

Two Black Activists Murdered, Unions Call National Work Stoppage

South Africa: Black Struggle Needs Workers Party

Forty black and multiracial unions in South Africa have called for a nationwide two-hour work stoppage May 14 to protest the racist murder of two prominent black activists in police custody. This will be the first nationwide multi-union labor action since February 1982 when 100,000 workers downed tools to protest the

torture/death of Neil Aggett, a white organizer for the black union movement. In the apartheid police state, "detention" often equals a death sentence. Remember Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko and Neil Aggett!

In the black township of Oden-daalsrust in the Orange Free State, 150

miles south of Johannesburg, Sipho Mutsi, a 20-year-old organizer for the black Congress of South African Students, was held for "questioning." This "interrogation" resulted in his delivery dead-on-arrival to a hospital May 5 from a brain hemorrhage caused by blows to the head. In

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Peters/New York Times

Smash Reagan's War Embargo! Kick Out the Capitalists!

Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

May Day 1985 may go down in history as the day Ronald Reagan ordered the expropriation of the Nicaraguan capitalist class. Winging his way across the Atlantic en route to an acrimonious imperialist economic summit and his Bitburg infamy, Reagan signed an executive order declaring a total embargo on U.S. trade with Sandinista Nicaragua, as well as cutting air and sea links. In one blow Washington cut off the local "branch office bourgeoisie" from their home offices, putting its very existence in question. In an editorial titled, "And Now the Banana War," the *New York Times* (2 May) commented: "The Administration has been so afraid of 'another Cuba' that it has made it almost impossible for the Managua regime to behave like anything other than Cuba."

Reagan's policy is to drive the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) regime either into total submission or into the arms of the Russians, in order to prepare a U.S. invasion. His conditions for surrender: accept "free enterprise" and "free elections," and if the wrong side wins (as with the FSLN's two-to-one victory at the polls last November) then by definition they're not "free." Otherwise, Washington will do its best to eliminate the "mixed economy," in order to justify annihilating "Sandino-Communism." The U.S. may just have given Nicaragua a giant push down the "Cuban road" to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the consolidation of a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

After almost six years of precarious balancing by the Sandinistas, the question of the class character of the Nicaraguan state is soon to be resolved. But not because Reagan wants to do any favors for the workers and peasants of Central America. On the contrary, the arrogant imperialist trade embargo is a clear act of war. Moreover, Congress is again considering open U.S. aid to the CIA's "contra" (counterrevolutionary)



Naylthons/Gamma-Liaison

Sandinista troops at the ready. Nicaraguan people fought to drive out Somoza butchers, will defend revolution against U.S. invasion.

army, this time with Democratic support. And the White House is reportedly reviewing contingency plans for a naval blockade. In the face of the U.S. war moves, now more than ever it is urgently necessary to *Defend Nicaragua—Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!*

Washington sees Central America as the front line of its drive for war against the Soviet Union; if they can bump off Nicaragua, Cuba's next on their hit list. But despite all the talk of "new patriotism," the more it looks like Reagan

might invade, the more popular opposition grows. The latest poll shows that by almost four-to-one the American people

oppose U.S. involvement in attempts to overthrow the Sandinistas. As American revolutionists it is our duty to do everything possible to stay the bloody hand of Yankee imperialism. The "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well, and this time there could be *labor strikes against imperialist war* from Day One of a U.S. invasion of Central America.

"President Reagan... keeps warning us we had better overthrow the Nicaraguan Government before it destroys our way of life throughout Central America," quipped pundit Russell Baker (*New York Times*, 3 April). Many Americans don't see it Reagan's way. Nor do they buy the "Red Banana Menace." They're not for "reconciliation" with Nazism in Europe, either, and they're worried that with its "Star Wars" fantasies Washington may really get us into it with the Russians. The Reaganauts think that the 1984 landslide elections gave them a "mandate" to reconquer the world. But with Reagan's commemoration of the Bitburg SS graves, his open support to racist massacres in South Africa and now the Nicaragua trade embargo, they may have made a big mistake. We're not the only ones who would like to see this government go, and if Reagan keeps it up the result could deeply radicalize the American working people.

From Hitler to Reagan

Speaking at a joint press conference in Madrid with Spanish prime minister Felipe González, Nicaraguan president

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Gun for Hire



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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

another black township in the Transvaal, 30 miles east of Johannesburg, on May 4 police seized Andries Raditsela, a 29-year-old senior shop steward for the Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU) and executive member of the black Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU). Raditsela's parents found him several hours later still in police custody and beaten unconscious. Charges against Raditsela under the draconian Internal Security Act were immediately dropped, but he died on May 6, also from a brain hemorrhage due to blows to the head.

Mounting repression from the white-supremacist regime has not quelled the continuing revolt of South African blacks. But the entrenched white minority which lives off the superexploitation of black labor is armed to the teeth and determined to give up nothing. In addition to the murder of black activists and massacre of blacks in the Eastern Cape, the apartheid butchers have recently sent thousands of cops and soldiers to patrol the black townships and their environs with the clear message: in the next round of massacres the blood of tens if not hundreds of thousands of black toilers will stain the land from which they have been dispossessed. The dependency on black labor is the Achilles' heel of apartheid. Black labor in its struggle for class and national emancipation must place at its head a multiracial revolutionary workers party fighting for a black-centered workers government.

The murder of Raditsela is stark proof that the apartheid capitalists have declared open warfare to break the resistance of South Africa's burgeoning

and increasingly powerful black trade-union movement. The bosses are trying to exploit South Africa's deep recession which has caused unemployment estimated at 25 percent (the racist regime does not bother to keep unemployment statistics on the black African majority) to deal serious blows against the unions. As we reported in our last issue, in late April the giant Anglo American mining conglomerate of Harry Oppenheimer fired 14,400 black migrant workers on an "illegal" strike at Vaal Reefs, the world's largest gold mine. Then this so-called "liberal" mining house sent the cops, using rubber bullets and tear gas, to evict the miners from their hostels and deport them to the starving bantustans. This follows the pattern of mass firings at the SASOL oil-from-coal plant after the two-day Transvaal stayaway strike last November, with black unionists forced out of the hostels, scattered to remote areas. The CWIU, which was essentially wiped out at SASOL, is now trying to rebuild there after the bosses agreed to rehire only 70 percent of the workers and only half of their shop stewards.

However, the mass firings have not stilled the voice of black labor. In Johannesburg on April 30, riot police hauled off to jail 39 black union activists who were holding a peaceful rally at City Hall against layoffs and in support of their union, the Metal & Allied Workers Union, in its negotiations with the metal industry. The next day, May Day, they were rearrested as they marched out on bail from a courthouse. May Day rallies this year were the largest since 1950 when the Communist Party and African National Congress (ANC) defied a government ban and held demonstrations throughout the Witwatersrand, suffering scores of casualties. This year hundreds of trade unionists who gathered outside the



Uitenhage martyrs funeral: grief and defiance.

Johannesburg headquarters of leading anti-apartheid organizations to celebrate the international proletarian holiday by chanting freedom songs were dispersed by police dogs and tear gas.

Smash Apartheid! Workers To Power!

A decade of black union organization and combativity marks a new generation of urbanized blacks who have been integrated into South African industry, albeit at the bottom. The Transvaal two-day general strike, the wave of strikes in the gold mines, demonstrate the potential power of this black proletariat. The Transvaal stayaway demonstrated the capacity to link the teeming masses of the black townships and bantustans to the power of South Africa's six-million-strong black proletariat. This proletariat must forge its own revolutionary vanguard party to rally all the oppressed in the struggle for workers power.

In the absence of such a leadership the apartheid rulers have been able to isolate, deflect or crush each wave of black revolt. Further, the regime—with decades of experience of "divide and conquer"—has been turning the mounting frustration, anger and combativity of the black masses inward, setting black against black. In the overcrowded black townships, just anger directed against the hated black collaborators of apartheid, the cops and the councilmen, has taken an ugly turn toward indiscriminate, inter-tribal and anti-migrant terror.

The bantustans were created not only to turn the masses of blacks into a vast industrial reserve army for apartheid superexploitation, but to recreate and foster old tribal divisions. In February hundreds of Tswana laborers were brought to Cape Town to move the belongings of Xhosa residents of the Crossroads squatter settlement—a move the people of Crossroads had laid down their lives to resist. In March, Zulu policemen were introduced alongside white cops to terrorize the seething Xhosa townships of the Eastern Cape Province. South African *Führer* P.W. Botha recently descended by helicopter on a remote hillside to address a huge gathering of black members of a reactionary Zionist-like religious sect on the subject of...god's wish for obedience to those he has chosen to rule.

In the township where Raditsela was murdered, Tsakane, five days of clashes between residents and Xhosa and Zulu-speaking migrant workers from bantustans as far as 600 miles away resulted in the killing of 16 blacks. In each major round of township revolts there have been clashes like this, fostered by the pass system which divides blacks between a minority with urban residence rights and a majority without. This division has been exacerbated by the present recession as residents fear migrant workers will take their jobs at lower pay.

Clearly, there can be no successful unionization of blacks without the

incorporation of migrants. When the black unions were first legalized in the late 1970s, one of their first successes was to get the government to repeal a ban on organizing migrants. Importantly, the Transvaal stayaway included the widespread participation of the migrants, despite the threat of deportation, and despite the threat to those with families back in the Zulu bantustan, hostages to the terror of the Inkatha thugs of Chief Buthelezi who opposed the strike. Through the migrant workers, the black labor movement can send shock waves into the tribally-divided bantustans, shaking their puppet despots.

In the black industrial proletariat drawn from every national and ethnic group in southern Africa, increasingly urbanized and conscious of its power, lies the key to overcoming tribal divisions and religious backwardness. The outstanding question is leadership. But for decades black struggle has been dominated by competing brands of nationalism, represented primarily by the Stalinist CP and the ANC on the one hand, and the "black consciousness" Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) on the other. Under the guise of multiracialism, the ANC and CP espouse popular-frontist accommodation with so-called "progressive" capitalists like union-buster Harry Oppenheimer. With protests through the United Democratic Front (UDF), sporadic guerrilla attacks, and lobbying imperialist liberals like Teddy Kennedy, they seek not to smash the apartheid regime, but to bring it to the bargaining table.

AZAPO through the National Forum combines abstract socialist rhetoric with a hard racist nationalism in which there is no room for whites like Neil Aggett and which is modeled on black despots like Ghana's Nkrumah and Zimbabwe's Mugabe. We solidarize with AZAPO's protests against the visit of the "condescending savior" Kennedy. But its petty-bourgeois nationalism is manifest in its subsequent invitation to the sinister Louis Farrakhan to speak at its national conference. The anti-Semitic demagogue Farrakhan spent much of last year stumping for Jesse Jackson's capitalist Democratic Party campaign.

Not only do the nationalists constitute a dangerous roadblock in the struggle to smash apartheid and for workers revolution, but they have now mobilized their supporters into a virtual civil war against one another, especially around Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape where the black revolt has been particularly deep and widespread. Here AZAPO and UDF supporters have fire-bombed each other's homes in recent weeks, causing several deaths.

South Africa is headed for civil war and insolar as the struggle remains along strictly black vs. white national lines, it will be a bloody disaster for the oppressed. However, with its six-million-strong black proletariat, the class principle can prevail in South Africa. Urgently required is the building of a Leninist-Trotskyist party in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of nationalism and popular frontism, leading the working class and all the oppressed in socialist revolution.

The murders of Raditsela and Mutsi, the upcoming treason trial of 16 UDF leaders, the mass firings of black strikers give the lie to the myth that apartheid can be reformed and lasting concessions wrung from South African capitalism. Reagan's "constructive engagement" is drenched in the blood of the fallen martyrs, the hundreds mowed down in the townships, the funeral marchers cut down outside Port Elizabeth on the anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. Every major black working-class battle must challenge the institutional structure of apartheid slavery and thereby the Washington/Pretoria anti-Soviet axis. The revolt of black labor must find the road to its own class rule. ■



TROTSKY

Honor Buchenwald Trotskyists!

One week after the liberation of Buchenwald in April 1945 Trotskyist cadres, who had continued their revolutionary internationalist struggle against fascism within that Nazi death camp, issued a "Declaration" signed by Austrian, French and Belgian Trotskyists Ernst Federn, Karl Fischer, Marcel Beaufrère and Florent Galloy, which stated:



LENIN

The unanimity so ostentatiously displayed at the international imperialist peace conferences is intended to dupe the masses by concealing the antagonisms inherent among the capitalist powers. However, coinciding military interests vis-à-vis Germany cannot prevent the explosion of the antagonisms in the Allied camp. To these antagonisms must be added the inevitable crises and the social tumult of the decaying capitalist mode of production...

This development renders it possible for the German proletariat to rapidly recover from its profound defeat and, to again place itself at the head of the European working class in the battle for the overthrow of capitalism.... The proletariat can fulfill its historic task only under the leadership of a new world revolutionary party. The creation of this party is the most pressing task of the most advanced sections of the working class....

The bourgeoisie and the uprooted petty bourgeoisie brought fascism to power. Fascism is the creation of capitalism. Only the successful, independent action of the working class against capitalism is capable of eradicating the evil of fascism, along with its root causes. In this struggle the hesitant petty bourgeoisie will join forces with the revolutionary proletariat on the offensive, as the history of the great revolutions demonstrates.

—Declaration of the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald (IV International), 20 April 1945

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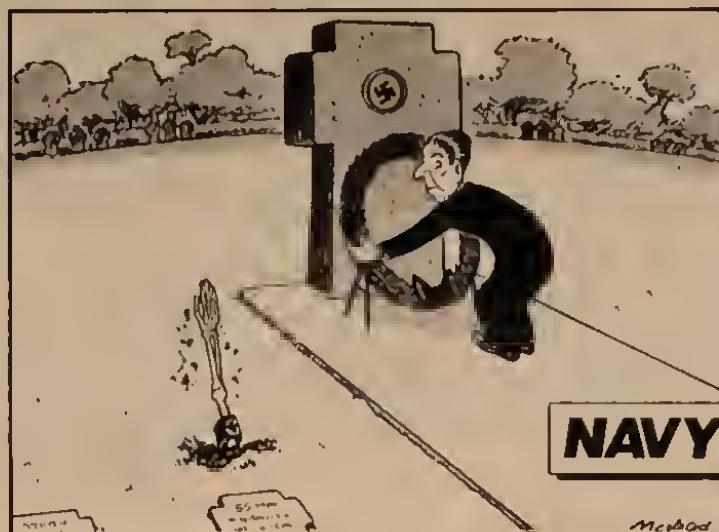
Holocaust Survivors Dragged Off at Bergen-Belsen Protest

Reagan Goose-Steps Across Europe

Reagan went to Bitburg with a purpose and a program: embracing "the enemy" from World War II in order to prepare for America's next imperialist war, against the U.S.' former WWII "ally," the Soviet Union. Honoring the Nazi SS graves was deliberate: for the U.S. imperialist commander in chief, Hitler's killer elite who fought against Soviet Russia on the Eastern Front were the "good Germans" who have to be rehabilitated for the anti-Soviet war drive. Reagan at first refused to visit a concentration camp, knowing that public recognition of the horror of Nazi Germany would undercut this "reconciliation." The Bergen-Belsen visit was added only as a sop to massive outrage over the visit to SS graves at Bitburg. But the uproar has seriously damaged Reagan. And a week after this "historic" visit West German chancellor Kohl got creamed at the polls.

On Sunday, May 5, two thousand former concentration camp inmates, children and grandchildren of those who perished in Nazi death camps came from all over Europe to protest the obscene spectacle of Reagan and Kohl's visit to Bergen-Belsen. There were over 1,000 demonstrators in Bitburg where Reagan consecrated the anti-Soviet alliance with his strongest NATO ally, West Germany. American black politicians laid wreaths at the Dachau death camp in a gesture of outrage over Reagan's sinister visit.

At Bergen-Belsen, where over 60,000 (including 30,000 Soviet prisoners of war) perished in agony, instead of the watchtowers there rose a giant 100-foot



Reagan's salute to Nazis too much even for Pentagon brass.

NAVY TIMES

—6 May 1985

cotted the ceremony, along with representatives of hastily invited Sinti and Roma gypsies, half a million of whom were also slaughtered by Hitler. In contrast, at commemorative gatherings in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) in April celebrating the Soviet Union's victory over fascism, death camp survivors, including 700 at Ravensbrück, came and spoke out in German, French, Russian, Dutch, Polish, Italian, in every language of the people who suffered under the Nazis. No wreaths were laid on SS graves there.

Reagan Belonged at Bitburg

With Reagan's visit to Bitburg, Helmut Kohl, head of the state that is the self-proclaimed legal successor to Hitler's Third Reich, was to be repaid

heroes." The Waffen SS hurried at Bitburg were from the SS Second Panzer Division, which massacred 642 men, women and children at the French village of Oradour-sur-Glane, herding many into a church, locking the doors and then setting the church afire.

Former Waffen SS officers—and there are plenty in West Germany—also celebrated. The Waffen SS "Death's Head Division" wound up a conclave May 5, the same day Reagan went to Bitburg. The 12th SS Panzer "Hitler Youth" Division and "Adolf Hitler Bodyguard" First Panzer SS Corps' meeting on May 11-12 was protected by West German police from 5,000 angry protesters. "The most natural thing in the world," blandly stated a former SS officer of Reagan's visit. "It was high time. After all we are sitting in one boat, in NATO" (*New York Times*, 3 May). Reagan's wreath-laying only made blatant and public what has in fact been the "natural" policy of U.S. imperialism—to forgive and embrace the Nazis and enlist them in their anti-Soviet crusade.

