-revolutionary* character of this demonstration. They are nothing but a hemorrhoid on the left side of the rectum of the popular front.

In the late 1930s, Leon Trotsky, who together with Lenin led the Russian October Revolution of 1917, had to deal with a clot of centrists calling themselves the "London Bureau" who claimed to oppose Stalinism but refused to join Trotsky's fight for a revolutionary Fourth International. Today's anti-Soviet, craven American "leftists," devotees of Polish Solidarność, are a hell of a lot worse than the centrist London Bureau. But we are still reminded of Trotsky's essay in which he demolished the philistine dilettantes of the London Bureau:

"It is not hard, however, to forecast that the bourgeoisie, the reformists, and the

Stalinists will continue to label [them] as—'Trotskyists' or 'semi-Trotskyists.' This will be done in part out of ignorance but chiefly in order to compel them to excuse, justify, and demarcate themselves. And they will actually vow, with might and main, that they are not at all Trotskyists, and that if they should happen to try to roar like lions, then like their forerunner, Bottom the weaver, they succeed in 'roaring' like sucking doves. We know them: they are no fledglings.... They are less cynical than the Stalinists and a trifle to the left of the left Social Democrats—that is all that can be said for them. That is why in the list of the Internationals they must therefore be entered as number three and one-eighth or three and one-quarter.... They will enter into history as an association of squeezed lemons. When the great masses, under the blows of the war, are set in revolutionary motion, they will not bother to inquire about the address of the London Bureau."

—Leon Trotsky, "A Fresh Lesson" (October 1938) ■



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Contra/Nazi Connection...

(continued from page 1)

their weapons and commandeered planes and boats for Honduras and Miami. Adept only at bombarding civilians, torture and summary executions, the Guard broke before the determined fight of the Nicaraguan masses, the officers deserting their troops in an every-man-for-himself panic.

This might have been the end of the road for the Somozaist scum. Over 6,000 prisoners were taken at the time of the Sandinista victory in July 1979. But while the long-suffering Nicaraguan people cried out for justice against the mercenary killers, FSLN comandante Tomás Borge proclaimed a "generous revolution," declaring that none of the criminals would be executed. Moreover, some 1,700 Somozaists were released for insufficient evidence or by pardons. The U.S. Army's handbook on Sandinista Nicaragua commented: "Ironically one of the first tasks of the triumphant FSLN was to protect its recent enemies from popular revenge" (*Nicaragua: A Country Study* [1981]). Before long many of the ex-Guardsmen were regrouping just over the border in Honduras. In March 1981 the Reagan administration began funding these wanton killers as shock troops in a war against so-called "Soviet imperialism."

Four years later the contras operate out of sprawling "made in USA" bases, at the end of a U.S. logistics pipeline. After the Congressional funding cut-off last year, these supplies have been replaced by some "creative accounting" in Washington and an increasing flow of dollars from the private sector. Reagan passes this "voluntary" mercenary aid off as some kind of philanthropy ("a pretty well established tradition in our country"). But these are no candy-strippers running around in the hills of Honduras. Not only is this "humanitarian" aid coordinated right out of the Pentagon, and transported on U.S. military planes, behind it is an anti-Communist network extending to open fascists and Nazis, neo- and otherwise.

"Repackaging" the Contras

The contras first surfaced in 1980 when 60 ex-National Guard criminals formed the 15th of September Legion. These were nothing but marauding handits until, in November 1981, Reagan signed National Security Decision Directive 17 and the U.S. Congress secretly appropriated \$20 million to finance a "contra" army. Soon the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) was born, a CIA creature from birth. The project to build a Nicaraguan mercenary army at first was a tripartite arrangement: American money, Argentine trainers on Honduran soil. As a result of Washington's pro-British tilt in the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war, the Argentines dropped out. And since the CIA now had to take direct responsibility, says ex-FDN leader Edgar Chamorro, "they had to repackage the program in a way to be palatable to Congress" (*Los Angeles Times*, 4 March).

