

# Avenge Soweto! Workers to Power!

## Bury Apartheid Slavery!

Across the world South Africa stands as a symbol of the most brutal, naked and hideous racist oppression. This is especially true for black people in Reagan's America, who see in apartheid a magnified mirror image of the racist oppression they, too, suffer every day of their lives. The tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre on 16 June 1976—when South Africa's white rulers killed over a thousand student-youth in the huge black township near Johannesburg—could well be met with massive anti-apartheid protests in the U.S. The just outrage of all decent people against racist terror in South Africa is being channeled by Democratic Party politicians, white and black, into pressure for a more "liberal" policy by the U.S. government. Yet it is American imperialism, under both the Republicans and Democrats, which is the greatest oppressor and exploiter in the world, and the main protector of white supremacy in South Africa.

The totalitarian police state in South Africa is based on the capitalist superexploitation of black labor. In the dark pits and stifling heat, black miners dig out gold, key to the financial system of the "free world." Separated from their families, they are forced to live in male-only barracks under prison-like conditions. The superprofits they produce go not only to the South African bosses but also to Wall Street and the City of London. It is appropriate that South Africa's giant mining and manufacturing conglomerate is called Anglo American, since half of it is owned by Englishmen and Americans.

"South Africa is a capitalist country, and that has oppressed us," said "comrade Lucas" to an American reporter. "So now, all of us, in Cradock, are Communists." Lucas and his comrades may only vaguely understand what communism is about, but they know what apartheid capitalism means and they hate it. For them, communism means total opposition to their oppression. And indeed only a racially integrated Leninist vanguard committed to a program of workers revolution can liberate the black African, coloured



The red flag flies over funeral of Peter Nchabeleng, anti-apartheid fighter killed while in police detention. Gubb/JB Pictures

## Forge a Bolshevik Party in South Africa!

(mixed-race) and Indian masses from the chains of apartheid slavery.

Unlike the Sharpeville massacre a generation before, the bloody suppression of the Soweto rebellion did not crush black resistance. Rather it opened up a period of militant struggle, especially the development of a powerful black and coloured labor movement. This June 16th is shaping up to be a major test of strength between the white supremacist rulers and the rebellious black majority. At the end of March a conference on the crisis in black education issued a call for a national stayaway strike on June 16-18, and this call has been taken up by the 650,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Backing the strike is the principal political organization of

black resistance, the outlawed nationalist African National Congress (ANC).

Preparations for the mid-June general strike come right after the black industrial proletariat dramatically demonstrated its power and combativity on May Day. One and a half million workers struck on this day of international working-class solidarity. The apartheid economy was paralyzed, forcing bewildered whites to pump gas, repair pipes and cook in restaurants for the first time in a long while. It was the biggest political strike in South Africa ever. There could have been no clearer sign that blacks are not taken in by the Botha regime's latest steps in "reforming" apartheid: the announcement of the abolition of the hated pass laws in April, and proposals for an impotent black chamber to be added to the white-dominated parliament.

Over the past two years, as the apartheid cops and military have failed despite bloody repression to stop waves of political strikes, industrial actions, school and consumer boycotts, and sporadic guerrilla-sabotage attacks, every section of South African society has in its own way recognized that the apartheid system is in deep crisis. However, no society can exist in a state of perpetual crisis and massive popular

unrest. Recent events show that what we have warned repeatedly is now truer than ever: South Africa stands on a razor's edge (see *WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985). A communist vanguard could lead the way to workers revolution—but without it the black masses' heroic struggle could be drowned in a racist bloodbath, as the recent destruction of part of the Crossroads squatter settlement attests.

### Rifts in the White Laager

The failure of the Botha regime to dampen the black revolt has deepened the rifts within the dominant and privileged white caste. Important elements of the ruling class, including English-speaking magnates like Anglo American's Gavin Relly and even figures in the ruling Afrikaner National Party, are contemplating "power sharing" with "moderate" (meaning pro-capitalist) black leaders and calling for talks with the ANC. At the same time there are signs that many whites are getting tired of living in a garrison state permanently at war with the black majority. It is claimed that as many as one third of the young white males drafted into the army last year have not

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U.S. to South Africa....11**



# Partisan Defense Committee

## CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

One hundred years after the Haymarket massacre, bloody capitalist "justice" still has but two places for its perceived political opponents—in prison or in the grave. Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt, locked away in the same San Quentin hellhole in which George Jackson was murdered, and many of the best militants of his political generation remain behind bars for crimes they did not commit. In the frame-up trial of Stephen Bingham currently under way in California, the government seeks to justify its cold-blooded murder of George Jackson and its racist COINTELPRO campaign to exterminate the Black Panther Party. The PDC demands that the charges against Stephen Bingham be dropped. Meanwhile, in Philadelphia, MOVE member Ramona Africa, like Pratt, is sentenced to years in prison for the "crime" of surviving a murderous cop assault bearing the Reagan/Meese signature. The power of the working class must be mobilized behind these victims of capitalist injustice to demand their freedom.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Four months ago the PDC announced that we are reviving the tradition established by the International Labor Defense (ILD) under James P. Cannon of monthly stipends to class-war prisoners. At its first national

conference in 1925, the ILD stated the importance of these stipends and communications with class-war prisoners:

"sealing the bonds of solidarity and expressing fraternal remembrance of the imprisoned fighters, keeps up the morale of these captives of capitalism and strengthens their will and courage to face their prison burdens."

The PDC has been sending stipends to Geronimo Pratt, Ramona Africa, Watsonville cannery striker Amador Betancourt, and five British miners—Terry French, Chris Tazey, Clive Thompson, Russell Shankland and Dean Hancock—who are still in prison for defending their union during last year's strike. And now we have added Johnny Larry Spain of the San Quentin Six, and Black Panther supporters Edward Poindexter and David Rice.

In February 1986, the PDC issued an appeal for monthly sustaining contributors to place the PDC on a firmer organizational and financial basis. We have received an enthusiastic response and over 30 people have become regular PDC sustainers pledging a monthly total of more than \$1,000.

*Workers Vanguard* readers have been consistently generous contributors to the cases and causes supported by the PDC. We are proud to announce that this column will appear regularly in *WV* and include biographies of class-war prisoners (see *WV* No. 397, 14 February). Correspondence and financial

contributions can be sent to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.

\* \* \* \* \*

Ramona Africa recently wrote the PDC of her confinement in "quarantine" at the state prison in Muncy, Pennsylvania. The PDC has sent a letter of protest to prison authorities. Reprinted below is an edited copy of Ramona Africa's letter to PDC staff counsel Valerie West.

May 28

Ona MOVE Valerie! I received your letter and money order yesterday (5/27)—thank you again for your continued donations. I would like to give you an interview but I'm not sure if it could be arranged right now. You see, I am in "the hole" and have been in the hole since my arrival at Muncy on April 15th. The excuse these prison officials are using to keep me here is the fact that I will not allow them to draw my blood, it's against my religion, the teachings of *John Africa*. This is only an excuse though, because my sister Alberta Africa was admitted to Muncy and was

cleared thru a sputum and urine analysis in two weeks. I submitted to sputum and urine analysis also but I am told that it is not enough to medically clear me and that I will be in "quarantine" at least til July. At first I was told I would be quarantined for 42 days (from 4/15) but the time was suddenly extended til July which is when I am scheduled to see the parole board. Of course the parole board will not interview you if you are in the hole and that's why the quarantine was extended til July. This quarantine is nothing to do with any question about my health, these officials know MOVE is healthy. Our skin is clear, our eyes are bright and our limbs are strong thanks only to the God-powerful coordination of *John Africa—Long Live John Africa the Coordinator!* I work (exercise) in my room and I run 5-8 miles daily in the yard, these officials see this and see the same example in my sisters so they know MOVE people are healthy. In any event, take care of yourself and keep in touch.

Ona MOVE,  
Ramona Africa,  
Revolutionary Disciple  
of John Africa

## Letter

## ET Grooves on Astronauts' Blood

Toronto  
18 May 1986

Dear Comrades,

Here's the latest creepy manifestation of the former "External Tendency," now born again as the "Bolshevik Tendency." This clot of rightist quitters is positively reveling in the death of the seven astronauts aboard the space shuttle Challenger. At our May 17 forum on "Flashpoints for War—Don't Mess with Russia!" two ET supporters spoke from the floor during the discussion period. The second evoked gasps from the nearly 40 people in attendance with his statement (we've got it on tape), that "I'm glad there was no escape hatch. I don't think that's bloodthirsty at all. Let the American people be disillusioned. Let there be no escape for people that tie onto Star Wars.... They were Star Warriors and they knew exactly what they were doing." (If so, they must have had severe suicidal tendencies.)

*WV* said at the time, "The bourgeoisie's tears are not for the seven dead astronauts but rather for their military space program." But as the article noted, "What we feel toward the

astronauts is no more and no less than for any people who die in tragic circumstances, such as the nine poor Salvadorans who were killed by a fire in a Washington, D.C. basement apartment two days before" ("Challenger Blows Up in Reagan's Face," *WV* No. 397, 14 February). You don't have to be a Marxist, just a decent person, to be repulsed by the needless deaths of these seven human beings. But the ET/BFI rub their hands in glee at the possibility that these people experienced the torture of plunging to their deaths, fully conscious and with no way out. It's sick, downright pathological.

But it's nothing new for these vicariously bloody-minded renegades. The oh-so-ferocious ET denounced us over the KAL 007 spy plane affair for standing with the Soviets (who rightly shot down what looked to be a military aircraft) in deploring the loss of life and laying responsibility at Reagan's door. Similarly, the ET found a "flinch" in our call for "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!"—because we didn't hail the pointless deaths of the 240-plus Marines in Beirut, blown up by god knows who in a situation where none of the feeding

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### Trotsky on "Disarmament"

While Reagan's America openly strives for nuclear first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union, the Kremlin bureaucracy still pursues "disarmament" schemes with imperialist militarism. The warmakers in Washington and the other NATO capitals can be disarmed only through the conquest of power by the revolutionary proletariat. As Trotsky wrote in a classic attack on the Stalinist perversion of Leninism:



TROTSKY



LENIN

A program of "disarmament," while imperialist antagonisms survive, is the most pernicious of fictions. Even if it were realized by way of general agreement—an obviously fantastic assumption!—that would by no means prevent a new war. The imperialists do not make war because there are armaments; on the contrary, they forge arms when they need to fight. The possibilities of a new, and, moreover, very speedy, arming lie in contemporary technique. Under no matter what agreements, limitations and "disarmaments," the arsenals, the military factories, the laboratories, the capitalist industries as a whole, preserve their force.... The idea of a so-called "progressive disarmament" means only an attempt to cut down excessive military expenses in time of peace. It is a question of funds and not of the love of peace. But that task, too, remains unrealized. In consequence of differences of geographic position, economic power and colonial saturation, any standards of disarmament would inevitably change the correlation of forces to the advantage of some and to the disadvantage of others. Hence the fruitlessness of the attempts made in Geneva. Almost twenty years of negotiations and conversations about disarmament have led only to a new wave of armaments, which is leaving far behind everything that was ever seen before. To build the revolutionary policy of the proletariat on a program of disarmament means to build it not on sand, but on the smoke screen of militarism.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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## Let Them Read Playboy!

The following letter was printed in the June 1986 issue of *Playboy* magazine. The editorial note referred to by the writer appeared in *WV* No. 395, 17 January.

### PLAYBOY

—June 1986

#### OH, FINE

*Workers Vanguard* is my favorite left-wing (Trotskyist) bimonthly newspaper and ordinarily uses its space to denounce Reagan and capitalism and other villains, but recently, it took on a cause familiar to *PLAYBOY*—the sexual repression of the New Right. In an editorial titled "Reaganite Bigots vs. the Blind" (subtitled "Let Them Read *PLAYBOY*!"), this New York journal railed against the Congressional ban on Braille editions of *PLAYBOY* in the Library of Congress. *W.V.* says, "*PLAYBOY* is pretty tame stuff. The magazine has nonetheless become a special target of the New Right, who seem to view it as the granddaddy of

them all. Undoubtedly, the contents of the magazine, which champion First Amendment rights and the right to privacy in one's sex life, please them no more than do the erotic photographs and dirty jokes."

I don't know how you feel about praise from leftists (though I think you should feel good about it), but the article certainly shows that the real message of *PLAYBOY* is freedom and that the message has gotten through. It is significant that on the left, freedom is praised, while on the right, it is assaulted.

Whitney Wrenn  
New York, New York



## Union Tops Scabherd for AT&T

# Phone Workers: One Out, All Out!

JUNE 2—By the second day of the national strike against AT&T, the scenario was similar at hundreds of phone locations across the country. While pickets assembled outside specially designated "AT&T gates," their coworkers in the local operating companies—many of whom belong to the same union local—were herded by union misleaders through separate entrances to scab on the strike. Some 155,000 AT&T phone installers, technicians, clerks and operators organized by the Communications Workers of America (CWA) are going it alone against Ma Bell's giant communications octopus. Meanwhile IBEW (electrical workers) bureaucrats made a separate deal with AT&T and ordered 40,000 workers who manufacture phone equipment back on the job.

The vicious "two-gate" system is made to order for union-busting and strikebreaking. It pits worker against worker, undermining the very word "union," as one Bay Area striker correctly put it. AT&T strikers have been isolated, while hundreds of the militant phone workers who won't stomach scabbing have been set up for firing. Yesterday, CWA national president Morton Bahr issued a scab order, that "Bell Operating Companies should NOT be picketed during the AT&T strike." But while Bahr is calling on



Striking phone workers picket AT&T headquarters in New York.

workers in the "Baby Bells" to "adopt AT&T families," AT&T announced plans to hire 7,000 scab operators. This divide-and-rule scheme must be smashed. Picket lines mean don't cross! The slogan of phone workers should be: one industry, one contract, one strike—shut it down!