This began even before the official opening of the Cold War, in the very closing days of WWII, when U.S. intelligence offered sanctuary in the U.S. to members of the SS Einsatzgruppen and Eastern European Nazis who slaughtered thousands of Jews, gypsies, communists and others on the Eastern Front. As Alexander Cockburn pointed out in the *Wall Street Journal* (2 May), for Reagan "the date of May 8, 1945 appears to represent the moment when the Russians were finally stopped at the Elbe by the Americans, the British and the good Germans." As for those SS men involved in the massacre of 86 U.S. prisoners of war at Malmédy, whom Reagan's men were supposedly so concerned about, Cockburn pointed out that the 73 members of the First Panzer Corps tried by the U.S. for the massacre were essentially let off—none ever executed—as a direct result of Cold War pressure, including from U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy!

From Hitler to Franco: Reagan's Anti-Communist Crusade

Reagan's European trip, including the annual "economic summit" of Western imperialist powers (plus Japan), was supposed to be a triumphal procession reasserting American predominance over the former battlefields of Europe. But the Bonn summit dissolved into an uproar of opposition to Reagan's economic boycott of Nicaragua. And French president Mitterrand's refusal to go along with U.S. trade discussion proposals exposed the inability of these competing national capitalisms to coordinate any rational economic policy.

The vile stench of anti-Semitism pervaded Reagan's West Germany trip, as Kohl apologized for the disruptive actions of "a minority." Reagan's spokesmen were laughed off the stage by reporters as they tried to explain away Reagan's repeated grotesque "apologies" to Kohl for all the protest in the U.S. While the opposition West German Social Democratic Party did not openly oppose Reagan's Bitburg visit, Reagan drove the point home that he meant to honor the Nazis by refusing to meet with Social Democratic leader Willy Brandt, just about the only West German politician today who actually fought in the anti-Nazi resistance in Germany.

Fresh from the SS graves, and a stay at the castle of Hitler's godson, Reagan went on to Madrid, where he settled into former dictator Franco's palace. This visit, designed to thank the Spanish government for entering the NATO alliance, was met by a massive, quarter-million-strong protest against Reagan, against NATO and against the Nicaragua embargo. The demonstrators recalled Reagan's statement last October that "most Americans" thought the American volunteers who fought for the Spanish Republic against Franco's Nazi-supported dictatorship, in the civil war that was the direct prelude to WWII, were "on the wrong side." This was more than a little embarrassing for the present Spanish government of Socialist premier Felipe González.

Across the continent, Reagan's vicious anti-Communist crusade became more arrogant the more opposition he met. In Strasbourg, intended as the high point and occasion for a "Free Europe" trade against the Soviet Union, there were big walkouts, signs protesting the Nicaragua boycott, and disgust from parliamentary delegations. Revealing his growing impatience with even the formalities of parliamentary capitalist "democracy," Reagan made a nasty joke following the walkout of a delegation led by the British Labour Party at the European "parliament" to the effect that he wished he could get members of the American Congress to do the same.

Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen overshadowed the entire tour, exposing the

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"No Jews allowed" when Reagan and Kohl visit Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

TV tower to beam Reagan's speech back to the U.S.A. "I am a Jew," Reagan cynically said, while his U.S. Secret Service made sure Bergen-Belsen was "judenrein"—"cleansed of Jews" in the Nazi phrase—for Reagan and Kohl. As the carefully invited guests were surrounded by a gigantic security cordon, the camp was sealed off with roadblocks.

At dawn the day before, West German police seized 35 French former anti-Nazi resistance fighters and camp survivors, dragging them off to a waiting bus to be taken away. "I'm just following orders," given by the U.S. Secret Service, they said. That night 20 carloads of West German police surrounded Bergen-Belsen and forced Jews, including Americans, out of the document center where they intended to celebrate the Sabbath and protest Reagan's visit. "Quiet is important," said the West German Minister for Social Affairs: "Dignity must prevail."

Indeed no disturbing voices of witnesses or survivors of the Nazi Holocaust broke Reagan's chilling *Ruhe und Ordnung* ("quiet and order") at Bergen-Belsen. Jewish groups boy-

for enforcing the deployment of the U.S.' Pershing missiles aimed at the Soviet Union. And they intentionally picked a military cemetery with SS graves. For Reagan the Hitlerite killers fighting Russia were just great—the only problem was they were doing it in the interests of Berlin, not Washington, D.C. But even high levels of the U.S. armed forces were upset. A cartoon in the *Navy Times* caught the moment well: as Reagan lays his wreath, the skeletal Nazi arm rises from the grave to give the straight-arm Hitler salute.

So Reagan and Kohl bowed before the graves of the Waffen SS, who like the Green Berets in the Vietnam War were responsible for the mass murder of civilians and prisoners of war, and were well suited for their assignment as torturers in the concentration camps. As Reagan laid his wreath at a monument erected by Hitler in 1934, part of his campaign to bring German nationalism to white heat in preparation for World War II, the SS graves were decorated with flowers, and someone had laid a wreath (temporarily moved to the side while U.S. TV cameras were present) hailing the Waffen SS as "German



May 5: Hundreds of thousands in Spain protested Reagan visit, saying "No to NATO!"

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

Daniel Ortega charged that Reagan "is emulating what Hitler did, a comparison that is not exaggerated.... Reagan wants to turn Nicaragua into a big concentration camp" (*New York Times*, 12 May). Reagan's idea of "negotiations" also comes from the Nazis, consisting mainly of the *Diktat*, or ultimatum. To obtain Congressional backing for the "contra" mercenaries, Washington made a "peace" offer amounting, in the words of Nicaraguan foreign minister D'Eseoto, to the threat, "You drop dead, or I will kill you." Replying to this demand that Managua talk with the eutthroat rapists, torturers and murderers left over from the Somoza dictatorship, who have assassinated almost 3,000 civilians in the last three years, the Nicaraguan ambassador had a simple reply: "Never!" And responding to the trade embargo, the Sandinistas' *Baricada* headlined: "Not One Step Back."

Reagan's immediate target is not the Sandinistas, however, but the U.S. Congress. To decree the embargo, Reagan declared a "national emergency," absurdly claiming that the Sandinistas represent "an urgent threat...to the security and foreign policy of the United States"! Goebbels would have admired this consummate practitioner of the Big Lie. White House spokesman Larry Speakes baldly stated that it was Congress' refusal to fund the contras that produced this "emergency." No doubt the National Security advisers in the White House basement were inspired by their puppet Suárez Córdova in Honduras, who upon learning that the Honduran Congress had appointed five new Supreme Court justices simply threw the judges in jail and had troops ring the parliament. How long before Democratic House speaker "Tip" O'Neill looks out the window of his Capitol office to see it surrounded with

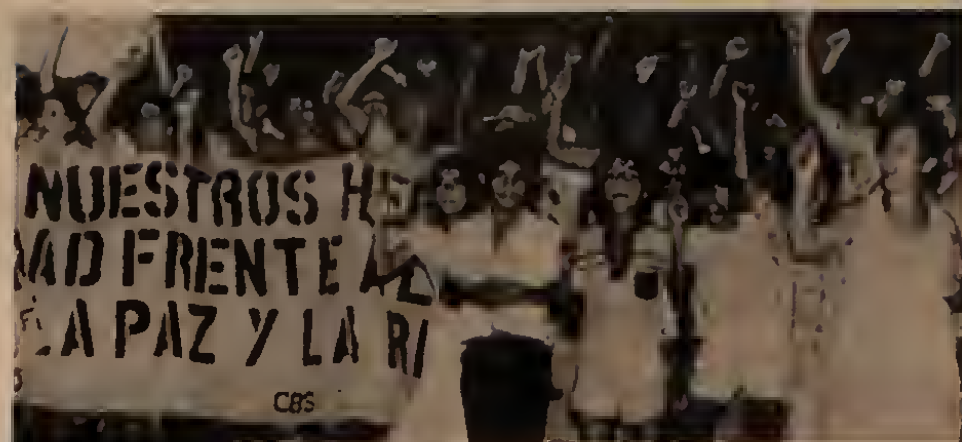
military force...must realistically be recognized as an eventual option, given our stakes in the region" (*New York Times*, 17 April). And the U.S. is already finalizing its contingency plans for an invasion: "Army Plans for 'What if' Latin War," headlined the 4 May *Times*.

U.S. trade sanctions will have little direct economic effect on the Sandinistas, especially since Washington's NATO allies have refused to go along with the boycott. And with the U.S.-backed "freedom fighters" consisting of contra thugs who only know how to slit the throats of defenseless civilians, it's clear that the real alternative to accommodation with the radical-nationalist Sandinistas is to send in the Marines, and the 82nd and 101st Airborne and the rest. An attack force of twenty thousand U.S. troops barely managed to take Grenada from 700-plus middle-aged Cuban construction workers in 1983. And Nicaragua will be no Grenada—the people are armed and determined to defend their revolution.

Nicaragua: Reagan's Cuba?

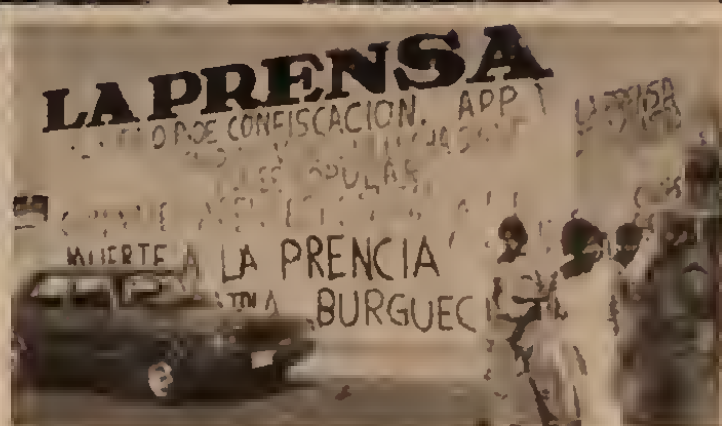
Since Reagan has told them to drop dead, and they will certainly die if the Somozaists return, the Sandinistas have little to lose now by expropriating the bourgeoisie. The U.S. trade embargo may have signed the death warrant for Nicaraguan capitalism. Certainly local businessmen, who will now be unable to obtain vital pesticides and spare parts from the U.S., or to salt away profits gained from "decapitalizing" (looting) their companies, are none too happy about the measure. Alfredo Montealegre, president of the Nicaraguan Chamber of Industries, remarked: "This is what the United States tried to do to Cuba.... All it did was give Castro excuses for everything he did in Cuba. That's what will happen here with the Sandinistas. This will give them the excuse to repress the private sector, to get rid of us" (*Washington Post*, 2 May).

Parallels to Fidel Castro's Cuba have



Baricada Photos

Angry demonstrators in Managua, 1982, denounce right-wing newspaper, *La Prensa*, voice of the counter-revolutionary "internal front."



though the Sandinistas tried to freeze the social revolution, the hostility of imperialism (and of the weak domestic bourgeoisie), made a farce out of Sandinista plans for a "mixed economy." Today 60 percent of the Nicaraguan economy is still in private hands; but cut off from dollar exchange, restricted to the paper *córdobas* which are worthless outside Nicaragua, the bourgeoisie won't be able to realize profits or attract capital. Even if the Sandinistas do not immediately take decisive steps, we'll probably soon see the Nicaraguan capitalists lining up for flights to Miami.

The Sandinista government cannot simultaneously win the war against the contras, prop up the bourgeoisie and feed the people. In this war economy (40 percent of the budget goes to defense needs), prices for basic foods have tripled this year, while transportation costs quadrupled in the last month as the government removes subsidies the country cannot afford. There is penury at every level in Nicaragua today: the poor can't buy meat and the middle class can't buy designer jeans. And now they are faced with outright economic war as preparation for a direct onslaught by the Yankee war machine. The capitalists are a pro-imperialist "fifth column" within the country: to expropriate them in order to break their economic stranglehold has become a life and death question for the Nicaraguan Revolution.

The "mixed economy" went together with "political pluralism" (for the bourgeois parties) and a "nonaligned foreign policy." It was all part of the FSLN's nationalist project aimed at achieving "peaceful coexistence" with the domestic and imperialist bourgeoisie. But Reagan would not oblige, and now with the trade embargo the bankruptcy of the regime's previous policies has been definitively shown. As they go under, the "patriotic capitalists" of Sandinista pipe dreams will likely be driven to violent paroxysms of hostility to the regime. And there will undoubtedly be sharp disputes, and splits, in the FSLN leadership. What is needed above all is the forging of a revolutionary-internationalist vanguard party, harking back to the communist program of Lenin and Trotsky and fighting for permanent revolution throughout Central America.

The Sandinistas not only haven't "said uncle" as Reagan demanded, they've gotten the Democrats mad as well, simply by seeking to defend themselves. The pretext for the trade sanctions was Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega's visit to Moscow last week, immediately after the U.S. Congress voted down the administration's "contra aid" bill. While defense minister

Humberto Ortega saw off 100 Cuban military advisers (of a total of 784) the day after the embargo was announced—their departure was announced in February as a unilateral Sandinista concession—he vowed that the Cubans would be back if they were needed. And for the last couple of months the Sandinista army and elite "irregular warfare" battalions have been creaming the contras on the battlefield, driving them back to their refuges in Honduras.

The Vietnam Syndrome and the Cuba Syndrome

In response to the embargo, Sandinista vice president Sergio Ramirez defiantly declared, "We will become closer to all countries that support this revolution, and that includes the Soviet Union." While Washington played up Ortega's Moscow trip as evidence that Nicaragua was now behind the Iron Curtain, the Russians are probably quite annoyed: Reagan just dumped a baby on their doorstep. And the Kremlin bureaucrats don't seem very happy about the prospect. The TASS statement on Ortega's meeting with Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev said that "the U.S.S.R. will continue to give friendly Nicaragua assistance in resolving urgent problems of economic development, and also political and diplomatic support in its efforts to uphold its sovereignty"—i.e., militarily, the Sandinistas are on their own.

We have repeatedly emphasized that defense of the Soviet Union means fighting for military victory to leftist



Goldberg/Sygma

U.S. invasion "maneuvers" on Honduran coast target Nicaragua.

dump trucks, supposedly to avert a "terrorist threat"?

The Nicaragua trade embargo shows that the Reaganites have accurately taken the measure of the pusillanimous Democratic "opposition." During the wrangling over disguised "humanitarian" vs. open military aid to the contra killers, the liberals called for exhausting other "options," such as a trade embargo. In last fall's presidential campaign, loser Democrat Mondale called for "quarantining" Nicaragua, which is far more drastic than anything Reagan has done so far. So when Congressional Democrats joined Republicans in condemning Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow last month, the White House saw its opportunity. *Tidur Ronald Reagan is carrying out the Democrats' program on Nicaragua, and now wavering Democrats say they would vote for a "contra aid" bill after all.*

Reagan is clearing the decks for full-scale military intervention in Central America. Back in February, General Paul Gorman, retiring commander of the U.S. Southern Command, told a Senate committee that, whether or not they got more American dollars, the contras can't hope for victory in "the foreseeable future." A top-secret administration report to Congress last month said that the "direct application of U.S.

been evident since the first days of the Nicaraguan Revolution (see our article "Another Cuba? What Next for Nicaragua?" *WV* No. 238, 17 August 1979). A reactionary puppet dictator, whose strings were pulled by the United States right to the end, was overthrown in a popular revolution led by radical nationalists. The unstable result: a petty-bourgeois government not wedded to the defense of private capitalist or collectivized proletarian property forms. In Cuba the refusal of Esso (hacked by the U.S. State Department) in June 1960 to refine Soviet oil led to the first wave of nationalizations of American capitalists' property; the second wave, marking the expropriation of the Cuban bourgeoisie, went hand in hand with a U.S. trade boycott decreed in October of that year (J.P. Morray, *The Second Revolution in Cuba* [1962]).

In Nicaragua, the initial goals of the guerrillas in power did not go beyond democratic reforms, and the first post-Somoza junta was a "popular front" with sectors of the bourgeoisie. However, the guns were in the hands of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and in overthrowing the dynastic dictatorship which owned most of the country, the political revolution had profound social implications. Al-



WV Photo

Soviet freighter in Nicaraguan port of Corinto brings critical aid to beleaguered country. Sign says: "You don't discuss the sovereignty of a people, you defend it."

WORKERS VANGUARD

insurgents in El Salvador, to defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution. From the Bay of Pigs invasion to the U.S.' dirty, losing war in Vietnam, anti-Sovietism has been the constant pretext for imperialist adventures. For the past decade, however, U.S. imperialism has been stymied, politically and militarily, by the "Vietnam syndrome." The Pentagon's fear of repeating their humiliating defeat in Indochina prevented among other things Jimmy Carter from intervening to prop up Somoza in 1979. Today everyone from Richard Nixon to the rad-lib "solidarity movement" proclaims, "No More Vietnams." But we communists say, "Vietnam was a victory—Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"

The Reagan administration is also haunted by the "Cuha syndrome." The day after his defeat in Congress over aid to the Nicaraguan contras, Secretary of State Shultz lashed out in an anti-Communist diatribe on "The Meaning of Vietnam." He ended up with a plea, "Do we want another Cuba in this hemisphere?" For the masses of the impoverished and oppressed of Latin America, the answer would be an overwhelming "yes." Many know that Castro's Cuha has the lowest infant mortality rate and the highest literacy rate in the region. And in the face of the imperialist debt crisis, Cuba is the only country in Latin America to escape mass unemployment and continue economic growth in the last half decade. That, of course, is another reason why the imperialists want "No more Cubas."