Canvassing Nicaraguan exiles in Miami, a civilian directorate was set up to provide an acceptable front, while the Somozaist ex-Guardsmen were kept out of sight in Honduras. But an outfit that has destroyed more than 160 schools, 45 health centers and 100 day-care centers, while killing or wounding several thousand civilians, is hard to prettify. The contras engage in mass kidnapping, particularly of Miskito Indians; selective assassination of doctors and teachers; indiscriminate attacks on farm cooperatives; routine execution of prisoners; grisly dismemberment of bodies, and gang rape. This has been exhaustively documented by the "even-handed" Americas Watch, whose report on "Violations of the Laws of War by

Both Sides in Nicaragua, 1981-1985" found only two cases of human rights abuses by the Sandinistas. So the Reagan administration simply resorts to the Big Lie, cynically claiming that the contras are "freedom fighters" whose victims are "Communist terrorists."

In the last year, funneling "private" aid to the killer contras has become a major New Right growth industry in the U.S. More than \$5 million has reportedly been raised by a network of conservative business tycoons (notably Peter Grace), "former" military/intelligence officials and ultraright outfits all dedicated to "rolling back the Soviet empire." Unfettered by having to obtain Congressional approval for their adventures, this cabal of anti-Communist crusaders is aggressively pursuing a

San Salvador. But as U.S. attention shifted to Nicaragua, Civilian Military Assistance switched over to "training" the contras. Posey has offered to field a combat-ready "George Patton Brigade" of 3,000 "volunteers" to fight the Sandinistas (*Nation*, 9 March).

A second major outfit involved in the "private" contra aid effort is the Air Commando Association, headed by retired Air Force General H.C. "Heine" Aderholt. Aderholt claims his ACA has distributed \$4.5 million in "humanitarian" aid for El Salvador provided by the Christian Broadcasting Network and World Medical Relief. And together with the U.S. Council for World Freedom headed by retired General John Singlaub, they have reportedly distributed another \$6 million to Miski-

affiliate is a neo-Nazi outfit called CEDADE whose symbol is the swastika. And via Spain the WACL was linked to the infamous AAA (Argentine Anticomunist Alliance), the creation of the fascist wing of Peronism headed by the Rasputin-like José López Rega (*Public Eye*, Nos. 1-2, 1979).

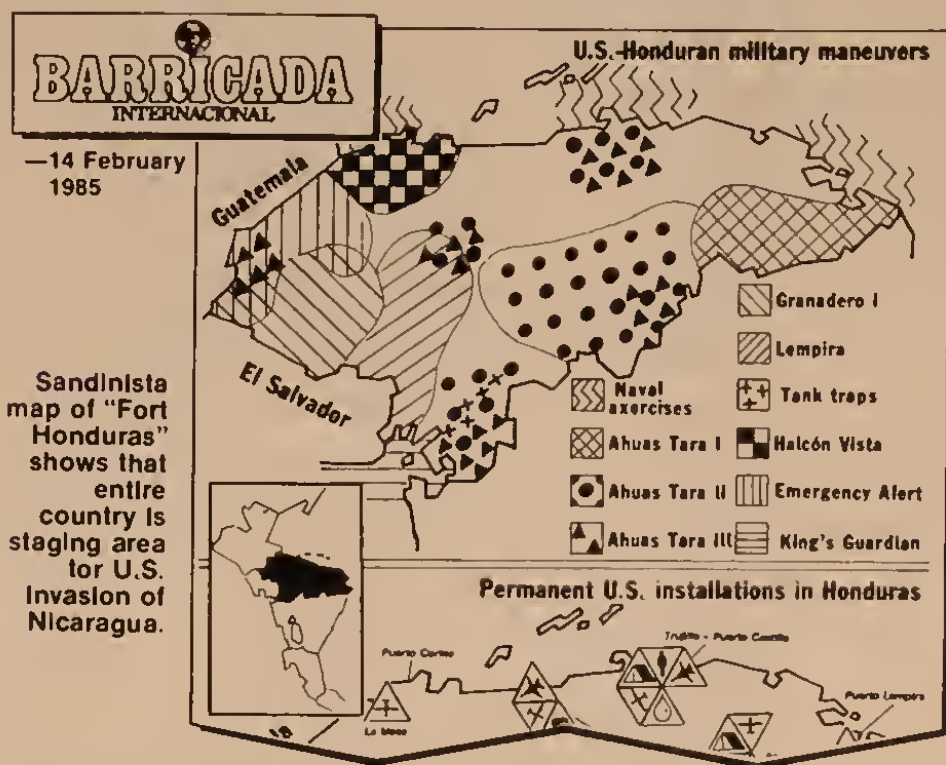
The WACL's Latin American branch, the Confederación Anticomunista Latinoamericana (CAL), has been described by the *Washington Post* as "the umbrella group for active and dormant death squads throughout Latin America." CAL is headed by Mario Sandoval Alarcón, *líder máximo* of Guatemala's National Liberation Movement, the self-proclaimed "party of organized violence." Sandoval, the godfather of Central America's killer elite, instructed the kingpin of El Salvador's death squads, Roberto ("Blowtorch Boh") D'Aubuisson, in murder and torture techniques taken over from the Nazis via the CIA. One of those who played a key role in this training, according to former Salvadoran intelligence chief Roberto Santivañez, was Colonel Ricardo Lau, the head of intelligence for the Nicaraguan FDN. Lau, a former Somoza National Guard officer, was paid \$120,000 for the 1980 assassination of El Salvador's archbishop Romero, said Santivañez, and the U.S. has had documentary proof of this for years (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 March).