The CWA misleaders who are acting as company cops have been complicit in this scabberding scheme from the beginning. Bahr & Co. worked hand in glove with the bosses by agreeing to

move up the expiration date of the national AT&T contract from August to the end of May, thereby splitting AT&T workers from the 400,000 local operating phone workers. The bureaucrats parrot the bosses' line that the government-sanctioned split-up of AT&T/Bell gives the companies a "legal right" to separate contracts, separate bargaining, and separate "gates"—in short, the "right" to bring in scabs. And the CWA and IBEW tops are the scabherders. They're running this strike

just like the company wants it: to wear down the membership and teach them the "rules of the game" under divestiture.

Many phone workers are outraged at being ordered by their union "leaders" to stab the brothers and sisters who marched with them on picket lines during the national phone strike three years ago. In the Bay Area, striking CWAers from AT&T Technologies (formerly Western Electric) picketed the main building of the local company, PacBell, in downtown Oakland. Dozens of "non-striking" CWAers honored the picket line, as did some unionized electricians from an outside contractor. Then the bureaucrats went into action. Local 9415 president Bill Harvey shook hands with a high-level manager on the spot, sealing a deal to remove the picketers. A furious CWA picket with 34 years in the union confronted Harvey: "You're dividing the union! You should just get out!"

In the Bay Area, a well-received and widely distributed leaflet issued May 12 by the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA exposed the scabberding scam. The MAC leaflet demanded: "A picket line at any phone building means it is a struck building. A struck building means stay the hell out.... On strike means shut it down!" Forty-seven

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# Defend NYC Subway Clerk James Grimes!

## Gun Control Kills Blacks

For nearly five months, the New York City "justice" system has persecuted James Grimes. This courageous black subway token booth clerk defended himself with a gun from robbers who jumped Grimes and threatened to kill him while attempting to steal Transit Authority funds he was transporting. The cops arrested Grimes and chained him to a bench in the precinct for nine hours, and Democratic Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman is still trying to turn Grimes into a criminal. He's facing up to a year in jail on a criminal gun rap as well as TA discipline (including possible firing). This legal mugging could turn into a death sentence for Grimes. He has suffered two heart attacks, and since the January assault had a pacemaker implanted.

As Grimes arrived for a May 30 hearing at the Brooklyn criminal court, he was greeted by fellow members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU). A solid core of subway clerks and militants from the Committee for a Fighting TWU have repeatedly mobilized at solidarity rallies for Grimes. What is urgently needed is the mobilization of the TWU's 37,000-strong ranks. TWU Local 100 president Sonny Hall, however, sent a solitary "organizer" as the union's only official representative.

As a leaflet distributed by the Committee for a Fighting TWU explained: "After three months of stabbing James Grimes in the back the Sonny Hall leadership did an about-face and organized a tiny delegation consisting of Sonny Hall and a dozen or so union payrollers to make a show of public support for Grimes [at Grimes' May 7 arraignment]. While there were official

organizers from sections throughout the industry they didn't organize to bring out masses of transit workers! A token turn-out by the Sonny Hall leadership and a single leaflet sent out in the TA mail to token booths is not enough. It will take the union as a whole to win this fight."

James Grimes's legal ordeal was prolonged once again as Judge Seymour Gerschwiler adjourned the case until June 25. During a lengthy recess, a transit worker supporter of the Spartacist League showed the mainly black TWU members photos he took during a recent trip to the Soviet Union. They noted in particular Moscow's immaculate subway stations and the spotless trains which cost pennies to ride in contrast to the stinking, dangerous horror of mass transit in the financial headquarters of U.S. imperialism. After the hearing close to 50 demonstrators, including a group of black high school students, escorted Grimes, his wife and their attorneys to their car. As Grimes climbed in, a transit worker shouted "We'll be back!" Afterwards, David Brewer of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, addressed the crowd:

"We made the point last time that if the union had mobilized union defense squads in Brooklyn, in the Gravesend area, to stop racist murder at the time of Willie Turks [a transit worker beaten to death by a racist mob in 1982], this situation with brother Grimes might not have happened. The situation that happened down in Coney Island the other day [another racist murder, on May 28], might not have happened. We have a saying that 'Gun control kills blacks.' We can also say that when you have a lackey labor leadership that bows



Victimized black transit worker James Grimes and supporters outside Brooklyn criminal court, May 30.

down before the Democratic Party, that points the finger at Grimes, and says he's guilty, 'let's just have justice with mercy,' like Sonny Hall said last time—that kills blacks, too. When they don't mobilize to exercise labor power to stop it, blacks are going to die, unions are going to be busted. And the White House is preparing for war."

"Now we've got a situation in this city that's going to be coming up in a couple of days. These Sunday-sermonizing labor leaders are going to be marching up Fifth Avenue saying they are against apartheid. Right? You know how hypocritical this is because you've got racism right here in this country and they won't do anything about it. They say it's okay to leave the race-murderers of Coney Island in the hands of Holtzman and the Democrats. They say it's okay for transit workers to be victimized on the job. They won't lift a finger to defend blacks in this country. They won't lift a finger to stop job

harassment every day which scares people so they won't come out here to defend James Grimes. But they will say 'Oh, we're against racism in South Africa.'

"We've got to be very clear about this because a lot of people have illusions that the union leadership is finally coming out and marching against apartheid. What they're worried about in South Africa is the safety of U.S. investments. That's why they're for divestment.... What is clear is that we have to build a new leadership in the unions to stop union-busting, to stop racist attacks. We have to take up the cause of black freedom in the labor movement and that's what this mobilization is about and that's what future mobilizations are going to be about. And this is a core of people that are going to be fighting in this union and going to be fighting in this city against all of the injustices of this capitalist system." ■



# Racist Murder Attempt at Johns Hopkins

## Frat Thugs Torch Anti-Apartheid Students

At the very moment that South Africa's racist rulers were directing the destruction of the Crossroads shantytown, students occupying symbolic anti-apartheid shanties at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore barely escaped death from a firebomb attack in the pre-dawn hours of May 24. As three students were drinking beer and arguing politics in one of the shanties, right-wing racists from the Delta Upsilon fraternity doused the structure with gasoline and threw a match, engulfing the anti-apartheid activists in a wall of flames. Kevin Archer, a 28-year-old graduate student and Fulbright scholar, suffered first- and second-degree burns which left his lower back "a mass of torn skin and blisters the size of half dollars" (*Washington Post*, 26 May). Had he been in his sleeping bag, chances are he never would have made it out alive.

Three of the would-be assassins—one of whom was chased and caught by shantytown protesters roused by the blaze—face charges of arson and assault with intent to murder. Baltimore's chief prosecutor, Kurt Schmoke, revealed the careful planning that went into the murderous attack including a reconnaissance visit to the shantytown and an escape route through the woods. Yet Schmoke outrageously minimized the firebombing, describing it as "something more serious than a prank," but "not motivated by political beliefs" (*Baltimore Sun*, 30 May). This was no frat rat party-raid! This was a night-riding KKK-style premeditated attempt at racist murder at "Johopkinsburg"—an elite white enclave in the middle of black Baltimore.

The university administration, which had turned a blind eye to previous attacks (including the hurling of a cinder block through a shanty), moved quickly this time—to clear their lawn of blackened timbers before commencement exercises, leaving a "gulag" erected by anti-Soviet yahoos intact. But anti-apartheid protesters blocked off the university's demolition squad, and

Reaganite terrorism on campus: right-wing firebombers destroy shanty, attempt murder of anti-apartheid protesters.



issued a statement which read: "The ashes of the shanty on the Johns Hopkins University campus recall the ashes of South African townships and the recent bombing raids on South Africa's neighbors."

Across the country, the shantytown protests have been met with vicious right-wing thuggery. At Dartmouth, 12 sledgehammer-wielding scum of the virulently racist *Dartmouth Review* leveled shanties on the night of Martin Luther King's birthday. At the University of Washington in Seattle, the "Students Against Apartheid" found their shantytown torn apart and police discovered a gasoline time bomb in the rubble. College Republicans have set up barbed wire "gulags" as racist, anti-communist provocations. The marching orders for these racist campus hooligans come from both wings of the bourgeoisie, from the rabid, mad-dog Reaganites to the staid establishment *New York*

*Times*—which called for the "regulation" of shanties by the construction of "countershanties." In *Timesspeak*, this is a thumbs-up "Go For It!" sign to right-wing yahoos, like the frat arsonists at Johns Hopkins.

The scum who burn and bomb student leftists take their cue from the top—from Reagan's terror-bombing of Libya, the massacre of Philadelphia MOVE, and the apartheid butchers' murder raids on the black border states. It is indicative of the racist political climate in this country that on predominantly white campuses something as tame as a shanty, a token symbol of solidarity with the struggle for black freedom in South Africa, has junior Reaganites raging—backed by a full arsenal of cops who've been clubbing anti-apartheid protesters from Berkeley to Yale. While vermin like the *Dartmouth Review* crowd prefer pinstripes to Klan hoods, their message is the

same: "Whites Only." Klan-style attacks on symbolic shanties make the point loud and clear: the same racist rulers in the U.S. who stand behind the apartheid butchers have a program of racist terror here. It's no wonder that black enrollment at Ivy League campuses like Dartmouth is dropping from even its minuscule current level. Just as ROTC cadets are taught that to "kill a commie for your mommie" will get them their stripes, right-wing thugs figure they'll get tickets to the ruling class by terrorizing blacks, leftists and student protesters.

The American ruling class and its underlings in university administrations are frustrated by anti-apartheid protest, and are waging all-out war against it, from brutal busts at Berkeley to mass arrests at Yale. For many students, these protests are their first lesson in the wanton state violence and right-wing terror usually visited on blacks, ghetto youth and striking workers as the Democrats and Republicans move to crush all opposition to their plans for war against the Soviet Union. These protests, however, remain hog-tied to the Democratic Party and politically mired in the utopian and reactionary call for "divestment" which posits that this country's racist rulers can become a "progressive" force for social change by shifting their stock portfolios.

The Coalition for a Free South Africa is demanding that Johns Hopkins require students to take classes in racism, sexism and "violence" (looks to us like the shanty torchers would get straight A's in racism and violence already!). Group therapy sessions with racist thugs would be as useless as "divestment" has proved to be in breaking Botha's reign of terror in South Africa. Racism, sexism and violence are key pillars of the capitalist system here and in South Africa which pit one section of the working class against another, thwarting the necessary united mobilization to smash the bosses' racist rule. To put an end to these symptoms of a sick system, anti-racist students must be won to the perspective of class struggle. When the race-hating terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan threatened to march in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, they were stopped cold by the SL/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization; over 5,000 mostly black students and trade unionists turned out to stop the fascists in their tracks. They came from D.C., Baltimore, the Tidewater area. Under revolutionary leadership, it is the integrated workers movement, in alliance with student opponents of racism, that has the power to smash racist attacks, on the road to smashing capitalist class rule. ■

## Letter on ET...

(continued from page 2)

parties was fighting imperialism, and all sides were jockeying for U.S. backing.

The ET/BT grooves on Challenger just as they grooved on the deaths of the Marines, many of them blacks, who were sent to Lebanon in the first place because they were considered "expendable" by the Pentagon. The ET line on the astronauts reveals exquisite self-consciousness on "bloodthirstiness"—a pose taken in direct proportion to the distance between the dubious ETs and wherever the blood is being shed. When it gets close to home and the heat is on, the ET is hard to find—especially when the victims of the U.S. terror state are black.

When one year ago the cops rained death on black Philadelphia, deliberately bombing black babies in the MOVE commune on orders from the Democratic mayor and with the aid and approval of the FBI, in a massacre that bore the indelible signature of Reagan's America, we immediately raised the loudest cry we could. However, the embittered clot of ET/BT anti-

Spartacists were silent on this unspeakable crime until months later, when they printed a despicable smear job, sneeringly suggesting that MOVE supporter LaVerne Sims was a cop fink (and attacking the SL for enabling Sims to tell her story in New York instead of denouncing her from the podium).

What now for the ET/BT? Tom and Cathy might find true happiness as PR agents for Philly mayor Wilson Goode, except that he's black. Is there *nothing* they won't say in order to defame the SL? Or maybe they just get their kicks sitting in cloistered rare books libraries plucking the wings off flies.

Comradely,  
Jane Clancy  
for the Trotskyist League  
of Canada

*WV replies:* Now it's in writing, in the second issue of the ET/BT's 1917 (Summer 1986). Except for school-teacher Christa McAuliffe, the rest of the crew aboard the Challenger are labeled "Reaganauts" who deserved to die; black astronaut Ronald McNair because he "helped develop specialized lasers" at MIT; Jewish scientist Judith Resnick who "operated the spacecraft's

remote-control arm" and therefore "must have been aware," etc. With their taste for bloodthirstiness, these New Leftovers must have loved Marion Delgado, the little kid made into a hero by the Weathermen for derailing a passenger train. But the ET/BTs are vicarious blood freaks: they want someone else to do it, and they wouldn't have touched the Weathermen with a ten-foot pole.

