

Smash U.S. War Drive!

Nicaragua Under Siege



Gentile/Picture Group



Barricada

Frontline defenders of Nicaragua: Soldiers alongside Soviet-built tank, digging in against Yankee invasion (left). Crack anti-contra battalion on parade in Managua (right).

On July 8 President Ronald Reagan escalated his war threats against Nicaragua. Speaking before the Bar Association, Reagan arrogantly proclaimed Nicaragua an "outlaw state" and part of "a new, international version of Murder Inc." which the U.S. government claims supports world "terrorism." In the mouth of the biggest state terrorist on this planet, whose "free world" butchers terrorize the people from South Africa to Latin America to Asia, Reagan's words are not just hypocrisy and lies. They are an open declaration of the U.S. government's intention to undertake military aggression; as we said last issue: watch out world! While ludicrously charging Nicaragua (along

with Cuba, Libya, Iran and North Korea) with "outright acts of war" against the United States, Reagan remained coy about what kind of bloody revenge, and when, the U.S. is preparing against the Nicaraguans who dare to defy the dictates of the imperialist chief. Even in the face of this threat, thousands of U.S. citizens continue to visit Nicaragua each month to see for themselves the popular revolution which Reagan vows to destroy. We publish below a report of a recent trip to Nicaragua.

MANAGUA, July 3—Last week the U.S. House of Representatives voted a resolution authorizing President Ron-

ald Reagan to invade Nicaragua should the Sandinistas obtain MIG fighters or nuclear weapons; to respond to hijackings or "other acts of terrorism"; to protect American citizens, or if there is a "clear and present danger" of attack on the United States or its allies. In the United States this was billed as a curb on Reagan: the *New York Times* (28 June) headlined, "House Restricts Sending of G.I.'s into Nicaragua." Not here. *Barricada*, the official newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), titled its story on the House vote, "Green Light for Invasion." And tens of thousands of Nicaraguans have mobilized in the streets vowing to fight the Yankee invaders.

After all, Reagan has *already* decreed a "national emergency" claiming that the Nicaraguan government's policies constitute an "extraordinary threat to the national security" of the U.S.! Following Congress' June 13 vote for millions to the CIA's "contra" mercenaries, Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega declared that Managua was reasserting its right to obtain whatever military equipment it needs for its defense, including advanced jet fighters. For years Washington has claimed that Nicaragua is engaged in "terrorism" and "indirect aggression" by supplying arms to Salvadoran leftist insurgents. And they can always invent the excuse of

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Bloody Attacks on Soweto, Black States

South Africa's Racist Rampage

Smash U.S./Pretoria Anti-Soviet Axis!

Just after 1 a.m. on June 14 elite killer commandos from South Africa's bloody apartheid regime slipped into Gaborone, the capital of the sparsely populated black African state of Botswana which is but eight miles from the South African border. The commandos split up, and staked out nine homes and the office of the anti-apartheid Solidarity News Service. They then attacked them simultaneously using machine guns, mortars and powerful explosives to blow the homes and press offices to smithereens. The toll was 16 dead and six wounded. Others may have been abducted back to South Africa. Blood-soaked beds were the evidence that in some cases the surprise had been total.

Pretoria's white supremacist butchers would claim afterward that the raid was aimed at the "nerve center" of guerrilla operations by the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), the oldest and most prominent black nationalist organization of resistance to apartheid. But this was a terrorist murder mission which took the lives of a six-year-old girl, four Botswana citizens, a Sudanese refugee and South African refugees from apartheid repression unconnected with the ANC.

This savage massacre, like earlier raids in Lesotho and Mozambique, was President Botha's declaration that South Africa intends to bludgeon the

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Alan Hutchinson

Armed might of apartheid state must be smashed by workers revolution.



Black Soldiers in WW II: U.S. Army's Racism in the Pacific

22 June 1985

Dear Editor,

Workers Vanguard's two-part series, "Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military" (*WV* No. 378, 3 May 1985 and *WV* No. 380, 31 May 1985) concentrated on the "war at home," the impact of blacks in uniform on racist American society. But reference should also be made to the black GIs' experience of racism and resistance in the Pacific

as well as imperialist nature of the war there exacerbated the racism endemic to America's Jim Crow military. From the white racist bastion of Australia to the brutalized Pacific island colonies, black GIs encountered fear, resentment and violent hatred from the region's old colonial masters and privileged whites and, most intensely, from their own white "comrades-in-arms."

British officials were particularly worried about the impact black

further by the presence of additional Negro troops" (quoted in Ronald H. Spector, *Eagle Against The Sun—The American War With Japan* [1985]).

With its official "white Australia" laws and immigration policies, this former convicts' colony at first protested receiving black American troops. Given the manpower requirements of imperialist war, the Australian government begrudgingly acquiesced to the presence of black GIs. The then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party called attention to a cartoon which "cleverly summed up the situation":

"...showing a Negro soldier being greeted by an Australian official standing in front of a sign which reads, 'Colored persons not allowed in Australia.' The official is saying to the Negro soldier: 'Jolly glad to see you, old boy. Just ignore these bloody signs around here—for the duration.' The final payoff is that the Negro troops are not to be used for combat but only as work gangs to do the dirty work."

—*Militant*, 11 April 1942, quoted in *Fighting Racism in World War II* (1980)

In a society saturated with racism and bigotry, black troops stationed in Australia were subjected to constant harassment and violence, especially

from white American soldiers. The most explosive issue was black socializing with Australian women, which was violently resented even more by white soldiers from the "good ole US of A" than white chauvinist Aussies. In Sydney most popular dance and music halls were declared off limits to black GIs. Women who dared to attend black social functions were beaten up as they departed. In New South Wales, newly arrived American white troops attacked an army truck full of black GIs, forcing the blacks to dismount and provoking a race riot.

On Guam, repeated racial attacks by white Marines on black sailors from the local naval depot over socializing with native women in the town of Agaña compelled the blacks to acquire arms like rifles and knives illegally. The Marines, of course, had access to weapons. On Christmas Eve, 1942, a white sailor shot a black sailor in Agaña. The black sailors armed themselves, commandeered trucks and attempted to drive to Agaña. They were stopped by military police, provoking a full-scale riot and shootout. Most of the blacks involved refused to testify before an all-white Navy Court of Inquiry and even a visit by NAACP executive secretary Walter White to solicit cooperation did not shake this black solidarity.

Comradely,
Deborah Maguire and
Reuben Samuels



Black soldiers in the Jim Crow U.S. Army, Solomon Islands.

theater during World War II, which foreshadowed the experience of black troops during the Korean and Vietnam Wars.

World War II was no war for "democracy" and in the Far East U.S. imperialism openly fought to turn the Pacific into an American lake and its islands into U.S. colonies. The colonial

troops—comparatively well-fed, well-paid and well-educated—would have on their colonial "subjects." When the War Department proposed sending a black cavalry regiment to New Caledonia where combat troops were urgently needed, army commanders protested: "French control of local natives was delicate enough not to aggravate it

George Lavan Weissman Remembered

5 July 1985

To the editor:

In light of *WV's* obituary for George Weissman [see "George Lavan Weissman, Veteran Trotskyist," *WV* No. 382, 28 June], I think your readers will be interested in some additional details on the May 25 memorial meeting organized by Weissman's comrades of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT).

Your article notes the broad range of people who presented or sent greetings to the meeting, an indication of the respect in which comrade Weissman was held by those who knew him during his nearly 50 years in the Marxist movement. A subsequent article on the memorial meeting appears in the new issue of the FIT's publication (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* [BIDOM], July). This article, written by Naomi Allen, notes that the United Secretariat, the international grouping headed by Ernest Mandel which the FIT supports, sent a speaker to deliver a message saluting Weissman as "an outstanding representative of the founding generation of the world Trotskyist movement," and greetings were also received from Mandel, from the United Secretariat's Mexican section and from a group of supporters in Canada. A speaker was also sent to bring the greetings of Socialist Action, a group of ex-SWPs who were sometimes associated with the FIT before and after both groups were bureaucratically expelled, but is no longer connected with the FIT. By way of contrast the SWP, the organization to which Weissman devoted his whole political life, did not see fit to honor him or even to acknowledge the invitation.

In addition to the numerous ex-SWPs who spoke or sent messages, including George Breitman, Myra Tanner Weiss, James Kutcher, Augusta Trainor and Gerry Foley, an impressive array of figures associated with the Trotskyist movement overseas sent messages. Mentioned in the BIDOM article were, among many others,

Michel Pablo, head of the Fourth International in Europe following World War II; Marguerite Bonnet, Trotsky's literary representative in France; Ross Dowson, former leader of the Canadian United Secretariat section; Trotsky's bibliographer, Louis Sinclair; French Lambertist scholar Pierre Broué. From London, Tamara Deutscher, John Archer and Mildred Gordon all sent messages. Among the Americans saluting Weissman from diverse points of the political compass were Albert Glotzer, now with the Social Democrats USA, who left the SWP in 1940 with the Max Shachtman split; Dave Dellinger, former editor of *Liberation* magazine; and the SL's Jim Robertson, who as you noted knew Weissman in the SWP.

Perhaps the most moving section of the FIT's account of the memorial deals with comrade Weissman's personal and political involvement with the Trotsky family. Weissman, as you know, was the U.S. literary representative of Trotsky's estate. Naomi Allen's article notes that Weissman "participated in the centenary of Trotsky's birth in Mexico City in 1979. George and his first wife, Constance Fox Harding, entertained Natalia Sedova, Trotsky's widow, in their home during her visit to New York in the fifties, and he maintained a close relationship to Trotsky's grandson, Seva Volkov, and to his family as well. Volkov traveled to New York for the memorial meeting from Mexico and delivered a speech to the meeting that was translated by his daughter Nora." In his remarks, Volkov called comrade Weissman

"the personification of the new man of the socialist society of the future, in a world without borders and without oppression, without exploitation and violence among people. Men like George Weissman make us proud of our human condition and of the Trotskyist movement—a living example of the high goals of humanity."

In solidarity,
L.G.

Communists and Parliament

The revolutionists' utilization of parliamentary elections and bodies was explicated at the Second Congress of the Communist International (1920) in a document drawing on the experience of the Bolsheviks and European revolutionary socialists. The theses were drafted by Bukharin with a historical introduction by Trotsky.



TROTSKY



LENIN

In the modern conditions of unbridled imperialism parliament has become a weapon of falsehood, deception and violence, a place of enervating chatter. In the face of the devastation, embezzlement, robbery and destruction committed by imperialism, parliamentary reforms which are wholly lacking in consistency, durability and order lose all practical significance for the working masses....

12. Parliamentary activity, which consists mainly of disseminating revolutionary ideas, unmasking class enemies from the parliamentary platform, and furthering the ideological cohesion of the masses, who, especially in the backward areas, still respect parliament and harbour democratic illusions—this activity must be absolutely subordinate to the aims and tasks of the mass struggle outside parliament....

14. The election campaign itself must be conducted not as a drive for the maximum number of parliamentary seats, but as a mobilization of the masses around slogans of proletarian revolution. The election struggle must involve rank-and-file Party members and not the Party leadership alone; it is essential that all mass actions (strikes, demonstrations, movements among the armed forces etc.) occurring at the time are taken up in the campaign and that close contact is maintained with them. The mass proletarian organizations should also be drawn into active work around the election.

—"The Communist Party and Parliament,"
adopted by Second Congress of the Communist International (August 1920)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Noah Wilner

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PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stenberg (Closing editor for No. 383: Liz Gordon)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 383

12 July 1985

The country is awash with Soviet spy mania. You can't open a paper or switch on the TV without finding out about FBI agents seduced by KGB temptresses, reports of a fourth, fifth and sixth man in the Norfolk spy ring. Never before have so many people been charged with espionage, the government reports, and who knows how many more among the four million people with security clearances are ready to sell secrets for dollars? Oh for the good old days of Philby, Burgess and Maclean, remark the spy chasers plaintively, when spies were spies for the good of the cause. "The ideologues are few in number," said one expert. "The people who want a little more cash are legion" (*New York Times*, 6 June). Meanwhile, the Reagan administration is trying to whip up a McCarthyite spy psychosis in order to reinstate a federal death penalty for spies, hijackers and presidential assassins, among others.