The current president of the World Anti-Communist League is none other than General John Singlaub, who graduated from the OSS, the U.S. wartime intelligence agency, to the CIA, where in 1948 he was working on the China desk; during the Korean War he was deputy head of the CIA station in Seoul. In 1966 he was sent to Vietnam where he headed a top-secret Special Operations Group (SOG), in charge of the Phoenix program which assassinated more than 30,000 "Viet Cong suspects." In 1975 he helped another SOG officer, i.e. Colonel Robert Brown, launch *Soldier of Fortune* magazine. In 1977, General Singlaub was removed as head of U.S. troops in South Korea for publicly opposing President Carter's plans to reduce the American expeditionary force. The next year he was sacked from the military (through a forced resignation) for criticizing the SALT II arms control treaty.

But where Singlaub was on the outs with Carter, he and his cohorts have the inside track in today's Washington. He is vice chairman of the powerful Coalition for Peace through Strength. And at the convention in San Diego last September where Singlaub was elected head of the WACL, a letter was read from President Reagan praising this fascist international. In October 1984, Singlaub was appointed chairman of a Pentagon panel on Central America. Also on the panel was General "Heine" Aderholt. The panel's report, classified top secret, reportedly calls for "extended use of unconventional, covert and paramilitary operations in Central America." Through *Soldier of Fortune*, Civilian Military Assistance, the Air Commando Association, World Medical Relief and other fronts, the same gang is carrying out this program. A recent *New York Times* (18 March) reported General Singlaub's presence at contra headquarters in Honduras. And last week another American mercenary, connected with the CMA, was reported killed in Nicaragua.

Moon Over Central America

Harvard historian John Womack has written that in Central America today Adolf Hitler would be considered "a man of the center" (*Trouble in Our Backyard: Central America and the United States in the Eighties* [1984]). This can be confirmed by looking at the activities of the WACL in Latin America and a closely related anti-Communist outfit, the Unification Church, of South



domino plan for knocking off the "Soviet colonies" of Nicaragua, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. And from there, says Jack Wheeler of the rightist Freedom Research Foundation, it's on to "Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and the Islamic states of Soviet Central Asia" (quoted by Fred Clarkson, "Privatizing" the War," *Covert Action*, Fall 1984).

The role of "private" mercenaries aiding the CIA-backed contras came into prominence last fall when two members of a group called Civilian Military Assistance were killed inside Nicaragua in a plane shot down by the Sandinista army. The head of CMA is Tom Posey, who recruited his buddies from the Alabama National Guard, particularly its Special Forces Unit. Posey declares, "If the politicians won't let us win, then the private sector must take it in their own hands to do it" (*Soldier of Fortune*, January 1985). During late 1983 and early 1984, eleven shipments of military supplies from the CMA to the Salvadoran army were processed by the American embassy in

to Indians and "contra families" in Honduras (*Washington Post*, 10 December 1984). Both ACA and CMA are linked to the mercenary magazine *Soldier of Fortune*; Aderholt is the *SOF* "unconventional war editor," while the CMA mission to Honduras last August included Cliff Albright, previously a member of the *SOF* mission to El Salvador and reportedly a former pilot for the CIA's Air America.

Last fall the British Labourite magazine *New Statesman* (2 November) wrote: "*Sof* and the organisations of former CIA operatives, paramilitary and unconventional warfare specialists which hack up the magazine represent a formidable secret army. Linked to Latin death squads and a world wide network of fanatical anti-communist organisations, *Sof*'s operations follow the tradition, but on a large international and professional scale, of the Freikorps of Weimar Germany." That is, like those fascist paramilitary squads who later formed the basis for Hitler's SA, they are imperialist losers out for revenge. And it is notable how all these psychopathic anti-Communist freelancers now running around Central America graduated from the U.S.' dirty, losing war in Vietnam.