The Marxist movement has always abhorred the senseless killing of human beings, for instance the millions who perished in two imperialist wars. Ditto for just about anybody on the Reagan-

ites' all-purpose "secular humanist" enemies list. But ET/BT would have us gloat over the astronauts' death. So why do these people positively go out of their way to act like Jeane Kirkpatrick's caricature of a commie bloodsucker? To judge by what's printed in 1917, the first issue of which is now available from the SL as No. 4 in our series, "Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League," the ET/BT is a profile in provocation whose only *raison d'être* seems to be to piss in our well. *Cui bono*—who benefits?

If they liked the Challenger deaths, they must have loved Chernobyl. ■

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SAN FRANCISCO



# For a Federated Workers Republic of Lanka and Eelam!

## Sri Lanka Army Invades Tamil North

JUNE 1—Vowing to "exterminate" the Tamil militants in the North of Sri Lanka, on May 17 the rightist government of J.R. Jayewardene mounted its largest military offensive ever against the Jaffna peninsula, stronghold of Tamil guerrillas fighting for a national homeland ("Eelam") in the Eastern and Northern provinces of the island. The Tamil people of Sri Lanka are a national minority, distinguished from the majority Sinhalese by language and religion (Tamils are mainly Hindus while Sinhalese are mostly Buddhists). Some 9,000 troops of the mainly Sinhalese army advanced on Jaffna from three directions while army forces holed up in the old Dutch fort shelled the city. Aerial bombardment, strafing from helicopters and naval shelling of coastal villages have been going on for weeks, leaving hundreds of civilian casualties.

But J.R.'s offensive ground to a humiliating halt as the troops encountered fierce resistance from well-equipped Tamil guerrillas. The roads into Jaffna were mined and a key bridge blown up; the government forces, stopped at Elephant Pass, retreated into their fortified enclaves and launched another wave of bombing attacks to terrorize the Tamil population. As one Sinhalese commander put it, admitting they were unwilling to take the massive casualties required to crush the rebels, "You cannot win a guerrilla war when your enemy is fighting on home territory with the backing of the people. The



J.R. Jayewardene's army tries to "exterminate" Tamil militants in Jaffna.

tion of long-standing schemes to settle poor Sinhalese there in order to shift the ethnic balance.

In the overwhelmingly Tamil North, where growing separatist sentiment had forced the mainstream Tamil politicians to espouse the "Eelam" demand, the regime deprived even these moderate parliamentarians of a voice in the system by making explicit disavowal of Eelam a condition for them taking the seats to which they were elected.

from South Africa, 21 U.S.-built helicopters, six Marchetti planes from Italy, as well as 50 patrol boats and some 40,000 land mines (*Asiaweek*, 1 June). British and Israeli commandos are training counterinsurgency teams, while thousands of officers are sent to Pakistan for training; British and South African mercenaries are piloting the bombing runs over the North. And Jayewardene can no doubt rely on the backing of his pal Reagan, holding out as bait the strategic naval base at Trincomalee for U.S. warships in their hostile encirclement of the Soviet Union and its allies.

In a pitch to his anti-Soviet allies, Jayewardene paints the Tamil insurgents as Marxists: "Terrorism is no longer ethnic but an attempt to install a communist dictatorship by force and destroy Sri Lanka's democratic form of government" (*London Times*, 19 May). Unfortunately, the Tamil militants, however just their struggle against genocide and for national self-determination, are far from being Marxists. The logic of petty-bourgeois nationalism has led them increasingly into acts of pointless slaughter of innocent civilians and bloody fratricidal warfare between rival Tamil groupings. The massacre of over a hundred Sinhalese pilgrims at Anuradhapura, a historic Buddhist site, last May marked a clear turn toward targeting Sinhalese civilians for indiscriminate attack.

On May 3 an Air Lanka aircraft was blown up on the runway at Katunayake International Airport in Colombo, killing 16, mainly foreign tourists on their way to the Maldives, and including the wife of a PLO ambassador. Probably only a delay in the

scheduled departure time prevented the plane from exploding in midair. Tourism was meant to be one of the pillars of the capitalist prosperity promised by Jayewardene's UNP government, and the airport bombing is clearly a devastating blow to tourism, logical from the indefensible nationalist standpoint as an effective act of economic warfare.

Soon after, a bomb exploded in the Central Telegraph Office, killing at least eleven and injuring over 100. Situated in downtown Colombo, in a country where only the rich can afford telephones, the CTO is usually crowded with ordinary people. These bombings were acts of indefensible indiscriminate terrorism, which can only deepen the communal divisions and provoke bloody anti-Tamil pogroms. In fact the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students claimed responsibility for both the airport bombing and the telegraph office attack. Another group took responsibility for a dam collapse in April which killed 40 people. During a Buddhist religious festival (May 24-25), 20 Sinhalese villagers, including women and children, were massacred allegedly by Tamils at Siripura, near Trincomalee, and another 12 were killed in nearby villages (*Le Monde*, 27 May). An explosion at a food and soda processing plant in Colombo on May 30 killed ten workers and injured 50.

All the Tamil armed struggle groups, with their nationalist politics, countenance such attacks on innocent civilians, lending credence to the regime's attribution to them of any and every atrocity. Thus the massacre at Siripura, which presents some unusual features—mainly, the immediate presence on the scene of reporters and photographers, who have been kept out of the Trinco area for many months, and the prompt appearance of a detailed article on it in the *New York Times*, which has been virtually silent on recent events in Lanka—is attributed to Tamil militants by the government which in this context can expect to have its version widely believed.

### Fatricidal Warfare

Some of the ugliest incidents have occurred in the course of the bloody internecine warfare among the Tamil organizations themselves. As many as 300 Tamils were killed in recent fighting between the Liberation Tigers (LTTE) and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), said to have been sparked by the kidnapping by TELO of two of the Tiger commanders. In three days, the better-organized Tigers wiped out all 24 of TELO's camps and assassinated the TELO commander, Mohan Sri Sabaratnam. *Le Monde* (14 May)

*continued on page 10*



Tamil nationalist group now claims "credit" for blowing up Air Lanka jet filled with tourists.

Americans lost in Vietnam" (*London Guardian*, 21 May). And J.R.'s ferocity is no doubt tempered by the fear of provoking a military intervention on the part of India, where Rajiv Gandhi faces substantial pressure from the 50 million Tamils in the southern state of Tamil Nadu.

### State Terror Against the Tamils

Coinciding with the army invasion of the North, a government decree put Tamil employees of state-run institutions in Colombo and the South on involuntary "leave" from their jobs. This blatantly racist move, which in effect convicts Colombo Tamils of being a fifth column of potential terrorists, underlines the regime's deprivation of civil and national rights to its Tamil citizens. In the summer of 1983 many hundreds of Tamils were killed in Sinhalese communalist pogroms instigated and led by government thugs, which brought massive murder and destruction of Tamil-owned (and Indian-owned) property in Colombo. This was a calculated attack by the Sinhalese chauvinists on the economic interpenetration of the island's peoples, intended to obliterate the significant layer of Tamil merchants in the capital. In the East, the government has combined army atrocities with intensifica-

Thereby the Jayewardene government ousted the largest single Opposition from Parliament and in effect disenfranchised the entire northern population, which it then subjected to military occupation. And in recent years an ominous pattern has emerged of sporadic organized Sinhalese thug violence against the hill country Tamil plantation workers, who for decades have kept the economy afloat by providing most of Sri Lanka's exports for foreign currency. According to human rights workers, in the North and East there were 2,578 confirmed killings of civilians in the ten months up to February of this year; in the same period 12,105 Tamils were reported arrested and 547 "disappeared." It is the Sinhalese chauvinist state which has dragged the country to the brink of civil war.

Jayewardene, having devoted months under a fictitious "cease-fire" to pacifying the Eastern region and building up the military, moved on the North with the intention of finally crushing the Tamil resistance and wiping out their cadres. The openly pro-U.S. regime appeals to "the English-speaking world" to help "suppress the alarm and rebellion here" (*London Sunday Times*, 11 May), and the imperialists have obliged. The Sri Lankan army is now equipped with 150 armored personnel carriers



Colombo, July 1983: Government-instigated pogroms slaughtered hundreds, burned Tamil-owned shops to the ground.



# Courts Out of 1199 Hospital Union!

Facing a June 30 contract showdown with the New York City hospital bosses, the heavily black, Hispanic and female union, Local 1199, has been hijacked by the U.S. Department of Labor. In the April 15-22 election which was ordered and run by the feds, 1199's ranks voted to replace Doris Turner, charged with fraud, gangsterism and conspiracy, with the pro-Labor Department "Save Our Union" slate headed by Georgianna Johnson. Turner protested and the feds are letting her stay in office pending an investigation. Now "Save Our Union" is demanding that a federal court install them. Only one thing is certain: when the feds show up, workers lose. Thanks to the bankruptcy of both sides in this sordid election, Reagan's labor cops are the only winners. Militant hospital workers must demand: "Sellouts, finks and government—out! 1199 will clean its own house!"

NYC hospital workers have plenty to be pissed off about. After a 47-day strike against the League of Voluntary Hospitals in the summer of 1984, Turner claimed she'd won a victory without concessions. While the rest of the left (*Daily World*, *Workers World*, *Militant*, etc.) fell in line hailing the "victory," *Workers Vanguard* uniquely told the truth, headlining "1199 Hospital Workers Shafted" (*WV* No. 362, 14 September 1984). We proved it by printing a facsimile of the secret hit list, initiated by Turner, which offered tens of millions of dollars in givebacks to the League of Voluntary Hospitals. Turner gave up at least \$29 million in concessions and the ranks still don't have the 5 percent pay increase they thought they won a year and a half ago.

Then in January 1985, former 1199 executive vice president David White

by wielding the union-busting RICO club against 1199.

Thanks to "Save Our Union" (even their name sounds like an invitation to the government) the feds were all over the election. They approved the final list of polling places; they allowed Turner to rehire Election Services, the same outfit that admitted erasing voting machine tallies in the 1984 election; and they passed judgment on the union bylaws under which the election was to be conducted. But "Save Our Union" lobbied the House Labor Committee for an even stronger Labor Department presence in the elections. Already there is a federal grand jury probe of 1199's finances being conducted, and in March a federal court ruled that the union must pay \$145,000 in fines and court costs for alleged picket line "violence" during the strike! That's the "justice" unions get in the bosses' courts.

This should be a lesson to others—such as Local P-9 meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota who are suing the United Food and Commercial Workers' International tops for sabotaging a bitter, seven-month strike against Hormel. The courts intervene inside unions for one reason only: to throttle labor militancy. Thus in 1972, when "reform" candidate Arnold Miller became the president of the United Mine Workers of America in a Labor Department-supervised election, the rest of the U.S. left hailed Miller's election as a victory for miners. The Spartacist League warned that "reformers" who owed their office to government meddling in union affairs could only betray the ranks. And during 1975-77 Miller sabotaged three massive coalfield wildcats. In the heroic 110-day UMW strike in 1977-78 miners repeatedly burned Miller's sell-

craft Party, which has been in the forefront of subordinating the unions to the state. A militant NYC hospital strike in 1976 was sold out in order not to "spoil" the Democratic convention which nominated Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter.

mo, "because we were the ones who fought for 1199's endorsement of Governor Cuomo in 1982. Turner opposed it" (*Save Our Union News*, election edition). This bankrupt "strategy" of relying on the phony "friend of labor" Democrats is a threat to the union itself.

## 1199 Hospital Workers Shafted

### Doris Turner's Hidden Sellout

When New York City hospital workers voted to elect Doris Turner as president of Local 1199, they were told that she was the only person who could lead the union through the crisis. But in reality, she was a sellout who had been working for the hospital bosses for years. This is the hidden hit list of reductions, givebacks and losses initiated by 1199 president Doris Turner.

REDACTIONS	PERCENTAGE
• Reducing salaries to 90% of 1984 levels	10% reduction
• Reducing wages to 90% of 1984 levels	10% reduction
• Reducing overtime pay to 150% of base rate	50% reduction

GIVEBACKS	PERCENTAGE
• Giving away 10% of 1984 salaries	10% reduction
• Giving away 10% of 1984 wages	10% reduction
• Giving away 10% of 1984 overtime pay	50% reduction

This is the hidden hit list of reductions, givebacks and losses initiated by 1199 president Doris Turner. Workers, World, spread! Hospital workers' victory means the labor movement across the board. The only way to win is to win it all.

WV Photo

### In 1984 WV exposed contract sellout negotiated by 1199 president Doris Turner (Inset).



charged that Turner's May 1984 reelection was the result of massive forgery, alteration and destruction of ballots, and that it was all supervised by Turner herself. White, an admitted participant in the vote fraud, sang his song to the feds, and the opposition, then known as "Unity and Progress," turned this crook/fink into a hero. Since then the union has been hit with one anti-labor lawsuit after another. On April 7, "Save Our Union," citing the sinister RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) dragnet, filed a \$9 million complaint in Federal Court charging Turner and other union officials with conspiracy, abuse of authority and the embezzlement of more than \$3 million in union funds.

Calling the government's labor cops into the union is a betrayal of the membership and a gift to the labor-hating Reagan administration which seeks to smear all working-class and socialist organizations as "criminal enterprises." Many supporters of "Save Our Union" are self-proclaimed leftists, in a union which is one of the few which did not completely cave in to the anti-Communist hysteria of the McCarthy period. But today it is the "progressive" opposition which is climbing into office

out contracts! By the end, Miller was so discredited that Democrat Jimmy Carter's *Labor Department* picked new negotiators for the union to ram the contract down the miners' throats.