The same, unfortunately, is true of



1960: Cuban militiaman guards expropriated U.S. oil refinery. Oil workers union banner denounces Yankee Imperialism, calls for death to the mercenaries.

Castro himself. In a recent interview with the Spanish news agency EFE, the Cuban leader declared, "Economic development is the top priority for the Nicaraguan government, not the construction of socialism" (*Granma Weekly Review*, 3 March). Certainly you can't have socialism in one former banana republic like Nicaragua, any more than in one Caribbean island like Cuba. But the struggle for proletarian revolution in Central America, throughout Latin America and in the North American imperialist heartland is key to survival

for the Nicaraguan working people. Daniel Ortega recently told Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa that the FSLN is prepared to sacrifice the Salvadoran revolution, if only Washington would strike a deal:

"We're willing to stop the movement of military aid, or any other kind of aid, through Nicaragua to El Salvador, and we're willing to accept international verification."

—*New York Times Magazine*, 28 April

But the Sandinistas may find that their hand has been forced, that it's either

expropriate the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie ... or perish.

For the past five years we have repeatedly emphasized that "Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in Central America," that Nicaragua and El Salvador are on the front line of the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive. Reformists and radicals screamed that even to say this was a Reaganite provocation ... and then went crawling from Democrat to Democrat in Congress. The U.S. trade boycott has proved our point to the hilt. It's not just a crazed Reagan; *virtually the entire American bourgeoisie has lined up in support of this war measure against the Nicaraguan Revolution*. What's going on in Central America is not merely a struggle for self-determination but *class war*.

The imperialists are playing with fire in their insane anti-Soviet war drive. From Cambodia to Afghanistan to Nicaragua (not to mention Poland) they are trying to harass and provoke the Kremlin. But the introduction of U.S. troops into Central America could spark a revolutionary conflagration throughout the region, and must be met by sharp class struggle at home. In combating Reagan's attack on the Central American masses, American workers and youth will be fighting their own battle against a ruling class that would turn them into cannon fodder for the Pentagon war machine. The fate of the Soviet Union, the future of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world is at stake. The imperialist beast must be stopped, now, in Nicaragua and above all in the United States, before it's too late. ■

Migra Cop Blasts 12-Year-Old in Back

Racist Shooting Over Mexican Border

LOS ANGELES—On April 18, a U.S. border patrolman fired across the international frontier which divides the San Diego suburb of San Ysidro from Tijuana, Mexico, shooting 12-year-old Humberto Carrillo in the back and leaving him bleeding on the ground. According to eyewitnesses, the border guards had just nabbed the boy's older brother Eduardo on the U.S. side of the border and were beating him bloody. When Humberto and other children began screaming across the chain link fence from the Tijuana side, agent Edward Cole crouched, aimed and shot three times across the border at the kids. Humberto is currently recovering from surgery to relieve the pressure on his lungs from a rib broken as it deflected the bullet from his heart. But agent Cole is back at his bloody mission on the border. He won't be prosecuted because San Diego district attorney Edwin Miller says the shooting is "justified": "When the person is outside the boundaries of the U.S., there is no federal statute that applies at all" (*Los Angeles Times*, 2 May). *La migra* claims a license to shoot and kill with impunity!

The Mexican consul general in San Diego, Javier Escobar, has protested this grotesque shooting. Eduardo Carrillo reportedly hopped the fence to get a hamburger from a fast food joint in San Ysidro. After Humberto was shot, a Tijuana man carried the wounded boy across the border, insisting he be treated in an American hospital. Eduardo was detained by the INS for over 24 hours while his brother lay in Mercy Hospital in San Diego. Agent Cole claimed he fired through the chain link fence because he feared "great bodily injury" from rocks being thrown at him by children. That's why he shot Humberto *in the back!* The boy's mother, Mrs.

Maria Elena Estrada, has filed a civil suit against the federal government for \$3 million in damages.

Coming in the midst of other government actions to "tighten up control" over the border, Hispanic residents in the area fear a wave of terror, both official and unofficial, along the 2,000-mile *linea*. In February, the U.S. choked off the border in retaliation for the shooting of a Mexican American narcotics agent in Guadalajara. And the San Ysidro shooting came only three days after the announcement that a 30-day INS sweep has rounded up 7,200 undocumented workers along the border. The INS is now introducing an elite SWAT squad. Meanwhile the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform" bill, which sparked repeated protests here, is being reintroduced into Congress, but this time without any "amnesty" clause.

Anti-Hispanic racism throughout the whole border area is marked by right-wing terror from the marauding police to KKK nightriders. In San Diego, Klan "grand dragon" Tom Metzger, who ran as a Democratic Party candidate for Congress, organized vigilante lynch mob "border patrols" to terrorize Mexicans. This dangerous climate finds its expression in crazed minds such as Viet vet James Huberty who last July shot up the MacDonald's restaurant in San Ysidro, obscenely muttering about "damned Vietnamese" while killing 21 people and injuring 19 more. The press managed to suppress the fact that almost every person shot was Hispanic—many of them farm workers and their kids.

In order to whip up chauvinist support for U.S. intervention in Central America, Ronald Reagan conjures up the spectre of hordes of brown-skinned

"feet people" swarming into the U.S. Along the border, the vcnal, violent Border Patrol poses as defenders of the "American way of life." In reality, American capitalism thrives on and cultivates the illegal entry of foreign labor precisely in order to play upon a workforce of desperate and vulnerable people. Welcomed by employers when times are good, in periods of depression, the government scapegoats the "illegal aliens" for the misery caused by American capitalism's own crisis and decline.

While fully 70 percent of California's 350,000 farm workers are undocumented, immigrant workers are no longer confined to traditional stoop-labor, table-mopping jobs but are becoming the backbone of the economy in states of the Southwest. In high-tech Silicon Valley, "illegals" now constitute a fifth or more of the workforce, making

everything from printed circuit boards for IBM computers to assembling microchips for use in guided missiles. Significantly, the Garment Workers Union has taken the lead in organizing undocumented workers in Los Angeles, center of the \$3 billion a year California apparel industry in which two-thirds of the labor is estimated to be illegal. An ILGWU contract at Hollander Homes Fashions, Inc. requires the company to rehire any undocumented worker who is deported and comes back to work with a new name or Social Security number (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 May)!

American workers must fight protectionist poison and defend immigrant workers against racist bosses and their hired thugs. Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! INS cop Cole must not go free! For workers action to stop the *migra* gun thugs! ■



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The New York (Kept) Review of Books

When Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 007 went spiraling down into the Sea of Japan on the night of 31 August-1 September 1983, Ronald Reagan pulled out all the stops in his anti-Soviet crusade. The American news media instantly snapped to attention for their commander in chief, dutifully peddling the most preposterous Russians-eat-habies-for-breakfast lies. It was ominous war propaganda, said George Kennan, the original Cold Warrior, who ought to know it when he sees it. The "free but responsible" press automatically dismissed all inconsistencies in the U.S. story as "Soviet propaganda." When finally a year later the liberal *Nation* published David Pearson's exposé on "What the U.S. Knew and When We Knew It," the *New York Times* (28 October 1984) response was to quote White House media manipulator Richard Burt, who labeled it "baloney." End of discussion.

From *Day One Workers Vanguard* exhaustively exposed Reagan's sinister Mission 007 and the U.S.' Big Lie cover-up. We noted, Jeane Kirkpatrick to the contrary, that the Russian pilots did everything possible to warn the KAL jet, and that the Soviet air defense forces didn't know it was a passenger plane they were pursuing. We also pointed to Washington's extensive information about the flight, the Korean Air Lines' history of cooperation with the CIA, and a whole string of similar U.S. provocations. But for the American bourgeois media a Marxist newspaper is beyond the pale, especially ours which openly says that the Soviet Union has the right and duty to defend itself against imperialist war provocations.

As time goes on, however, the accumulated mountain of evidence of a U.S. conspiracy can no longer be ignored. Now even "respectable" scholars are taking notice, with the publication of two independent books on the subject. The first, *Black Box: KAL 007 and the Superpowers*, is by Alexander Dallin, a renowned anti-Soviet "expert" on the Soviet Union who cannot by any stretch of the liberal imagination be considered "tainted" by communist leanings. Dallin meticulously goes through all the possible theories of KAL 007's errant course. Notably, he includes in his list of theories an accurate account

KAL 007 Was U.S. Spy Plane



1978 and 1983, two provocative penetrations of Soviet airspace. U.S. is testing Soviet defenses in preparation for American nuclear first strike.

scholar, is damning:

"Given the political explosiveness of the issue, it is especially important not to jump to the conclusion that the whole thing was engineered by the United States unless there is good evidence to sustain this view. To be sure, the logic of that argument is strong.... In fact, it must be acknowledged that with the passage of time this argument, unlike all others, looms stronger than before."

The second book, *KAL Flight 007: The Hidden Story* by Oliver Clubb, does not hesitate to be blunt in its conclusions. Clubb, an associate professor of political science at Syracuse University, has been given short shrift by reviewers, ostensibly because his is not a technical account. But Clubb sketches out the holes in the government's story, and does one very important thing: he details the little-publicized 1978 incident, when another KAL plane overflew the top-secret Murmansk military region of the Soviet Union before it was forced down onto a frozen lake by Soviet fighters. He shows how the Paris-Anchorage-Seoul flight did a virtual U-turn just above Greenland in order to penetrate Soviet airspace over the Kola Peninsula.

Quoting the *Washington Post* (25 April 1978) Clubb notes that this turn was so drastic that several passengers later related that "they had become concerned when they noticed that the plane, which had been flying toward the setting sun, was suddenly flying away from it" into the dark of night. Some "navigational error"! Clubb's conclusion is that "both flights [1978 and 1983] had been instigated by U.S. intelligence for the evident purpose, perhaps among others, of studying the operation of the air defenses guarding vital Soviet naval installations."

So many new cracks in the wall of silence have opened up recently that even the *New York Times* (21 April) has been forced to pay serious attention for the first time, in a book review by Philip Taubman, who details Dallin's conclusions in particular. The list of public figures who have now gone on record saying that KAL 007 was on a U.S. spy mission includes Greek prime minister Andreas Papandreou and former U.S. Senator J. William Fulbright. Fulbright, who repeatedly punctured President Johnson's lies during the Vietnam War, gave his experienced opinion of government statements: "They fit the facts to fit the policy."

NY Review of Books: Reagan's White(wash) Paper

Now that people are mentioning the unmentionable, in steps the *New York Review of Books* (25 April) with a thinly veiled attempt to save Reagan's keister

with an article purporting to reveal "What Really Happened" to the doomed Korean Air Lines flight. The *NYRB* is important because they have a reputable name. Back during the Vietnam War when Irving Howe's *Dissent* and Norman Podhoretz' *Commentary* became so discredited as monthpieces for State Department propaganda that Woody Allen suggested they merge and call it *Dysentery*, that's when the *New York Review of Books* appeared on the scene. More recently these Cold War liberal literati have published sophisticated apologies for Polish Solidarność by Abraham Brumberg, the former editor of the CIA's house organ, *Problems of Communism*, and articles by William Shawcross equating the Vietnamese in Kampuchea with the genocidal Pol Pot.

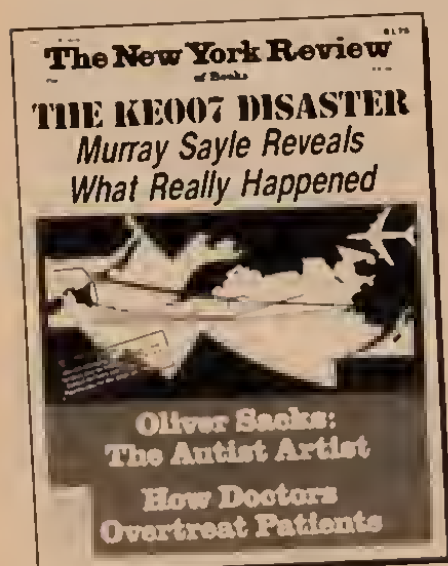
The *NYRB* poses as a thinking man's anti-Communist journal, but to swallow the eleven newspaper pages by Tokyo-based Australian "journalist" Murray Sayle on KAL 007 you would have to suspend thought altogether. The Sayle piece practically amounts to a U.S. government "White Paper." It's no accident Washington leaves it to an ostensible outsider to present its case: not a single radar tape or any other data has been or will be released by Washington (as relatives of 007 victims recently found out in court), because even the smallest piece of data could blow the whole operation.

Sayle is out to pull off a technical snow job, so he must first establish his "expert" credentials. "I hold a certificate of competence in navigation," he brags, "for yachts"! Not impressed? He adds:

"I have also had some experience flying in the cockpit with American and other civil and military pilots, in Vietnam and elsewhere, and even a little experience of Soviet military methods of intelligence gathering (having been arrested and interrogated in Prague in 1968)."

What is Sayle trying to tell us, that he flew Air America for the CIA in Asia? He took notes on a B-52 while carpet-bombing Indochinese peasants? He got caught carrying messages for the British embassy in Prague? This man proudly describes the profile of an American and/or British agent, and expects thereby to raise his credibility! In the language of *Private Eye* magazine, we detect the odor of smelly socks journalists from the British reptile press who would sell the secret of Dunkirk for a liver topped off by a double brandy.

In the middle of his technical flim-flam, Sayle weaves in some redbaiting with all the subtlety of Allen Dulles. "Of course I am not for a second suggesting that Pearson is a Soviet dupe or sympathizer," he protests too much, and then goes on to suggest that the *Nation's* arguments "reflect the thinking of 'Soviet leading circles'." (Horrors!) In case anyone missed the point, he returns to it again at the very end, noting that the "overriding priority" of the Soviet



of the Soviet argument presented after the disaster by Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov and also by Air Marshal Piotr Kirsanov.

It was Kirsanov who presented the details of the American "ferret" spy satellite and its tight coordination with the flight path of KAL 007 that night. (Dallin even reprints the TASS map of this coordination, something which no American bourgeois publication has done up to now.) Dallin's conclusion, though presented in the cautious and tentative language of an academic



Cockpit of Boeing 747. Pilot stares head on at INS switch (arrow) which Sayle claims KAL 007 crew failed to notice for five and a half hours!

New Statesman

leadership is to "maintain the facade of infallibility" and complaining that their "protestations of innocence" are finding an audience in the West.

But his whitewash won't wash. Apparently in order to appear credible, Sayle actually gives away too much, as in his opening admission:

"Washington officials refuse to disclose details of the intelligence operation that they agree was being conducted against the Soviet installations on Sakhalin on the night of the shoot-down." [our emphasis]

He also concedes what's widely known, that the U.S. mobilized a vast array of detection capabilities in the area of the Kamchatka Peninsula because of "intense U.S. intelligence interest in the [Soviet missile] launch planned for that night." Having admitted all this, he then dismisses out of hand all "conspiracy theories" with a smarmy guffaw about James Bond and exploding cigars, despite the long history of such U.S. provocations. (The 1960 U-2 incident was only the most well-publicized; there have been far more serious provocative probes, such as the deliberate violation of Soviet territorial waters by a nuclear-armed U.S. submarine, the USS *Gato*, in 1969.) Sayle acts like a shyster lawyer who's been given a rotten case to defend: if the facts are against you, pound the law; if the law's against you, pound the facts; if they're both against you, pound the table.

The Sayle piece is a tissue of lies—but one with many seams, and as soon as you touch it they begin unravelling. To begin with, the *NYRB* article purports to be a book review of six items—including the two books mentioned above—yet Clubb and Dallin are quickly dismissed in a few snotty sentences, and Sayle turns to a gigantic polemic against David Pearson and the *Nation*. Then "seasoned investigator" Sayle declares he has "no choice" (since "conspiracies can seldom be wholly disproved") but to turn to "the search for a feasible accident," no matter how implausible and how much a shaky house of cards it is. His first try, in the London Tory *Spectator* (10 September 1983), was the theory that the KAL pilots were flying a Great Circle route through Soviet air space... in order to save fuel! When that one was shot down, he turned to his current pet theory, that the plane "accidentally" flew a constant magnetic compass heading.

To support his "accident" theory, Sayle has the problem of explaining how for 5-1/2 hours the KAL jetliner flew hundreds of miles off course without the crew catching the "error." Like everyone else except President Reagan, Sayle dismisses the possibility of the failure of three independent Inertial Navigation Systems (INS) on board: "No simultaneous triple failure of an INS system has ever been recorded." So he concludes that the errant flight was caused by the crew failing to switch on the INS, instead leaving the switch in the "magnetic heading" mode. But to back up this claim he must pile factual inaccuracy upon blatant distortion upon deliberate lie after lie after lie.

Lie No. 1: Sayle admits that the statistical chance of such a switch error is "admittedly, very rare" (by his own statistics of North Atlantic crossings, we calculate it to be one in 250,000). But "rare does not mean impossible" and "pilots make mistakes," he concludes profoundly. In this case, however, the crew would have had to make the same mistake repeatedly—not only at Bethel, Alaska but also at obligatory checkpoints named NABIE, NEEVA, NIPPI. And all the while they would be staring at the switch which is in the very center of the instrument panel of a Boeing 747! Lie No. 2: Sayle claims that when passing these checkpoints, the KAL crew simply relied on INS alert lights to indicate position, without noticing that the navigational system was not switched on. But upon arrival at each

checkpoint, the pilot must report by radio to the air traffic control center (first Anchorage and later Tokyo) giving his position, the time, altitude, and estimated time of arrival at the next checkpoint.