Contras and International Fascism

At the center of this network is the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), which according to the *Washington Post* (10 December 1984) claims to be sending \$500,000 a month to the CIA-backed anti-Sandinista mercenaries. Founded in 1966 by the governments of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan and the Park dictatorship in Korea, the WACL through its various affiliates enrolls some of the most notorious fascists and ultrarightist terrorists on the face of the planet. In Italy the WACL members are not only the neo-fascist MSI, but also the Ordine Nuovo (New Order) fascist terrorists. In Spain during the 1970s the WACL was linked to the Warriors of Christ the King, a paramilitary unit staffed mainly by the Francoist security police; its local



Soldier of Fortune
General John Singlaub, tñhr of World Anti-Communist League. Mass murderer in Vietnam is now Reagan's rep to the "contras."

Tom Janota Challenges Peace Corps Returnees Confab

Revolution in El Salvador: Which Side Are You On?

The following remarks were made by Tom Janota, a supporter of the Spartacist League, at a "Speak Out on Central America" by ex-Peace Corps volunteers at New York University on 7 December 1984.

I don't know how long we've been listening to all of you talk here, it seems like, I don't know, hours. And none of you have mentioned that there's a civil war going on in Central America! The people that you were teaching, the people that I was teaching, the peasants that you were trying to help are up against the wall right now. I want to know, which side are you on? Are you so confused, is that so confusing? I hear "confused." I hear "I don't know why we can't change this situation, it always seems to remain the same..."

My name's Tom Janota. I was the last Peace Corps volunteer to leave El Salvador. I left El Salvador in 1980, four months after the Peace Corps was pulled out from El Salvador. I've seen close up what's going on—it's class war. [Chairman: Okay, thank you.] Let me finish. The U.S. is there, yes, it's no casual incident that the U.S. is there. They are there to smash social revolution that is growing in Central

America, in Nicaragua, in El Salvador. And they are there to strike a blow against the Soviet Union and against Cuba. Against communism. Because for them any hint of any kind of progressive movement is immediately labeled communist.

Now, the panelists up here have said how they don't think that the Soviet Union is sending guns to Nicaragua and to El Salvador... And I think we must condemn the Soviet Union for *not* arming the peasants and workers and the students who are trying to fight U.S. imperialism! [applause] The Peace Corps, it must be clear, is an arm of U.S. imperialism. No one addressed that question. Even those of us who went with the best ideals, humanitarians, right? We were there as a cover, as a front... [chair: that's not a question] ...when it does not have direct ties to the CIA, as is the case of the cooperative movement in El Salvador, as you know well. Unión Comunal has direct ties to the AIFLD with the CIA which is now slitting throats in Nicaragua.

The whole point is, here we went into the Peace Corps because we wanted to see change in Central America. We got there and we saw, as

Tom Janota, here speaking at 1981 SL rally for "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists," Washington, D.C., May 3.



Susan has said, abject poverty. We reacted, I became a member of the Spartacist League, a Bolshevik, an internationalist communist, because I could see that the only way that change is going to happen to that region is when the bourgeoisie that are oppressing those peoples in league with United States imperialism, when those bourgeoisies are overthrown, only then will the basic rights of education, land reform, union organizing—all these basic questions cannot be addressed until the capitalist class is overthrown throughout Central America. And here you're talking about some kind of vague reforms that will change nothing.

The situation has been in El Salvador for 50 years, since the Matanza in Nicaragua since 1909, with the various invasions by U.S. forces. Here in the U.S. we must take a side with that

struggle that's going on. And that struggle means defending the Nicaraguan revolution, and to defend it, it must be completed and extended throughout the isthmus. Here in the U.S. it means class struggle at home, it means going up against the Democrats and the Republicans. [Chairman: Is this a question or a speech?] This is a speech. [laughter] Thank you.

In El Salvador, since we're concerned, and as a former Peace Corps volunteer, I want to give you an idea of what the Peace Corps experience taught me. It taught me that the United States is no friend of the workers or peasants of Salvador or the United States for that matter. And that what we must do is make a clear break with both the twin parties of capitalist rule. It's class war in this country. It's action: boycotting shipping going to Central America...