The precondition for union democracy is labor's complete independence from the capitalist state. Hospital workers are understandably disgusted with Turner & Co., but "Save Our Union" is no alternative. Under the guise of "union democracy," these "progressives" rail against Turner's "unnecessary, unprepared" strike. Their solution? "Georgianna Johnson and the 1199 Save Our Union Slate will not call strikes" (*Save Our Union News*, election edition). And indeed, the "opposition" was nowhere to be seen during the '84 walkout. Why? Because they didn't want a strike in the first place and did nothing to oppose the sham "settlement."

Under the union's old guard of Leon Davis and Moe Foner, 1199 was one of the last city unions led by Communist Party supporters. The union organized among the most oppressed workers, predominantly black women. But the Davis/Foner leadership betrayed the union's combative ranks with their endless support to the capitalist Demo-

Davis was president of both the NYC chapter of 1199 and the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, an affiliate of the Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union. On retiring in 1982, Davis turned the presidency of the New York local over to Turner but endorsed Henry Nicholas as president of the National Union. When Nicholas sought to affiliate the hospital workers directly with the AFL-CIO, Turner kept "her" local, which made up half of the national membership, with RWDSU. The dirty bureaucratic power struggle, however, was only beginning. Supporters of Turner, who is black, have charged her opponents with racism, while Turner herself has been attacked for anti-Semitism. Turner's stronghold has been the union's Hospital Division, which is mainly black, unskilled women, while the opposition is strongest among the mainly white technical workers in the Guild Division.

Davis eventually regretted his support to Turner, and his backing for the little-known Johnson was doubtless key in her election victory. For her part, Johnson promised to get the 5 percent raise being held up by Governor Cu-

Local 1199 members should check with their brothers and sisters in the NYC Transport Workers Union. The TWU tops gave the ranks' money to Cuomo, and Cuomo gave them Robert Kiley, a CIA spymaster and veteran union-buster, as boss of the transit system.

Reliance on the Democrats means enforcing Reaganite austerity in the service of the anti-Soviet war drive. Thanks to the treachery of Davis/Turner and the former opposition, the traditionally combative union has played no role in mobilizing against racist attacks, such as Koch's cop terror and the closing of Harlem's Sydenham Hospital, when 1199 hospital workers should have been shoulder to shoulder with their brothers and sisters in AFSCME Local 420. Real victories require class-struggle methods like mass picket lines that nobody dares cross, occupying the hospitals to shut them down completely, and real solidarity action to stop all deliveries and services. And it means a fight for the class independence of labor—cops and courts out of the union, break with the Democratic Party, for a class-struggle workers party! ■

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# Workers: Smash AIFLD!

Ronald Reagan would be hard put to find a more enthusiastic partner in the business of global counterrevolution than the American labor bureaucracy. Ever since the American Federation of Labor's International Affairs Department conspired with Washington to destroy left-wing unions in West Europe after World War II, U.S. government-funded "labor" institutes have been active around the world under the banner of "free trade unionism." The only "freedom" they're interested in protecting is the freedom of capital to exploit labor. South of the Rio Grande, the "American Institute of Free Labor Development" (AIFLD) is so infamous for its anti-labor, pro-coup activities that its parent organization is widely known as the "AFL-CIA." And recently they have cloned the AIFLD to set up similar "free trade union" outfits to export anti-Communism everywhere from South Africa to the Philippines.

The AIFLD was founded in 1962 as an adjunct of the "Alliance for Progress," John F. Kennedy's response to the Cuban Revolution. Its first project was to help topple the leftist Jagan government in British Guiana by underwriting a campaign of "destabilizing" strikes. The AIFLD soon proved its mettle by abetting the 1964 military coup that overthrew the nationalist Goulart regime in Brazil. Perhaps AIFLD's most "successful" operation was the 1973 truckers "strike" in Chile which was instrumental in bringing down the Chilean Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende. But a decade later the "AFL-CIA's" operations are backfiring in El Salvador. *Business Week* (4 November 1985) asked pointedly, "Is Big Labor Playing Global Vigilante?"

In the early '80s the AIFLD designed the Christian Democratic/military junta's "land to the tiller" program, intended, in the words of its architect, to "breed capitalists like rabbits." But even this counterinsurgency measure was too radical for rightist generals and landowners. In 1981, two AIFLD agents were rubbed out by a death squad in the San Salvador Sheraton together with the head of the agrarian reform program. But lately the Yankee labor cops have been running into problems from a different direction. On February 8, the

Popular Democratic Union, AIFLD's own creature, split with the U.S.-backed Duarte regime and joined forces with the left to form the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS). The UNTS has demanded that the AIFLD be expelled from the country "as it has been a destructive, divisive force which has done nothing for El Salvador" (*Central America Report*, 11 April).

U.S. imperialism's attempt to create a political "center" in Salvador has foundered on the reefs of class struggle. Washington wanted a government that would prosecute the war against leftist guerrillas on a program of "reform plus repression." But as the civil war raged on, with workers forced to bear more and more of the economic burden, a strike wave swept the country. And when the AIFLD's man in San Salvador threatened to cut off the American dollars to striking unions, the workers revolted. The *Wall Street Journal* (31 December 1985) worried that AIFLD's "heavy-handed tactics have in some cases...divided the very moderates it is trying to strengthen." But if the business press is alarmed, now is the time for labor militants to seize the opportunity to demand that their unions break all ties with the AFL-CIO's sordid international operations.

## Irving Brown: "Mr. AFL-CIA"

"In the main, the officialdom of the American trade union movement functions brazenly and aggressively as an agency of American imperialism at its worst. Our labor leaders are, with too few exceptions, primarily serving as labor lieutenants of American imperialism in the ranks of the organized and unorganized workers. On the whole, these trade union officials react swiftly and decisively to the needs and demands of the Yankee imperialists."

These lines could easily have been penned by a Daniel De Leon or James P. Cannon. In fact, they are to be found in a 1926 pamphlet titled *The Labor Lieutenants of American Imperialism*, written by one Jay Lovestone, then leader of the Communist Party who fell afoul of Stalin and was expelled from the CP in 1929. During World War II Lovestone took his place as a professional anti-Communist renegade in the front ranks of Wall Street's labor

lieutenants, as director of the AFL's Department of International Affairs. With the onset of the Cold War, Lovestone dispatched his protégé Irving Brown to line up European workers for the crusade against Communism. Brown used CIA money to break a Communist-led general strike in Paris and hired Corsican Mafia thugs to smash dockworkers' pickets in Marseilles.



AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland (right) joins Reagan in fomenting contra terror in Central America.

When Lovestone died, he was replaced by Brown as head of AFL-CIO foreign operations, and the CIA connection was continued. Today the American union federation boasts four foreign labor institutes, doing imperialism's work in 83 countries. Last year alone, the U.S. government supplied 90 percent of the AFL-CIO's \$43 million international budget, now channeled through the Agency for International Development and the Reagan-established National Endowment for Democracy. (The federation's entire domestic budget only comes to \$45 million.) And Irving Brown still gets around. His globetrotting in recent years reads like a CIA contingency planner's list of hot spots.

• Poland 1981: As Solidarność consolidated around a counterrevolutionary program of anti-Soviet clerical nationalism, plans were announced for a U.S. labor delegation including Irving Brown to attend this yellow "union's" congress in Gdansk. The AFL-CIO funneled millions of CIA dollars to Solidarność. The Polish government, however, denied visas to the entire American delegation.

• South Africa 1982: As black unions began to pose a serious threat to the U.S.-allied Pretoria regime, Brown led a U.S. labor junket to the land of apartheid. While many militant South African unionists shunned Brown, not wanting to be associated with the CIA, the AFL-CIO delegation presented a "George Meany International Human Rights Award" to Zulu chief Buthelezi, whose impi goon squads have been used to break strikes, sack union offices and kill union leaders. Last year, the federation sponsored a U.S. visit by ten South African trade unionists who were working with the "African-American Labor Center" (AALC). But even they were sharply critical of the AFL-CIO for its support to the "Sullivan Principles," a whitewash program to cover up American companies' participation in apartheid.

• Philippines 1984: As the Marcos regime was increasingly challenged by a leftist guerrilla insurgency and a CP-led union federation launched a series of "people's strikes," Irving Brown visited the Philippines with tidings of a multi-million-dollar boost recently voted by the U.S. Congress to the "Asian-American Free Labor Institute" (AAFLI). The AAFLI has strongly supported the Marcos-backed TUCP labor federation.

• Nicaragua 1985: Last summer, just as the Democratic-controlled Congress was voting "humanitarian" aid to the CIA's contra mercenary army, Irving Brown was leading a delegation to Nicaragua. A memo by Brown denounced the Sandinistas as "moving towards totalitarianism," but didn't mention that the AFL-CIO had secretly funneled to the right-wing CUS union federation tens of thousands of dollars from the Reaganite National Endowment for Democracy, which also provided more than \$100,000 to the voice of the internal contras, *La Prensa*. Nor did Brown mention that AIFLD director William Doherty is a founder of the pro-contra PRODEMCA, which also receives NED money to finance U.S. speaking tours by contra leaders.

American labor officialdom's global counterrevolutionary activities have always been an arm of U.S. foreign policy, politically and militarily. AIFLD organizers went ashore with the Marines in Santo Domingo in 1965, and with Reagan's 1983 invasion of Grenada. In fact, the AIFLD has always been a labor-business-government "cooperative" venture. The board of this "labor" institute has included Nelson Rockefeller, the head of Pan American Airways and shipping magnate J. Peter Grace, benefactor of Nazi war criminal Otto Ambros, a slave labor contractor to Hitler's Third Reich. Today Irving Brown funnels NED/CIA money to the Solidarność underground in Poland and bankrolls fascist student "unions" in France (*New York Times*, 1 June).

## AFL-CIO Tops Squabble in Disneyland

As they meet periodically at poolside in Boca Raton, Florida and Palm Springs, California, foreign policy is seldom a contentious issue among the labor fat cats. But when a division of ruling-class opinion arises, it sometimes has repercussions even in the AFL-CIO boardroom. It was during the Vietnam War, when UAW president Walter Reuther split with Meany denouncing the federation's pro-war policy, that reports of CIA "meddling" in labor came out. (Walter's brother Victor, of course, was a bagman for Irving Brown in postwar Europe.) And last year, simmering disputes over Central America surfaced at the AFL-CIO's annual convention in Anaheim. A group of 25 union leaders calling themselves the National Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador opposed Kirkland's outright support to the contras.

This was hailed by various Stalinoid and social-democratic reformists. One called it a "precedent-setting challenge...to the federation's longstanding pro-imperialist foreign policy consensus" (*Frontline*, 11 November 1985). Yet the compromise resolution called for a negotiated solution in El Salvador and Nicaragua—i.e., the FMLN guerrillas should sit down with the death squads, and the Sandinistas should parley with the National Guard murderers! In reality what happened in Anaheim was a squabble between two wings of American social democracy, the Reaganite SDUSA (Social Democrats USA) types

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Tom Fawthrop



AIFLD against workers' struggles: San Salvador, May Day 1985 (above); South African black unions (above left); Philippines sugar workers (left).



# Dr. Michio Kaku on Soviet Nuclear Accident

## Chernobyl: Exposing U.S. Big Lies

When the tragic nuclear accident occurred at the Chernobyl power plant near Kiev in late April, it was immediately seized upon by the American mass media and the White House to launch yet another anti-Soviet propaganda crusade. As we noted in our article "Media Meltdown on Russia" (WV No. 403, 9 May), it was a "manipulated media panic" inventing the most incredible Big Lies. Now it's revealed that while the Reaganites were hypocritically denouncing so-called Soviet "secrecy," the federal government sent out gag-order memos to thousands of employees of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the Department of Energy and the Agricultural Department, among others. The word from the top was: get the Russkies, and facts be damned. The cringing bourgeois media snapped to attention.

Now the truth is beginning to come out in dribs and drabs. The ludicrous story of "2,000 dead" at Chernobyl, which originally got screaming three-inch *New York Post* headlines, was finally withdrawn by United Press International—in a retraction buried on the inside pages of the *Times*. The *New York Times* (19 May) belatedly reported that "U.S. Experts Say Construction Is Similar in Some Ways to Plants in America," revealing that the Chernobyl plant had a containment structure after all. That same day another *Times* story, "Soviet Mobilizes a Vast Operation to



Chernobyl power plant in the Ukraine, site of tragic nuclear accident. NBC

Overcome the Disaster," graphically portrayed the capacity of a planned economy to meet an urgent social need.

A public forum on nuclear power and Chernobyl was held in Manhattan on May 9, sponsored by radio station WBAI. While this rad-lib Pacifica station rivaled the White House in spreading scare stories at the time of the accident, the forum proved particularly useful in punching holes in the Reaganite lies. Nikolai Setounsky, Soviet TASS press agency chief in New York,

rightly denounced the behavior of the American media as "complete social irresponsibility." And Dr. Michio Kaku, professor of nuclear physics at the City College of New York, gave a powerful speech about nuclear power and Chernobyl, with a brief exposé of American first-strike nuclear war plans going back to 1945. We print his excerpted remarks below.

The introduction to a book co-edited by Dr. Kaku on *Nuclear Power: Both Sides* (1982) notes his "affiliation with

the antinuclear movement," though concluding that "atomic energy could make a substantial contribution to our fuel reserves." We are far from being "nukers," who falsely equate nuclear power with nuclear weapons. As scientific socialists, we seek to harness the tremendous energy of nuclear power for mankind. We pointed out in our article on the Three Mile Island accident ("No-Nuke Syndrome," WV No. 229, 13 April 1979) that this requires socialist revolution to replace the capitalist system which sacrifices safety to profits. And concerning reported bureaucratic screw-ups at Chernobyl, as we noted in "Media Meltdown....," "workers' democracy would clear up a lot of snafus in this degenerated workers state."