The biggest case of late is that of the former Navy radioman John Walker, Jr. and his family. Supposedly he had been spying for the Soviet Union for 20 years without being detected, flying to ports around the world to take deliveries from

relatives aboard Navy ships. He was only caught because his ex-wife Barbara turned him in. The case abounds with incongruities: no evidence of meetings with Soviet agents in the U.S., no proof of big money changing hands, and John Walker was Virginia state leader of the fascist Ku Klux Klan who used to "cuss the commies" together with his buddy Bill Wilkinson, a national KKK leader and known FBI informant. Even U.S. sources admit their "knowledge" of the purported spy ring "is based, to a large extent, on well-informed speculation." At this point there's certainly reasonable doubt about the affair, such as ex-wife Barbara Walker's remark: "'He always tried to make me believe that he was going away for espionage, but that was a lie: it was a cover,' she said of his affairs with women" (*New York Times*, 21 June).

During an earlier round of spy mania humorist Russell Baker analyzed the Dmitri Rizzutovich Money Store phenomenon. We reprint below Baker's column from the 22 December 1984 *New York Times*.

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OBSERVER
Russell Baker

Cloak And Dollar

Remember those days of yesteryear when only a Commie rat would betray America's secrets to Moscow? It isn't like that any more, as I learned the first time I dropped in at the New York office of the Soviet spymaster, Ovichovich.

A dozen Americans with bulging briefcases were waiting in a reception room, hoping for a chance to see the great spymaster so they might — as one of them put it — "pick up a nice piece of change for the holiday season."

They were out of luck, as it turned out, for Ovichovich was in conference all afternoon with a fellow from the defense industry who was demanding \$150,000 for the blueprints of a weapon so new that its existence is still unknown to the American press.

"I finally got him to admit this new weapon — a laser-beam water pistol — is so new it does not exist; so new, in fact, that Cap Weinberger isn't even asking for \$30 billion to build it." (This was Ovichovich talking at the end of the workday over a dry Manhattan.)

"The man is completely unprincipled — nothing but a cheap moocher trying to swindle the Soviet Union out of 150 thou."

Ovichovich is a fairly typical specimen of the new style in Red spymasters being assigned to the United States. In his training for the job, he worked undercover at a small-loan shop in the Washington area, where he learned to spot a deadbeat at 40 paces and elicit confessions of felonious intent from hardened bunco artists.

Such are the skills vital to success for Red spymasters in the American territory nowadays. There are now so many Americans with so many secrets to peddle if the price is right that the average Red spymaster's office resembles nothing quite so much as a shady finance-company operation.

As the business became increasingly commercialized it began to attract such a tacky class of people that the Soviet Union became embarrassed about having them swarming around the Embassy. Its spymasters are now exiled to branch offices in the country's more raffish urban neighborhoods.

borhoods.

Ovichovich is not proud of his calling. As a youth studying at the Soviet Institute of Spymastering and Document Filching, he had anticipated a glamorous career discovering brave and daring Marxists buried in the great American fruitcake.

These heroes, inspired by his persuasive teachings, would see the wisdom of bringing him America's secrets free of charge, so that the whole United States could some day be as much fun as Moscow.

It would be an honor to work with such spies, with spies who knew that exposure could bring down upon them cries of "Commie rat!" and even worse, spies who nevertheless were willing to run those risks for nothing but the love of Marx, or loyalty to the Revolution, or because they thought Stalin was a great human being.

By the time Ovichovich qualified to work the American territory the days of the high-principled spies were ending. It was no longer devotion to Communism that brought Americans in with the secrets; now it was strictly another rotten capitalistic enterprise.

"By the time I got here," Ovichovich recalled, "we were being approached by so many Americans desperate for money to pay their bills that I felt like a banker. When I'd go to a bar to relax, as soon as people heard my Russian accent, I'd be surrounded by

Americans telling me about the top-secret jobs they held and how desperately they needed \$25,000."

As a student of people who are defeated by the modern age, I have spent much time cultivating

The spy business isn't what it used to be

Ovichovich. Here is a man so devoted to Marx that he is willing to spend his life at the sort of work people do in the Central Intelligence Agency, and what is his award? He ends up a broker in the marketplace, a buyer, a shrewd judge of values. In short, a capitalist.

It will surely ruin his character. Recently we lunched together and I picked up the check. "Are you interested in Gromyko's unlisted phone number?" he replied.

Though tempted, I declined his offer. "Gromyko is a Commie rat," I said. Ovichovich smiled. At the thought of what the good old days must have been like, I suppose. □

Fascists, or Just Plain Reactionary Pigs

11 May 1985

Dear Comrades:

In the article "Hands Off Guillermo!" [*YSp* No. 126, April 1985] frequent Nazi-Germanic references are made. For example, a reference to making "a Nazi-style 'example'" of Guillermo [Bermúdez], a reference to "UC Reichschancellor Ira Heyman," a reference to the "right-wing cabal running the campus: it bears no small resemblance to the führer's bunker."

In *WV* 378 [3 May] the article "Reagan Salutes Nazis" you end by saying, "The American bourgeoisie wanted Ronald Reagan, and it got the Nazis in the bargain. From South Africa to Germany to Central America and the United States, the scourge of fascism will only be wiped out through international socialist revolution." What on earth is going on!!! Reichschancellor—the University of California has become the German Empire? The Chancellor is head of state? (Reichschancellor is a mixed German-English word.)

Is it somehow the invention of the Nazis to make brutal examples by coming down hard on opponents? If anything they were Johnny-come-latelies to that business. Certainly the good old democratic Americans were at it long before them; then of course there was the Roman Empire, etc., etc. The "führer's bunker," the Red Army is about to take Berkeley? The German Empire centered on presumably California with none other than dear old Berkeley as its capital is in desperate straits and about to be overrun? The

WV quote says they "got" the Nazis. The scourge of fascism exists "From South Africa to Germany to Central America and the United States..." You are arguing these are fascist states? No, I really don't think you are that dumb. In the Viet Nam era there was a lot of this trite Nazi name calling, and I remember SL set itself apart by pointing out that fascism (and its German manifestation in the '30's and '40's, Nazism) was a historically defined manifestation which had to be dealt with in definite ways, and imposed definite limitations. (If this is supposed to be a fascist, or Nazi, or Nazi-like state why isn't SL and the rest of the ostensibly Marxist left either underground, in exile, in prison or dead?) (For that matter you might check the U.S. after its entry into WWI if you want to see some repression, very much within bourgeois democracy.)

All right, Nazi is a "buzz word" (I hate that expression, but it fits), say it and you arouse negative emotions (as you pointed out in the *WV* article). Smear your opponent with it and people will hate him. All this though is stupidly trite name calling! It is not scientific socialism. Marxism even in agitation should strive to be accurate. Furthermore by intentionally or otherwise equating things German with things Nazi you are committing a gross inaccuracy and a slander (not the least against the German communists who died opposing the Nazis or for that matter say other Germans like Karl Marx). In the "Red Avenger" satire you used a lot of Nazi and Germanic references, but satire is supposed to be absurd, it gets its effect

by gross overstatement. If the Guillermo article was supposed to be satire it didn't come off that way.

In the *WV* article you seem to have gotten carried away with trying to tie Reagan to the Nazis (whom he explicitly publicly disassociates himself from) and wind up making an ambiguous state-

is merely an aberration, and that really if we just get rid of them, and maybe vote out the conservative Republicans (*maybe*), everything will be all right (some would say put the conservatives in). This is not true, it won't.

The above is given as constructive criticism, and I hope that it will be taken

"Ich bin ein Bitburger"—
syndicated cartoonist
Ollphant
thought
so too.



ment. It needs clarification. Furthermore Reagan never said "Ich bin ein Bitburger" (in fact the pseudoquote is pretty absurd) and I really don't think that such things contribute anything positive to the article. Reagan is a conservative Republican, his politics are quite within the range of bourgeois democracy, and he seems willing to stay there. That does not mean that there may not be some repressive measures against his opponents, and it does not mean that he will not go to war. In no way can he be described as a fascist. This trite Nazi and fascist name calling in fact plays right into the hands of those who defend capitalism claiming that fascism

that way. Generally I think that the politics and the expression of it in the SL press is good. I will add that apparently some other people here (Iowa City) think that the SL/SYL press is worth reading as they receive it positively or even ask for it.

In solidarity,
Loren

WV replies: Two days after the above letter was written, the police bombed a black neighborhood in West Philadelphia, eleven members of the MOVE commune were burned alive, including two black babies, and 60 houses

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No More Greensboro Massacres!

In Winston-Salem, North Carolina on June 7, a jury brought back a verdict in the 13-week, \$48 million civil suit of the survivors of the Greensboro massacre. Five Nazis and Klansmen, two Greensboro policemen and one police informer were found "liable for the wrongful death" of Dr. Michael Nathan, one of five Communist Workers Party (CWP) supporters murdered in cold blood by the fascists on 3 November 1979. The jury awarded \$355,100 to Nathan's widow Marty; \$38,360 to Paul Bermanzohn, who remains paralyzed five and a half years after he was shot in the head, and \$1,500 to another wounded victim, Tom Clark. All charges of conspiracy were dismissed against 45 people, including some 36 Greensboro cops, two FBI informers and an ATF (Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) agent named in the civil suit.

The fact that any of these criminals was held accountable for the Greensboro murders in a North Carolina court is itself an achievement. Two previous whitewash trials by federal and state "prosecutors" let their Klan and Nazi co-conspirators off the hook, acquitted by lily-white juries. The *New York Times* (14 June) snidely commented on the verdict that although "most of the victims were political agitators" and "considered Klan-baiting and Nazi-haiting as part of their mission," still, they supposed, "even radicals have rights." The *Times* has treated this premeditated massacre as a "shootout" between two "extremist groups" all along. For the victims, survivor Marty Nathan commented:

"Finally we have a verdict that found people at fault in this case. But I cannot say full justice was done. Five wonderful people were killed, and their lives

FBI informer riding at the head of the caravan of death to the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear. And the deadly conspiracy continues. Even as the government terrorists of Greensboro were in the dock, the black MOVE group and their habies were incinerated in Philadelphia, an operation worked out in detail with the FBI and lauded by Reagan's sinister top cop Meese. Greensboro was the opening shot of the Reagan years, and the bombing of black Philadelphia is the symbol of the Reagan regime.

Found "liable" in Dr. Nathan's death were Greensboro police informer Edward Dawson, charged with helping organize and lead the KKK/Nazi caravan to the demonstration site; Klansmen David Wayne Matthews and Jerry Paul Smith; Nazis Roland Wayne Wood, Mark Scherer and Jack Fowler; Greensboro police lieutenant P.W. Spoon and detective Jerry "Rooster" Cooper. It was revealed at the trial that Greensboro cop Cooper called up Dawson, their man in the Klan, to inform them of a last-minute change in the starting point of the leftists' march. It was Spoon, the cop in charge that day, who kept the cops away to be sure the KKK/Nazi death squad had a clear field for attack.

The verdict may be the result of a compromise within the jury; early in the morning of June 7, the jury was deadlocked on all but one count of assault. Jury foreman George E. Pope is black, a significant contrast to the composition of the two previous kangaroo courts. And the jury was clearly dissatisfied throughout the trial with the defendants' open apologies for racist murder. Lawyers for the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund presented 75 witnesses in eight weeks of testimony; when the government and fascists rested their case after only four days, a ripple of incredulity passed audibly through the court, one juror remarking, "Is that all?"

Death Squad Assassination

When the civil suit opened, we headlined "Greensboro CWP Victims on Trial Again" (*WV* No. 376, 5 April). In court, the obscene equation of the victims with the murderers was taken one step further, with lawyers for the government joining the fascists in claiming, according to the *New York Times* (31 March), that the "anti-Klan demonstrators had provoked the shootings" and the Klansmen and Nazis "acted in self-defense." District court judge Robert M. Merhige, Jr. initially agreed to hear a KKK "countersuit" at the same time, later ruling after objections that this would be taken up pending settlement of the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund suit. Now that motion stands in the wings as a threat, and could become part of a legal counteroffensive by the KKK, Nazis and cops. At the least, an appeal of the verdict is likely.