Korean weapons manufacturer/cult leader Sun Myung Moon, which operates in Latin America through its political front CAUSA. Readers of *Workers Vanguard* will be familiar with the Moon sect, and we have detailed their activities as shock troops of anti-Communist reaction in Central America in our article "Moonies in Honduras: Death Squads and Contras" (WV No. 334, 15 July 1983). Though CAUSA's influence in Honduras has been cut back by the ouster of their patron, strongman General Gustavo Alvarez, it has continued to expand its activities in the hemisphere.

CAUSA's first congress, held in Montevideo, Uruguay in February 1984, was chaired by Moon's right-hand man, former KCIA Colonel Bo Hi Pak, and included such figures as Salvadoran Colonel Domingo Monterosa and Nicaraguan Miskito contra leader Steadman Fagoth. Monterosa was the most effective anti-guerrilla commander in El Salvador until he was killed in a spectacular FMLN action last November, which shot down a government helicopter that also carried several American advisers. Fagoth was a former agent of Somoza's secret police. Also present at the CAUSA conference were retired U.S. General Robert Richardson, an active member of the WACL, and General Ed Woellner, president of CAUSA USA. General Singlaub has also spoken under the auspices of Moon's newspaper in the American capital, the *Washington Times* (see "Moon in Latin America..." *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 3 March).

Moon himself was a founder of the World Anti-Communist League and his Japanese affiliate is the local WACL chapter. The Moonies' CAUSA is naturally on good terms with military dictators such as Stroessner in Paraguay and Pinochet in Chile. But such established regimes hardly need the services of these anti-communist freebooters. In unstable Bolivia, in contrast, which holds the world record for coups, the Moonies provided their services to the leaders of the "cocaine coup" who came

to power in July 1980. CAUSA offered \$4 million in advance to the putschists headed by General Garcia Meza, who later repaid the Moonies by holding a banquet at the La Paz Sheraton in honor of Bo Hi Pak. A member of the CAUSA board, Thomas Ward, reportedly "worked with the boss of the World Anti-Communist League's Bolivian branch, and in particular with Klaus Barbie, who at the time was helping in the [coup] preparations with Colonel Luis Arce Gómez" (*Manchester Guard-*

"Novlos de la Muerte"—the Betrothed of Death. Neo-Nazi Joachim Fiebelkorn (standing, second from right) and SS veteran Hans Stellfeld (standing, center) organized Bolivian death squad during 1980 coup.



ian Weekly, 24 February).

Barbie, of course, is the infamous Nazi SS "Butcher of Lyon" now awaiting trial in France. Among his fellow plotters in Bolivia were German neo-Nazi Joachim Fiebelkorn who together with SS veteran Hans Stellfeld (see photo) organized the "Novlos de la Muerte" (Betrothed of Death) which acted as a death squad during the 1980 Bolivian coup (*Stern*, 10 May 1984). Barbie was also associated with Italian fascist terrorist Stefano Delle Chiaie, who was a leader of a failed 1970 coup attempt in Italy and the 1980 Bologna train station bombing which killed 85 (*Economist*, 23 October 1982). Delle Chiaie arrived in Bolivia, where he worked closely with Colonel Arce Gómez, after being smuggled through

Argentina with the aid of former junta leaders Admiral Massera and General Videla, both members of the WACL. Massera was also a member of the P-2 (Propaganda Due) "masonic" lodge, whose Italian members were firmly entrenched in the security services. P-2, in turn, was linked to the Banco Ambrosiano, the now bankrupt Vatican-connected bank whose Latin American operations, set up by Mafia financier Michele Sindona, were designed to "stop the advance of Castro

communism in South America" (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 November 1982). And so on.

Anti-Imperialism Abroad = Class Struggle at Home

The U.S. reformist left has been preparing for months for its April 20 demonstrations, and then to crawl on their knees from one Congressman to another to get them to vote against Reagan's \$14 million request for the Nicaraguan contras. But what about El Salvador—the fighting is still going on, the leftist guerrillas of the FMLN are under considerable pressure as the U.S. sends in *hundreds of millions* of dollars in military weapons. In the last year, U.S. aid to El Salvador has more than doubled, voted for by *both* Republicans

and Democrats, because they *all* support the CIA candidate Duarte. It's widely understood on Capitol Hill that the contra mercenaries couldn't fight their way out of a paper bag, and so that \$14 million is clearly a stalking horse for direct U.S. military action. But where things are going relatively well for Washington, as in El Salvador, none of the liberals object, and their rad-lib fringe falls right into step. After all, if they're for a "negotiated solution" to the Salvadoran civil war, who are they going to negotiate with but Duarte?