Moreover, at points where there is a VOR (Very High Frequency Omnidirectional Radio Range) beacon available, the Korean Air Lines B747 Operations Manual specifies the procedure to be followed for checking the accuracy of the INS:

"During INS flight on an airway using VOR, [crew] sets RADIO/INS switch to RADIO position with the appropriate radio aids tuned and monitor courses selected for the airways being



Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, now top commander of Soviet Army's Western theater, at 9 September 1983 Moscow news conference demonstrating provocative collusion between KAL 007 and Americans' RC-135 spy plane.

Down, if there is INS nav. error, initiate INS position update."

—Attachment B, 1818th Report to Council by the President of the Air Navigation Commission, International Civil Aviation Organization, 16 February 1984

This ICAO report specifically notes that the crew *should* have caught any error by using the en-route VOR beacons and other navigational aids: "Except for the Anchorage VOR, which was out of service, there were no recorded defects in respect of any of the available en-route aids.... Had the company procedures been followed, it would have been possible for the flight crew to verify the aircraft's adherence to track at reporting points Bethel, NABIE and NEEVA." Lie No. 3: Aside from these aids, the captain would also see the present longitude and latitude readout on his INS, as Sayle admits, but then he writes: "Had Captain Chun plotted any of these against a chart, he would have instantly seen he was off course. But he did not have the necessary maps aboard to do so." Yet the ICAO Air Navigation Commission report (which Sayle is ostensibly reviewing) notes specifically: "The Jeppesen high-altitude en-route chart for the North Pacific was available for use on the flight deck."

Indeed, the KAL operations manual specifically *requires* the use of this chart to check the coordinates entered into the INS before takeoff. And in any case, we don't believe an experienced navigator—especially Captain Chun Byung, who had flown this route 27 times—would need a chart to recognize a grossly incorrect position. An experienced yachtsman would certainly know a well-traveled course like the back of his hand. (Remember Horatio Hornblower? You'll never make it out of midshipman if you need a chart all the time.)

Lie No. 4: Sayle simply dismisses the fact that these 747s also have weather radar (commonly used in ground-mapping mode on such trips as an extra check, which would have revealed the unexpected land masses of Kamchatka and Sakhalin below), claiming that "there is a tendency among younger pilots today to put excessive trust in the

wondrous INS system." Is that supposed to include Captain Chun, 45, a ten-year veteran of the Korean Air Force and personal pilot of the South Korean president?!

Duncan Campbell notes in a *New Statesman* (26 April) review of Sayle's assertions: "But a 747 passenger airliner carries two pilots and is equipped with a multitude of duplicated or triplicated navigation systems. The KAL 747 had 3 Inertial Navigation Systems (INS), 2 magnetic compasses, 2 weather and ground radar sets, 7 receivers for radio navigation beacons, 5 ordinary radio sets, and so on. It would not have been easy for an experienced flight crew to

misinterpret or disregard every single indication of a navigational error from all this cockpit equipment." Dallin quotes retired Canadian major general Richard Rohmer who concluded about the KAL 007 pilots:

"Yes, they knew exactly where they were from the time they left Anchorage through the false way point checks that they transmitted past Kamchatka and over Sakhalin Island to their destruction."

Lie No. 5: The pillar of Sayle's "magnetic heading" theory is the assertion that "The spot at which KE007 was shot down lies on the magnetic heading of 246 degrees from Anchorage." (In a "magnetic heading" mode, the plane will be navigated by compass.) He even charts a course on a map purporting to represent "constant magnetic heading 246°." *Except the KAL airliner's watery grave isn't anywhere near 246 degrees magnetic from Anchorage.*

Dallin reproduces a map showing the theoretical course of 246 degrees from Anchorage, demonstrating that KAL 007 *would have missed Sakhalin entirely*, bypassing it well to the south. Sayle is aware of this, though he doesn't tell the reader directly, instead adding a lengthy qualifier, "taking account of the winds the aircraft encountered that night, as

reported by the aircraft's copilot by radio, plus or minus fifty miles to allow for the less-than-precise measurement of the wind pattern and variations in the earth's magnetic field." The only wind here is the one Sayle makes. And, of course, even if the pilot of KAL Flight 007 was following magnetic heading 246 for part of his course, *it could have been deliberate.*

All this verbiage by Sayle is a massive and deliberate diversion, to avoid Pearson's main argument—that the U.S. must have been following the course of KAL 007 that night. What about the *several* RC-135 spy planes reported by the Soviets, the Cobra Judy radar on the U.S. navy ship *Observation Island* off Kamchatka, the powerful Cobra Dane phased array radar on Shemya Island in the Aleutians, the "ferret" satellite, and numerous other intelligence capabilities, including the NSA (National Security Agency) and Japanese military radar at Wakkanai, on the island of Hokkaido, barely 100 miles from the spot the Korean airliner was shot down?

Lie No. 6: Attempting to downplay U.S. detection capabilities, Sayle throws up a smokescreen asserting that "all radar" are limited "to line-of-sight or a little beyond it." Even the easily available public record reveals, however, that the U.S. has at least two Over-the-Horizon Backscatter (OTH-B) radars located in the continental U.S., with capabilities going far beyond line-of-sight. According to the authoritative *Jane's Weapons Systems 1982-83*, these radars "can detect aircraft at distances of 500 to 1800 nautical miles."

Arms control experts David Hafelester, Joseph Romm and Kosta Tsipis have noted (in the March 1985 *Scientific American*) that:

"When the launching site of a missile is too deep inside Soviet territory to be observed by conventional ground-based radars, the U.S. utilizes 'over the horizon' radars. These devices project beams that the ionosphere, acting like a mirror, reflects into the interior of the U.S.S.R."

More than likely Cobra Dane on Shemya Island in the Aleutians has OTH capability, since its "prime mission" is to monitor "Soviet missile launches into the Kamchatka Peninsula and North Pacific Ocean," according to the communications magazine *Signal* (May-June 1977). Among Cobra Dane's capabilities, says *Signal*, is "ionospheric monitoring."

Lie No. 7: Similarly, Sayle straight-out lies about the capabilities of the RC-135s, baldly asserting that they're only passive, to "pick up electronic intelligence... on airborne tape-recorders" to be "analyzed later on the ground," and so the plane could not have identified or warned KAL 007.

But former Air Force intelligence officers T. Edward Eskelson and Tom Bernard specifically debunked this government line about the RC-135 being merely a "passive listening

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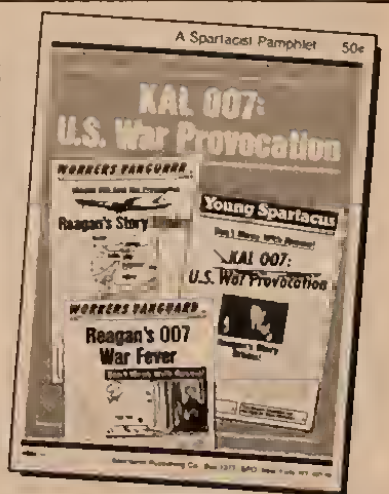
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Smash Fascist Smear of SL

Imagine that you open up a presumably left-wing paper and see this headline: "Fascists Lead 5,000 Black Workers to Stop Klan in Washington." You might think you fell asleep and woke up in *Alice in Wonderland*. What kind of "fascists" would lead thousands of militants, drawn mainly from predominantly black unions, to stop a KKK provocation? On 27 November 1982 the Spartacist League mobilized the vanguard of the black working class to deal a big defeat to the racist terrorists who, emboldened by Reagan reaction and by the broad-daylight "Greensboro massacre" of five leftist union and civil rights activists in North Carolina, were seeking to march in the nation's capital for the first time since 1925. Now somebody wants you to believe that the organization which led the labor-based action that stopped the Klan is "racist" and "fascist." These characterizations of the SL appeared in the March 1 *Bulletin*, newspaper of the Workers League. And if the *Bulletin* did not print the headline we have imagined for them about November 27, it's only because the WL rarely mentions the existence of the mobilization—the largest labor-based anti-fascist action since the 1939 anti-Nazi rally at Madison Square Garden, also led by Trotskyists—except to bait it as a "provocation."

The WL is the sinister American incarnation of Thomas Gerard Henly (aka "Gerry"), a corrupt plebeian political adventurer who, as sort of an illegitimate stepchild of Sir James Goldsmith, Rupert Murdoch and Ian MacGregor, runs a considerably larger operation in England. The *Bulletin* article, ostensibly a response to our coverage of the case of Bernhard Goetz, the so-called "New York subway gunman," claims that our articles are "explicitly racist" and establish the completion of "the evolu-

We are of course no strangers to the Healy slander mill, and we've been near tops on the Healyite hit list for many years, having been awarded in the pages of the *Bulletin* the grandiose title of "fingerman for the world capitalists" as far back as 1968. But those acquainted with Healy, who know that his pretensions to be part of the workers movement, to be a "Trotskyist" even, are utterly fraudulent, also know that the levered libelous outpourings of Healy's pen are not just random. It is time once again to consider the question: what is Gerry Healy up to now?

Gerry Healy has a problem. His problem is that a lot of people just learned some things in the heat of sharp class struggle in Britain. And they saw Gerry Healy and his gang fronting for the redbaiters and union-busters, screaming for the blood of miners union leader Arthur Scargill.

The British miners strike was 12 months of class warfare in the coal fields, a militant struggle which shook Margaret Thatcher's Britain to its foundations and pointed toward the question of which class shall rule. Confronted with the deliberate treachery of the pro-capitalist Labour Party/Trades Union Congress tops who, all in the name of "unity" of course, herded scabs and isolated the miners to lace Thatcher's fury, the militant miners, winning to their side the best elements of the oppressed and exploited, held out for a year and spiked the Tories' effort at wholesale destruction of the union.

All of the English fake-left stands pretty exposed by their gutless behavior. Flinching from the hard battle against the hated "Iron Lady," they mostly made outright apologies for scabbing, and all espoused "unity" when what was needed was a sharp break with the TUC/Labour tops' stab-in-the-back



Union-based mass mobilization of blacks led by reds takes back the streets of Washington from killer KKK. Healyites now say Spartacists who initiated this militant anti-fascist action are "fascists."

tion of the Spartacist group toward fascism." Later it defines us as "a middle-class cult group" and expounds on our political origins in the typical Healyite style which combines deliberate slander with a bizarre paranoia. The article launched in the U.S. was picked up and reprinted by Healy's papers in England and Australia and, in Sinhalese translation, in Sri Lanka.

Then on April 19 a new *Bulletin* article appeared headlined "Spartacist Opposes Anti-Apartheid Struggle," charging us with "demoralization, cynicism and racism" and terming us "petty-bourgeois reactionaries." Both articles carry the by-line of David North, head of the local American Workers League. The basis for Healy's charges of Spartacist "racism" and "fascism" boils down to two things: 1) that we object to the Healyites' view that people, as opposed to the state, have no right to bear arms; 2) that we say that nothing short of proletarian revolution can win freedom for the black masses of South Africa. But what's really going on here has little to do with Goetz or South Africa, and everything to do with the British miners strike, as we shall see.

refusal to spread the miners strike. But even among this sorry lot, Healy's gang was distinguished by very special treachery.

Fingerman for TUC Cold Warriors

Healy made his loathsome "contribution" to the British miners strike before the strike began, at the Trades Union Congress meeting at Blackpool in September 1983. The order of the day there was to draw the line in support of the Cold War politics of Reagan/Thatcher and to impose on the unions the policies of the TUC right wing, including cooperation with the Tories over anti-union legislation and conciliation toward the rightist, pro-American split from the Labour Party, the Social Democratic Party. The key task for the likes of Frank Chapple, Bill Sims & Co. was to isolate leftist union leaders, and in particular to witchhunt miners union head Arthur Scargill, so that this militant union should face all alone the anti-union assault that Thatcher was already preparing.

The Blackpool TUC opened by solidarizing with Reagan's barbarous

Bulletin

—8 March 1985

Spartacist Applauds Vigilante Killer

BY DAVID NORTH

According to a police report made public Wednesday, fascist vigilante gunman Bernard Goetz fired a second shot at one of his victims, the youth lay across the subway track and was being bound.

However, there is another newspaper that has joined Murdoch in the adulation of this fascist psychotic — the so-called *Workers Vanguard* published by the political sect known as "Spartacist." It has devoted two lengthy articles supporting Goetz's shooting of the four black youth in terms that are explicitly racist. In its issue of January 25, 1985, this newspaper writes:

"But whatever was going

Bulletin's cynical smear job against American Trotskyists was intended for foreign consumption. But militant British miners will not soon forget who their friends were—or forgive their despicable Healyite enemies.

Korean Air Lines Flight 007 war provocation against the Soviet Union, which sent over 200 innocent people to their deaths. Not surprising, given that Chapple, Sirs and others of the TUC leaders are open sponsors of the CIA-backed "Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding," mouthpiece in the labor movement for Thatcher's NATO-loving line. In the midst of this carnival of the Labour rights, on the third day of the TUC, the Healyites dropped a carefully aimed bombshell: their *News Line* published a letter by Arthur Scargill in which he correctly castigated Polish Solidarność as "an anti-socialist organisation" seeking the overthrow of the Polish state. Healy had waited seven weeks to publish Scargill's letter at the optimal moment. It was a bonanza for the Tory rags of Fleet Street and became the centerpiece of the TUC right's wholesale redbaiting attack on Scargill. The Healyites were so proud that they issued a pamphlet about their role in the anti-Scargill witchhunt.

The British miners strike—which side were you on? This is the defining question for the left in England right now. And where was Healy?—the fingerman for the most right-wing agents of British capitalism in the labor movement, at the very moment that the lines were being drawn for the biggest class battle in more than half a century. The South Yorkshire miners who reportedly canceled their order for *New Line* after Blackpool expressed the contempt for Healy and his whores which has certainly become generalized in the miners' communities.

We're Marxists, defenders of the working class. We vigorously supported the miners strike, by raising the strategy and tactics we believe were necessary to win the struggle, including by seeking where we could to spread the strike to other unions (our supporter Patrick Sliney was sacked because he fought for active solidarity by his own union). American Spartacists, through the Partisan Defense Committee, raised over \$20,000 for the British miners from American workers, against the active opposition of the AFL-CIO tops who refused to lift one little finger for a militant British union which is led by "reds" like Seargill. We have our criticisms of the miners' leadership; indeed neither we nor Seargill have been quiet about our differences, but over this crucial class battle there was a unity of action, albeit a very lopsided one. And Seargill ran the miners strike about as well as any Labourite bureaucrat could—that is, showing the limitations and underlying weakness of the best-intentioned "Labour left" reformist.

Meanwhile, some of the best elements among the miners have started paying attention to the Spartaist League of

Britain. They think the Spartacists had the right strategy to win the miners' struggle: pull in a couple of the other key unions to "shut down the country." Alone among the British left papers, our *Workers Hammer* told the truth: the need for a fighting workers leadership not afraid to confront the capitalist state in a struggle which poses the question of class power; the essential role of a revolutionary party forged by splitting the militant ranks of labor from the traitorous tops, uniting the vanguard fighters on behalf of all the oppressed of capitalism. That's why slandering the Spartacists has suddenly become urgent business for the Healy gang once again. England is Healy's home base, and he even used to aspire to a following among the miners. So the American Healyites in their remote bunker got their orders to do a smear job on the Sparts.

The opportunist British left, and Healy the counterleft leftist, are eager for the working people to forget the lessons of the hard-fought strike, which was a profound exposure of the slavish Labour "leadership." The social consciousness of the miners was altered as they found that the specially oppressed, from blacks and Asians to homosexuals, were a solid base of outside support for the strike. The miners got a concentrated education in the nature of the bosses' state and the cops. And they learned about Healy. In the normal course of things, lessons pretty quickly become eroded or submerged in defeat, as political life flows back into the usual

Bulletin

TRADE UNIONISTS FIGHT BACK!

MOTION

We fight in the unions for the American trade union movement to take the lead in establishing a labor party which will:

1. REPEAL ALL ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION
2. PROVIDE JOBS FOR ALL
3. WIPE OUT INFLATION
4. ESTABLISH TRADE UNION CONTROL OF WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE SHOPS
5. NATIONALIZE ALL COMPANIES WHICH CLAIM THEY CANNOT PROVIDE DECENT WAGES OR WORKING CONDITIONS

carried unanimously--tends unionists for a labor party
december 31st new york city

1967 program for a "labor party," Healy-style: antiwar activists, blacks need not apply.

channels—i.e., the reformist channels of the Labour Party. But the miners union has a long memory, and it's our job to see that the lessons of this struggle are not forgotten. Of course all the "left-wing" fakery have a stake in the idea that past betrayals should be forgotten, forgiven, accepted as "necessary" or inevitable. But for Healy it is a principle that there must be no memory in political life. The determination to glory in lies, to wage war on consciousness, is perhaps the most consistent feature of Healy's loathsome political career.

Healyites: An Organization for Hire

When we first encountered the Healyites many years ago, they had begun espousing orthodox, anti-revisionist Trotskyism. (Indeed they still try to do so when it suits them, except that they come close to posing Trotsky as Stalin's agent—a fairly unique paranoid delusion.) But they do not have inherent politics of their own nor have they had any for a long time. For nearly two decades, they have done their best to be simply an organization for hire.