As for nuclear weapons, we are damn glad the Soviet Union has The Bomb. Otherwise, you better believe that the imperialists' first-strike nuclear war plans would have been executed. In his speech, Dr. Kaku, who refers to the imperialist U.S. as "us," calls for "arms control" to counter the threat of nuclear war. But as Leon Trotsky said in a statement to an antiwar congress in 1932, the question is "in whose hands are the weapons?" The vicious history of American imperialism—the only power to ever use atomic weapons against civilians—should make it clear that the only way to make the world safe from nuclear war is to disarm the imperialists... by world proletarian revolution.

Last week I debated a professor of nuclear engineering from Columbia University, and he was gloating about the accident in the Soviet Union. He said that such an accident could never happen in the United States. I pointed out to him that one already had. He was like somebody in a glass house throwing stones. He smirked and said, well, those Russian reactors, they have no containment, and if we had Bechtel or if we had General Electric build a reactor, it

that there was a problem, that the reactor was installed backwards.

In fact, he admitted to it, he explained what happened. He was senior engineer at the site. There were two blueprints, for Unit 1 and Unit 2. They are mirror images of each other. But the engineers on site thought they were carbon copies of each other. The blueprints for Units 2 and 1 were confused. He mentioned that the containment annulus containing all the emergency core cooling systems were installed 180 degrees backwards in Unit 1 by accident. So he said that this was an unshakable reactor. I told him that I had a different nickname for the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Station—I like to call it the "Shake-and-Bake reactor."

Like I said, last week the distinguished professor from Columbia gloated that we have higher safety standards in the United States. Let me say something about higher safety standards. Go down to Washington, D.C. Go to the public documents bureau of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and get the file for the Ravenswood Nuclear Power Station. The Ravenswood Nuclear Power Station was to be built by Con Ed, and it was to be located opposite the United Nations, in the heart of New York City. It was to be placed at Ravenswood, Queens, so you would throw the blinds of the United Nations open, you would look out on the East River, and see the gigantic dome of a nuclear power plant right in the heart of New York City.

Well, they lifted the license of that reactor in '64. Con Ed petitioned and said, please let us build that reactor, we'll place it underground, under concrete. They insisted on having a nuclear power plant in the heart of New York

City. Now, you know, the Reagan administration, Shultz, all these people have been gloating about this accident. And I have the perfect place for the Ravenswood Nuclear Power Station. Let's put it not in the heart of New York City; let's put it right opposite the White House. And see how safe nuclear power plants in the United States really are.

### Chernobyl and Three Mile Island

Now let's get into the unfolding situation. First of all, there's an astonishing similarity with regards to how the accident unfolded. It started at about 1:23 in the morning on Saturday, a week and a half ago, and according to Soviet officials, the local officials on site apparently were overwhelmed by the

accident. They had not understood the magnitude of what was happening; delays were made. I remember a press conference that I attended in March of 1979, at Three Mile Island. That day, Jack Herbein, one of the VPs for GPU [General Public Utilities], was trying to say that everything was under control. That morning, March 28, 1979, details of the accident at Three Mile Island had not come out. And he insisted that everything was under control. Even though the NRC was beginning to bring in its own staff, realizing that GPU was overwhelmed with the magnitude of the accident. At one press conference, according to *Time* magazine, Jack Herbein had an unfortunate quote. He said, oh, what's all this fuss about Unit 2?



Japanese American physicist Dr. Michio Kaku. WV Photo

would have been a hundred times safer.

Let me say just a few words about American reactors first, before I get into Chernobyl. Three years ago I was in Los Angeles debating Jerry Bailey, senior nuclear engineer for Bechtel, builder of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power station. That's built a few miles off the Hosgri Fault, which is an active offshoot of the San Andreas Fault, which leveled San Francisco in 1906 or so. And Jerry Bailey said that that reactor was so reinforced, he liked to call it the unshakable reactor. I pointed out to him

It has happened here. The near meltdown at Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in 1979 could have devastated densely populated area of Pennsylvania.





We have accidents like this at Unit 1 all the time.

The second astonishing similarity is the question of confused information coming out of that accident. What leaked the word of the Three Mile Island accident? Read the Rogovin report. It consists of three volumes, it's about six inches thick. And it mentions that the reason why we even knew about the accident at Three Mile Island was because of "Captain Dave," the roving traffic reporter in Harrisburg. Captain Dave that morning was turning on his police frequency, trying to monitor traffic patterns around Harrisburg, and he picked up the fact that there was chaos erupting at Three Mile Island. Squad cars were being positioned to get into there in case something happened. Captain Dave, traffic reporter for a Harrisburg station, saw a story, and it was a good one. He got on the telephone and he called the emergency control room at Three Mile Island, and he heard all this chaos erupting in the background. Captain Dave then called United Press International, and it was all over the headlines in the world: "Big accident at Three Mile Island."

It was even worse than this. Evacuations: the Soviets have admitted that evacuation took place late; they had underestimated the severity of the accident, especially given the reports of the local officials, who were overwhelmed. What happened at Harrisburg? There was even deceit at the Three Mile Island accident. The Freedom of Information Act has released about four feet worth of private communications between officials of the NRC during the accident. The only thing they talked about, for several hundred pages, was how *not* to evacuate Harrisburg. They were saying, my god, how can we stall, until the very last minute, before we have to evacuate Harrisburg.

Now let me get into comparisons, because the industry in this country is already making those comparisons. They say that nuclear reactors are safer because we have containmentments and they don't. Well, the Shoreham Nuclear Power Plant in Long Island has a containment structure which is weaker than the containment structure at Chernobyl. The reactor there has a containment—not the four-foot concrete dome characteristic in U.S. plants, it has a structure which can contain 57 pounds per square inch overpressure. What about the Long Island Lighting Company's Shoreham Nuclear Power Plant? It has a containment structure that can only withstand 30 pounds per square inch in the case of a steam explosion.

It is a boiling water reactor, manufactured by General Electric, and boiling water reactors have notoriously thin containment shells. Pressurized water reactors like Three Mile Island can withstand up to 100 pounds per square inch—they've been more reinforced than Chernobyl. So statement number one: we have a reactor in Long Island, operated by the Long Island Lighting Company, which has a containment structure that is thinner, less able to withstand pressure than the Chernobyl reactor.

Second of all, we have several graphite reactors in the United States. Historically, the industry went for graphite. England went for graphite, with the Magnox reactor. We went for graphite—in fact the very first nuclear reactor built by Enrico Fermi was a graphite reactor. The world went for graphite because of its superior properties. Graphite happens to have a larger specific heat than ordinary light water. It rises in temperature very slowly, compared to light water reactors where the meltdown takes place rather rapidly. That's why the British went for a commercial graphite reactor.

Light water is a very mediocre design. We went for light water because of the Rickover nuclear submarine program. When that *Nautilus* went underneath the North Pole, it dazzled the industry in

the late '50s, and we went light water all the way. The rest of the world stayed with graphite. Except for Canada, that went with heavy water, which is of course even more expensive. In fact, General Atomics, builder of the Fort St. Vrain reactor in Colorado, even boasts and says, in the middle of a meltdown you can take a lunch break—I wouldn't do it if I were you—because the graphite heats up so slow.

Third, the uranium rods are further spread apart, meaning you're not going to have one great clump of metal going into the water, creating a steam explosion. In fact, Dr. Stratton of the Los Alamos weapons laboratory in New Mexico performed the most massive computer simulation at Three Mile Island, and concluded that a half an hour more, and that core would have reached the point of no return, and

over your kitchen.

Ten years later, in a secret report by the British parliament to the Queen of England, they admitted, we goofed. They will own up to perhaps 40 people that probably will or have died because of general radiation exposures around that reactor.

## What Went Wrong

Now let's get into the Chernobyl accident itself. What went wrong? As we know, on Saturday, 1:23 or so in the morning, there was an engine room fire—engine in Russian probably means turbine in English. I'm putting two and two together, and I'm assuming that the hydrogen ignited in the turbine room. The Soviet press release reads "engine room." At that point, they still thought they could bring it under control.

U.S. war criminals  
A-bombed Hiroshima  
and Nagasaki (right).

USSR Ministry of Defense



U.S.A.A.F.

Today Pentagon targets  
Soviet Union for nuclear  
annihilation.

meltdown. That is because light water reactors melt in one hour. Graphite reactors melt in six to 12 hours—making graphite, like I said before, a superior design.

So what the hell happened at Chernobyl? Graphite has an Achilles' heel—at 2,000 degrees Fahrenheit, it goes up like a Roman candle. Captain Dave, of course, released the information at Three Mile Island within hours of the accident, and the cat was out of the bag. The British took almost *ten years* to admit that they had a devastating nuclear accident in a graphite reactor. On October 7, 1957, there was Wigner energy stored in the graphite—graphite is like a sponge, it sponges up neutron energy. They didn't release the Wigner energy correctly, and as a consequence, it hit 2,000 degrees Fahrenheit. At that point, hydrogen gas began to be produced: carbon reacts with water to create carbon monoxide and hydrogen; metal reacts with water to create the oxide and hydrogen. And the Wigner energy set off the whole shooting match.

Blue flames came out of that reactor [at Windscale]. 20,000 curies of strontium came out of that reactor. For three days the British did not know what to do with a flaming nuclear reactor. And you know how they finally took that reactor out? They don't tell you this on TV. On October 9, 1957, the British got a suicide squad and they gave them—not sand, not boron, not lead—they gave them a fire hose. They walked up this ladder and shot hose water into the middle of a flaming graphite uranium metal water reactor. That is the last thing you want to do in a reactor accident. It's like having a grease fire in your kitchen. Putting water on it splatters everything and you get a million grease fires all

Gradually that fire spread from the engine room into the main reactor room. As a consequence, power was lost, water levels began to drop, and the graphite core began to rise to 2,000 degrees Fahrenheit. When it hits 2,000 degrees Fahrenheit, a number of effects take place. The Wigner release, hydrogen gas from carbon, hydrogen gas from metal, hydrogen gas from radiolysis. As a consequence, on Sunday there was probably a hydrogen gas explosion, which then blew the top of the reactor off.

At that time we had a full-scale, class nine accident raging in the Soviet Union. CIA reports said that fire spread to a second reactor, and we had two meltdowns. The CIA was wrong. The CIA has admitted that it was wrong. And it was wrong because we only have one KH-11 spy satellite going up in the sky at the present time. We only have one KH-11 spy satellite because of the setbacks in the space shuttle Challenger, the blowup of the Titan, and the Delta rocket. Then we claim that American high tech is so great. KH-11 spy satellites rotate around the earth once every 90 minutes; it takes once every day and a half to go over precisely the location of the Chernobyl reactor. If you follow the press releases very carefully, every day and a half the CIA made correct statements. In between, they were flopping all over the place.

Second of all, the arbiter of truth in New York City, the *New York Post*—the gospel according to Murdoch—says that we had mass graves of 15,000 people. You cannot kill 15,000 people in a few days. In the United States, we've had seven Americans blown apart in reactor and criticality accidents. You may say to yourself, wait a minute, I find the statement saying that no Americans

ever died in a commercial nuclear power plant. Well, notice, how they made that statement. If you change *one part* of that statement it becomes incorrect.

We know about criticality accidents. We had one in Los Alamos a few days after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where some of my relatives were killed. Harry Dagnian, 26 years old, a technician. He had two hemispheres of delta phase plutonium, about five kilograms. He tripped and fell. He hit the tungsten carbide, it went into the reactor, caused criticality, and he was hit with about five thousand rads of radiation—that is, about ten times the critical amount of radiation. It took him two weeks to die in the Los Alamos hospital. You cannot have 15,000 people in mass graves a few hours after an incident, even of this size. The real death count, I don't know. But I think as the weeks go by, unless the bone marrow transplants work, you will see an increasing amount of deaths take place. I think that's inevitable. I think you are dealing with a tragedy; a tragedy at Three Mile Island, a tragedy at Chernobyl. You're talking about thousands, in fact millions of curies, which came out of that reactor just last week.

## U.S. First-Strike War Plans

Perhaps one of the most important things to link this accident up to is the question of arms control. First of all, remember that we have the Hanford reactor in Washington, a plutonium production reactor. And because Ronald Reagan wants 17,000 more warheads, we are going to take this decrepit nuclear power plant and make it work overtime. That Chernobyl reactor was brand new. We have a reactor that is 23 years old; it's practically dying of old age, and yet Reagan wants to squeeze 17,000 more warheads out of the Hanford graphite N-reactor, almost to the design in the Soviet Union, except worse. A decrepit reactor whose accident rate is rapidly accelerating.

Of course our president has been heard to say that he can't trust the Russians because of this accident. If anything, in arms control, I think it shows the opposite. We have one KH-11 spy satellite in outer space, with a resolution of six inches to 12 inches. It shows that we can indeed verify a nuclear freeze with the Soviet Union. It shows that our technology is good enough that you don't have to "rely on trust." If all nations trusted each other, we wouldn't have arms control at all. There'd be no need at all. It's precisely because nations don't trust each other. And the Soviets of course cite the fact that the United States in the past has had warlike intentions on the Soviet Union.

Let me just end on this one last note. I've just completed a book, which reviews some of the most classified documents ever released by the United States government.

continued on page 14

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# Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 5)

cites an eyewitness report by a journalist of the United News of India, who describes how "fifty young Tamils belonging to the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation, some of them 13 or 14 years old, were burned alive in public after being doused with gasoline by their adversaries."