We fight instead for military victory to the Salvadoran leftists, to defend Nicaragua, to complete the revolution and extend it throughout Central America. The strategy of pressuring the liberal Democrats is a diversion from the necessary task of supporting anti-imperialist struggle in Central America through class struggle at home. The "doves" have only *tactical* differences with Reagan over *how* to intervene in Central America. Maryland Democratic Congressman Michael Barnes, the author of the impotent 1983 amendment prohibiting U.S. action to overthrow the Sandinista regime, has said, "I continue to struggle with trying to find a compromise that could achieve the ends the administration wants to achieve, while getting us out of this [contra] program" (*Washington Post*, 28 January).

Real solidarity with heroic fighters against counterrevolutionary terror in Central America means mobilizing the American workers against their rulers, fighting for independent *class* action against union-husting at home and imperialist adventures abroad. It means unconditionally defending the gains of anti-capitalist revolutions from Cuba and Vietnam to Moscow. As the rest of the U.S. left crawls after the Democratic Party of Walter ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale, the Trotskyists fight for a break with the twin parties of American capitalism, to put an end to over a century of Yankee intervention in Latin America, to abolish the Monroe Doctrine once and for all by workers revolution throughout the continent. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Hail 10th Anniversary of Liberation of Saigon!

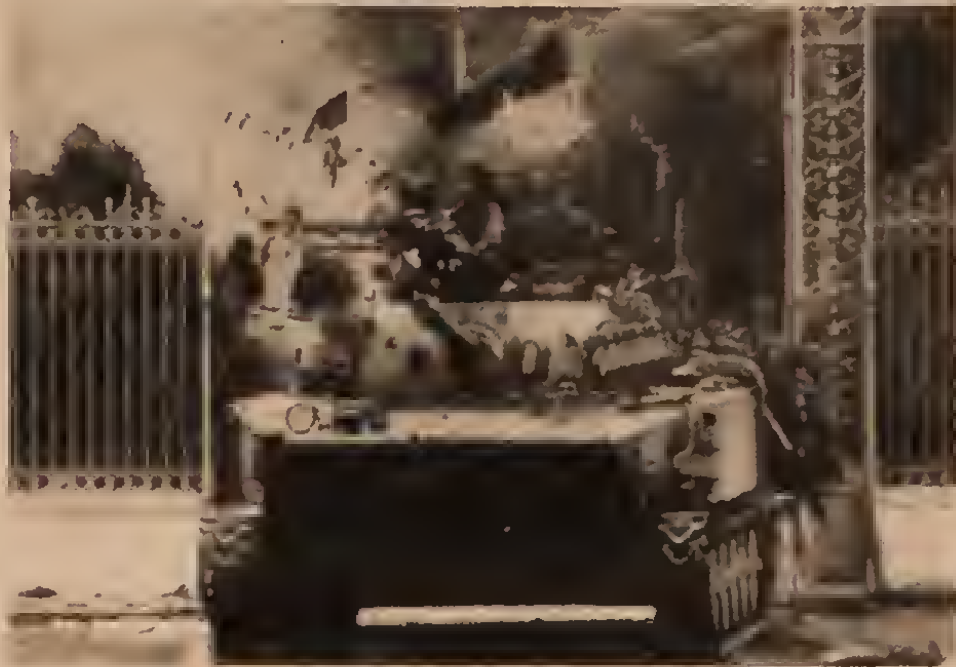
Vietnam Was a Victory!

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NO. 126, APRIL 1985

30 April 1975: "Giai Phong! Giai Phong!" rang the cries down the wide avenues of Saigon—"Liberation!" Triumphant North Vietnamese combatants rolled in on tanks to join National Liberation Front guerrillas to proclaim victory from the steps of Independence Palace. The swiftness of their final offensive had surprised everyone—not least their own military command—as the U.S.-backed puppet army crumbled like rotted, worm-eaten wood. A half million American soldiers, a million South Vietnamese troops, the most advanced military arsenal in the world, massive B-52 carpetbombing, napalm, chemical delolants, assassination programs organized by the CIA—one of the most brutal wars in history could not crush the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. As we wrote then:

"The military victory of the DRV/NLF marks the end of 30 years of civil war against colonialism and imperialism and their local allies. It means the overthrow of capitalist rule in South Vietnam, a historic conquest for the working people of the entire world and one which must be unconditionally defended by class-conscious workers against imperialist attack.