Healy's appetites came to fruition when the Healy gang became the most unashamed devotees of assorted gangs of Near East murderers, vicious reactionary militarist regimes like Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi's Islamic fanatics in Libya. The Healyites have been among the world's most fulsome supporters of the ayatollah Khomeini in Iran, the most grotesque champions of the "unity" of Arafat's PLO. In 1979 they explicitly justified the Iraqi Ba'ath regime's execution of 21 members of the Stalinist Communist Party, historically the leadership of the militant, strategic oil workers. Healy's embrace of these murderous capitalist regimes was prepared by years of cynical adulation of the so-called "Arab Revolution," a classless and entirely disembodied notion whose function is to permit those who are so inclined to justify anything in the name of "anti-imperialism." But more than ideology is involved in Healy's posture; the deal was consummated with something a lot more solid than the collected works of Colonel Qaddafi. Healy's embrace of Qaddafi coincided with the reappearance of a Healyite daily paper, *News Line*, in England two months after his previous daily, *Workers Press*, had folded.

Hence the Healyites, as corrupt press agents for some of the world's most unappetizing capitalist regimes, are hardly acting as a part of the workers movement. But then they have always been distinguished by an incredible programmatic instability and a cynicism which boggles the mind, as well as a penchant for physical gangsterism against dissident members and political opponents. They are characterized by slavish Labourite reformism, which in the U.S. is expressed in the most grotesque catering to the white labor aristocracy, at the same time as they seek to appeal to restless youth with the most ultra-"revolutionary," not to say bloodthirsty, rhetoric. The Healyites are a professional cheering section for Third World nationalism and worse, at the same time as they are marked closer to home by the most cringing legalism. Out of this dichotomy comes the attachment to frenzied slander and violence and the insistence that nobody should remember what was written yesterday and the day before.

From their earliest days the American Healyites have been on the market for an influential patron to sell themselves to. When they're not practicing the world's oldest profession on behalf of Near Eastern despots, they are sucking up to the labor bureaucrats at home. In 1967, at the very moment when millions of youth were being radicalized by the imperialist war against Vietnam and the movement for black freedom, the *Bulletin* put forward a program for a "labor party" that only George Meany could love. Meany, who headed the

AFL-CIO at the time, was part of the Cold War labor "leadership" installed after the American labor movement was beheaded by the anti-"red" purges which drove out the communists and militants after World War II. Meany & Co. supported U.S. imperialism's war against Vietnam even after most capitalist politicians had given it up as a losing cause.

Take a look at the WL's five-point "labor party" program, which we reproduce here from the *Bulletin's* front page. For the WL, the war and black people just didn't exist. A program for labor? This was a program for the

"socialist" policies." "revolutionary struggle," etc., there is clearly no place in such "policies" for black struggle and no hint that socialists are committed to utterly smashing racism as a vital necessity to win the communist road to human freedom.

This is all of a piece with the WL's repellent affinity for cops and prison guards, the *Bulletin* headline "Black Caucuses Are Reactionary," the constant sneering at women's liberation which perfectly reflects the Healyites' consistent hostility to all questions of fighting special oppression.

But at the same time that the

mally partakes of the same general outlook as his older brother—he is aware that there is a working class and a capitalist class and sees the Labour Party as immutably the vehicle for protecting working-class interests, however impatient he may be with the old men who run it. He can enjoy the endless youth marches and the revolutionary rhetoric in the spirit in which they are intended: as pressure tactics in the framework of the tired old reformist perspective toward the Labour Party, "make the Lefts light."

In America, the counterpart to these unemployed white youth are a lot



Healy's *News Line* (bottom) in carefully timed bombshell sets up miners union leader Scargill for witchhunters' barrage in Tory press (top).

bureaucratic fat-eats whose conservative, openly racist and pro-government line makes the AFL-CIO a bastion of sellouts at home and a witting cover for the CIA's anti-labor machinations all over the world. Now almost 20 years later, George Meany himself couldn't have done a better job than Healy did at Blackpool to spearhead the Cold War witchhunt of Scargill to facilitate "Iron Lady" Thatcher's union-busting.

Catering to the labor bureaucracy means mimicking every aspect of racial insensitivity and political backwardness. And so the WL displays a recurring fondness for cops and prison guards as an alleged part of the labor movement: in 1971 the *Bulletin's* approving front-page article on a bonapartist "strike" by New York cops was headlined "New York Labor Explodes."

An undated *Bulletin* supplement issued in about March of this year perfectly illustrates this profile. The supplement is by Ed Winn, a black transit worker identified as "the Workers League candidate for President of the United States in the 1984 elections." Addressed to the members of the New York transit workers union—a strategic union with a militant history and a high proportion of black, Spanish-speaking and immigrant workers—the supplement runs two full pages of newsprint, mainly on the upcoming transit contract and the perennial WL call for a "Congress of Labor," without ever mentioning one single word about black people in any connection. What kind of program for city labor can exclude the central necessity of a labor-led fight against racist oppression, against cop brutality, against the killer cutbacks, against the resurgent racist reaction in Reagan's America? The WL calls for... a Labor Party, obviously one that won't mention blacks even when addressing a largely black union which ought to be the powerful fist behind the demands of the impoverished ghetto masses. Even where the WL suggests as its own eventual goals "a workers government,"

Healyites are sucking up to the labor aristocracy, they're also working the other side of the street (or you could say that they're crippled on two legs). To obtain a "base," they spout a lot of militant rhetoric intended to appeal to restless, alienated unemployed young people. This provides a pool of semi-lumpenized kids to serve as cannon fodder under the direction of a totally cynical and corrupt cadre. The emphasis on youth also has another advantage: it's important to Healy that nobody know what he said yesterday, and kids are good for that.

But this system, transplanted into the U.S. by the Workers League, has a problem which is reflected in the exaggeratedly schizophrenic profile apparent in every issue of the *Bulletin*. In England, the lumpen youth and the working class are mainly of the same ethnicity. The 16-year-old white kid that joins Healy's Young Socialists out of desperation at the conditions of life under decrepit British capitalism nor-

harder to handle. They are mainly black and, under the American conditions of negligible class consciousness in the whole working class, they can by no means be presumed to be pro-union, and will not be kept in line by the exciting prospect of a labor party, particularly the pro-cop, anti-black "labor party" favored by the WL. So the Healyites have some problems as they run around depressed inner cities like Detroit seeking a base by posing as defenders of black folk and "racist"-baiting anyone who intrudes on their turf.

Not all their problems are political, either. The schema worked out by Healy for the English social reality and loyally applied by the WL here has had some unexpected consequences. As you may know, every issue of the *Bulletin* since October 1977 has carried a front-page call: "Investigate the Murder of Tom Henahan." From the facts as the WL presents them, we have to assume that

continued on page 10



Spartacist League/Britain banner calls for massive union solidarity with embattled miners. Healy served as tinnerman for TUC Cold Warriors, Tory union-busters against leftist miners union leader.

Smash Fascist Smear of SL...

(continued from page 9)

Henahan, a Healyite cadre who was on duty at a WL dance when he was shot, was probably just applying the normal Healyite techniques of cajoling and strong-arming kids looking for a good time, in order to get them onto the buses for a conference somewhere, or into a contingent for a youth march, or into a dance hall for a Healyite festivity, and then to keep them there. Only this time, unfortunately for Tom Henahan, some of the kids the WL was manhandling evidently had big brothers. Of course this rather simple explanation is far from sufficient for the WL, which insists that the two men who were convicted of shooting Henahan were paid political assassins, and insinuates they were working for the Socialist Workers Party, laying heavy stress on "the role of confessed FBI informant Edward Heisler within the leadership of the SWP during the months that the assassination of Tom Henahan was prepared..." Healy uses his paranoia as a kind of justification for fleeing Trotsky's revolutionary Marxism, coupling it with an ever so abstract and arid manipulation of a mystified "dialectics" where only Gerry gets to know which "opposites to hold last to."

Anti-Trotskyist Slander Machine

The Henahan affair is part of a multi-year slander campaign which the Healyites call "Security and the Fourth International," aimed at the SWP, now a reformist shell but formerly the Trotskyist party in this country. Healy's chief target is veteran SWP leader Joseph Hansen, who died in 1979. Hansen presided as "theoretician" over the SWP's reformist degeneration in the 1960s. Running the SWP at the time was Farrell Dobbs, with present SWP head Jack Barnes (not, as *WL* readers know, one of our favorite people) waiting in the wings. Healy, in successive waves of escalating wild slanders, posited that Hansen was a long-standing agent of the FBI and of the Russian secret police as well. Healy claims that Hansen had, as part of Leon Trotsky's entourage in Mexico, set up Trotsky's assassination

Security Clearance?" and "Joseph Hansen is an Honest Revisionist."

With the death of Hansen and the accelerated purging by Barnes of virtually every element of organizational and human continuity with the old SWP, Barnes' party became unwilling or totally unable to defend the name of the old Fourth International against the Healyite slander machine. A couple of years ago the American Healyites brought suit in federal court against the SWP for having expelled one Alan Gelland. Thus they invoked the U.S. government as arbiter, supposedly to return the SWP to the revolutionary road! Legally Gelland's case centered on demanding that the U.S. court should intervene in the running of voluntary organizations of the left and determine who is and isn't a member. Propagandistically the suit—charging the SWP was FBI-controlled through the SWP leadership—was a vehicle for re-raising the ludicrous slanders against Hansen. But the SWP shamefully ducked the whole issue of Hansen as a supposed accomplice to the Trotsky murder, while keeping the very existence of Gelland's outrageous challenge to workers organizations' rights secret from the public for as long as possible.

Healy Loves the Law

Taking workers organizations to the capitalist courts is a hallmark of Healyism. For at the same time that the Healyites are violent, they're very legalistic, and indeed Healy just loves the law. In 1966 the Healyites strong-armed Ernie Tate, an SWP supporter, when he was trying to sell literature on the sidewalk outside a Healyite political event in London, then brought charges against him in court. In 1981 the British Healyites' Vanessa Redgrave brought a libel suit against *Socialist Organiser* editor Sean Matgamna after Matgamna published an exposé of these political bandits. (Interestingly, Redgrave's suit conspicuously chose not to contest Matgamna's allegation that Healy & Co. have received material aid from Qaddafi's Libya.)

Healy's love for the law brings us straight back to the Goetz case. For the Healyites' basic thrust on the Goetz case is, simply, that only duly constituted authority should carry guns. All the cheerleading for "revolution" abroad notwithstanding, nobody beats Healy for legalism close to home.

Last December 22 a skinny white guy, Bernhard Goetz, shot four young black men during an apparent shakedown on the IRT subway, and the case of the "subway vigilante" began. We have written about the Goetz case, a fable of our time, illuminating the desperately sharply posed conditions of life in Reagan's America. It's an ambiguous situation, and we said so.

What the Healyites have to say about our approach to the Goetz case hears, as might be expected from this crew, little relationship to reality. Thus:

"However, there is another newspaper that has joined [*Post* publisher Rupert] Murdoch in the adulation of this fascist psychotic—the so-called *Workers Vanguard* published by the political sect known as 'Spartacist.' It has devoted two lengthy articles supporting Goetz's shooting of the four black youth in terms that are explicitly racist... This article clearly establishes the evolution of the Spartacist group toward fascism, completing a process of political putrefaction which will come as no surprise to those who are familiar with the history of this group..."

The *Bulletin* goes on to define us as "a middle-class cult group set up around the person of James L. Robertson," who, it says, has functioned since the early 1960s "as a behind the scenes operator for [you guessed it] the FBI agent then leading the SWP, the late Joseph Hansen."

Probably the Healyites are counting on the indisputable shock value of the Goetz affair itself for the distant reader. Even many Americans, if they aren't vividly aware of the New York subways, will just be put off by the idea of people

shooting people. Middle-class Britisbers who think their own cops never carry guns are probably utterly bewildered by the American social reality. It's hard for them to know what it means to be approached by four young black strangers in the IRT (the South African legal code, perhaps derived from the British, has a precise phrase for what New Yorkers know as a shakedown: "demanding with menaces"). English readers might consider how it feels to walk into a railroad car full of crazed soccer fans. Or try walking down Shankbill Road at high noon wearing a crucifix. Brother, your ass is grass. What is "racist" about saying, as the Healyites quote from *Workers Vanguard*, "Marauding by black youths on the NYC subways is a mass phenomenon"? That is a fact, which black people especially are painfully aware of, because they are the most frequent victims.

To convey a sense of the American social reality, more specifically the violence that racism and desperation breed, in our original articles on Goetz we quoted from *Manchild in the Promised Land*, a work by a black writer which is eloquent and precise on the subject of lumpen crime. This time, in deference to the WL's ultra-philistinism, we will put literary sources aside and simply quote in full a little story from the *New York Times*:

"A group of four teenagers robbed three men on the IRT No. 2 elevated subway line in the Bronx early yesterday, stabbing two victims and beating the third, the police said.

"Two of the victims, from the Bronx, were asleep when the gang attacked them, according to a spokesman for the transit police, Edward Silberfarb.

"The first incident occurred at 2 A.M., when Joseph Lee, 33 years old, was attacked by the group on a southbound train entering the Gun Hill Road station. He told the police he had been punched, kicked and robbed of \$20. He was treated at Jacobi Hospital for minor injuries.

"An hour later, the youths chased Warren Kendew, 30, from the 219th Street platform, stabbed him and took his wallet with \$15, Mr. Silberfarb said. "Then the youths assaulted Carl Thorpe, 39, on a northbound train. He told the police that a youth had cut his right leg with a knife and that the gang had stolen his wallet with \$70.

"Mr. Kendew and Mr. Thorpe were listed in serious condition at Misco-cordia Hospital."

—*New York Times*, 20 April

The *Times*, by neglecting to mention the race of either the four assailants or their three victims, will have made it impossible for the WL to evaluate the above incident. To us, it makes no difference whether these were black youth attacking whites, white youth mugging blacks, Puerto Rican youth mugging whites and blacks, or any other variant. Nobody, oppressed or not, has a license to prey upon the people. Kids with no jobs and no prospects want to eat potato chips and look at TV like everyone else, so they need money, but it's still pretty terrifying when they get it by mugging you on the subways.

The Goetz case is contradictory and so is the outcry it has produced. It is being used simultaneously to whip up racist "backlash" sentiment and to push gun control. Central to everything we have written on Goetz is the understanding that in this violent racist country there is a huge congruence between the fear of lumpen crime and racism, and thus vigilantism necessarily acquires a fascist political coloration. But we have also pointed out the desperation of hostile, mutually terrorized populations in the big cities, who know the capitalist "justice" system "isn't working." So a lot of working people—and when we say "working people" we, unlike the Healyites, don't just mean white working people—initially responded to the Goetz case by observing that people might be better behaved if they were reminded that the skinny white guy with glasses, the black grandfather sitting next to him or the Hispanic mother across the aisle might just be "packing" a gun. This response was particularly marked among black people.



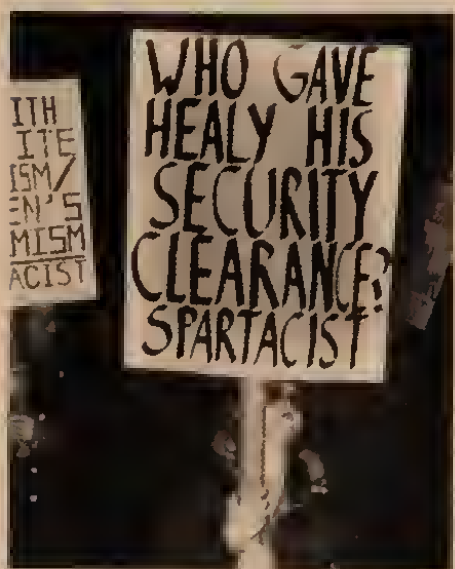
WV Photo

Detroit anti-Klan protesters support the right of self-defense, in wake of KKK/Nazi murder of five militants in Greensboro, North Carolina, 1979.

Integral to this widespread attitude is fear, and not just the often justified fear of random, casual crimes of violence by lumpen youth with little to lose, but also the eminently sensible fear of the cops. Nobody thinks the cops—being too busy sitting around getting drunk when they are not out dealing drugs or choking black kids to death—will protect them. Particularly in the social matrix of New York City, a cop is: 1) a psycho, 2) a racist and 3) not too fond of the big boys who really are on top. (Of course, the Healyites don't share this view, instead embracing the cops as a purported part of the union movement.) The real problem in New York today isn't one "subway vigilante" but the systematic police torture and murder of dark-skinned people, a daily occurrence in today's "fear city." Seeking to hide this fact, the WL puts itself right up there with Ed Koch in alibiing cop terror against the working people.

Meanwhile, the reformist groups in this country, who are at bottom mainly just guilty liberals, don't dare touch the explosively interlocked questions of crime and race. They must therefore paper over the contradictions of the Goetz case with simplifying mythology. Here the WL is absolutely indistinguishable from the common variety of reformist leftists (though as we have said, they are far from being merely this). Thus for the *Bulletin* Goetz is simply a "fascist." The Communist Party, similarly, has suggested that Goetz was some kind of German, in other words a Nazi. (Indeed, Goetz was some kind of German—his mother was a German Jew who fled Germany.) The reformist press symmetrically presents the black kids (who already had criminal records) as if they were on their way to a church social. The recourse to simplifying invention is the tip-off that they're hiding something.

They're biding how hard it is in this country, how brutal and desperate. The masses are being attacked in every imaginable way by a vicious Reaganite bourgeoisie on top while being eaten from below by despairing lumpen youth. And these moods do tend to a polarization—ultimately, fascism or workers revolution. And the reformists are in the business of pretending that things will get all better if only we bring back the capitalist Democratic Party (in Britain, the sellout Labour Party). For there to be any illusion of reasonableness to this "solution," it is necessary to minimize the problem. If things were not so raw, if racism were not so integral to the fabric of capitalism, if injustice and oppression were not fundamentally rooted in the social order, indeed we wouldn't be for socialist revolution, a cataclysmic historical event frequently accompanied by very bloody savagery from the ruling class, and it's not just the



WV Photo

Spartacists protest Healyite slander campaign against Hansen, Cannon, Trotsky.

by the Stalinist GPU. Thereby Healy echoes the discredited Stalinist lie that Trotsky was killed by his "own people." And from the claim that Hansen was an operative of the Stalinist and capitalist secret police, it's a short half-step from Hansen to Cannon to Trotsky.