Noting the ominous shift among the Tamil groups from attacking legitimate targets of military occupation to victimizing innocent Sinhalese civilians, and the rise of violent clashes among the Tamil nationalists themselves, we wrote last December:

"The petty-bourgeois nationalist Tamil organizations have come to mirror the worst Sinhala chauvinism of the traditional Ceylonese left parties with their own murderous logic of racialism and nationalist communalism. Marxist revolutionists, who base themselves on the morality of internationalist class struggle, abhor racialism in all its forms, and find deeply repugnant the terror methods of gangsterism employed by those who fight in the name of social justice."

—"Bloody Communal Terror in Sri Lanka," *WV* No. 393, 13 December 1985

The nationalist perspective of the Tamil insurgent organizations has led them into reliance on capitalist India and the regime of Rajiv Gandhi—itself stained with the blood of communalist slaughter in the Punjab and Assam—to save the Lankan Tamils from J.R.'s genocidal terror. And the Tamil groups have remained indifferent to the struggles of key potential allies among the exploited Sinhalese workers in the South and particularly the plantation Tamils on



Dunne/Sunday Times

**Tamil demonstrators in London appeal for help to capitalist India.**

the upcountry tea estates, struggles which point toward the possibility of a progressive class-struggle alternative to the current spiral of bloody communal violence.

## Plantation Tamils Key to Revolution in Lanka

Under pressure from the plantation workers, their main organization, the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC) led by S. Thondaman—trade-union boss, big landowner and cabinet minister in Jayewardene's government—called a three-month "prayer campaign." Plantation workers were to "pray" for five hours a day, a threat to utterly disrupt tea production. Two days after this thinly disguised strike began on January 14, it was called off as the government promised to grant citizenship to 94,000 "stateless" Tamils and their dependents who had been disenfranchised since independence in 1948. Despite the wretched slave-labor conditions and communalist terror they continue to face, wresting from the state a promise of citizenship rights is a victory for the plantation Tamils and a demonstration of the power of working-class action. And whatever the CWC's claims that "problems can be resolved through peaceful dialogue and prayer without resort to conflict and confrontation" (*Sun*, 21 January), it was not neo-Gandhian prayer but strike action which achieved it.

Predictably, the promise to grant citizenship unleashed paroxysms of



**Spartacist League/Britain protests anti-Tamil terror in Sri Lanka, London 1984.**

anti-Tamil chauvinism among Sinhala communalists. Leading the pack was the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of former prime minister Mrs. Bandaranaike, who told the Sinhalese to "get ready for a war with the estate workers." And on the weekend of January 25-26, Sinhala communalist thugs attacked the Tamils in the Nuwara Eliya hill country district. But this time the plantation workers fought back: tens of thousands went on strike, many estate workers armed themselves, they felled trees and rolled rocks down from hilltops to block the movement of police and army convoys. An SLFP leader lamented that the police were afraid to go onto the tea estates to make arrests. Fearing a "third front" the government made an effort to cool the situation by appearing even-handed.

When the new citizenship law was enacted on February 1, the SLFP

ing the plantations. It will be the Sinhalese people who will be in danger" (quoted in the *Island*, 6 February).

Against the wretched popular frontism and pandering to Sinhala chauvinism of the reformist Lankan left, the international Spartacist tendency and its section on the island, the Spartacist League/Lanka, have fought consistently in defense of the Tamils and for the right of Tamil national self-determination, in the framework of a Leninist/Trotskyist program of internationalist class struggle.

The plantation workers are not the only section of the working class to show combativity. In March nurses went on strike for almost a month. The government banned their union and seized its funds under the emergency regulations. Notably, like the plantation strikes and the militant strikes at textile factories like Polytex and Magnum, these struggles centrally involve women workers. Deeply oppressed, and all too often treated with disdain and indifference by Lankan and Eelamist leftists alike, these women have shown their willingness and capacity for struggle. Militant class-conscious women can and will be won to communism and will be among its best fighters.

The bonapartist J.R. regime faces pressures from all quarters. In Jaffna prior to the army invasion of the North, Muslims protested the terror-bombing of Libya by J.R.'s friend Reagan in a 2,000-strong demonstration. More recently fighting in the Slave Island quarter of Colombo left seven dead, as local inhabitants, mainly Muslims and Tamils, resisted the riotous soldiers from a neighboring army camp. The regime continues to imprison Sinhalese leftists accused of having ties with Tamil groups, as well as countless Tamils held under the draconian "Prevention of Terrorism" laws. The imperialist bloodsuckers of the International Monetary Fund have threatened to cut off "aid" and loans unless the government demonstrates it can find a "solution" to the ethnic problem and get back to the orderly business of making money for domestic and multinational capitalists and their world bankers. Meanwhile the army seethes with mutinous elements and Jayewardene's own party is itself rent with factions including an ultraracist wing which sees J.R. as "soft" on the Tamils. And the regime has

succeeded in deeply antagonizing anew its powerful neighbor India, which could swat away Jayewardene's forces with minimal effort.

But Tamil Eelam achieved on the bayonets of the Indian army could be at best a pathetic client of capitalist India, itself a prisonhouse of peoples with its own bitter communal divisions and murderous suppression of minorities. A socialist Eelam is conceivable only in the framework of proletarian revolutionary struggles of the key plantation Tamils and Sinhalese workers to overthrow capitalist rule in the South as well, and the extension of revolutionary conflagration to the oppressed masses of the Indian subcontinent.

Indeed any perspective for revolution in Lanka makes little sense unless the island is seen as a staging area for proletarian revolutionary struggle throughout the Indian subcontinent. Ceylon has always been an organic cultural component of India; the island's history has always been linked to that of the mainland except when the English made Ceylon a separate administrative unit for their own convenience. The best traditions of the old Ceylonese Trotskyist movement date back to World War II when the Ceylonese communists were united with their Indian comrades in one party of common struggle against British colonialism and capitalism.

In the period since independence in 1948, the policy of Sinhalese racist exclusivity sought to make external to "our people" first the plantation Tamils and Burghers (mixed-race descendants of European settlers) and now the Muslims and Tamils. As the island today is torn apart by Sinhalese state terror and retaliatory Tamil terrorism against innocent civilians, it seems clear that the cycle of bloodbaths will not easily be broken. The pressure on India to step in to restore order is rapidly becoming irresistible. Rajiv Gandhi is perhaps impeded from action by his evident desire for a rapprochement with U.S. imperialism, and by the precarious condition of bloody national antagonisms inside India. But if he permits the Sri Lanka government to accomplish the genocidal slaughter of Tamil Hindus, it would mean his undoing as surely as his mother's falling out with the Sikhs meant hers. Sooner or later, and likely sooner, the Indian army will be forced to intervene in Lanka, the Sinhalese will "get theirs" and the Tamils won't like it very much either.

As against the despairing perspective of nationalists, for whom guerrilla counter-terrorism and eventual Indian invasion represent the only logical program, we fight for the perspective of revolutionary class struggle across national lines. The bloody horror of communal slaughter, in India no less than in Lanka, will be ended only by international class struggle, uniting the toiling masses across all ethnic, national and religious divisions under the leadership of a world party of socialist revolution, a reborn Fourth International. For a federated workers republic of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! ■

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# Smash Racist Terror from U.S. to South Africa!



AP

NYC Democratic mayor Koch's cops attack blacks protesting closing of west Harlem's only hospital (left). March in Cape Town demanding freedom for Nelson Mandela is smashed by Botha's cops.



Rojo/Cambio 16

When South Africa launched murder raids on black African states last month, white supremacist ruler Botha took his cue from Reagan's terror strikes against Libya. As apartheid vigilantes burned down shantytowns in Crossroads, Reaganite thugs were torching protest shanties in Baltimore. Especially among American blacks, who see the cause of South African black freedom as their own, there is a keen sense of solidarity with the anti-apartheid revolt and a burning desire to struggle against racist terror. But the Democrats and union bureaucrats who have called the June 14 demonstrations for "divestment" and sanctions against South Africa are seeking to prettify American imperialism and channel black outrage away from struggle against racist oppression here at home.

Standing on the steps of New York City Hall, rally organizers and Bishop Desmond Tutu boost the anti-apartheid rally...endorsed by New York City's

## Democrats Front for Reagan Racism

of South Africa"! If he were consistent he would call for international sanctions against the racist USA and its terror bombing. Instead he looks to the anti-Soviet war-crazy nuts in the White House to champion the rights of black people! And don't forget that the Democratic sponsors of the Soweto commemoration were gung-ho for Reagan's terror rampage against that North African state.

A wave of racist terror is spreading across this country. In Coney Island, three carloads of whites beat a lone black bike rider to death; days later an Asian was stabbed by a racist mob. In "liberal" San Francisco, Klan-style fascists spew racist hate literature and rape threats on the SF State campus,

May 1985, Philadelphia cops fire-bombed the black MOVE commune, incinerating eleven black people including five children. Burning out 61 black families, they turned West Philly into America's Crossroads. This murderous conspiracy, extending from black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode to Meese's FBI and the White House, will live in infamy as the signature of the Reagan years.

The Spartacist League fights for labor/black defense to stop the racist terrorists in their tracks. On 27 November 1982, when the KKK, emboldened by the election of their Klandidate, Ronald Reagan, threatened to come out in the nation's capital for the first time since 1925, the Spartacist League led a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization of Washington area black unionists and youth which made sure the racist killers never even got their white robes and hoods out of the bag. It was the revolutionaries who organized these actions, while the reformists tailed after the black Democrats who *opposed* every real mobilization of the power of workers and oppressed against the racist terrorists.

The liberal Democrats and their kept trade-union bureaucrats claim that opposition to apartheid means "divestment" from companies doing business in South Africa. Divestment is an empty moralistic gesture, whose only effect is to create more business for stockbrokers. And last summer, when Wall Street and West European banks called in more than \$2 billion in loans to Pretoria, it did nothing to aid South African blacks. Dismantling industry in South Africa would only increase the impoverishment of the black masses and weaken the organized workers movement. A spokesman for South Africa's black unions, Alex Erwin, stated that he and his comrades opposed the withdrawal of assets from South Africa:

"...we view them not as the simple property of foreign companies, but as assets which have been built up through the sweat and labor of South African workers, and which now absolutely belong to this society.... We see absolutely no sense in handing over part of the social wealth of this country in order to place pressure on the regime."

—Work in Progress, June 1985

What can class-conscious workers and black militants in the U.S. do to fight apartheid? South Africa's black proletariat has admirably demonstrated its internationalist solidarity. The im-

poverished gold miners sent money to the British coal miners' strike last year, and South African black workers for 3M staged a sympathy strike to protest the company's closing of a plant in Freehold, New Jersey. American labor must do its internationalist duty, by "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) arms shipments from the U.S. to the apartheid butchers. Instead of a weekend rally to commemorate the Soweto massacre, what's needed is a general strike against racist terror, to shut down Ed Koch's New York and Andy Young's Atlanta like our South African union brothers and sisters are doing under a totalitarian police state.

The Democrats and labor bureaucrats are not interested in fighting apartheid, for that means taking on and defeating the *American* ruling class. These agents of Wall Street and the Pentagon are only interested in advancing their careers by *preventing* labor and black struggle. The scabherding, anti-Communist sellouts who run the AFL-CIO must be ousted and replaced with a class-struggle leadership fighting to break the workers movement from the partner parties of American capitalism and build a revolutionary workers party. The power of the American proletariat, white and black, must be mobilized to smash the racist terrorists, from Harlem to Crossroads. Only then will the great wealth of the U.S. and South Africa be "divested" from the capitalists and used to overcome poverty and degradation throughout the world.

From USA to Africa: we contribute to the struggle against apartheid not with empty charity or teacherous calls on Reagan to aid blacks, but by making a revolution here. The international Spartacist tendency is dedicated to the goal of a communist future for all mankind. ■



WV Photo

NYC, 13 August 1985: Spartacists, transit unionists say: "Fight Racist Terror from Harlem to Soweto!"

No. 1 racist pig, Mayor Ed Koch! From Koch's flunkies, Manhattan borough president David Dinkins, to Atlanta mayor Andrew Young, black Democratic front men for Reagan racism are trying to renew tarnished "anti-racist" credentials. The NYC demonstration was announced at Central Labor Council headquarters, fiefdom of the Van Arsdale dynasty. Van Arsdale's own union, job-trusting IBEW Local 3, marched in last year's Labor Day parade in a contingent featuring a huge Confederate flag, banner of chattel slavery and race-terror!

Demonstration coordinator Cleveland Robinson of UAW District 65 set the tone when he said that since Botha's attacks on the black front line states were inspired by the U.S. bombing of Libya, "This has left us no choice but to demand immediate and comprehensive sanction against the racist government

while across the Bay in Concord a young black man was lynched late last year. And in Atlanta, where the "New South" ends at the perimeter highway, the black Democrats who came forward during the Civil Rights movement now run the city for Coca-Cola. As a comrade reports, "Their main job is to keep Atlanta quiet—'too busy to hate.' On the other hand there is an enormous and striking gap between them and the black working people and poor."

Racist terror in America takes its cue from the White House, and it's presided over by the Democratic overseers of Ronald Reagan's plantation. Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman gave a slap on the wrist to two of the racist punks who beat black transit worker Willie Turks to death, but when black subway clerk James Grimes defends himself from a murderous hold-up attempt, Holtzman drags him through the courts. And on 13

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**CHICAGO**



# Avenge Soweto...

(continued from page 1)

reported for military training.