Why did the jury rule "wrongful death" liability only in the murder of Dr. Michael Nathan? Greensboro Rights Fund attorney Flint Taylor said the jury may have chosen Nathan because they were told Nathan was not an official member of the CWP at the time. (Evidently North Carolina courts hold that being a card-carrying communist is a justification for murder!) Chilling firsthand testimony of the cops and fascists refuted the "shootout" lie, proving once again that this was a death squad assassination in which the

human targets were picked out in advance. Black Greensboro CWP leader Nelson Johnson was top on their hit list—only by chance did he escape just with wounds that day.

Maurice Cawn, a legal adviser to the Greensboro police department, testified that at police meetings planning for the upcoming march, he sensed there was a "stigma or bad feelings" about march

racist murders.

Meanwhile, police informer Dawson testified how he had recruited Klansmen to confront the marchers, how he designed and put up posters depicting lynchings, obtained the parade route from the cops, arranged a meeting point for the KKK/Nazis and was essentially "in charge" of the death squad caravan. The cops knew in advance that the

Greensboro cops maul CWP leader Nelson Johnson after Klan/Nazis/cops/FBI massacred his comrades.



organizer Johnson, stemming "from Mr. Johnson's involvement in unrest at North Carolina A&T State University in the 1960's" and Johnson's criticism of "what he called undue police force against Greensboro blacks" (*New York Times*, 27 May). "Former" Nazi Chris Benson testified to the meeting, one day before the murders, where he, Colman Pridmore, Virgil Griffin and Jerry Paul Smith looked at a rally poster with photographs of the anti-Klan demonstrators and picked out people they'd "like to get."

According to the *Atlanta Southline* (12 June), Hitler-lover "Roland Wayne Wood testified in a pinstripe suit with live skulls on the vest pocket," which he "denied" represented the slain demonstrators. The Nazis' lawyer Roy Hall could well have been Reagan's Bithurg speechwriter when he told the jury at the federal trial, "The Germans gambled everything and lost all in opposition to communism. Aren't they a lot more attractive now than they were 40 years ago at the end of the war?... These defendants are patriotic citizens.... That's why they went to Greensboro—to stop the communists."

Throughout the eight weeks of testimony there emerged publicly in the courtroom a significant pattern of government complicity for all but the willfully blind to see. Forced to testify for the first time, ATF agent Butkovich swore to the events at the November 1 Klan/Nazi planning session where a Klansman told him he had "a pipe bomb which would work well in a crowd of niggers." As the plaintiff's attorney Flint Taylor stated, "Agent Butkovich with the express authorization of his superior encouraged Nazis to bring guns to Greensboro." But Butkovich was not found liable as an accomplice to the

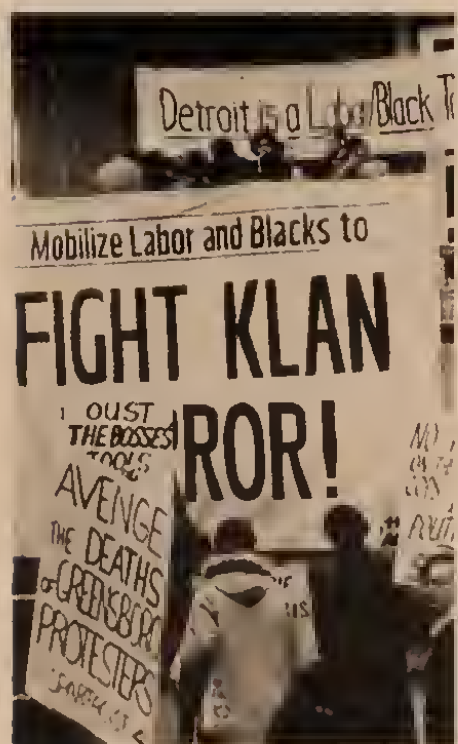
Klansmen were coming, that they had a machine gun and were going to "shoot up the place." Yet Spoon, the cop in charge, never even showed up on the site!

No More Greensboros!

Nelson Johnson told *WV* that the decision was "a positive verdict in that the Nazis, Klan, the police commander, police informant and police detectives were all found liable," although there were many others who should have been found guilty and did in fact conspire. He added that the verdict was the product "not just [of] the efforts of those of us who were plaintiffs, but of people all over the country who worked to make it possible." As we have insisted, the survivors deserve every penny they can get, and it is important the cop/fascist conspiracy be exposed.

It will not be in the capitalist courts that real justice will be done. Reagan's racist dogs of war can and must be stopped by mass labor/black action. In the aftermath of the 1979 KKK/Nazi bloodbath, the cry of "No More Greensboros—Fascists Off the Streets!" rang out from Detroit to Washington, D.C., as Spartacist League-initiated mass mobilizations have successfully interdicted the fascist vermin in the big urban cities thus far into the Reagan years.

Like the Philadelphia inferno, the massacre at Greensboro was a heinous crime of the American ruling class burned into the memory of our party, and all class-conscious working people in this country. Only the abolition of this system of racist exploitation and murder can avenge the five fallen comrades of Greensboro. Labor/black action to smash fascist terror! No more Greensboros! Finish the Civil War! ■



SL-initiated rally stopped Klan from "celebrating" Greensboro massacre in Detroit, 10 November 1979

were worth no less than Michael Nathan's."

—*Virginian-Pilot*, 8 June

The shotgun blasts that cut down the anti-Klan demonstrators proclaimed open season on blacks, union organizers and communists "at home" as the Democratic Party administration of Jimmy Carter whipped up its anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade abroad. The Greensboro massacre was a government conspiracy from start to finish, from the feds who instructed the fascists in the manufacture of pipe bombs and planned the attack route, to the "ex"

Hijack Hysteria, Air Safety Nose Dive

Reagan's Deadly Skies

Now that the 39 former hostages of TWA Flight 847 are back safely, Ronald Reagan is looking for a way to "stand tall" again, and that's when he's most dangerous, as tiny Grenada found out in 1983. "After seeing *Rambo* last night, I know what to do next time," Reagan muttered into the mikes. In addition to his shoot-'em-up fantasies, he's pushing proposals to beef up "security" at airports and other places. *Newsweek* (8 July) described the "terror-proof airport" of the future: x-ray machines, FBI

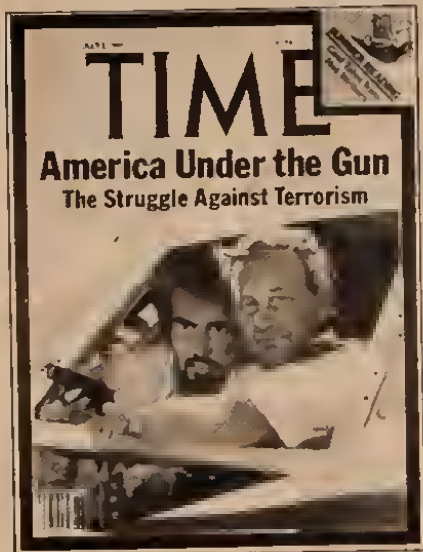
or calling for even a penny more for air safety. Why not? Because skyjacking by foreign terrorists raises the hackles of imperialist egotism—Reagan & Co. figure they should have a monopoly on technological terror. But the air disaster carnage is considered simply the "normal" workings of business.

Most of the proposed "anti-terrorist" measures are either useless or dangerous. Beefing up the "sky marshal" force gives justifiable jitters to the airlines association chief of security, who warns

wind in the name of "deregulation." The frontal attack on air safety was signaled by Reagan's 1981 firing of 11,400 striking PATCO air traffic controllers, whose main concern was staff shortages and job pressures creating safety hazards. Today the system is stretched thinner than ever with 14,300 controllers, 2,000 less than there were before the strike, and only half the workforce is rated fully "qualified." "The reduced force of controllers must handle a volume of air traffic 8 to 10 percent

bragged about strikebreaking in 1981, are now talking about forming a new union.

In order to make the skies safe for free enterprise, Reagan has made them deadly dangerous for airline workers and passengers. The government's destruction of PATCO combined with "deregulation" of the airlines was the green light for private carriers to attempt to destroy *their* unions. Now we have a host of fly-by-night outfits modeled on People Express, using seaborne labor, cut-rate maintenance and an unskilled staff, with every employee supposed to be an "entrepreneur" so that all they will worry about is the bottom line. After a few crashes they get bought out or go bankrupt. Meanwhile the big lines like TWA and United are taken over by professional union-busters. The dramatic nose dive of air safety under Reagan underlines a key point: union rights and passenger safety go hand in hand.



You've got a lot more to fear from the airline industry than from hijackers. 150 died when Boeing 727 went down in flames after midair collision over San Diego, 1978.

computer checks, sniffer machines and electrified barbed wire, to turn airports into high-tech prisons like something out of *Escape from New York* or 1984. Cost is no object—the already-planned "security" beef-up at U.S. embassies and consulates alone is projected to consume \$3.5 billion dollars.

The Shi'ite hijacking is indefensible, but they had plenty of reason to do it after the Israelis literally kidnapped 1,100 Arab men and boys as they were pulling out of Lebanon this spring. It is the massive, systematic terrorism of imperialism that generates the desperate and suicidal despair of individual terrorists like the Shi'ite fanatics. In any case, Reagan's hostage hysteria has nothing to do with saving lives, American or others. We don't diminish in any way the cold-blooded murder of that young Navy diver in Beirut, but the fact is if you're in a plane that's hijacked your chances of coming out alive are pretty good, whereas if your plane is involved in a midair collision you're a goner.

Every year hundreds die in preventable air disasters—tourists, housewives, businessmen, the whole spectrum of American society—yet you don't see the president getting on TV talking about "America under the gun"

of shootouts at 40,000 feet. And the president's call to boycott Athens airport is sheer hypocrisy and a political vendetta against the Greek government. Greek minister of culture Melina Mercouri shot back that "only two hijackings had originated in Athens in recent years, while 36 had occurred in the United States in the same period of time" (*New York Times*, 23 June).

Meanwhile New York's mayor Ed Koch, friend of Israeli terrorist/murderer Ariel Sharon (who invaded Lebanon in 1982, provoking the current round of anti-Israeli terrorism), has suggested such Zionist-type solutions as bombing Beirut airport and bombing Kharg Island in Iran. Well, we have a modest counterproposal ourselves: Israel should be persuaded to go back into Lebanon, as soon as possible for as long as possible, to get chewed up in the communal warfare; and Koch should do a deep penetration intelligence mission into the Shi'ite areas of Lebanon disguised as a mullah. They'd get a good dose of their own medicine.

As for saving lives, a truly safe air transport system would require such things as: hiring thousands more air traffic controllers and cutting their workday to four hours, providing decent wages, union-controlled working conditions and massive training to ground mechanics, installing state-of-the-art radar and other safety hardware at airports and on planes, and so on. (And how about teaching stewardesses how to fly in case of emergency—as the flight attendants' union has been demanding for years.) They can build safer, more rugged aircraft which can survive serious damage—like military jets designed to fly even after being shot up. But all this would cut into the profit margins of the airline industry. And under capitalism, maximum profit is the name of the game.

PATCO: Union-Busting Kills Air Safety

In the Reagan years government air safety controls have been thrown to the

higher than the pre-strike level," noted an article in the *Nation* (1 June). Even the pro-business *Wall Street Journal* (20 April 1984) felt compelled to warn about skyrocketing "operational errors" due to "overtaxing a largely unseasoned work force of controllers."

Last month the National Transportation Safety Board reported there were 594 "near-collisions" in 1984, and they're investigating a rash of 14 near-collisions on the ground in the past three months. Furthermore, there's much more they're not telling us. According to the *Nation*, "Documents obtained in January under the Freedom of Information Act by Ralph Nader's Aviation Consumer Action Project indicate that the [FAA] failed to report at least 102 near collisions in 1983 and 1984." Predictably, the Reaganite "solution" for the mounting numbers is to change their statistical methods: a 7 June AP dispatch reports that the FAA is considering a "more limited" definition of "near-collision" using a standard of 500 feet which would, for instance, cut the 1984 numbers by "about one-third." The situation has gotten so bad that many of the present controllers, who

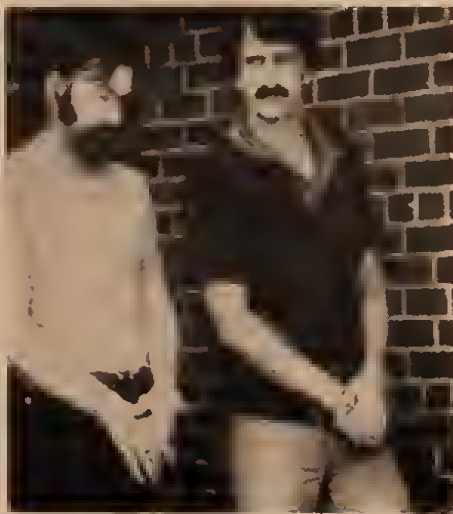
Air Disasters: Who Profits?