A dozen years ago the SWP, even as a fully reformist party with no programmatic attachment to Trotskyism, was interested in and capable of defending its veteran comrades. For our part, the Spartacist League, in addition to signing the SWP's united-front defense statement, campaigned vigorously against Healy's lies with our own demonstrations and articles raising slogans like "Who Gave Healy His

ruling class of South Africa that we're talking about.

Healyites' Message: Trust the State

What keeps drawing the establishment press, the glossy news magazines and the TV types back to the Goetz case, as a tongue is drawn to a hurting tooth, is their incomprehension that so many people of all backgrounds don't think the answer to crime is the cops. As Marxists, we oppose the monopoly of the means of violence in the hands of the capitalist state: gun control means nobody will have guns except the racist cops, the criminal elements which capitalism spawns, and let's not forget the *Times* editors with their pistol-packing chauffeurs. When the *Times*' Sulzberger lectures that everything would be okay if people would just be reasonable and the cops would act responsibly, he knows he's got his armed men downstairs and his pistol in his desk drawer.

So the bourgeois press just can't stand the widespread alienation from the capitalist "justice" system and cops. Their line boils down to: in the interests of social orderliness, the citizens must rely on the cops no matter what. Nobody is more explicit on this than William Safire, the former Nixon press agent who is now the house ultra-conservative for the *New York Times*. In his *Times* column on April 8, Safire writes:

"The only way to stop crime is to uphold the law. If you are carrying a handgun without a license in New York State, you are breaking the law. Don't do it and don't condone it. If you start to make exceptions for people who are especially frightened, you undercut the authority of the police....

"If you are menaced by someone who demands your property, give it to him, remembering his face or voice; only if you are reasonably sure he means to kill you, and you happen to be legally armed, should you give it to him in the more vigorous sense. Most of us are not legally armed, nor should we be; in those cases, our anti-crime responsibility is to be noisy and observant victims....

"Certainly victims have rights, and all too many innocent people are terrified by punks; that is more reason for law-and-order hard-liners to keep the amateurs out of the job that must be done by professionals.

"Become involved with law enforcement; hear witness; but leave lethal counterforce to the people we authorize to wear their guns on the outside."

Safire, who sees himself as a conscious agent for the capitalist state, thinks that unless you happen to be legally armed, you should die for the higher good of the state. This, curiously enough, doesn't satisfy most people. But at least Safire is consistent; he knows he's a particularly right-wing mouthpiece for America's

rulers. His line is: trust the state. And so is Healy's. For Healy too, only duly constituted authority should have guns. The corollary is that the British cops had the right to do anything they wanted to the striking miners. We say no, everybody has the right to carry and to be accountable for their deeds. Which in the case of Goetz is a moot point, for the "subway shooting" was an ambiguous situation: a disturbed, possibly racist, previously victimized, armed man and four menacing criminal youth, one of whom may now be paralyzed for life.

In the British Isles everybody (with the conspicuous exceptions of the IRA and the British government) believes that firearms are a bad business. Well, we have to observe that great questions are generally resolved with guns, and sometimes daily individual existence also involves this question. In this racist society, blacks have been terrorized

class-neutral.

To recognize the ambiguity of the Goetz case means to defend the idea that Willie Turks ought to be alive. And that the Klansmen and not the anti-Klan radicals at Greensboro should be in the ground, like their comrades at Bitburg. Self-defense for Willie Turks is the individual unit of what, collectively posed, is simply the right to engage in social struggle; the right to demonstrate against the Klan, and ultimately the right of a workers party to organize for power. Marxists understand that bourgeois democracy operates in this country, up to the point that the ruling class begins to feel itself threatened; at that point, the couple of communist representatives that we will have managed to get elected to the bourgeois parliament get hauled off and shot. Whether or not you can abjure the use of force on principle depends on your aims. It's not



Militant policemen march for parity during strike which was supported by 85%.

since the beginning of slave times; the gravest offense for them has been the mere possession of a firearm, just as for the Irish Catholics in Ulster. Those who intend to engage in social struggle cannot afford to be principled pacifists. We continue to feel keenly and bitterly the Greensboro massacre, where a well-organized cabal of Klansmen and Nazis with the assistance of the cops and FBI opened fire on a peaceful anti-KKK demonstration and selectively assassinated five supporters of the leftist Communist Workers Party. We wish that we could have been part of an effective security squad protecting those anti-racist demonstrators. And through our strategy of mobilizing the organized power of labor and blacks against fascist terror we assisted the black unionists and youth of Washington, D.C. in stopping the emboldened Klan in the streets.

On the level of individual existence too, one had better have a calculus of violence. Consider three cases: the crucial Willie Turks case, the tangential Tom Henahan case, and the dubious Bernhard Goetz case. Willie Turks was a black transit worker whose job took him to the Gravesend section of Brooklyn, an enclave of ethnic white losers. For the crime of wanting to buy a bagel on Avenue X late at night after getting off work, Willie Turks was beaten to death by a gang of racist punk kids. We think Turks should have been carrying; we think he should have had a fighting chance at self-defense. Following his murder we agitated that the Transport Workers Union should mobilize a massive demonstration of unionists on flatbed trucks through Gravesend to serve notice that Willie Turks had thousands of union brothers who intend to protect the rights and lives of black working people. That's the kind of law and order we support. But not Healy; he is for the absolute monopoly of armed force by the previously authorized gunmen of the capitalist state, which is of course presumed to be colorblind and

that Healy has flunked Lenin on the nature of the state, force and violence. No, it's just that what he seeks is not socialist revolution but cooption, whether it's in the government harracks in Tripoli, Libya or Baghdad, Iraq, or at home in England's Buckingham Palace.

A Short Course in American History

The *Bulletin* article was written for foreign consumption; Healy intends it to be read by suckers who are moreover ignorant of American reality. Today in America, nearly half our homes have firearms—long arms, handguns, often both. This is not generally known in countries with strong states that emerged to institutionalize the oppression of their own people, unlike America, created by European settlers pushing the frontier westward over the continent's indigenous inhabitants.

According to the National Rifle Association, every recent study shows that between 45 and 50 percent of American households have guns; the "Decision Making Information Survey" in 1978, for instance, put the figure at 47 percent. Furthermore, the guns are spread fairly evenly throughout the population; there are regional differences, but the only disparity between blacks and whites is that the weapons blacks own are usually less expensive. And it's good for the cops that when they go to the shooting range they get to pass rows and rows of expert marksmen who are women, kids, blacks, Asians, you name it.

Formal legal equality for blacks, obtained only after World War II for the most part, includes the right to bear arms, and black Americans cherish that right no less than whites. Indeed, turning this point around, a powerful impetus to the civil rights movement was returning black soldiers who, having risked their lives in World War II and especially Korea, were not about to submit passively to the degradations of Jim Crow racism when they got

back home.

The right to bear arms in America was established in a reactionary context: a frontier society murderously subduing the continent's aboriginal peoples and controlling a laboring population consisting largely of black slaves, indentured servants, etc. But it became part of the formal legal doctrine of this country and is protected in the U.S. Constitution. Now there is a faction fight going on over this question: the right to possess a gun is mostly protected, but the right to carry is under fire. The purposes behind the gun control campaign, and its intended bloody consequences, are nowhere clearer than in the case of the martyred Malcolm X. As the most prominent militant champion of black rights and an outspoken advocate of self-defense against racist attack, Malcolm X was, in his own words, "a marked man." Naturally the cops had less than no interest when he got death threats and his house was bombed. But when it became known that Malcolm was carrying a .30 caliber carbine in his car, the New York City Council zipped through legislation against carrying rifles or shotguns in public. And then when Malcolm X was shot down in the Audubon Ballroom, the man who was immediately arrested was one of Malcolm's bodyguards who had managed to wound one of the assassins. Indeed the state, William Safire and Gerry Healy are very tender on the right of self-defense. In the face of deadly danger, they insist, you should just die, because it strengthens the state.

So Americans have guns, and want to keep them. This is a sociological fact of life in America, and will be a useful fact when the mass of the American population feels immediately and overtly threatened by a tyrannical government. As Marxists, we have campaigned consistently for the right of self-defense and against gun control. In reporting on our first electoral campaign, for Berkeley City Council, we cited in our first paragraph our "support of the right of American Negroes to armed self-defense in the face of racist violence" (*Spartacist* No. 4, May-June 1965).

In our article on the 1964 cop riot against the masses of Harlem, we called for neighborhood block councils to organize the ghetto struggles, wage rent strikes against slumlords, and oppose cop brutality. "Moreover, such councils form a natural basis for the organization of defense patrols to protect the community against future police riots—and such patrols are the embryo of that workers militia which will defend the coming American Revolution" ("Harlem Riot and After," *Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965). A major document adopted at the SL's Founding Conference in 1966 calls for revolutionary ghetto organizations: "One of the most important functions of such representative popular organs would be the organization and direction of effective self-defense against police and racist violence. The potential for rapid growth by the American fascist movement adds to the seriousness of this task..." ("Black and Red: Class Struggle Road continued on page 12.



Workers Press

Life-sized little Gerry Healy (in foreground) dwarfed by his egomaniacal projection.

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CHICAGO

Smash Fascist Smear of SL...

(continued from page 11)

to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967).

A leaflet which we mass-distributed in Newark following the 1967 ghetto upheaval contained the call to "Defend the Black Ghettos—every serious and responsible workingman should exercise his right to own a gun." And during the Vietnam War, in our major article against the petty-bourgeois strategy of draft resistance, insisting that antiwar radicals must not separate themselves from the mass of working-class draftees, we cited the importance of "Familiarization with weapons and military technique—It is indisputable that when the U.S. has a social revolution, the ruling powers will go down fighting, and ignorance of armed struggle will not help us.... What a good thing it is that several hundred thousand Black people have had free military training, courtesy of Uncle Sam!" ("You Will Go!" *Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968).

In every one of the election campaigns that the Spartacist League has run during the last several years, from the Marjorie Stenberg campaign in New York in 1978 to the Richard Bradley/Diana Coleman campaign in San Francisco in 1984, we have prominently featured our Marxist opposition to gun control. In *Workers Vanguard* we have featured articles with headlines like "Gun Control Kills Blacks." And we have raised the right of self-defense prominently in demonstrations, as for example when we along with vanguard elements of the auto workers union mobilized against a Klan threat to rally in Detroit in the immediate aftermath of the Greensboro massacre.

Our general outlook is to agitate, under particular, appropriate, urgent circumstances, for an armed popular militia independent of the established state power. There is a long historical tradition behind this. Concretely, where the armed forces of the state are seen as immediately illegitimate and abusive, the effective call for and creation of such a militia can be a springboard for dual power. In Russia such a formation was called the Red Guards. But of course England, already under Charles II, wiped away such ideas after the English Revolution. And the English parlour pinks, masquerading only sometimes in red wolf's clothing, have gone but a very little way to undo that counterrevolution. And Gerry Healy is of that legally fetishistic English pinko ilk. But he is also specially dangerous, because he imposes this kind of nasty English authoritarianism on his followers in very different circumstances around the world where the question of social power is active and immediate. He is a racketeer in the "revolution" business.

Healyites Set Up South African Masses

Turning now to the *Bulletin's* sinister article on South Africa, we find the

Spartacist League castigated for "the demoralization, cynicism and racism which characterizes the political attitude of declassed anti-Marxist radicals toward the revolutionary struggles of the working class and the oppressed colonial people." The Healyites derive this from our article "South Africa: Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 376, 5 April, which calls for the building of a revolutionary proletarian party which counterposes to popular frontism and nationalism "the program of permanent revolution, for the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Our article warns that unless the



Thomas Gerard Healy and friends.

apartheid state is smashed and the racist rulers expropriated by workers revolution, the South African butchers are fully capable of unleashing massacres like Sharpeville and Uitenhage many times over.

The Healyite polemic considers that our call for a black-centered workers republic and our statement that "the white population must have a place in an anti-racist society" constitute "an ultimatum directed against the black masses." And they say that "In its call for a 'multiracial working-class vanguard,' Spartacist takes the side of that elite section of the South African working class which Leon Trotsky described as the 'privileged, arrogant caste of whites.'" Of course, in order to paint us as some kind of white-lovers, the Healyites have to drop right out of the South African reality nearly a million Indians and two and a half million people of mixed race.

What is the situation of the South African struggle today? The black masses have repeatedly displayed the most courageous defiance of the racist regime. The country appears to be seething on the brink of a widespread, open insurrection. Only the apartheid regime is not on the brink of collapse, though it may be scared enough to unleash an orgy of bloodletting against the defenseless people. Those who think

the South African apartheid regime is about to collapse are counting, naively or cynically, on the notion that the apartheid butchers can be restrained by world public opinion. Thus the whole perspective of "divestment," which posits an international strike of capital led by the U.S., whose rulers, the terror-bombers of Vietnam and Hiroshima, are seen as somehow more moral than their allies in Pretoria. In the very same issue of the *Bulletin* which attacks us as "defeatist," an account of U.S. campus anti-apartheid protests gives pride of place to a Columbia student whose quoted remarks begin: "It has been really going well. We have had support from Bishop Tutu and Jesse Jackson...." Indeed the Healyites, when they are not mouthing slogans of "People's War" for the consumption of militants, take a completely uncritical approach to those who believe that the decisive factor in South Africa will be the intervention of the Jesse Jacksons and Teddy Kennedys.

As for the black militants of South Africa, and those like us who stand in defense of their rights, we don't have to love the South African whites, we just have to deal with them, because they are there and they have no intention of going anywhere else. Of course the *Bulletin* article makes no effort to answer the questions we have raised in our press, because they are concerned above all to make sure no hint of what the Spartacist League is talking about escapes from the columns of the *Bulletin*. For the Healyites, the whites are a non-question; obviously, the answer is to drive them into the sea. Only there are four to five million of them and they have all the guns. What works on a thin slice of white settler colony in Rhodesia won't work here.

In South Africa, one race sits on top of another. This means that the whole white population partakes of the super-exploitation of black labor, living at five or ten times the standard of living of the blacks. This in turn means that white labor will in the main be violently hostile to black rights, tending to resist to the last man, at an unspeakable cost of black lives. It also means that the whites comprise a technical elite with an overwhelming share of crucial skills. Thus we wrote that:

"The white population must have a place in an anti-racist society; the model is how Trotsky offered thousands of Isarist officers a job to do, placing their skills at the disposal of the new Bolshevik regime and the Soviet peoples. South Africa's two and a half million coloureds, who comprise a strategic part of the Cape proletariat, and the nearly one million Indians, mainly a commercial population, are no less a vital component.... South African whites are an oppressor people who can easily and guiltily envision the terms of oppression reversed, and are determined not to be on the receiving end. That makes them extremely dangerous...."

Though we do not envision the apartheid regime agreeing to dismantle itself after being shamed by international finger-wagging (that being a variant of the Reverend M.L. King's line, shared by Bishop Tutu, that if the oppressed show how nobly they can suffer, the slavemasters will have to grant them freedom), we are not "defeatist." We see the fracturing of that society on the basis that in South Africa there has been created, in the mines and factories, a concentrated and increasingly organized force of five million black proletarians, the gravediggers of apartheid. Still the cost will be great for proletarian revolution to triumph against a murderous police-state regime with its awesome military machine. But the revolution in South Africa will be a profound liberating blow for the whole continent of sub-Saharan Africa, where world socialist revolution is the only alternative to continued mass starvation under conditions of imperialist-enforced backwardness and oppression.

The *Bulletin* article includes a couple of beautiful quotes from Trotsky, used

in the standard Healyite manner. That is, they counterpose to the Spartacists' views citations from Trotsky which are in no way counterposed to the Spartacists' views. Thus Trotsky says:

"The revolutionary party must put before every white worker the following alternative: either with British imperialism and with the white bourgeoisie of South Africa or with the black workers and peasants against the white feudalists and slave owners and their agents in the ranks of the working class."

This squares nicely with our insistence on the need to seek to win over whites to the side of the oppressed, and not at all with Healy's vicarious nationalist line which simply dismisses as "racist" the idea of any place for whites in South Africa.

Another wonderful Trotsky quote in the *Bulletin* restates the theory of permanent revolution, that the proletariat must assume the leadership of the national struggle. Or, as we put it, we do not see that the democratic struggle against apartheid can triumph short of the overthrow of the capitalist ruling class by the proletariat leading all the oppressed. This is not at all the perspective of the nationalist leaders of the South African struggle, even the best and most courageous of them. Since the rise of the black unions, the weight of the working class is acknowledged, but not programmatically; the proletariat is seen as a vehicle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism and not as the basis for reconstructing South Africa as a workers state.

Nationalism is the ideology appropriate to a petty-bourgeois stratum



Healyite hatchelman Mike Banda, born Michael Van Der Poorten, scion of the Ceylonese ruling class.

which looks forward to its emergence as a new black ruling elite to oppress its "own" black workers in a capitalist state on the "African socialist" model. If this schema could be carried out, it would mean a new exploitative regime resting on an ever-narrowing ethnic base: first go after the whites, then the Indians, the coloureds, finally ushering in fratricidal conflict along tribal-linguistic lines. For Healy, since the Spartacists are not black nationalists they must therefore be white-lovers. Well, we are neither nationalists nor white-lovers, but Healy, oddly enough, is *both*. For while he is quite capable in the present polemic of hailing the Spartacists by assuming a black nationalist posture, in South Africa those who are influenced by Healy espouse the same colorblind line we are already familiar with from Healyites elsewhere: hooray for the working class and not one word about the fact that certain South African workers (whites) benefit from the superexploitation of others and therefore back the apartheid state which deprives these latter of the most elementary democratic and national rights.