A small hut politically significant number of whites are prepared to side with the black revolt. For example, in the face of right-wing bomb threats a thousand whites attended a meeting of the United Democratic Front (UDF, in effect the legal, above-ground organization of the ANC). Late last month 50 black and white students at the University of Witwatersrand near Johannesburg were savagely attacked by police for protesting apartheid. And a handful of whites like Helene Passtoors have been convicted of aiding the ANC's military underground.

On the other hand, there is a sinister fascist mobilization under the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) headed by one Eugene Terre Blanche (the name means "white land"), a former body-guard to ex-prime minister John Vorster. With its swastika-like emblem and brown-shirted stormtroopers, the AWB represents a hard core of white racists—mine foremen, farmers who have black workers as virtual slaves, civil servants, cops and military personnel—who oppose any weakening of apartheid and believe the government is selling them out. In late May 3,000 AWB supporters jolted Pretoria by taking over a major National Party rally at which foreign minister "Pik" Botha of the government's "pro-reform" wing had been scheduled to speak. Cabinet minister Pietie du Plessis publicly accused the police of aiding the AWB at the rally.

The divisions within the white ruling caste have to some extent hampered its ability to suppress the anti-apartheid resistance. But it is a grave error to see the AWB only as a sign of weakening of the Botha regime, for it represents a crystallization of a political force considerably more reactionary and more ruthless than the current government. Already, especially where white suburbs lie close to black townships, there has been a rash of random killings of blacks by white vigilantes.

## Apartheid Terror in the Townships

A few months ago we warned:

"The black townships are already set up for civil war, surrounded by an empty 'free fire' zone. A South African Hitler could seal them off, blow up the sewer lines, demolish the hospitals, cut off electricity, food and water...and wait. After about 18 months the resulting hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of dead would secure 'social peace' for a generation."

—"Smash Apartheid!  
For Workers Revolution!"  
WV No. 395, 17 January

Recent events in the huge squatter community of Crossroads near Cape Town are a chilling confirmation of this danger. Throughout 1985, as in countless townships across the country,



Soweto rebellion, June 1976—Over a thousand black student youth massacred by apartheid butchers.

youths in Crossroads were being gunned down in stone-throwing clashes with the cops. In April it was reported that cops were repeatedly being fired on from ambush in the maze-like shantytown. One cop was killed. That set the stage for the destruction which came in May. Playing on divisions between the militant young "comrades" and an older reactionary faction, "the fathers," the cops unleashed a black vigilante force. While the cops cordoned off the camp, the vigilantes torched the areas dominated by the "comrades," killing 30 to 50 and leaving an estimated 30,000 homeless.

From KwaMashu in Natal, the stronghold of the sinister Zulu chief Gatsha Buthelezi, to the Witwatersrand around Johannesburg, black vigilantes are now a highly dangerous force. Recruited from among black cops, hangers-on of local black puppet authorities and backward dwellers in the starving bantustans, they have halted anti-apartheid resistance in some townships. In Leandra near Johannesburg, according to white South African liberal Nicholas Haysom, "what the police and intrigues of the development board could not achieve in five years has been accomplished in two months by vigilante violence" (*Black American*, 15 May).

These developments should give pause to talk of establishing "liberated zones" in the townships. Over the past year and a half the black revolt in the townships has resisted rent increases and other government impositions, broken down partly the regime's network of informers and puppets, and provided some defense for anti-apartheid militants targeted by the cops/vigilantes. The disruption of apartheid control has provided opportunities for revolutionary organization. But the idea of establishing an alternative township administration and instituting "people's education" is utopian as long as the white police state remains intact.

## Workers Power Can Smash Apartheid!

As we said in 1976 in the face of uncritical enthusiasm by the American left over the Soweto uprising, youth-led township revolt will not by itself topple apartheid. The key role must go to organized workers. The townships are dormitory settlements without an independent economic existence. The one real source of power they have is in the millions of workers who journey from the townships and squatter camps to the white-owned factories. As we emphasized in counterposition to the guerrilla enthusiasts and celebrators of youth revolt, as well as those who called for U.S. imperialism to embargo its South African junior partner, the crucial task of that period was the struggle for unionization and proletarian political leadership of the then largely unorgan-

ized black working class:

"...the strategic economic position of black workers enables them to force concessions even from hardline Afrikaner reactionaries. The 1973-74 strike wave resulted in the Vorster regime tolerating and even (to a limited degree) bargaining formally with illegal black unions. This important development gives the lie to petty-bourgeois nationalists who deny the power of the proletariat, instead hailing impotent guerrillaism....

"A Trotskyist leadership must be forged that can channel the militant plebeian currents in the African 'townships' into

Johannesburg, May 30: Savage police attack on university students, both white and black, protesting apartheid.



a class-conscious and disciplined workers movement (whether legal or illegal, open or clandestine), and link the struggles of the black working class for economic gains and elementary democratic rights to the fight for proletarian power."

—"Avenge Soweto!"  
WV No. 115, 25 June 1976

Today, now that powerful black unions exist in the key industries, the formation of a Trotskyist workers party is more than ever the burning necessity. The formation late last year of COSATU marked not only the greatest consolidation of black working-class power in South Africa's history, it marked also a definite movement of the unions toward political subordination to the ANC. The political links were cemented in the selection of its leadership and in the visit of that leadership

with the ANC in Lusaka this year.

The ANC, backed by the Stalinist South African Communist Party, is a petty-bourgeois nationalist formation. Its strategies of international divestment, guerrillaism and "making the townships ungovernable" are designed not to destroy apartheid capitalism but as a means of pressure for a "power-sharing" deal with the white bosses. Thus the ANC has had cordial meetings in Lusaka not only with COSATU but also the black workers' mortal enemies, the chairman of Anglo American and other big South African industrialists. The *London Financial Times* (21 May) reported:

"For the first time in many years, even hardliners in the ANC are floating the idea that it could accept a form of interim power-sharing with the regime as a step to its eventual goal of political system based on 'one man, one vote in a unitary state.'"

"ANC leaders have indicated privately that they may be prepared to accept temporary guarantees for minorities in a new South African constitution—perhaps along the lines of the 20 entrenched white seats guaranteed under Zimbabwe's independence constitution."

One has only to look at Zimbabwe to see the rotten consequences of such a deal. The Black Consciousness nationalists of AZAPO (rivals of the ANC) also look to Robert Mugabe's regime in Harare as a model. This neocolonial regime has imposed slave labor legislation on Zimbabwean workers in the interests of imperialist and domestic (white) capitalists and has carried out tribalist terror against the minority

Matabele people.

However, the historic alternatives facing South Africa's black, coloured and Indian oppressed are not limited to continued apartheid terror or some version of Zimbabwe writ large. South Africa is the one place in sub-Saharan Africa where there is the possibility for a workers state because the black population has been partially absorbed, at the bottom, into a modern industrial society which can, based on the revolutionary reorganization of society, provide a decent life for all its citizens. Whites too must have a place in an anti-racist society. Only such a perspective of a black-centered workers government, through forging a racially integrated communist vanguard party, can break down the white-vs.-black line in the struggle to smash apartheid. ■



Mendel/AFP

South African fascist leader Eugene Terre Blanche (literally "white land").

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Reagan's terror raid on Libya rained death on the Libyan people, murdered Libyan leader Qaddafi's daughter and severely wounded two of his young sons. Reagan's lying denial that the U.S. government was out to assassinate Qaddafi is belied by widely publicized photos taken from the air force bombers showing Qaddafi's tent literally in the cross hairs. While the U.S. government's spy agencies invent fantastic schemes accusing the "reds" of trying to kill the pope, political assassination is normal M.O. for the CIA, Pentagon and the other hitmen for American imperialism. Back in 1975 a U.S. Senate committee investigated a whole series of CIA assassinations of foreign leaders in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The CIA admitted at least eight different plots to bump off Cuba's Fidel Castro, including bankrolling the Mafia to do the dirty work. In reality the murder attempts have never stopped.

One of the most barbaric U.S. interventions, which moreover was ordered by liberal Democrat John F. Kennedy, was to liquidate militant nationalist Patrice Lumumba, the Congolese prime minister. When the former Belgian Congo (now Zaire), became "independent" 25 years ago, the imperialists were determined to retain the vast copper, cobalt, manganese and zinc riches of the country for themselves. The powerful mining concern Union Minière and the Belgian government greeted independence by setting up stooge Moïse Tshombé as head of a client state in Katanga Province, where the mineral wealth was concentrated. While Belgian troops organized a bloody civil war against Lumumba, the CIA sought to poison him.

As was later documented by the select U.S. Senate Church committee, toxic biological materials, along with rubber gloves, masks and syringes, were hand-delivered to the CIA station in Leopold-

# 25 Years Ago: How CIA Murdered Patrice Lumumba

ville by U.S. operatives. When this attempt failed, the CIA plotted various alternatives, from setting up a sniper squad to enlisting Congolese forces for the purpose of "immobilizing or arresting" Lumumba. In January 1961 Lumumba was in fact turned over to Tshombé by the pro-U.S. Mobutu government and murdered. In his book *In Search of Enemies* (1978), the former CIA station chief in Angola, John Stockwell, recounts a CIA officer telling him he had driven around with Lumumba's body in the trunk of his car, trying to decide what to do with it.

In the prologue to its findings on the assassination plots directed at Lumumba, Castro and others, the Church committee underscored the connection between these bloodthirsty conspiracies and "a global Cold War against Communism." The directive issued by CIA head Allen Dulles to get Lumumba stated explicitly: "In high quarters here it is the clear-cut conclusion that if [Lumumba] continues to hold high office, the inevitable result will at best be chaos and at worst pave the way to communist takeover of the Congo.... Consequently we conclude that his removal must be an urgent and prime objective and that under existing condi-

tions this should be a high priority of our covert action."

During this sordid, bloody affair the United Nations "peacekeeping force" in the Congo served as direct agents of U.S. intervention under the Eisenhower



Patrice Lumumba, who led fight for independence in Belgian Congo (now Zaire).

and Kennedy administrations. The staging area for the UN operation was the giant American Wheelus air force base located outside Tripoli. (Clearly, the Americans and British have never

forgiven Qaddafi for the loss of their strategic military bases in Libya.) The UN troops became a spearhead for the civil war directed against Lumumba. Disillusioned in the UN, Lumumba appealed for Soviet aid; in response Mobutu staged his coup and expelled the Soviet and Czechoslovakian missions. The UN garrison shut down Lumumba's radio station and sealed off the airport. UN security responsible for Lumumba in effect placed him under house arrest—from where he conveniently ended up in the hands of his murderers.

The bitter experience of the Congo convinced not a few American black militants of the futility of trying to reform U.S. imperialism. Malcolm X, for one, repeatedly denounced imperialist efforts to whitewash their brutal atrocities as a fight against "terrorism." In one of his last speeches, on the occasion of U.S. intervention in the Congo in 1964, Malcolm said:

"Right now, in the Congo, defenseless villages are being bombed, black women and children and babies are being blown to bits by airplanes. Where do these airplanes come from? The United States, the U-n-i-t-e-d S-t-a-t-e-s. Yes, and you [the press] won't write that. You won't write that American planes are blowing the flesh from the bodies of black women and black babies and black men. No. Why? Because they're American planes. As long as they're American planes, that's humanitarian. As long as they're being piloted by anti-Castro Cubans, that makes it all right....

"So these mercenaries come in, and again, what makes these mercenaries acceptable? The press. The press doesn't refer to them as hired killers. The press doesn't refer to them as murderers. The press refers to the brothers in Stanleyville, who are defending their country, as rebels, savages, cannibals."

Today, Reagan's Terror, Inc. in the White House is the No. 1 terrorist in the world. Malcolm X had their number a long time ago. ■

## Phone Workers...

(continued from page 3)

members of Local 9415 signed a motion against the two-gate system. But CWA officials hardened it for the company. A Local 9415 bulletin shortly before the strike ordered all CWAers employed by PacBell to "enter through PacBell door and report to work as usual." Workers who encountered pickets at the "door marked for PacBell" were advised to "go to the closest pay phone and call your supervisor!" This scab sheet makes crystal clear to the workers and the company that it's open season on anyone who respects picket lines.

In New York the union officials initially struck a more militant pose. On the union's taped phone message, Local 1101 president Ed Dempsey had vowed to observe any picket line. On Sunday, June 1, a reported 75 percent of all unionized local company employees scheduled to work refused to cross

picket lines. But even before the company had gotten a court injunction, striking CWA locals took down lines in front of NY Tel entrances. Dempsey's "solidarity" collapsed and workers were ordered back on the job.

While AT&T has raked in \$2 billion in profits over the last five quarters, it is demanding concessions from the union, including eliminating the cost-of-living allowance, making workers pay part of medical insurance premiums, and imposing a two-tier wage system for several job categories. Particularly targeted are women workers, whom the company claims are paid 30 percent above "comparable" workers elsewhere. But economic takeaways are only part of it: what the bosses want is a totally compliant workforce where all distinction between union and management is erased—similar to its non-union competitors like Sprint and MCI. AT&T already has one supervisor per 1.8 employees—the highest manager/worker ratio in U.S. industry. These managers—whom the union never interferes with during a strike—provide a huge scab force to run the highly automated phone network.