Over the years penny-pinching for profit has cost thousands of lives. The world's worst civil aviation disaster—involving two Boeing 747s, a Dutch KLM airliner which crashed into a Pan Am jet on the ground in the Canary Islands in March 1978, causing 585 deaths—could have been prevented if the Tenerife airport had installed available ground radar and taxiing guidance systems. Similarly, the worst civil aviation disaster in U.S. history—the crash of an American Airlines flight over Chicago in May 1979, in which 273 people died—was the result of cutting corners: an engine literally fell off the jumbo DC-10 because the company was using a fork-lift truck to perform certain delicate engine maintenance procedures, a practice which saved "200 man hours per aircraft and a considerable amount of money" but which cracked the airframe (see William Norris, *The Unsafe Sky* [1981]).

Safety innovations usually come following the public outcry over a major disaster. Thus only after TWA Flight 514 plowed into the side of Mount Weather, Virginia in December 1974 did the FAA decide to order the installation of inexpensive "ground proximity warning systems," which tell the pilot to "pull up, pull up!" And the infamous DC-10 weak cargo door problem—which was known for years—was not fixed until after a Turkish Airlines DC-10 crashed in March 1974, killing 346, as a result of the cargo door blowing open. In the old days coal miners used to take canaries down into the mines to detect dangerous gas fumes—nowadays in the capitalist airline industry, we humans are the canaries.

And in the anti-union Reagan years things have sharply worsened. In 1983 Air Line Pilots Association president Henry A. Duffy noted an increase in "pilot pushing," where pilots are under pressure to fly in marginal conditions, causing disasters like the 1982 crash of a

continued on page 9



Reagan jailed PATCO leaders, fired 11,400 air controllers.

12 JULY 1985

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

"saving American lives" (as the Grenada invasion showed), even though the hundreds, possibly thousands of Americans here don't want to be "rescued." Even American liberals called the Congressional action "affirmative go signals for the Administration."

On June 28, sixty thousand workers, students and soldiers rallied at Managua's Roberto Huembe Plaza to give their response to the Yankee threats. It was the beginning of the annual march to Masaya, 25 kilometers away, to commemorate "La Repliegue" (the retreat). During the June-July 1979 insurrection, when Managua was cut off and subjected to murderous bombing by the National Guard, the FSLN organized a strategic withdrawal of 6,000 combatants, returning victoriously to the capital when the last of the Somoza gang fled on July 19. In the main speech to the rally, President Ortega answered the U.S. threats, saying that Nicaragua "already has nuclear weapons—the consciousness and heart of the Nicaraguans."

This year the march was led by a show of military force, including seven T-55 tanks, followed by several dozen army trucks pulling 152 mm cannon and anti-aircraft artillery. Mingling with the crowd were 4-5,000 troops of several EPS (Sandinista People's Army) and MPS (militia) brigades, chanting anti-invasion slogans as their units were called out from the podium. Nicaragua is once again readying the trenches in preparation for attack. The country is on alert, as it was last November during the "MIG crisis," manufactured by Reagan, when American SR-71 "Black Bird" spy planes daily caused sonic booms over Managua to sow panic in the population; and also in October 1983, following Reagan's Big Stick invasion of the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada. The tenor here can be seen from headlines in *Barricada*:

- June 21: "¡Nicaragua alerta!"
- June 23: "There Will Be No Grenada Here"
- June 25: "If the U.S. Attacks, They Won't Take Us Unawares"
- June 29: "On Your Knees Only to Take Aim"

All this week Managua has been mobilizing on an unprecedented level. A drive through the city will pass a dozen or more T-55s and armored personnel carriers; anti-aircraft artillery is in place. In the fields of the city, still strewn with rubble from the 1972 earthquake, tanks and APCs are being dug in and camouflaged to defend strategic locations—in some key spots a tank every 50 to 100 yards. The troop transports that only a week ago drove through the city empty are now packed full of armed troops—army, militia, interior ministry. And more movements are taking place at night.

Ever since Reagan declared a trade

embargo May 1—a clear act of war—the population has been tensed for a U.S. strike. Many believe the invasion will come this month. Last week everyone was talking about a *Village Voice* article reprinted here laying out hypothetical plans for "Operation Founding Fathers," targeted for July 4. Also reported was the *New York Times* series detailing extensive Pentagon preparations for invasion in Central America. But as the *Voice* also pointed out, the Pentagon has been engaged in a "perception management program" in an attempt to scare the Nicaraguan population into

and yellow Vatican flags, many chanting "Viva Reagan—Death to Ortega!" It took six hours for Obando to make the nine-mile trip from the airport to his residence, edging along in his "cardinal-mobile" as up to 200,000 people lined the route.

Was this a counterrevolutionary mobilization? It was plenty ominous. After the police had to use fire hoses to keep the airport crowd under control, Interior Minister Tomás Borge vowed, "We are not going to allow this to happen again." Obando's open air mass the next day drew only about 20,000,



Day/The Commercial Appeal

submission, to get Managua to "cry wolf" once too often.

Reagan wants to wear down Nicaragua's defenses by psychological warfare—"controlled management" of their hysteria—counting on the Sandinistas sooner or later to make a mistake. Now Congress is "neutralized," and with the Lebanon hostage crisis, White House spokesmen talk of a "specific plan of action, first in Central America" to "end the external support the Salvadoran terrorists [leftist rebels] receive from Nicaragua and the Communist bloc." They accuse the Sandinistas of "paranoia," but one of these times the U.S. will invade—otherwise its war threats and war moves, which have only pushed the country further down the "Cuban road," make no sense. And Nicaragua must be ready.

The beat of the Reaganite war drums has been combined with internal provocation. After being crowned cardinal by the Polish anti-Communist pope in Rome, Managua archbishop Obando y Bravo came back by way of Miami, where he said mass for the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries; prominent among the mercenary luminaries attending the "contra mass" were Adolfo Calero of the Somozaist FDN and ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora, known here as *El Traidor*. When Obando landed at Sandino Airport June 14, a demonstration organized by COSEP (the businessmen's association) pulled 5,000-plus people waving white

one-third the predicted turnout. The size of the crowd along the cardinal's route reflected strong religious sentiment in this highly Catholic country—where the church is deeply divided and there are three priests in the government. But, as the battle over Pope Wojtyla's 1983 visit to Managua showed, the church is also the trump card of the internal contras. Obando declared in his latest homily, "Don't let them cut off your head, like communism cuts off your head with the sickle and bashes it with the hammer." And then the rightist *La Prensa* complains that his sermons are no longer broadcast live!

The airport demonstration for Obando was noticeably middle-aged and well dressed. A very different crowd came out for a Sandinista Youth demonstration June 17—teenagers, preschoolers, militia men and women in their early 20s, in uniform and fully armed. Guns were passed out to the crowd, single shot and automatic weapons, and every time the speaker asked a rhetorical question shots would ring out amid chants of "¡Aquí, allá, el yanqui morirá!" (Here, there, the Yankees will die) and "¡No se vende, no se rinde!" (We won't sell out, we won't give up). Featured speaker Omar Cabezas, a guerrilla comandante and an EPS brigade commander, asked: "What would you prefer, plenty of toilet paper and nail polish, and in return we give up our gold and return the land confiscated from the rich?" The crowd roared back, "Let the revolution continue!" Cabezas quipped, "If you run short of toilet paper, you can always use *La Prensa* to wipe your ass."

As the contradictions intensify in Nicaragua, an accelerated pace of land distribution has been announced. Two weeks ago 3,000 peasants of the Agricultural Workers Association held a mass rally in Masaya, an area of acute land shortage, demanding expropriations. MININRA (land reform) minister Jaime Wheelock responded by confiscating the lands of COSEP leader Enrique Bolaños, who refused the government's offer of twice the acreage elsewhere. Then on July 1 the government announced another round of expropriations of Bolaños' property, this time his agricultural machinery business, SAIMSA. Apparently this was simply confiscated, without compensation, and the Nicaraguan capitalist leader is screaming bloody murder. Meanwhile, in the war-torn provinces

of Matagalpa and Jinotega, the government announced on June 28 the distribution of 600,000 acres of private and state land scheduled for the week of the sixth anniversary of the revolution (July 19). A couple of days later it was announced that titles to another 27,000 acres of land would be distributed to thousands of campesino families in the area around Managua. And on July 1, they announced the relocation of displaced Miskito Indians back to their ancestral lands in Tasba Pri and Rio Coco. According to *Barricada*, more land has been distributed thus far in 1985 than in the first four years of the revolution. However, until now almost all the land to which title had been granted was state lands occupied by squatters or former holdings of Somoza and his henchmen. The takeover of Bolaños represents a sharp departure: Wheelock pointedly declared that the political considerations had been carefully weighed in arriving at this decision.

For almost six years the ruling FSLN has followed a policy guided by the trinity of "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment." But under the blows of Yankee imperialism, this policy of conciliating contradictory class interests has become increasingly untenable and downright suicidal. In a recent interview with European journalists, Daniel Ortega declared that:

"At least we always had a rather clear idea of the historical stage which Nicaragua must accomplish in this century. And this is valid for Latin America as well. It is fundamentally the stage of national liberation. And we cannot unite national and social liberation at the same time, that would be very difficult. First we must conquer independence, a degree of national liberation rich in deep popular content which will make it possible to lay the bases to solve the great economic, social and political problems which will drag on over centuries."

—*L'Espresso*, 23 June

No, Nicaragua does not have centuries, or decades or even years to resolve the fundamental question of which class shall rule. Reagan is seeing to that. As the 101st and 82nd Airborne Divisions rev up their engines, preparing to head for Honduras and then on to Managua, the internal contras must be crushed. Today, the struggle to complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution is a matter of life and death for the Central American masses.

Speaking with the *New York Times* (7 June), Nicaraguan defense minister Humberto Ortega said that in the face of a U.S. invasion, "There will be tens of thousands of people in different parts of Central America armed with rifles, anti-aircraft guns and other weapons, in addition to tens of thousands in our country. The outcome will not be determined only by military power," and protests will spread through the United States as well. As the U.S. Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike, gives the green light for invasion, American revolutionaries have a special responsibility to mobilize against Reagan's invasion plans. The Spartacus Youth League fundraising campaign for dollars to Nicaragua is an important step. It is also vitally necessary to fight for labor strikes against U.S. intervention. Now more than ever, anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. *Defend Nicaragua—Smash U.S. war moves!* ■

Nicaragua Needs \$\$\$

The Spartacus Youth League is raising dollars for the urgent defense of Nicaragua against Yankee economic and military aggression. Every penny you give goes to Nicaragua. Take a stand; make your "anti-contra" bution today. Make checks payable to the Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua, and mail to: SYL, Box 3118 Church St. Station, New York, NY 10008.



Protest in Managua against Reagan's embargo, May 16. Banner reads: "I won't sell out. I won't give up. Let your mother cry uncle."

Strike Wave, Leftist Insurgency in the Capital

Class War in San Salvador

When an urban guerrilla commando made a lightning strike in the capital of El Salvador June 19, wiping out four U.S. Marines in a single blow, Ronald Reagan reacted with the arrogance of an imperial dictator. As the flag-draped coffins were off-loaded from an American military transport at Andrews Air Force Base, he vowed to smite the "jackals" who may have "disappeared into the city streets" but could not "escape the judgment of God." The American president who thinks he can call down heavenly wrath will have some problems, though, for the streets of San Salvador are no longer the exclusive hunting grounds of the rightist death squads and the mass murdering Salvadoran army. And as U.S. forces in Central America mount, these few Marine caskets will be followed by many, many more.

The leftist rebels that Reagan calls "terrorists" carried out a military action against legitimate targets in the midst of a bloody civil war where they face armed forces trained, armed and paid for by the United States. The San Salvador attack, say leaders of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), represents a new stage in their fight to "carry the war to the Yankee aggressors wherever they are." Now U.S. "advisers" won't be able to supervise bombing attacks on peasant hamlets by day and sip margaritas in the Zona Rosa at night. And as well as facing the FMLN guerrillas, the U.S. and its puppet president José Napoleón Duarte have to contend with a combative workers movement that is rising like a phoenix after almost five years of



15,000 workers defy terror regime to march in San Salvador, May Day 1985.