Healy's sole purpose in quoting Trotsky on South Africa is, simply, to totally confuse the reader: counterpose to one another two things which say the same thing and hopefully the reader will figure that Healy must be smarter than the poor reader, and will take his word for it. Those who can think their way through the muddle and come out the other side Healy doesn't want anyway.

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In fact, anybody who doesn't see bloody dangers in South Africa just isn't living in this world, and mainly willfully. The Healyites have no response to our urgent warning to South African militants, and think none is needed. Once again they have precisely the attitude that all the reformists have: the people united will never be defeated. But modern history abounds with piles of corpses of militants whose leaders "united" them under the hegemony of the class enemies of their liberation. And if the Spartacists are not enthused at the military prospects for "People's War," whatever the WL means by that exactly, against the apartheid state, then this proves, according to the *Bulletin*, that we "oppose the arming of the black masses" and positively enjoyed the slaughter of the defenseless blacks at Uitenhage. "People's War" indeed—this from people who at Columbia are for Jesse Jackson and Bishop Tutu. But so long as you're sufficiently far away from London's Clapham Common, they urge you to fight to the last man.

Classless Demagogues

The Healyites are intellectual thugs for hire, and not all that intellectual. They always have a simple answer for everything, but it's isolated from reality, and not accidentally. It's a bad thing to merchandize a counterfeit world, to know and to ignore, the essence of cynicism. The Healyites know that "Trotskyism" doesn't mean spreading the filthy lie that Trotsky surrounded himself with FBI/GPU agents in Mexico, they just don't care. They know that "political revolution" doesn't proceed from the embrace of capitalist-restorationist Solidarność, but they will never let that stand in the way of achieving oneness with the anti-Soviet labour statesmen. They believe, to use a famous phrase attributed to Stalin, that paper will take anything that's written on it, and that nobody ever remembers anything, only they do have a little problem just now in the British coal fields.

And what about "fascism"? Well, we could say that for some of the regimes the Healyites support, fascism's big problem is that it's an enemy of Allah. That would be the snotty response, but we want to be serious. The Healyites have done their best to be an organization for hire. They've found their niche as kept creatures of various gangs of oil-rich nationalist murderers, whose slaughter of communist workers they extol. Thus they are classless demagogues, all-purpose mock extremists whose radicalism has nothing in common with socialist struggle. Of course Hitler was a radical too. As opposed to the old-time German conservatives, who merely wanted the Kaiser back, Hitler wanted a "New Order." And he was a nationalist; he wanted to do away with all communists, Jews, the Pope—indeed anything trans-national.

Make no mistake about it, there is a real fascist potential here. What is Healyism? It's mindless extremism even in pursuit of the most trivial aims and an unbounded admiration for power in the hands of Third World strongmen. It's hailing as "fascists" the revolutionary Marxists because we did our earnest, modest best to aid the miners' struggle while Healy was going all out to stab the union in the back. It's a social hate that presently consists of lumpenized youth along with a thin layer of TV and cinema personalities leading a gilded existence and whose view of social reality comes through a camera lens. It's an organizational "method" of lies, gangsterism and anti-knowledge. Indeed the Healyites have the potential to become just about anything. Winston Churchill is said to have remarked once regarding a prominent fellow MP, "Oh, that's the chap who gives degeneracy a bad name." Add to degeneracy wild vituperation devoid of any class basis or connection to social reality and you have... Gerry Healy and his Workers League. ■

Vietnam...

(continued from page 16)

Indochina...and hiding its humiliating demise. Over and over the message was the incredible lie that the Vietnamese are supposedly *worse off* for defeating the U.S. After 45 years of constant war, defeating the Japanese, French and then American armies; after 14 million tons of explosives, 400,000 tons of napalm and 11 million gallons of Agent Orange were dropped on the country, defoliating half of Vietnam's forest land, who can believe that the people of Vietnam yearn for the return of Hitler-loving Marshal Ky or the Catholic dictator Diem's haughty Dragon Lady?

A former Marine platoon leader William Boyles, Jr., who recently revisited Vietnam after ten years, has written about the only thing we have seen in the welter of material on Indochina that told the truth, in an article reprinted in the *Navy Times* (6 May):

"Peace is better than war, and for that reason alone the people of Vietnam are better off than they were when we were there. In the barren wastelands of free-fire zones crops are being planted and children go to school. People no longer live in caves and tunnels, their babies picked away on shelves in the clay, to avoid bombs. Millions of refugees have returned to their villages. The air-raid siren no longer screams its call to shelters and anti-aircraft batteries."

Vietnam today is certainly desperately poor, but it vast portions of the country are still wasteland, whose crime is that? Suffering under an imperialist trade embargo, facing Chinese guns, beset by CIA mercenaries in Kampuchea, *the war is not over for Vietnam*. And the colorful tenth anniversary celebrations in Ho Chi Minh City which have so enraged Washington testify to the determination of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to defend the revolution millions died for.

In all the media memorabilia, most nauseating have been the "where are they now?" stories of bloodthirsty South Vietnamese generals and politicians. Marshal Ky, weaseling out of charges that he runs an extortion/murder ring of former ARVN officers. Madame Nhu, now living in a villa in Rome with her memories of "harboring" Buddhist monks. ABC even portrayed former Saigon police chief Colonel Nguyen Ngoc Loan, made infamous for his televised murder of a handcuffed Viet Cong suspect, as "one of the heroes of the war"! We look forward to the day when a workers government in America will ship these murderers back to Vietnam to face revolutionary justice at the hands of their victims' kin.

Appearing on ABC's "Nightline" April 29, Henry Kissinger vented his pent-up rage: "I think there's something demeaning about having the three networks cover a victory parade over the United States in the city of the country where the victory was achieved.... What we saw is a defeat which we inflicted upon ourselves." Appearing on the same program was Kissinger's fellow Nobel Peace Prize winner and Vietnamese Communist Party leader Le Duc Tho, who thanked the American people for their "support and contributions to our present victory." Our thanks, and the thanks of millions of the oppressed throughout the world, go to the heroic Vietnamese for the first-ever military defeat they handed to American imperialism.

To explain their ignominious rout in Indochina, the American imperialists echo Hitler's "stab in the back" legend from World War I. "We won virtually every engagement," said Reagan at his White House luncheon. "The Tet offensive was distorted back here in the reporting." In the New Right's mythology, the army was "betrayed" by "filth columnists" at home who destroyed the "national will." Reagan has lamented that "none of the rules of warfare could apply with regard to lending comfort

and aid to the enemy" (*New York Times*, 5 April 1984). In other words, anti-Vietnam War protesters should have been jailed for treason.

But the American army's will to fight was broken on the battlefield, by the 1968 Tet Offensive which proved the ability of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese regulars to attack in every area of South Vietnam, including penetrating into the U.S. embassy itself.

Ted Koppel Interviews Le Duc Tho (far right) and Henry Kissinger (below left): Victorious Communist Infuriates Imperialist loser.



ABC-TV

Adams/Newsweek



Soon there was intense opposition to the war from *within* the army. By 1971 the desertion rate was over 7 percent, court-martials over 3 percent; "frag-gings" of officers became common, troops refused to go into battle. The army was fracturing along race and class lines. What was lacking were the Bolshevik cadre in the armed forces who could give revolutionary purpose to this deep hatred of the government and its officer corps, the mass murderers of My Lai.

In the U.S., Muhammad Ali's famous remark, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger," captured the feelings of minority poor who did not want to serve as cannon fodder for Uncle Sam in Vietnam. Building upon the '60s civil rights movement, hundreds of thousands took to the streets to oppose the war. Reformists such as the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party tried to shackle antiwar youth to the liberal capitalist politicians. Their call to "bring our boys home" meant that it was not an anti-imperialist but a social-patriotic "peace" movement that was built. And as soon as *their* "boys" came home following the 1973 Paris Accords, they simply abandoned the Vietnamese, who fought on for two more years before finally defeating the Saigon puppet government. It was not Fifth Avenue peace crawls but the Vietnamese peasants and workers who "stopped the war"—by winning it on the battlefields in Indochina.

And now the Reaganites want to strike back. Not only against the Vietnamese, but "going to the source"—namely the "source of all evil in the modern world," the Soviet Union. They're pushing everywhere—Nicaragua, Cambodia, now they're upping aid to the Afghan rebels as well—trying to push the Russians into a vulnerable position. That's what all the provocations are about: KAL 007, ramming Soviet subs, the U.S. major who got himself shot in East Germany. Two U.S. diplomats do something impermissible and get thrown out of Poland, and Washington "retaliates" by kicking out four Poles. It's called escalation. Reagan's line is that the Russians don't have the right to shoot down an intruder plane inside their own territory or a spy caught red-handed, because it isn't their country; it belongs to the imperialists, and he intends to get it back. He is trying to break their will, their morale.

The phrase, "Reagan's war drive," has become sort of a cliché. Most people don't believe it, because they can't imagine someone crazy enough to blow up the world. The Reaganites themselves don't even believe it, although they're pushing it to the hilt. But the way they're going they will get into it with the

Soviet Union, one way or another. The gang now in power in Washington thinks the U.S. isn't seriously at risk with Moscow, even in the case of nuclear war. First they played with the idea of "protracted nuclear war," now it's their Star Wars scheme. They have repeatedly said they want to replay the Cuban missile crisis. And the Soviets leed into it, depreciating their own nuclear credibility with all the talk of

"détente" and trying to be reasonable.

There are some pretty crazy fascist types in power in this country—Reagan, Kirkpatrick, Koch for instance—who are usually subjected to the constraints of bourgeois democracy. But not always: if Congress votes down aid to the Nicaraguan "contras," the administration simply declares a "national emergency" to get what it wants, no matter how absurd the pretext. Reagan simply believes the U.S. was on the wrong side in World War II, and he wants to take up where Hitler left off. Unfortunately, Reagan and his cohorts are not prone to study the history of what happened to Hitler when he took on the Soviet Union. But it took a week for the new "improved" U.S. Army to "secure" tiny Grenada. While Reagan dreams of a

Telegram

30 April 1985

President Truong Chinh
Hanoi
Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Spartacist League hails victory of Vietnamese Revolution on 10th anniversary of liberation of Saigon. For class-conscious American workers, blacks, youth, Vietnam was historic victory. Two, three, many defeats for US imperialism!

Spartacist League/U.S.

Blitzkrieg in Nicaragua, the Marines and 82nd Airborne will run into a people in arms who are prepared to die to defend their revolution. And the Pentagon's heavily black and Latin troops are hardly a reliable force to fight another colonial war. Nicaragua could become Reagan's Vietnam.

From Angola to Afghanistan, from Warsaw to Managua, the Vietnamese victory stayed the bloody hand of Washington. Today, everyone from Richard Nixon to New Leftovers from the peace crawls of the 1960s and '70s proclaims "No More Vietnams." This is the lament of bourgeois defeatism. As proletarian communists, we say "Vietnam Was a Victory—2, 3, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!" Reagan & Co. cannot be appeased, and a wounded imperialist beast on the loose is even more dangerous. Like the Nazis, the anti-Soviet fanatics in the White House bunker want all or nothing. They must be brought down, through victorious class struggle, before they do to the world what Hitler would have done if he'd had the bomb. ■

KAL 007...

(continued from page 7)

device." They noted that the plane, with some 30 intelligence specialists on board, has "real-time" offensive detection capabilities, having been used in the Vietnam War to transmit warnings to U.S. pilots who were being tracked by hostile radar, and it can also jam radar and other electronic systems (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 19 September 1983). Admiral B.R. Inman, former deputy director of the CIA and then head of the NSA which runs the spy planes, admitted that "the RC-135 on patrol that night, code named 'Cobra Ball,' could track other aircraft in its vicinity for defensive purposes" (*New York Times*, 1 September 1984).

Lie No. 8: Sayle says repeatedly that the only evidence for the "conspiracy" theory is Soviet radar data. Ironically he relies on the very same data, in a very selective manner, to prove his "accident" theory. His problem, as Pearson demonstrated, is that the Soviet data reveal that KAL 007 deviated *twice* from a straight line, first near the Komandorskiye Islands off Kamchatka and then more sharply over Sakhalin

any longer than the altitude of the plane—i.e., six or seven miles at most. Looking at the Soviet data, and at Sayle's own map, we find: the radius of the curve over Sakhalin is well over 50 miles; the radius of the curve near the Komandorskiye Islands is over 25 miles and its center is well over 100 miles away from the islands! As the British say, that's a bit of a sticky wicket, eh, old chap? (So much for your geometry, Sayle. We challenge you to an integral calculus duel—the loser gets to do the next penetration over Sakhalin.)

Incidentally, Sayle would also have us believe there is only one radar on Sakhalin, at the Korsakov airfield. But what about the Dolinsk-Sokol airfield some 50 miles north of that—from which Soviet fighters were sent—or the Aleksandrovsk airfield even further north on Sakhalin? Indeed, *Jane's Defence Weekly* (9 March) tells us there are 20 Soviet airfields on Sakhalin!

So Sayle's self-proclaimed "simple" explanation runs into a series of snags, and to solve them he sucks ridiculous assumptions out of his thumb. For instance, why didn't the crew notice they were off course at Bethel, the last Alaskan checkpoint, where they were 12 miles north of the track and there was a

better picture. By deliberately penetrating Soviet airspace, KAL 007 would trigger an alert in the Soviet Far East and force the Russians to turn on their primary radars, giving the U.S. an electronic look-see. It would be a risky operation, but a civilian airliner might pull it off—and if it didn't, the U.S. could scream bloody murder. When former CIA agent Ralph McGhee publicly concluded that the flight of KAL 007 "was a deliberate intelligence mission," he explained its purpose along these same lines:

"The National Security Agency has a primary purpose to chart the radar defense mechanisms of the Soviet Union: to duplicate, confuse, that sort of thing. President Reagan has authorized \$18 billion over the next two or three years to build up the countering mechanisms for such Soviet radar. Now, it's almost inevitable that the pressure is tremendous—you can't go into an \$18 billion weapons development program and not know what the opposition has done, so you have to find out. This massive pressure has, over the years, generated many similar incidents."

—Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*, 16 October 1983

Many of the same elements were present in the 20 April 1978 KAL overflight. On 16 March 1978 a Big Bird was launched by the U.S., almost

still screaming about the Abalakova radar, claiming it's a "Soviet violation" of the ABM treaty. It's not about Soviet violations at all, but the U.S. looking for an excuse to commit some violations of their own, because Reagan's "Star Wars" scheme requires busting even the minimal restraints of all those arms control agreements. Reagan & Co. want a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union, and all those provocative probes of Soviet defenses are preparations for just that. KAL 007 was a milestone in the imperialist drive toward World War III, and on this there is a strategic consensus in the American ruling class.

One of the striking things about the 007 affair politically is how completely the liberals, radlibs and reformist pseudo-socialists went along with Reagan. The Democrats didn't say "boo" about it at the time, voting for a unanimous Congressional condemnation of the Soviets; a year later Mondale was silent on the issue despite the *Nation's* revelations during the election campaign (and Pearson's call for a Congressional investigation), which would have severely damaged Reagan's credibility. Even fake "left" papers like the *Guardian* who regularly tail after the liberal Democrats echoed the "Soviet criminals" theme, because they don't want to challenge the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.

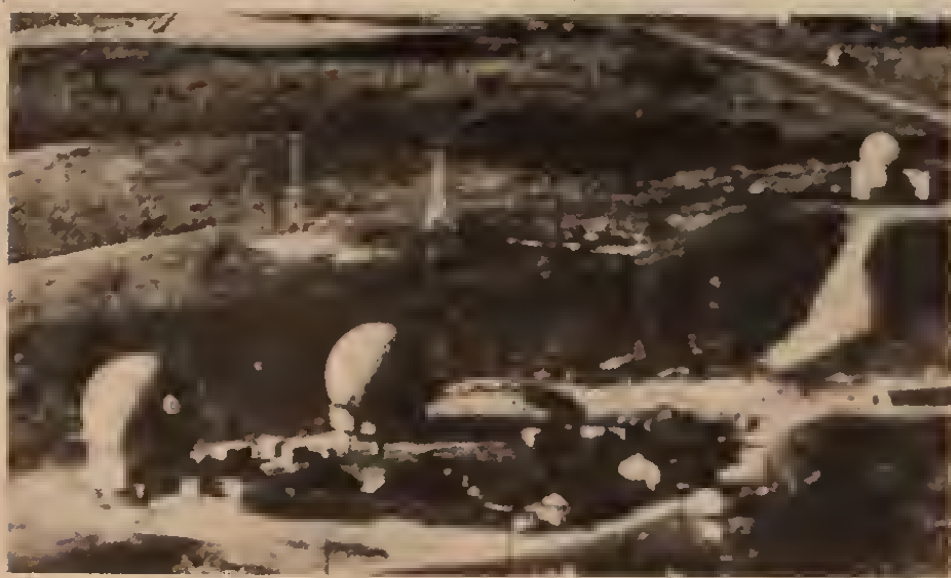
As we wrote in our October 1983 pamphlet, "KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation":

"The Spartacist League press told the truth about KAL 007 because we are not blinded by the class ideology of this country's rulers—and because we are not muzzled by fear of confronting 'the Russian question'....