"We hail this stunning defeat of U.S. imperialism, the first in a major war during this century, and greet the victory of our class brothers and sisters in Indochina with internationalist proletarian solidarity. The struggle against the imperialists' Vietnam war has also been a major task of socialists in the imperialist centers, domi-



Saigon, 30 April 1975: NLF flag flies as victorious troops roll into U.S. puppet's presidential palace.

2,3, Many Defeats For U.S. Imperialism!

nating the political experience of a whole generation of young aspiring revolutionaries."

—*Workers Vanguard* No. 68,
9 May 1975

The Vietnam War marked a decisive turning point in U.S. history. The so-called "American century" died in the

rice paddies and jungles of Vietnam. The anti-communist prejudices of the '50s that portrayed America fighting to save the world from the red menace were shattered as young soldiers discovered they were sent to fight an entire people, an armed people united in a revolutionary war for national liberation and

socialism. A generation of American youth saw the true face of this racist capitalist system, its arrogant, blood-thirsty barbarism.

Richard Nixon—who as vice president in 1954 argued the U.S. should use nuclear weapons against Vietnam to forestall the final defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu, who as president directed massive bombing raids against civilian areas of North Vietnam—today titles his memoirs *No More Vietnams*. All the insipid "left" apologists for the Democrats eagerly embrace the slogan of a section of the U.S. ruling class: "No More Vietnams" means no more humiliating defeats for imperialism—no more losing wars. It is a consciously counter-revolutionary call. We Marxists reply: "Long live the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"

For the victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants was *our* victory, and the victory of opponents of injustice and class exploitation everywhere. Their heroic defeat of the U.S. war machine stayed its bloody hand for a decade, buying time for precarious victories of anti-colonial insurgencies in Angola and Nicaragua. But the imperialist monster is on the rampage again, as Reagan drives headlong toward nuclear holocaust in his lust for war against the Soviet Union and its allies. Today a new generation of American youth is taking its first steps in opposition to Reagan's bloody war plans in Central America, voicing its first cries of outrage at racist police state terror in South Africa—a new generation for whom the lessons of the Vietnam War are vital.

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Mass Bust at Berkeley; Columbia Blockade

Student Struggle Flares Against Apartheid

16 APRIL.—At dawn today, campus police in riot gear arrested 154 protesters who have been blockading the University of California at Berkeley's Sproul Hall for six days. Another 17 were arrested later today. Students opposing the murderous apartheid regime in South Africa had hung a large banner on the building, renaming it Biko Hall in honor of the martyred "black consciousness" movement leader. Police tore the banner from Sproul and proceeded to make the largest mass arrest at the Cal campus since 1964 when Free Speech Movement protesters were hauled off by the hundreds. The

protesters face charges of trespassing and "illegally lodging" on the campus; students will also face administration reprisals. A bus filled with arrested students was stopped by demonstrators who sat down in the street, pounded on the sides of the bus and resisted the cops' efforts to clear the way; for 20 minutes the bus was successfully paralyzed. As we go to press, 3,000 have converged on Sproul Plaza in a mass rally.

And in New York, Columbia University also sees stirrings of student revolt. Hamilton Hall has been renamed Mandela Hall, in honor of the imprisoned and "hanned" leader of South

Africa's African National Congress (ANC), by the hundreds of students who have blockaded the building since the morning of April 4. Their central demand is that Columbia divest itself of the reported \$34 million in stock it holds in multinational corporations doing business in South Africa. From Berkeley to Massachusetts to New York, campuses are exploding with outrage in the wake of the apartheid butchers' massacre at Uitenhage. On March 21, the 25th anniversary of Sharpeville,

South African police opened fire on a funeral procession of blacks, killing 19 according to dubious government figures (witnesses to the slaughter say at least twice that number were killed).

Chains block the front entrance to Columbia's Hamilton Hall and the protesters, faced with the threat of arrest and expulsion, are in the twelfth day of the blockade. Fourteen students have been slapped with "contempt of court" charges and face up to 30 days in jail for

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Columbia University students blockade Hamilton Hall as campus protests spread across U.S.

Young Spartacus