Salvador, Another Vietnam Awaits You," would not be the last:

"Did Ronald Reagan think that he would come to make war in El Salvador and that his soldiers were not going to die?"

"Let this be clear: as long as there is more Yankee intervention, more U.S. Marines will die."

—Washington Post, 22-23 June

Leading Salvadoran army officers like hardliner Colonel Sigfredo Ochoa claim, "We are winning the war." And spokesmen for Washington have been saying for the last year that there is "light at the end of the tunnel," to use the famous Vietnam phrase, although the

supporters of the guerrillas. Called Project 1,000, the plan is to create a thousand "model villages" into which peasants in the northern tier of El Salvador would be herded. In Vietnam they called them "strategic hamlets," and as in Vietnam, here too they will doubtless be destroyed from within.

The vastly increased U.S. aid has meant a setback to the leftist insurgency. Massed attacks have become rare, making it harder to destroy whole units of the government army. But the guerrillas have adapted to the government's new tactics, breaking down into smaller squads and preparing for a "war of attrition." Without suffering a single lost battle, they have been able to pull off some spectacular raids, like the March 16 attack on the communications installation atop El Picacho on the outskirts of the capital. They have also begun targeting government and military officials, such as the execution of armed forces spokesman Lt. Colonel Cienfuegos that same month. Last week, guerrilla commander Joaquín Villalobos told U.S. reporters, "Our strategy has to be based in defeating the resistance and the capacity of the Reagan Administration to continue supplying the Salvadoran Army." As the rebel leaders vowed to spread the war to every part of the country, last month FMLN units entered the western city of Santa Ana for the first time since 1981.

Labor in the Streets of San Salvador

In the capital social conditions are explosive as a leftist-led union movement mobilizes discontent over catastrophic living conditions. As a result of a three-year wage freeze, the real wages of Salvadoran workers lost an incredible 65 percent of their buying power during 1981-85, while unemployment has risen to an estimated 40 percent (*Guazapa*, 25 April). For the last year labor struggle has been on the rise as the historically militant union movement reasserts itself. In spite of the state of siege in the capital, during March-June San Salvador has seen a series of mass demonstrations and strikes on a scale unequalled since the massive mobilizations of 1979-80. The *Boletín Semanal Centroamericana* (10 June) published by the SALPRESS news agency reports the following major strikes during the month of May alone:

- Some 22,000 members of the ANDES teachers union undertook the fifth in a series of one- and two-day work stoppages.

- Waterworks employees of the SE-TANDA union held a nine-day strike demanding wage increases and negotiations with the leftist insurgents. They won a pay hike and 49 workers who had been fired were reinstated.

- At the same time ATRAME, representing employees of the education ministry, struck for a salary increase.

- STISS, representing 4,500 employees of the social security institute, struck for a month, occupying five hospitals and 20 clinics across the country.

These struggles were reflected in repeated mass mobilizations. On March 8, 25,000 members of agricultural cooperatives paraded in the capital protesting inflation and calling for "dialogue" with the FMLN and its allies of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). On March 24, some 10,000 protesters, organized by the Committee of Mothers of Prisoners and the Disappeared, marched on the fifth anniversary of the assassination of Archbishop Romero. And on May 1, an estimated 25,000 workers, peasants and students took part in the largest May Day celebration since 1979. Wearing hats with large visors and sunglasses to disguise themselves from government finks, they courageously marched "under the eye of death," as one speaker put it, through the streets where hundreds of martyrs have been slaughtered by the security forces.

The workers' mobilizations went on throughout the month; on May 15, more than 5,000 ANDES teachers marched to the education ministry; May 20, several unions marched on the social security institute to support STISS strikers; May 23, some 4,000 teachers and workers marched on the legislative assembly demanding satisfaction of their demands; May 28, again more than 4,000 workers marched on the assembly, this time together with the Mothers Committee.

These actions have taken place in the face of murderous repression. While U.S. officials proclaim the end of death squad violence under "democrat" Duarte, since the beginning of the year 22 Salvadoran trade unionists have been killed or kidnapped, among them

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Notorious Salvadoran death squad leader, army Lt. Colonel Cienfuegos got his at the hands of the FMLN.

clandestinity. The killing of U.S. soldiers has grabbed the headlines, but the press has not reported how tens of thousands of Salvadoran workers and peasants have repeatedly taken to the streets in recent months in mass actions.

Coupled with its invasion plans against Sandinista Nicaragua, Washington is sharply escalating its intervention in El Salvador. White House spokesman Larry Speakes declared: "...we are now drawing the line, we are laying out a specific plan of action, first in Central America, on delivering military weapons, providing additional intelligence, providing technical law enforcement assistance" (*New York Times*, 21 June). None of this has been authorized by the U.S. Congress, but they won't have any problems there: over the past year Democrats and Republicans have voted \$441 million in new aid to "democrat" Duarte. Already, Reagan has used emergency powers to deliver six new helicopters to the Salvadoran military. But the rebels' Radio Venceremos broadcast an FMLN communiqué on the San Salvador attack warning that their operation, titled "Yankee Aggressor in El

tunnel may be a long one. They are relying heavily on saturation bombing by American-supplied A-37 strike aircraft, UH-1H "Huey" helicopters and AC-47 gunships (equipped with three .50 caliber machine guns each capable of firing 1,500 rounds per minute) for strafing; they use 500 and 750 pound iron bombs converted into anti-personnel fragmentation devices, and the air strikes are pinpointed by U.S. Air Force reconnaissance planes flying out of Honduras (report by Congressmen Leach, Miller and Hatfield, *Alert!*, March 1985).

This has produced some "successes" for the government: according to Red Cross figures, over 100,000 civilians were driven from their homes between November 1983 and June 1984. At least 750,000 out of Salvador's five million population have fled the country, probably half to the United States, and there are another 500,000 "internal refugees" living in camps inside the country. Now, following the brutal counterinsurgency plan of neighboring Guatemala, the Salvadoran armed forces are applying a scorched earth policy attempting to remove peasant



Reagan's man Shultz and Salvadoran puppet Duarte.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

desperately poor and economically dependent black African states on its borders into expelling the ANC and other opponents of apartheid. This in turn is part of its war to drown in blood the growing resistance to apartheid by South Africa's black masses, especially the six-million-strong black proletariat. The Gaborone raid came as the apartheid regime was attempting to behead the largest anti-apartheid grouping, the United Democratic Front (UDF), 40 of whose leaders are on trial for treason. They face hanging if convicted.

Coming but two days before the annual commemoration by black South Africa (and black people throughout the world) of the massive youth-centered revolt which began in the black township of Soweto on 16 June 1976, the Gaborone massacre was both a provocation and a dire warning. The Soweto uprising swept across the black townships of South Africa; more than 500 youth were killed by the police before it was quelled in 1977, with thousands more forced into exile, particularly into Botswana. And in Soweto on this June 16 as 5,000 blacks poured out of a commemoration meeting at the township's Regina Mundi cathedral, cops in armored cars waiting outside fired tear gas and rubber bullets, pursuing the crowd as they fled.

This scene was repeated the following day as cops with batons and tear gas charged a demonstration of 500 blacks in a township near Windhoek, the capital of the South African colony of Namibia, formerly called South West Africa. The blacks were protesting the imposition by Pretoria of a puppet "transitional" government excluding the black majority, who overwhelmingly support the nationalist South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). And as if to remind everyone who still rules this mineral-rich land, on June 29 South African forces based in Namibia pursued SWAPO guerrillas into southern Angola and in a two-day rampage killed 61 people.

Meanwhile, a showdown is looming between South Africa's mine owners and the superexploited black miners who come overwhelmingly from the bantustans and bordering states like Botswana, Mozambique and Lesotho. The black National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) which represents more than 160,000 of South Africa's half-million black miners, held strike ballots at 18 gold mines and eleven collieries in their fight for increased wages. Already in late June 20,000 black gold miners in three mines near Johannesburg wildcat- ted for two days, forced back to work only by the threat of dismissal and the force of police bullets which killed one miner.

Troubles for the Washington/Pretoria Axis

The Gaborone massacre was a typical night's work for apartheid's bloody rulers. And up to now they have been able to look to Washington under Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" to give apartheid's racist

War Against Black Townships

On July 5, police wearing knitted caps as hoods went on a house-to-house rampage shotgunning blacks in Duduza, a black township east of Johannesburg. After three days of stonewalling, Pretoria finally admitted to killing at least three blacks and that a black woman was run over by an armored vehicle. On July 9 a funeral vigil was held for the four in a movie theater in a nearby township, KwaThema. Policemen and soldiers lobbed tear-gas canisters into the vigil. As the mourners poured out, these apartheid butchers opened fire, killing six immediately.

In the black townships around Port Elizabeth, 27 anti-apartheid militants have been "disappeared" and eleven assassinated in a "death squad" campaign of terror by police and white supremacists with ties to the military. The apartheid regime's determination to crush any resistance has targeted the militant townships of the highly industrialized East Rand in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape. Here Pretoria has imposed a massive military occupation with systematic terror and murder, provoking black protest in order to suppress it with greater bloodshed.

crimes both material and moral support. For example, when South African police killed 20 and wounded another 27 unarmed funeral goers in Uitenhage last March, Reagan justified the murder claiming: "There was rioting going on on behalf of others... who want a violent settlement." This lie was repudiated even by the apartheid regime's own commission of inquiry which found that most of the blacks were shot in the back.

But the Botswana raid, coming on the heels of another South African commando raid into Angola's northern province of Cabinda to blow up oil installations jointly owned by the Angolan government and the U.S. multinational Gulf Oil, compelled the State Department to issue a diplomatic rebuff by recalling the American ambassador to Pretoria. Certainly it was not concern for innocent black lives that motivated the White House defenders of the Uitenhage massacre and the organizers of the bombing of a black Philadelphia neighborhood. The State Department claimed it was acting out of "respect for the national sovereignty of all states and inviolability of international borders." Coming from the invaders of Grenada, the state terrorists who mine Nicaraguan ports, the car bombers of Beirut, the State Department's claim exemplified what Shakespeare said in his *Merchant of Venice*: "The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose."

But Washington is indeed temporarily miffed with its racist, anti-Soviet allies in Pretoria. Under "constructive engagement" Reagan has tried to broker a "Pax Afrikaner" in southern Africa in which Pretoria, as a junior partner of Washington, economically dominates and militarily polices nominally independent black states. This is to include Namibia, whose "independence" is linked to the withdrawal from Angola of 25,000 Soviet-backed Cuban troops, who are the only guarantors that this former Portuguese colony will not be turned into another bantustan. As with its Israeli client state in the Near East, Washington has developed a soft cop/hard cop duet with South Africa.

The latter does the dirty work of militarily terrorizing neighboring black states or organizing local "contras," such as Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in Angola and the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR). This allows the U.S.

to play "honest broker" and woo the black nationalist regimes away from their Soviet allies with promises of peace treaties with their imperialist neighbors to the south and of American aid. In return these regimes become border guards for apartheid slavery. Under the Lusaka Agreement, Angolan troops patrol their border in tandem with South Africans to cut off the SWAPO guerrillas. And under the Nkomati Accords, Mozambique expelled most of the ANC members in exile there. However, both UNITA and the phantom "MNR" have continued to receive South African backing for their campaigns wreaking mass murder and economic devastation on these poor countries.

The victory of the Vietnamese Revolution gave impetus to the overthrow of Portuguese colonialism by the Angolan and Mozambique masses. That humiliating defeat of U.S. imperialism stayed its hand from rushing to replace the Portuguese as it had replaced the French in Indochina, and its South African proxies were routed by Soviet-backed Cuban troops in Angola.

externally and to "reform" the apartheid system within. Both the Reaganite Republican Senate and the Democratic House are now passing measures for economic sanctions to pressure the Afrikaner nationalists in Pretoria to act in the best interests of the "free world." Writing for the *New York Times* (20 June) op-ed page, liberal New York Democratic Congressman Stephen Solarz endorsed both Reagan's boycott of Nicaragua and economic sanctions against South Africa as part of "A new Democratic foreign policy that... would serve our country's interests by facilitating a bipartisan consensus to resist Soviet expansionism and Communist tyranny."