"As Trotskyists we unconditionally militarily defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack because it embodies gains of the first workers revolution overthrowing capitalism, despite the bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin and his heirs... and today vigilance is more necessary than ever in defending the homeland of the October Revolution."

More than once such provocations have been used as the rallying cry for war. The orchestrated indignation over the 1915 sinking of the *Lusitania* by German torpedos was instrumental in preparing the U.S. population for entry into World War I. It took more than half a century for the definitive evidence to surface that this British passenger liner was indeed carrying American munitions to Britain, just as the Germans claimed all along. But without the blinders of anti-Sovietism, it has been clear from the beginning over the KAL 007 affair that "Reagan's Story Stinks." Piece by piece, the outlines of the U.S. spy operation fall into place.

In exposing the giant KAL 007 propaganda hoax perpetrated by the Reagan gang, we are fighting for workers revolution to bring down the cynical war criminals who don't flinch at sending 260-plus innocent people to their graves and are just as ready to do the same to all of humanity in their crazed anti-Soviet nuclear war drive. ■



island, where the plane carried out an evasive maneuver.

This of course implies conscious intervention by the pilot. So Sayle sets out to discredit this part of the Soviet data, even though the deviation over Sakhalin, at least, has long been accepted by such authoritative sources as *Aviation Week & Space Technology* (see the maps in that magazine's 12 and 19 September 1983 issues; Pearson analyzes these in an upcoming reply). And it was corroborated by Japanese radar data from Wakkanai, which according to Duncan Campbell was published "on the day of the shoot-down, in the evening edition of the Tokyo newspaper *Asahi Shimbun*"—that is, before the Soviets had said a word about the incident.

Lie No. 9: Attempting to explain away the two deviations on the Russian radar track, Sayle engages in some crude sleight-of-hand, while denouncing virtually everyone but himself as "technologically illiterate." "Those who remember their high school geometry," he snottily explains, would know there is something called the "slant effect" in radar. (Radar registers the direct distance or "slant range" to the target, which is roughly the same as the ground distance when the target is far away, but differs more and more as the target approaches overhead.) Because of "slant effect," an "unwary operator" can thus think the target is "describing a curve," he explains, and so allegedly that would account for the two curves.

Let's suppose for the sake of argument that the Russians don't study geometry and that there was such an unwary operator who missed something every air traffic controller would be familiar with. In that case, when the plane was directly overhead, causing maximum distortion, the radius of the curve he would see could not have been

working VOR beacon to check their position? Sayle has no answer for this, so he invents the scenario that "Captain Chun would have descended the curved staircase" to "make himself known to [right-wing Georgia Congressman Larry] McDonald before the Congressman had settled down to sleep through the long night flight ahead!" And what about NABIE, NEEVA and NIPPI checkpoints—did Captain Chun step out again, perhaps to talk to the passenger listed (according to the 24 September 1984 *Der Spiegel*) as "KONG, King, Mr."? Or was he down in the hold talking to some of the 27 "crew members" whose names have never been released? If anyone is living in fantasyland, it's Murray Sayle.

KAL 007 Was on U.S. Spy Mission

When Soviet air marshal Kirsanov presented his evidence about the coordination of the U.S. "ferret" spy satellite with KAL 007, *Workers Vanguard* verified it using publicly available sources. We proved that indeed there was such a ferret (possibly even two) in orbit at the time, launched piggyback on a Big Bird photo-reconnaissance satellite on 20 June 1983. Now Dallin says that "the link to the reconnaissance satellite... is intriguing" but asserts that "no cogent explanation has been given concerning the unique information on Soviet air defenses which a 747 flying at 35,000 feet could tease out."

Actually, we provided an explanation over a year ago (see "Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels," *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984). The particular interest of U.S. intelligence at that time was a new Soviet phased array radar at Abalakova (near Krasnoyarsk) in central Siberia. Washington was so worried that they also launched two expensive "close-look" satellites (probably KH-8s), just before and after the Big Bird, to get a



Der Spiegel photos

From Japanese military radar at Wakkanai (left) to U.S. mammoth Cobra Dane phased array radar in Aleutians (above), imperialists were "locked on" to KAL 007 all the way.

certainly carrying a ferret satellite. During this period the U.S. was ranting that the Soviets were secretly trying to "upgrade" their surface-to-air missile systems (including radar) to perform anti-ballistic-missile (ABM) functions against U.S. strategic missiles. In the same month the Big Bird was launched, the intelligence boys started crying about the sudden deployment of a new SA-10 surface-to-air missile system. One of the SA-10 sites was Moscow, and another was revealed by "U.S. reconnaissance satellites" as being "on ships... in a yard near Murmansk" (*Aviation Week*, 23 October 1978). Curiously, the course of the 1978 KAL penetration was south over the Murmansk region, heading for Moscow—strikingly resembling the course of a missile from the U.S. Was "tickling" the newly deployed radars at Murmansk and Moscow one of the missions of that flight?

Today the Reagan White House is

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston

Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit

Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 384-9716

Madison

c/o SYL, Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 257-8625

New York

Box 444, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

San Francisco

Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.

P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Reagan Bombs Black Babies...

(continued from page 16)

recently, these cowardly tactics have been used against ultraright and fascist opponents of the government. In Washington state last December, an FBI helicopter dropped an "illumination flare" on the hideout of Robert Matthews, leader of the neo-Nazi "Order," and cremated him. In 1983 the feds tracked down Gordon Kahl, a fugitive leader of the ultrarightist survivalist "Posse Comitatus" in an Arkansas hunker; he too was burned to a crisp.

Monday's roaring Reaganite atrocity occurred simultaneously with revelations that the CIA was behind a car-bombing this March in Beirut which took the lives of 80 people. It was all in order to get one Shi'ite mullah. Of course the hired hit squad was labeled an "anti-terrorism unit," and naturally unnamed "senior administration officials" deny U.S. responsibility on the grounds that the CIA had subcontracted out the job! The same psychopathic murderers who sacrificed 200-plus passengers of KAL 007 in a Cold War provocation against the Soviet Union are gearing up for war and practicing on their "own" population. They can't cream Nicaragua for now,



Valerio/Philadelphia Inquirer

West Philadelphia, May 13: Free-fire zone for racist SWAT-team killers.

maybe next week. Maybe it's next year for the Russians. But in the meantime they sure can blow a section of black Philly to smithereens.

That the immediate targets of this Nazi-like terror are hardly nature's noblemen is beside the point. Presumably, MOVE was obnoxious to their neighbors and pretty weird altogether. But this is still supposed to be a bourgeois democracy and in theory the state does not have a license to incinerate citizens for being obnoxious. To our knowledge the only person the MOVE sect ever really hurt was the cop killed when notorious racist Philadelphia mayor Rizzo ordered 600 police to storm MOVE headquarters in 1978. For

defending themselves against the cops, nine members of this black commune still languish in prison.

Certainly the Philadelphia operation emanated from higher quarters than the mayor's office. Black Democrat Wilson Goode is taking "full responsibility" for the bomb the police dropped on his city. Somewhere down the road Goode's line that he preferred "to have dirt and some smell than to have blood" changed to taking out MOVE "by any means necessary." Where is the hand of Edwin Meese, now head of the Justice Department in Washington and a member of the National Security Council with special responsibility for "terrorism," in this affair?

Reagan...

(continued from page 3)

real appetites of the American rulers. These visits deeply outraged many layers of American society. An appeal in the Sunday, May 5 *New York Times*

was signed by everybody from the AFL-CIO and American Legion through virtually every ethnic group in America—the NAACP, the United Hellenic-American Congress, the Ukrainian National Association, the Sons of Italy, the Japanese-American Citizens League, the Catholic War

Veterans, Jewish organizations—and even an officer of the 82nd Airborne Division and Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority. Reagan's been wounded by his open embrace of the Nazi SS, and that's a good thing. But the lessons of World War II still need to be absorbed.

World War II: Fighting Fascism Then and Today

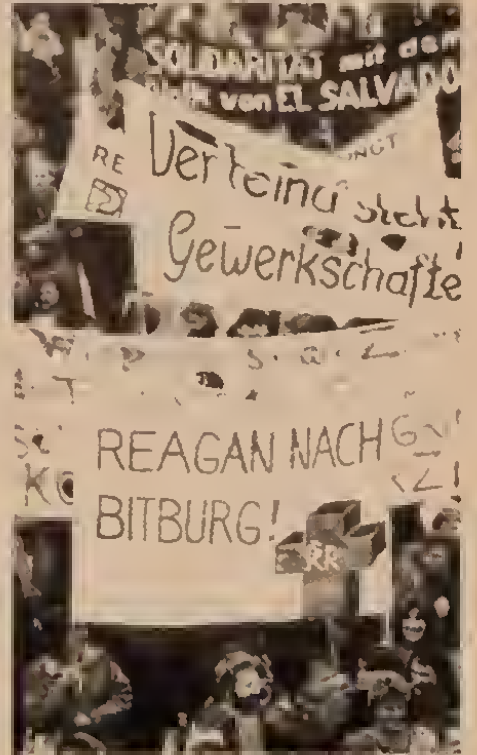
It was not easy for Trotskyists in World War II to oppose supporting the supposedly "democratic" imperialist powers. World War II was a very popular war in the U.S., and it was easy for the American rulers to hide their ambitions for world domination behind the pretext of putting a stop to "German" atrocities. But to have fought (as the Stalinists did) for the victory of the imperialist Allies would mean taking responsibility for what that victory brought: from the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the carnage of the Korean War, the carpetbombing of Vietnam, and now the drive to a new, third imperialist world war. The international Trotskyist movement fought for workers revolution in all the imperialist countries and for defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state in its life-and-death battle against the Nazi invasion.

A model of anti-fascist struggle in World War II was the work of the French Trotskyists, who in 1943-44 together with German soldiers and sailors stationed at Brest in Brittany built revolutionary cells in the German navy and submarine fleet. They called for internationalist fraternization, struggle against their own ruling class and a common struggle to defeat fascism, the hideous form of capitalist rule in its death agony, and for defense of the Soviet Union.

In America, the Trotskyists of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party were sent to prison for their opposition to the imperialists' war. The SWP uniquely defended the Japanese Americans, whom Roosevelt sent to America's own concentration camps; the Trotskyists fought for black rights against "Jim Crow" segregation policies, pointing out that the American rulers feared to arm blacks, the most oppressed sector of American society and of the working class; and they

As the cops are increasingly paramilitarized, the "war games" have extended to the black ghettos of this racist country, and the deranged killer cops get to practice urban counterinsurgency. The West Philly inferno is a hideously magnified version of the eviction of infirm black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in the Bronx, who was shot to death by a New York City "emergency service" squad because she was behind on her rent. Reagan has brought Bitburg home to terrorize black America. The sick, calculating Hitler-lovers in Washington have embarked on a program of turning those they consider to be "hard cases" into charred meat.

In bombing black Philadelphia, Reagan's people are taking a page out of the book of their racist allies in apartheid South Africa. They want to provoke black unrest... in order to smash it with massive, intimidating overkill, like Philly, like PATCO. Yet the oppression has become so severe and so pervasive and so mean that in desperation some sectors somewhere are going to try to fight. And that fight will be directed not only against Republicans in the White House but also their Democratic Party flunkies like Goode in city halls across the country. For black people in America today, faced with a flaming counterrevolutionary like Reagan, forging a multiracial revolutionary leadership, linking the besieged ghettos to the social power of labor, is a matter of survival. ■



Turnley/Rapho

Bonn: 10,000 denounce Imperialist summit, Reagan's salute to Nazis.

exposed the capitalist Allies' vicious refusal to admit Jews fleeing from Hitler's death camps.

Hitler's coming to power in Germany was, as Trotsky noted in 1933, the greatest defeat of the working class in history. It's up to the working class to end the fascist threat and the horrors of imperialist war, by smashing the capitalist system through worldwide proletarian revolution. ■

THE MILITANT —12 May 1945

How Workers Celebrated May Day at Buchenwald

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men... have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murdered, their wives and children lost somewhere on this continent. Their faces are gray, their shoulders droop as under great weight."

"They are the proletariat of many

nations and they are magnificent. This is their day and it is fitting that they should have celebrated it here. On the walls of their own barracks and the barracks of the SS who were once their guards, great signs in German, English, Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian read: 'This is the Day of the Fight against Fascism'...

"Between these signs and beneath the flags of many nations, the survivors marched—a Polish group, a Russian group, a Yugoslav group, a Czechoslovakian group, an Italian group, a Spanish group, and many others. And then came a large German unit and they began singing the *Internationale*. Other groups picked up the song, each in its own language.

"Yet the melody was not lost in this babylon of languages. It rose in a mighty torrent into thin air which but one month ago still stank of Nazi massacres."

Reagan Bombs Black Babies

MAY 14—"They've dropped a bomb on babies!" exclaimed a black man standing behind police barricades watching the cops' fiery siege of a West Philadelphia black neighborhood May 13. Thousands lined the block for hours staring in disbelief as the raging fire engulfed 60 of the densely packed row houses and the fire department stood by under orders to do nothing. It was 5:27 p.m. when the police helicopter dropped what appears to be a satchel charge (with plastic explosive) on the roof of a house occupied by members of a black commune. "Drop a bomb on a residential area? It's like Vietnam," one horrified resident said. Other witnesses compared it to the U.S. invasion of the tiny Caribbean black island of Grenada. The bodies of three adults and two children have so far been found in the rubble. The only known survivors of the assault are a nine-year-old boy now hospitalized with second-degree burns over most of his body, and a woman, believed to have been arrested. As the little boy ran out of the blazing house, furious neighbors screamed, "Murderers! Assassins! Arsonists!" at the cops.

"Explaining" why police decided to firebomb a house where at least 12 adults and 15 children were believed to be inside, Philadelphia's black Democratic mayor Goode said ominously, "When you engage with a very radical group, you are not engaging in child's play." The bombing followed a 12-hour siege in which the SWAT squad pumped

Bitburg Hits Philly



Entire blocks of West Philadelphia black neighborhood obliterated by racist cop firebombing.

7,000 rounds of ammunition into the house. Even though high-pressure water cannon had been trained on the house for five solid hours, the police refused to let fire fighters put out the blaze for over an hour, supposedly for fear of "sniper

fire." In other words, they wanted the neighborhood to burn. Ronald Reagan, just back from saluting Nazi graves at Bitburg, and his top cop Edwin Meese want to send a message to black America and "radicals" of every stripe.

"Anti-terrorism" means massive government terror against anyone who is out of step in Reagan's America.

It was one of the most hideous examples of massive overreaction by the state we've ever seen. Neighbors in the neat working-class black area had complained of filthy conditions at the commune of the MOVE group. There were dogs and cats and rats and loudspeakers blasting late into the night. And in response to that minor social problem, the police moved in to "evict" MOVE by setting off a firestorm turning the area of 62nd Street and Osage Avenue into a mini-Dresden. Now 300 people are homeless, left with only the shirts on their backs. Vietnam-style "overkill" has been brought home with a vengeance. And the brutal, conscious racism of the bombing is surpassed only by the cowardice of the cops who burn entire city blocks in order to avoid a little shoot-out with some hard cases better left alone.

This particular technique of capitalist state terror, firebombing, has become the police standard operating procedure. The cops' new slogan is "Burn, baby, burn." Already back in 1974, when Meese was California governor Reagan's special aide for police intelligence, the shadowy "Symphonese Liberation Army" was incinerated by a mammoth police mobilization of Los Angeles city, county and federal cops. When it was over, only parts of the teeth remained to identify the dead. More

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Media Lies, Confetti Parade Can't Undo Revolutionary Victory

Spectre of Vietnam Haunts U.S. Rulers

The people who run this country, the capitalist ruling class in all its factions—Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, doves and hawks alike—are engaged in a giant effort to exorcise the ghosts of their stinging defeat in Indochina ten years ago. Not just Viet vets but the entire U.S. bourgeoisie has been suffering from "post-traumatic stress syndrome," with recurrent nightmares about getting bogged down in rice paddies, lost in jungles with no light at the end of the tunnel. And so, desperately trying to rid themselves of this Vietnam syndrome, they try to pretend it wasn't so.

Ronald Reagan recently told a White House luncheon on the "lessons of Vietnam": "the truth of the matter is, we did have victory.... We didn't lose that war" (*Washington Post*, 19 April). So why all the bellyaching a decade later? Secretary of State Shultz complains that after Vietnam "the United States re-

treated into introspection, self-doubt and hesitancy." The gang currently in power in Washington is gung-ho to pursue the anti-Soviet war drive full blast. But they have some problems with the American people, who still don't trust their government. "Our goals in Central America are like those we had in Vietnam," Shultz declares. Yes, that's exactly what people are afraid of.

In a barrage of newspaper coverage and television specials on the tenth anniversary of the "fall of Saigon," the American bourgeoisie is trying to banish the bitter taste of defeat. In order to rehabilitate the military, they staged a flag-waving orgy of "new patriotism," a confetti parade in New York City May 7. With racist NYC mayor Koch at their head, 25,000 Vietnam veterans marched over the Brooklyn Bridge and down Broadway, "coming home" ten years late. Meanwhile, headlines in the *Washington Post* ("Fighting Back, Army

Liberation of Saigon, April 1975: Vietnamese guerrilla in front of National Assembly.

Tiziano Terzani



Recovered From Wounds of War") and the *New York Times* ("Military After Vietnam: Stronger Force Emerges") spoke for a bourgeoisie that would like to resurrect an "American century" that lies buried in the Mekong.

Day after day TV screens have been filled with Pentagon war criminals, Special Forces killers and Vietnamese *guyanos*, all with the intent of glorifying imperialism's decades of slaughter in

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