From Soweto to Harlem: Workers to Power!

The U.S. rulers are worried that the arrogant white supremacists in Pretoria are destabilizing not only southern Africa but American society as well. Rev. Leon Sullivan, the Philadelphia black clergyman who sits on the General Motors board of directors and who drew up the "Sullivan Code" for American multinationals in South Africa, warned the Senate Banking Committee that if South Africa explodes, "Riots would occur in Harlem and other cities all over this country" (*Washington Post*, 14 June).

Thus, the black front men for U.S. imperialism see a direct link between pacifying Soweto and pacifying Harlem. In a keynote speech to a June 16 rally in Harlem called in the name of commemorating the Soweto uprising, black Democratic hustler Jesse Jackson called on *Ronald Reagan* to adopt a "new humane African policy" and for "a new African liberation policy coming from America." This is like calling on Hitler in 1938 to adopt a "new humane Jewish policy" or for a "new Jewish liberation policy" to come from Nazi Germany! The Harlem rally occurred only three days after black scholarship



Soweto, June 1985: 5,000 blacks defied troops to commemorate victims of Soweto uprising of 1976.

These events, in turn, inspired the massive youth-centered rebellion which began in Soweto in 1976 and re-emerged this past year, merging this time with the class battles of the black proletariat. South Africa cannot tolerate independent black states on its borders because they constitute a direct challenge to apartheid slavery, and so they behave like arrogant bully boys in "their" backyard the way their Yankee imperialist allies have behaved in "their" Central American backyard for a century.

From Washington's standpoint, however, Pretoria's unbridled militarism stands in the way of establishing a stable neocolonial relationship with the various black nationalist regimes in southern Africa and eradicating Soviet influence in the region. How can the nationalist regime in Angola, for example, be convinced to accept the withdrawal of Cuban troops if South Africa treats international borders as if they don't exist? At the same time, apartheid terror internally threatens a bloody conflagration within South Africa itself.

Hence U.S. imperialism would like South Africa to "moderate" its behavior

student Edmund Perry was shot dead, another victim of the wanton killing spree by Mayor Koch's racist cops.

Even though the attorney for the Perry family, Vernon Mason, who is running for district attorney in the Democratic primaries, was one of the featured speakers, Perry and other victims of racist cop killings were seldom mentioned at this rally. Likewise, the burning alive of eleven black MOVE members in Philadelphia was only referred to most delicately, if at all. This is because the purpose of the Harlem rally was to elect more black officials like Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode, who took "full responsibility" for that holocaust and vowed to do it again. At this rally which disgraced the memory of the Soweto martyrs, only a black leader of the Columbia anti-apartheid protest related apartheid slavery in South Africa to the hard racist reality of America's mean streets.

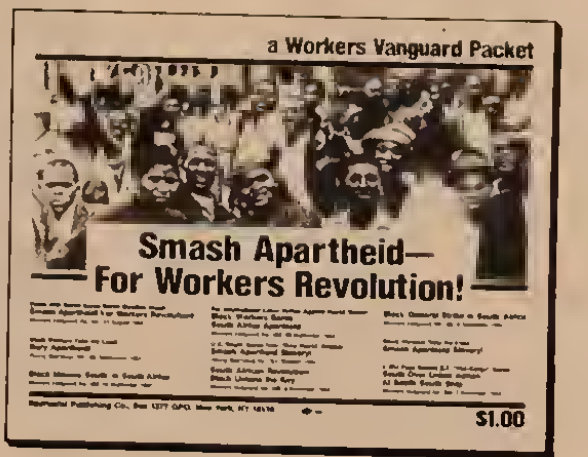
Apartheid is universally reviled because it ruthlessly concentrates, institutionalizes and sharply delineates the brutal exploitation, racist terror and colonial degradation inherent in every form of capitalist imperialism, but

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which elsewhere is masked by "imperialist" market forces, social convention and formal bourgeois legal equality. In America the children of welfare mothers supposedly have as much "right" as a Rockefeller to own a hank. In South Africa in the white "homeland," where the cities, industries, mines and arable land are concentrated, blacks by law can own nothing.

In South Africa blacks are forced by law to live in "group areas." There is no "group areas" act in the U.S., but Edmund Perry was still shot dead by a cop for being out of his "area" after dark. Every American black and the oppressed and exploited of the world solidarize with the struggle against apartheid because they see in it the mirror of their own oppression.

As with the birth of the civil rights movement in the late 1950s, the anti-apartheid protests which swept the campuses this past spring raised questions which directly challenge the racist imperialist system, both in the U.S. and in South Africa. At the same time, they sought solutions within the framework of the system. Take the "divestment" strategy whereby student protest is supposed to pressure college trustees to sell stocks from their endowment portfolios of multinationals which invest in South Africa, thereby pressuring these companies to pull out and thereby pressuring the apartheid regime to reform itself. But there are two fundamental laws of capitalism involved here: investment seeks the highest rate of return and every sale has a buyer. Indeed, due to the superexploitation of black labor, which from an economic standpoint is what apartheid is all about, the rate of return in South Africa is very good. Every "divestment" will therefore find another investor. Wall Street and its government in Washington are not going to fundamentally alter the capitalist system.

While the "divestment" strategy is a form of liberal utopianism, many of the anti-apartheid protesters are raising basic questions about racism and war in a period when Reagan wants to regiment the American people for his insane drive for nuclear Armageddon with the Soviet Union. Young anti-apartheid militants are being given an education in the class nature of the state. One need only contrast the kid-glove treatment the limousine liberals got at the South African embassy in Washington to the hundreds of protesters beaten and arrested at elite campuses like Cornell and Berkeley.

Berkeley students also witnessed and appreciated a small demonstration of the power of the working class. For ten days last winter longshoremen in the Bay Area refused to unload South African cargo despite victimization by the bosses and criminal sabotage by union misleaders and their reformist hangers-on. The key to black liberation in both the U.S. and South Africa lies in class struggle.

South Africa is drifting toward a bloody civil war. The black majority has made it clear that they are not going to take this oppressive situation anymore, and the white minority is armed to the teeth and determined to defend what it has got. Insofar as a conflagration occurs purely along national, white-vs.-black lines, the whites will win hands down. But the Achilles' heel of the apartheid system is the six-million-strong black proletariat. From the gold mines of Witwatersrand to the auto plants of Port Elizabeth, for the past decade this proletariat has entered into struggle and gained an increasing sense of its own power. In South Africa the class principle can prevail.

A workers revolution in South Africa would be the powerhouse for emancipation of all desperately impoverished and famine-stricken black Africa. And it would be a clarion call, given the strategic position of black workers in the U.S., for the American proletariat to enter the battle to wrest power from this insane racist ruling class. ■

Fascists, Or Pigs...

(continued from page 3)

destroyed in the fiery holocaust. This terrorist crime was authored by a conspiracy extending from Philly city hall, with its black Democrat mayor, to the racist Republican in the White House. Why? The back-to-nature MOVE group's alleged "crimes" were violation of the city sanitation code, failure to pay the gas bill and using a loudspeaker. The Philadelphia inferno isn't exactly what we would call "within the range of bourgeois democracy"; on the other hand, it bore the unmistakable signature of the Reagan regime. In response to this deliberate act of racist mass murder we ran the headline: "Bithurg Hits Philly."

Ronald Reagan wasn't trying to "explicitly publicly disassociate" himself from the Nazis at Bitburg. On the contrary, he consciously tied himself to German Nazism by honoring the Waffen SS graves. This outrage was only added to by his obscene, hastily added visit to Bergen-Belsen, where his Secret Service ordered West German police to round up and cart off protesting Jewish Holocaust survivors. The Bitburg visit disgusted broad layers of American society, including even the *Navy Times*, hardly an organ of crazed leftist Nazi-haters, which printed a cartoon showing a swastika-bearing skeletal arm giving Reagan the Hitler salute. As for our evocative subtitle, "Ich bin ein Bithurger," it seems the same idea occurred to nationally syndicated cartoonist Oliphant.

Was all this outrage mere "trite name-calling"? We don't think so. Reagan positively wants to make the Nazi connection in order to cement his alliance with modern-day German imperialism for war on Russia. The "Fourth Reich," bristling with Pershing nuclear missiles only eight minutes from Moscow, is in the front line of Washington's anti-Soviet war drive. And the mad bombers in the White House basement are, if anything, even crazier than the entourage in Hitler's bunker. The Hitlerites only wanted to conquer the world by fighting a war on two fronts: the Reaganites believe they can nuke the "Evil Empire" without a single white, upper-class American being touched by so much as an ash of fallout.

There are probably a few capitalist politicians around who believe in bourgeois democracy. Ronald Reagan just doesn't happen to be one of them. He came to power through elections, all right (so did Hitler), but in his drive for



Ku Klux Klan endorsed Reagan. The present gang in the White House is a bunch of dangerous, war-crazed, fascist-minded nuts.

war Reagan openly expresses his honapartist contempt for Congress: he pounds the table declaring, "We've got to get where we can run a foreign policy without a committee of 535 telling us what to do." To outlaw and suppress opposition to this war drive the administration has issued FBI "guidelines" equating political opposition with "terrorism" and calls for "anti-terrorist" preventive strikes while the Supreme Court guts the Bill of Rights.

The present Cold War II, combined with Reagan's insistence on making America a "Christian nation" under the iron heel of far-right Moral Majority bigots, has emboldened native fascists to new outbursts of racist terror. The opening shots of the anti-Soviet war drive were fired here at home, under Democrats Carter and Mondale, in Greensboro, North Carolina on 3 November 1979. And as was just demonstrated in court, the government and KKK/Nazi killers at Greensboro were in a murderous conspiracy to gun down communists, union organizers and civil rights activists. On 27 November 1982 Reagan, who was endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan, gave the lynchers the green light to take the streets of the nation's capital for the first time since 1925. But they were stopped and run out of town by the mass mobilization of labor, especially black workers and youth, initiated and politically led by the Spartacist League.

Loren Schutt is right when he indicates that promiscuous "Nazi-baiting," a Stalinist specialty, leads to political disorientation. But to say that the present rulers of America are a bunch of dangerous, war-crazed, fascist-minded nuts in no way implies political support for the Democrats or any other bourgeois party. On the

contrary, it only emphasizes the urgency of workers revolution. Brother Schutt unfortunately shares with the reformists an unwarranted faith in the stability of bourgeois democracy in this period of the death agony of capitalism. But there is no "Chinese wall" between the "democratic" and fascist variants of capitalist rule. Back in the 1930s, James Burnham, when he was a leader of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, wrote:

"The Peoples' Front justifies its policy by stating that the fundamental issue at the present time is 'Bourgeois democracy vs. Fascism.' We have seen that there is no such issue, that the only issue is 'Socialism vs. Capitalism.'... Bourgeois democracy prepares the ground for fascism; fascism takes root, grows and matures, within the ground of bourgeois democracy. No basic transfer of power is involved in the transition from democracy to fascism; the same class continues to rule by other means.... It is of the utmost significance to remember that Hitler came to power in Germany within the framework of the Weimar Constitution—the Constitution described by Social Democracy as 'the most democratic in the world.'"

—The Peoples' Front: *The New Betrayal* (1937)

The mass murderers who destroyed villages in Vietnam in order to "save" them from the Viet Cong now bomb a black neighborhood in Philadelphia in order to "save" it. In El Salvador they promote "death squad democracy," and they proclaim the apartheid police state an integral part of the "free world." An insane social order which proposes to destroy the world in order to "save" it from communism will not long preserve the trappings of democracy at home. That is why we say, "From South Africa to Germany to Central America and the United States, the scourge of fascism will be wiped out through international socialist revolution." ■

Reagan's Deadly Skies...

(continued from page 5)

Pan Am jet at New Orleans airport which killed 145 when the plane was caught in a dangerous "wind shear" on takeoff in a heavy rainstorm. Some carriers like American Airlines have abolished the final walk-around check of the aircraft by a mechanic before takeoff to save a few more pennies, and all carriers are planning to eliminate the third member of the cockpit crew through automation. How many more will die for this "frugality"?

While the time bomb in air safety ticks away, Reagan tries to blame all the world's troubles on the Soviet Union. But in the matter of air safety, the Soviets, who are not hobbled by the profit motive, are becoming pioneers. When a team of Western avionics experts recently toured the test sites of a Soviet electronics research institute, they were astonished to discover that the USSR is now emerging as "a potential exporter of next-generation hardware" for air traffic control systems (see

articles in *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 24 June and 1 July). *AW* reported with a hint of envy that the Soviets are readying an ultra-modern collision-avoidance system using high-speed phased-array antennas, which can track many planes at once. The FAA had once envisioned building such a phased-array system but abandoned the idea—it was "more costly."

As for terrorism in the air, the U.S. imperialists have a lot of gall pointing fingers at anybody. It was Reagan & Co. who criminally sent KAL Flight 007 on an intelligence mission over sensitive Soviet military installations in 1983, sacrificing the lives of over 200 passengers. Nor was that the first time U.S. spy agencies used civilian airline passengers as a screen for their "dirty tricks" (see "KAL 007 Was U.S. Spy Plane," *WV* No. 379, 17 May). And what about the 73 passengers of a Cubana airlines plane blown up in the air by CIA-trained *gusanos* in 1976? The big-time terrorists are in the White House and the Pentagon. They and their union-busting pals in the airline company boardrooms are the ones guilty of mass murder in the skies.

"Travel broadens," Malcolm X rightly said, and the speed, convenience and

potential safety of air travel hold out the promise of transforming the disparate nations of the world into a genuine international community. But the development of air transportation requires the highest level of human skill, technology and coordination, while cutthroat competition produces fiery disaster. In a concentrated form, the life-and-death question of air safety demonstrates the need for international planning in a socialist society. ■

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San Salvador...

(continued from page 7)

several prominent leaders. Two days after the May Day demonstration, two SETANDA members were assassinated by the National Guard. And this terrorism has received official sanction right from the top. In his June 1 "state of the nation" speech, Duarte blasted the union movement: "When the unions are infiltrated and manipulated for war and destabilization, they lose their social function and the credibility of the people" (*Boletín Semanal Centroamericano*, 20 May-9 June).

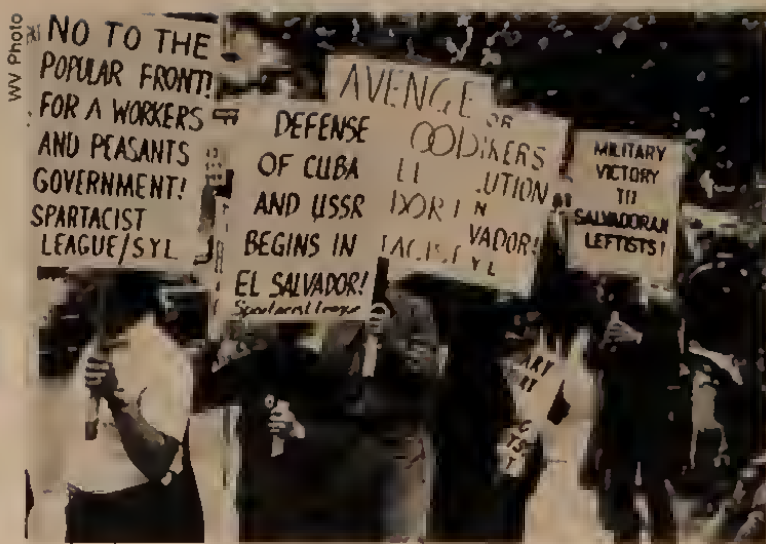
The very next day, at 3 a.m., in a coordinated action hundreds of military police and National Guardsmen burst into the hospitals and clinics occupied by the STISS strikers in an attempt to smash the strike. At San Salvador General Hospital the operation was led by a special SWAT team made up of agents of the notorious Treasury Police trained (in violation of a Congressional ban) in Puerto Rico by the FBI. Besides terrorizing staff and patients (one woman died of a heart attack), the police commandos managed to shoot dead four undercover cops who had entered the hospital earlier. Two STISS officials were arrested, but later released after 5,000 workers marched June 5 in their defense.

The government repression continues. On June 10, security forces raided the SETANDA offices. Two days later the headquarters of the Human Rights Commission and the Committee of Mothers of the Disappeared were broken into and sacked. But the workers' mobilization has continued as well. According to the weekly summary of the FMLN's Radio Farahundo Martí (WKCR, 3 July), on June 29 approximately 15,000 urban and rural workers marched in San Salvador demanding across-the-board wage increases, while 60 unions announced they were preparing a general strike in defense of the striking water workers.

Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!

The June 19 San Salvador raid was carried out by the Mardoqueo Cruz unit of the Central American Workers Party (PRTC), the smallest of the five components of the guerrilla front. While the FMLN took credit for the operation, not all sectors of the opposition coalition took the same tack. Rubén Zamora's Popular Social Christian Movement (MPSC), a dissident Christian Democratic grouping that is part of the FDR, took out a half-page advertisement in a local newspaper to declare that the attack on the Marines "lacks any justification" and "does not contribute in any way to the attainment of a just peace in the country." Asked about such criticisms by their allies, FMLN commander Jorge Shafik Handal,

Spartacist League/SYL demands "Down with Duarte Workers to Power in El Salvador!"



leader of the Salvadoran Communist Party, replied: "We don't have an absolute identity, either in our form of fighting or in our political positions" (*Washington Post*, 7 July).

There have been similar differences in the past between the ostensibly "Marxist-Leninist" groups of the FMLN and the tiny middle-class "democratic" formations in the FDR. They center on the price of the so-called "political solution" to the war which all wings of the FDR/FMLN call for. The "moderates" want at all costs to avoid angering Reagan or Duarte—even though they're in the middle of a war!—while the "militants" push armed struggle, in order to bargain for a better deal. Last fall, Zamora and an FDR official in Costa Rica raised the possibility of participating in the legislative elections organized by the Duarte regime ("Rebels Weigh Election Role," *Washington Post*, 16 November 1984). In response to this apparent split in the rebel ranks, U.S. Undersecretary of Defense Fred Iklé remarked:

"You can use negotiations to bring over those associated with the insurgency who are willing to participate in the democratic process.... The hard core may go away—they may leave for Prague or Cuba."

—*Los Angeles Times*, 17 November 1984

Duarte, who ultimately depends on the military and Washington, could not provide the necessary guarantees for his former allies Zamora and Ungo, so he missed the opportunity to split the opposition.

From the beginning of the guerrilla struggle in early 1981, the Salvadoran leftist rebels have been calling for negotiations to end the war. Duarte finally took them up on their offer by calling for a "dialogue" which took place last October 15 at La Palma. Caught unprepared, the FDR/FMLN delegates presented only procedural proposals. At the next session, held November 30 at a Catholic retreat in the town of Ayagualo, they presented a three-stage proposal for a "government of national consensus." This was essentially a restatement of their January

1984 call for a "government of broad participation." Such a government, said the FDR/FMLN, would include not only workers and peasants, but also "the private sector" (i.e., business interests) and "an already-restructured national army."

In his recent interview guerrilla leader Joaquín Villalobos shocked American correspondents by declaring, "We have no condition for laying down our arms because we are not prepared to give up our guns ever" (*New York Times*, 7 July). But in his September 1983 document, *¿Por qué lucha el FMLN?* (What Is the FMLN Fighting For?), Villalobos declared:

"The FMLN does not pose the destruction of the army but rather the organization of a new military power



FDR/FMLN leaders Cienfuegos, Ungo and Zamora at La Palma talks. We say: No popular-front sellouts! Leftist rebels must win the war—Workers take San Salvador!

based on the present army and the FMLN."

The army is at the heart of the Salvadoran ruling class. For half a century it provided the presidents. It policed the peasants for the landowners; it spawned the death squads which assassinated hundreds of labor leaders. Its officer corps will defend capitalist exploitation to the death and is shot through with fascist elements. Any "political solution" that leaves the armed forces intact means *abandoning the struggle for social revolution and abandoning the masses to the death squads.*

In addition to the tragic experiences of Spain under the Popular Front of the 1930s and Chile's Unidad Popular during 1970-73, El Salvador has already had its own experience with such a "broad" coalition: the "revolutionary junta" established on 15 October 1979, which included FDR chief Ungo and "democratic" colonel Majano, and counted several future FDR leaders (such as Rubén Zamora) among the cabinet members. Because of the presence of their would-be bourgeois allies in this "human rights junta" installed by Jimmy Carter's State Department, the leftist "politico-military organizations" which are today grouped in the FMLN hesitated to attack the new regime. But despite the promises of reform, within 48 hours the army was mowing down slum dwellers in the barrios of Mejicanos, evicting strikers from occupied factories and "disappearing" leftists.

For Workers Revolution!

Five years ago San Salvador was shaken by powerful union struggles: electrical and manufacturing workers

struck repeatedly in 1979, occupying plants and leading to the downfall of the Romero dictatorship. Even in the face of the "reform" demagoguery of the "revolutionary junta," labor unrest continued. In 1980 twice there were huge mobilizations of more than 100,000 people and *three* general strikes. The powerful working-class upsurge was ultimately defeated by massive government repression, bloody death squad terror... and the misleadership of a guerrillaist left which criminally *ignored* the crucial moment for proletarian insurrection, because workers revolution is not their goal.

In an interview with Chilean Stalinist Marta Harnecker, FMLN comandante Villalobos remarked of the 1979-80 upsurge, "The development of the mass movement... obviously generated expectations about the insurrectional possibilities.... What happened is that we lost the appropriate moment" (*Punto Final Internacional*, November-December 1982). But *why* did they "lose" this moment? We wrote in our article, "El Salvador on Edge of Civil War" (*WV* No. 252, 21 March 1980): "In the midst of a pre-revolutionary crisis, in which the impossibility of liberal compromise has been clearly demonstrated, the popular-frontist guerrillas continue to call for a grand alliance of the exploited and oppressed masses with the 'democratic' class enemies and military butchers." Villalobos admits it: they were looking, he says, to "sectors of the bourgeoisie [who] were willing to

establish alliances with us."

Today Villalobos says, "We believe that, except for the escalated process of [U.S.] intervention, we would have won the war." Yet it was known from the beginning that Washington would intervene to prop up its allies in El Salvador. The FDR/FMLN tops "lost" the moment once again centrally because they could not fight *politically* against the "democratic" demagoguery of Reagan and Duarte. For fear of antagonizing liberal Democrats in the U.S., and because they *need* Duarte for their "political solution" fantasies, the guerrillas failed to challenge the repeated "election" frauds mounted and paid for by the CIA. So the U.S.-backed regime has gained political strength and mountains of arms, because the leftists failed to wage a *class* struggle. But at least they continued to fight guns in hand, whereas in the U.S. the "solidarity" milieu criminally disarmed opposition to the Salvador war by channeling it into pressure tactics on the Democrats, who now vote hundreds of millions for Duarte.

Now once more the possibility of powerful workers struggles in El Salvador has arisen. As we wrote more than half a decade ago, "The only road forward to victory for the workers and peasants of Central America lies in an uncompromising struggle against all the exploiters, their military, political and 'spiritual' representatives, not just the oligarchy and the imperialists but the capitalist class. This road, the road of permanent revolution, requires the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard to lead the struggle for workers and peasants governments throughout the isthmus and a United Socialist States of Latin America." ■

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Union Tops Throttle Militant NYC Hotel Strikers

On June 27, striking New York City hotel workers voted overwhelmingly to accept a tentative agreement with the Hotel Association of New York, ending a 26-day walkout. The gutsy militancy and determination of the strikers won them the respect of the city's working people. The bosses' attempt to break this union was beaten back; the strikers are back on the job, the scabs fired. But strikes are won and lost on the picket line. The disastrous no fight, no win policies of the union officials, centered on the hullshit lie that racist Democrat Koch and his mounted cops were on the union's side, paved the way for massive scabherding and a giveback contract.

Vito Pitta, head of the strikers' nine-union coalition, falsely hailed the settlement as a "victory." In Reagan's America and Koch's New York, it is testimony to the bankruptcy of American trade-union leaders that if a strike isn't *smashed*, the tops claim they won. The bosses won significant concessions here, including the right to combine jobs, a two-tier wage scale under which new employees will receive 75 percent of scale for their first year, and no grievance procedure for up to six months. The strikers got a 23.5 percent pay hike spread over five years, which means that inflation will wipe out any improvements in the slave wages most hotel workers get.

The strike started out with a bang. The militant marches of the hotel workers attracted nationwide press coverage, particularly in towns like Miami with a large hotel industry. Initially, 45 hotels were struck and there was talk of pulling out another 40 but it remained just that—talk. *Twelve thousand scabs* streamed across leaky picket



Militant pickets at NYC's Roosevelt Hotel, June 13.

WV Photo

lines into the struck hotels every day. At the ratification meeting Pitta was roundly hooded when he tried to thank the New York cops—strikers knew full well whose side these racist, strikebreaking thugs were on. The Teamsters honored the strike but this was the exception. Most damaging was the scabbing of the unionized city sanitation men who picked up the hotels' garbage from day one—and Pitta & Co. alibied them by claiming that the Taylor Law gave them the right to scab. AFSCME's consummate sellout Victor Gotbaum went so far as to cross the hotel workers' picket line at the Mayfair Regent. The daily midtown marches became noisy

diversions from the critical task of stopping the scabherding and deliveries of food and supplies that kept the hotels open.

The ranks were plainly getting tired of these no win policies. On June 24, a midtown candlelight march was scheduled for 9 p.m., an hour which ensured that not even traffic would be disrupted. Union officials stated that strikers would be wearing yellow armbands as a gesture of solidarity with the American hostages held in Beirut. Instead, more than 1,000 union members and supporters, far more than the bureaucrats expected, massed in front of the Plaza. Almost no one was falling for the

patriotism diversion—there was hardly a yellow armband in sight. Chanting and clapping, the marchers paid a spirited visit to a dozen or so of the struck hotels. When they got back to the Plaza they ignored instructions to dishand and, surging past both the frantic bureaucrats and the nervous cops, took off down Fifth Avenue for more picketing.

But as WV pointed out when the strike began, "spontaneous militancy is not enough." The measures needed for a solid victory—mass picket lines that nobody would dare cross and solidarity labor *action*—meant a confrontation with Koch and the Democrats. Strikers were more than ready for some old-fashioned class struggle. Our "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball" supplement was well received; over 1,000 WV's and Spanish-language *Spartacists* were sold on the picket lines, along with a dozen subscriptions. But what was absent was a militant leadership that could counterpose fighting policies to the pro-Democratic Party line of Pitta and the city's Central Labor Council.

New York City, a once proud union town, is long overdue for some hard class struggle. The powerful NYC labor movement, although weakened by its defeatist leadership, can and must be mobilized to fight the bosses' racist, anti-union offensive. That means dumping the labor fakers who counsel reliance on the capitalist state and its anti-labor laws and injunctions. Real victories require a leadership armed with a fighting program of class struggle and the determination to politically break the workers movement from its subordination to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. ■

Spartacist Campaign...

(continued from page 12)

attack. It's time to finish the Civil War—Black liberation through socialist revolution!"

The Stamberg/Kartsen campaign is a platform for all who want to take a stand against the Moral Majority hights and reactionaries who are trying to run our lives. The Spartacists say: Government out of the bedrooms! People should be able to watch, read or do anything consensual they want! Millions for AIDS research! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Free abortion on demand! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Triple welfare! For the socialist reindustrialization of America!

Marjorie Stamberg was the Spartacist Party candidate for state assembly in Manhattan's 64th A.D. in 1978. A veteran of the civil rights, antiwar and women's movements of the 1960s, she is a member of the editorial board of the Spartacist League newspaper, *Workers*

Vanguard.

Edward Kartsen, a signal maintainer in the New York subways until recently, was the oppositional candidate for Transport Workers Union Local 100 president in 1983. Kartsen chaired the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington on 27 November 1982, when the Spartacist League and black unionists led thousands who stopped the KKK race-terrorists in the nation's capital. ■

Koch's Raid...

(continued from page 12)

people in the space of a month, it was another exercise in police intimidation of the population.

Many Brownsville residents were outraged. One mother, whose daughter was released after paying a fine, said, "It was really disgusting. Where were they yesterday when a 60-year-old woman got raped right over there?" Another resident remarked, "You know this stuff wouldn't have been happening if it wasn't an election year" (*New York Times*, 3 July).

This massive South Africa-style terror raid against the black community is exactly Koch's style. While calling for the bombing of Beirut airport, Lebanese cities and Iran, Koch plays out his bloody fantasies on New York's oppressed minorities. "You know Saudi Arabian law as it relates to graffiti," would-be ayatollah Koch said recently, referring to the barbaric practice of cutting off thieves' hands: "In my dreams... I'd make a Saudi Arabian the police chief for just a week" (*Daily News*, 27 June). Why bother? Koch's cops already beat to death alleged "graffitist" Michael Stewart, while his ghoulish coroner Dr. Gross gouged out Stewart's eyeballs so evidence of strangulation wouldn't turn up.

From the hit-and-run killing of a doctor on Park Avenue and the shotgun murder of Bronx black grandmother

Cockroach Capitalists' Welfare Hotel Rip-Off

While big-time real estate robber barons like Condo King Donald Trump make multi-millions soaking the rich, NYC's cockroach capitalists are getting fat, too, packing the homeless into squalid welfare hotels and billing the city millions. As columnist Sydney Schanberg pointed out (*New York Times*, 15 June), there are now an estimated 2,900 homeless families crammed into these "single room occupancy" dives. Here they are preyed upon by desperate criminals, whole families huddled into SRO cubbyholes, denied cooking facilities, suffering with the most marginal sanitation facilities. According to Schanberg's exposé, "The city pays the hotels an average of about \$1,900 a month for each room, which is roughly \$23,000 for rent per year for one family. The bill to the city is about \$70 million a year."

So why don't they just give the families \$23,000 a year to go out and rent apartments? But, of course, that wouldn't do—the homeless have to be punished for their "crime" of being poor! Then there's the welfare hotel owners' latest scam. Fewer than half the 2,900 rooms have refrigerators and almost none have stoves, although many of the homeless fami-

lies include pregnant women or infant children, which means facilities for storing and preparing food are essential. But when the city finally decided to install small refrigerators (about \$160 each), the owners refused to have them unless they got a rent increase and a further rake-off for "maintenance" costs. One incredible argument: refrigerators generate heat, and heat attracts vermin (as if leaving food and beverages on the window sill didn't!)

But they certainly attract *human* vermin—after the city agreed to pay the owners' blackmail fee of an extra \$350 in "maintenance" costs, the owners finally let the city put in the small refrigerators. Truly, there's nothing Koch and his loyal slumlords won't do! Today, an estimated army of 60,000 homeless survive somehow in the streets, the subways and crevices of New York City. Thousands more are plunged into these depths each year, as the city's housing squeeze tightens, and even the paltry federal housing aid is cut off under Reagan. We say: restore and extend rent control! Homeless should seize Trump City—the several square miles of empty acreage on New York's far West Side! Expropriate the real estate barons!

Eleanor Bumpurs to the killing of scholarship student Edmund Perry, no one is safe from Koch's killer cops. That's what the Brownsville raid, Koch's vicious "solution" for the black community, was intended to underline. Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen,

Spartacist candidates for mayor and Manhattan borough president, demand: Kick out Koch! Mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks! For integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women! ■

Spartacist Forum

Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!

MOVE Massacred by Reagan, Cops, Black Mayor—They're the Terrorists!

Speaker: Ed Kartsen
Spartacist League Central Committee
Guest Speaker: LaVonne Sims
Former MOVE member
Guest Speaker: Gene Herson
Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the NMU

Thursday, July 11, 7:00 p.m.
Borough of Manhattan
Community College, Room N402
(Greenwich at Chambers)

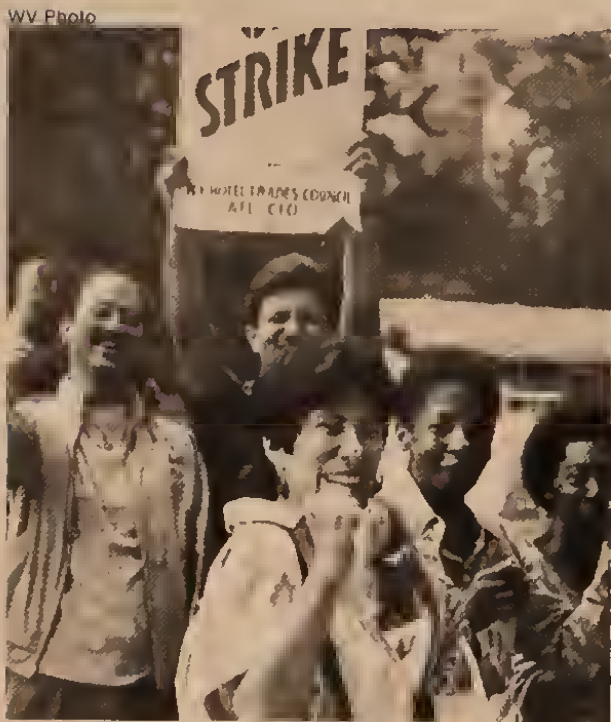
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacists Launch NYC Campaign

New York City: For the Working People!



Marjorie Stamberg for Mayor

Stamberg with striking hotel workers. Spartacist League distributed WV supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win."

The Spartacist Party Campaign Committee announces it is running candidates in the upcoming NYC elections, campaigning around the call, "New York City: For the Working People!" Demanding "Kick Out Koch! Dump Trump! Stop Racist Cop Terror!", the Spartacist election platform denounces the Democrats and Republicans as "partner parties" of American capitalism and calls for a fighting workers party. The Spartacist candidates are Marjorie Stamberg for Mayor and Edward Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President.

The Spartacists say: Avenge victims of the racist cops—Edmund Perry, Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs! Koch's cossacks are wantonly shooting

**Kick Out Koch!
Dump Trump!
Stop Racist
Cop Terror!**

down black youth and terrorizing Brooklyn black neighborhoods in South Africa-style racist roundups. It's a system: the cops kill, then D.A. Morgenthau and coroner Dr. Gross the ghoul cover up the crime. The Spartacist campaign calls to "Mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks! For integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women!"

"The U.S. is gearing up for invasion of Nicaragua as part of the insane anti-Soviet war drive," said mayoral candidate Stamberg. "Meanwhile they bomb a black neighborhood in Philadelphia and wage war on the unions at home. Ed Koch is Reagan's hatchet man for New York City, and they're going after all of us—blacks, unionists, gays, immigrants, women, the homeless, students, ghetto youth, you name it." "The Spartacist campaign," she said, "seeks to rally the social power of the working class and oppressed for a revolutionary struggle against the war drive." The candidates' program states, "A vote for Spartacist is a vote for the program of workers power—from South



Ed Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President

Kartsen urged massive union action after transit worker's brutal murder by racist punks in 1982. Above: Ed speaks at militants' rally, July 1983.

Africa to the U.S."

"They're killing our youth," says Manhattan borough president candidate Kartsen. "A whole generation is being tossed on the scrap heap. We need schools and jobs, but Koch builds prisons. And they're trying to destroy our unions." The campaign calls for defense of city unions against labor-hater Koch who declared war on transit workers in 1980, and his Yuppie opponent Carol Bellamy who led the joggers over the Brooklyn Bridge during that strike. "The bottom line is the picket line," said Kartsen. "We need to build a class-struggle workers party to beat back the union-busters, to mobilize mass defense against racist

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Koch's Gestapo Raid in Brooklyn

Koch's cossacks have struck again. On July 2, two hundred cops swept through housing projects in Brooklyn's Brownsville neighborhood in a pre-dawn Gestapo-style raid, dragging families out of bed. They rounded up and arrested 160 terrified black residents of the projects. Many were herded outside without being allowed to dress, chained together, photographed by the press and loaded into vans. The cops bragged they'd planned their racist terror raid for three weeks, using computers to locate so-called "fugitives." Meanwhile Brooklyn DA law-and-order "liberal" Elizabeth Holtzman's office had three assistant district

attorneys waiting at the Criminal Court to "process" the victims. That means up to two days in jail, which for many means possibly losing their jobs.

They claim this raid is part of a program to combat robberies in Brownsville. But the "fugitives" they seized were simply a miscellaneous collection of people who'd missed court appearances for minor, petty charges like smoking dope on the street, trespassing or turnstile-jumping. It was sheer race-terror. Like the huge Operation Pressure Point "drug bust" dragnet on the Lower East Side last winter, where Koch's cops gashed over 2,000

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**NYPD
nightriders
drag black
"suspects"
in chains
from their
homes.**