The company wants to root out any semblance of union solidarity, thereby demonstrating that "it's the boss." And the union bureaucrats are playing the company's game. Bahr's posture that the CWA "won't take concessions" is so much hype: in the past two years alone AT&T has "divested" itself of 56,000 jobs while the union looked the other way. Pieced together from an amalgam of company unions, the CWA has never won a real strike and has maintained its existence as an extremely junior partner to the phone bosses. CWA officials have always been enmeshed in class-collaborationist productivity schemes, the Democratic Party and CIA "labor" fronts like the AIFLD whose job is to export company unionism. Discipline on the shop floor is abetted by a bureaucratic system of appointed shop

stewards, who today are being mobilized to scabherd.

The arrogant and widely hated Ma Bell and Baby Bell bosses can be broken. In February 1981, some 11,000 phone workers in British Columbia (Canada) occupied every major BC Tel installation. For five days they held the company's precious private property, while BC Tel shrieked helplessly. During the last nationwide phone strike, we put forward a strategy to win: hundreds of thousands of phone workers should occupy the buildings, rally unionists throughout the country, and "with a

flick of the switch, phone workers could win millions of allies among working people by providing free phone service...."

But CIA-loving, pro-company bureaucrats are not about to lead a serious fight that threatens the vital communications networks of U.S. capitalism, from Wall Street to the Pentagon. A genuine class-struggle leadership must be forged. It is vital that phone workers rally behind MAC's call to defend their union now: smash two-gate union busting! Don't let Ma Bell divide and rule! ■

## Corrections

The article "War Criminal Waldheim" (WV No. 404, 23 May) stated that Hitler was an Austrian from Salzburg. He was from a town near Linz. Also Max Reinhardt was described as an artist; he was a theatrical director.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our article "Reagan's Insane War Provocations" (WV No. 400, 28 March) stated that the 1958 convention on the sea cited by the U.S. to justify its invasion of Soviet Black Sea territorial waters was rejected by the USSR and other East European countries. This was taken from a 1978 legal review. A French comrade has brought to our attention that by 1983 the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries had signed (but not ratified) the convention after years of negotiations. The Soviets' revised 1982 Law on the State Boundary incorporates the right of foreign warships to "effectuate innocent passage" through Soviet territorial waters "in the procedure established by the USSR Council of Ministers" (Oceana Publications,

December 1983).

However, Soviet deputy minister of defense, Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, emphatically pointed out (Izvestia, 23 March):

"...peaceful passage through territorial waters by warships is permitted only in specially designated coastal regions, which are announced by the Soviet government. By the way, there are no such regions in the Black Sea off the coast of the Soviet Union."

The U.S. Navy's blatant penetration of Soviet waters, sending American spy ships packed with electronic eavesdropping gear to within six miles of the Crimean coast near the Soviet Navy's Black Sea home port of Sevastopol, had nothing "innocent" about it. This was a deliberate provocation, with no legal basis, of a piece with the KAL 007 spy plane which overflew vital Soviet Far Eastern naval facilities. Reagan & Co. claim an imperial right to ignore every other country's law, but as we pointed out, the Soviets would have been "well within their rights if they blew the intruders out of the water." Admiral Chernavin ended his commentary noting that "this time, we showed patience and restraint."



Oakland, June 1—Smash Ma Bell's divide-and-rule!

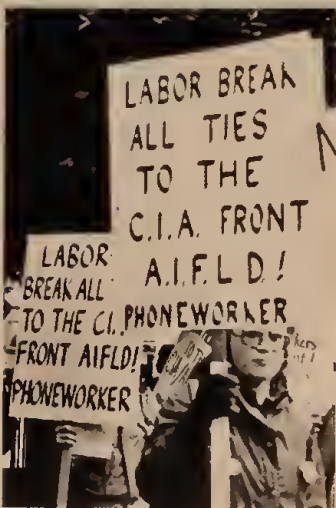


## AIFLD...

(continued from page 7)

around Lane Kirkland and the liberal Democratic DSA (Democratic Socialists of America) around Machinists' union chief William Winpisinger and New York AFSCME leader Victor Gotbaum.

In 1983 AFL-CIO chief Kirkland, a super-Cold Warrior and Rockefeller protégé, was able to represent the AFL-CIO on Reagan's Kissinger Commission on Central America, placing "American labor" on record for pumping in billions to stem the tide of revolution in Central America. But as



WV Photo

Militant phone workers join Spartacist protest of AIFLD conference in San Francisco, 1982.

the AIFLD's operations in Salvador have blown up, Gotbaum wonders aloud, "are we able to do the job in Central America we want to do?" (*Wall Street Journal*, 31 December 1985). The "job" these social democrats want to do on Central America is the same one they have been doing on American labor for years. While Gotbaum played tennis with financier Felix Rohatyn and threw NYC union gains down the Big MAC

rathole, his DSA chum Winpisinger called himself a "socialist" while scabbing on the PATCO air controllers strike (and more recently the TWA flight attendants).

The essential job of the union bureaucracy, at home and abroad, is keeping labor in line for U.S. imperialism. The ferocious anti-Communism of the AFL-CIO is what got them their positions in the first place. The only thing that divides the bureaucracy's right and "left" wings from time to time is how to do it. Winpisinger, Gotbaum et al. don't object to AIFLD and the rest of the AFL-CIO's international operations—they just think Kirkland & Co. have picked the wrong horses. Instead of backing losers like Marcos flunkies and the handful of bought-off diehards for Duarte, they want to find some more credible types. American labor cannot put a stop to this export of counterrevolution without driving out the labor front men for imperialism and forging a genuine class-struggle leadership of the workers movement.

For over a decade, phone workers in the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA have made a special point of demanding that their union break all ties with AIFLD. (The AIFLD was the brain child of CWA president Joseph Beirne, and over the years it has used the union's Front Royal, Virginia retreat to train thousands of labor operatives for U.S. imperialism.) When in 1982 the AIFLD held a conference in San Francisco, militant phone workers and Spartacist supporters picketed outside with signs such as, "William Doherty: The Blood of Salvadoran Workers Is On Your Hands," "Irving Brown: International Union Buster for the CIA," "Social Democrats: Front Men for the CIA" and "Oust Pro-CIA Labor Bureaucracy: Build a Workers Party!"

Today as the AIFLD is in hot water in El Salvador, as the AFL-CIO's attempts to buy off South African black union leaders are going up in smoke and its Philippines operations have been exposed as handmaidens of the Marcos dictatorship, American union militants can do a real service for the workers of the world by demanding: Defend Salvadoran, South African, Filipino workers! Break all the AIFLDs! ■

## El Salvador Workers...

(continued from page 16)

from its offices, but the strike remains solid. Now union leaders are threatening a hunger strike.

Under the present state of siege, virtually every strike is illegal, and the government's arsenal includes mass firings, arbitrary arrests and murder, such as the May 6 assassination of postal union leader Aristedes Méndez, during a strike by letter carriers. According to trade unionists who recently spoke to *WV* from San Salvador, the labor mobilization has continued in the face of this anti-union repression. In addition to the phone strike, currently the most militant struggle is a three-week-old plant occupation by workers at the Confitaria Americana candy factory, and plans are being laid for a general strike against the *paquetazo* and demanding dialogue with the FDR/FMLN. In response, the Duarte government, backed up by the union-busters in Washington, has escalated its threats. An official of the FENASTRAS labor federation told *WV*, "The word from the U.S., from the government of Ronald Reagan, is that

the Salvadoran government should drown all the strikes and they will finance all the losses." But as ASTTEL leader Sánchez remarked on May Day:

"If El Salvador's government has an economic crisis, Washington sends money. If it's a military crisis, Washington sends troops. But if it's a labor crisis, it's hard to substitute for the workers."

### The Sea Comes to San Salvador

In the countryside the army and the guerrillas are locked in a standoff. Constant overflights by U.S. spy planes and the government's tremendous air power advantage have forced the rebels to operate in smaller units and shrunk their zones of control. Meanwhile, the Pentagon is applying its latest scheme, "low intensity conflict," defined by Colonel John Waghelstein, former head of U.S. advisers in El Salvador, as "total war at the grassroots level." The guerrilla swims among the people, said Mao Tse-tung, as a fish in the sea. So U.S. counterinsurgency experts concluded they must "drain the sea in order to catch the fish." In Vietnam with its population of 55 million, this proved impossible. But in the tiny countries of Central America, the Hitlerite program of forced population removal through mass terror is being put into practice. In Guatemala, it has led to "success"

## Free Salvadoran Trade Unionists!

*The following is a chronological listing of Salvadoran trade-union members and supporters jailed or "disappeared" by the Duarte government during 1985 and the first four months of 1986 who are still in detention or missing as we go to press. The information was supplied by the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) and the Salvadoran Press Agency (SALPRESS). FENASTRAS urges that telegrams be sent to: President José Napoleón Duarte, Casa Presidencial, San Salvador, El Salvador.*

Mauricio Cea Martínez, finance secretary ATMA (Ministry of Agriculture workers); seized in April 1985.

Ivan Ramírez, member of SETA (water workers); captured by death squads May 26, since "disappeared."

Pedro Armando Oporlu Martínez, textile worker; seized June 15 by National Police, since "disappeared."

Raúl Antonio Castro Palmares, public relations secretary FESIATVCS (food, textile and amalgamated workers); seized June 23.

Miguel López, general secretary ANC (peasants association); seized by National Police in July, since "disappeared."

Modesto Rodríguez Escobar, general secretary FESIATVCS; seized July 4.

Vilma Angélica Barto Méndez, former general secretary SIP (bakery workers); seized July 17.

Mauricio Ramírez, executive board FENASTRAS; seized July 20.

Natividad Bernal, executive board FUSS (United Union Federation); seized August 3.

David Morales, worker at Capri plant; seized August 3.

Rufino Hernández, worker at Capri plant; seized August 3.

Pedro Merino, worker at Capri plant; seized August 3.

Juan Ramón Márquez, public relations secretary AVICOLA (poultry workers); seized August 9.

Héctor Antonio Acevedo, organizer for FESIATVCS; seized August 16.

Mariano de Jesús Carranza Méndez, general secretary CUSO (construction workers); seized August 29.

Carlos Humberto Tavoada Represa, member of AFRAMA (Santa Ana municipal workers); seized by Treasury Police September 17.

Armando Menjivar, administrative council of consumer cooperative in San Bartolo; seized by Treasury Police September 20.

Miguel Ángel Rivas, member of FENACOA (agricultural cooperative workers); seized October 17.

Salomón Romero, member of FENACOA; seized October 22.

Gladié Romero, member of FENACOA; seized October 22.

Freddy Colucha, member of SITA (agricultural workers); seized October 22.

José Pedro Rivera Castillo, member of ANDES (teachers union); seized by Treasury Police November 1.

José Vladimir Centeno and Jaime Ernesto Centeno, sons of ASTTEL (telephone workers) secretary of international and national relations Humberto Centeno, seized together with father (since released) and tortured by Treasury Police November 8.

Sergio Flores, member of ANDES; seized November 22.

Santos Mateo Meléndez, member of Association of Health Ministry Workers; seized December 12.

Sofía Irene López de Orantes, member of SICAFE (coffee workers) at CAPEX in Ahuachapán; seized 1 January 1986, since "disappeared."

Domínguez Antonio Marín, general secretary of SICAFE at Ahuachapán; seized January 13.

Luis Humberto Ramírez González, secretary of conflicts of SICAFE in Chalchuapa; seized January 19 by 2nd Infantry Brigade in Santa Ana along with Edith Ramírez who has since "disappeared."

Oscar Eduardo Orellana, general secretary of SICAFE at Montecristo; seized by 2nd Infantry Brigade January 19.

Jorge Méndez Márquez, member of executive board of SICAFE at Buenavista Beneficio in Juayua; seized by 2nd Infantry Brigade January 22.

Rafael Márquez Méndez, member of SICAFE at Buenavista Beneficio; seized by Treasury Police January 27; since "disappeared."

José Domingo Ayala, member of SGTICSES (construction workers); seized January 28 by Treasury Police; since "disappeared."

Aminia Naomi Santamaría García, member of Ministry of Health Workers union; seized by Treasury Police February 10; since "disappeared."

Jorge Aguillón Acosta, general secretary of the bread workers union; seized February 11.

Pedro Efraín Carranza, coordinator for FENACOA; seized March 4.

Omar Gilberto López Sánchez, member of transport workers union; seized by National Guard March 15.

Gregorio Linares, adviser for adult education teachers in Sonsonante; seized March 19.

Maximiliano Castro Navas, union organizer for transport workers union; seized by Treasury Police April 2.

Teodoro Serafin Carranza, member of ABEAS (literacy workers); seized April 2 by 2nd Infantry Brigade; since "disappeared."

Reynaldo Contreras, member of ABEAS; seized April 2.

Salomón Sánchez Martí, member of executive board of transport workers union; seized by National Guard April 3.

Antonio Campos Mendoza, member of transport workers union; seized by National Guard April 4.

## Chernobyl Accident...

(continued from page 9)

States Pentagon: the war plans of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. We now know that a few weeks after the bombing of Nagasaki, the United States Air Force drew up the first pre-emptive first-strike plan on the Soviet Union. It was called "Strategic Vulnerability of the USSR in a Limited Air Attack." I know, because I have all these plans. Fifty atomic bombs to be dropped on 20 cities. By April of '46 it was made into a full-scale war plan, with an occupation of the Soviet Union, called Operation Bushwhacker. You would have ten army divisions occupying Moscow; ten army divisions occupy Leningrad; ten army

divisions occupy the Vladivostok area. And to run the country, we would import White Russians from Europe to run the Soviet Union. We would then carve up the Soviet Union, splitting off the Ukraine, splitting off the Balkan states, splitting off the Arab states. And now ABC television would like to convince us that the Soviets can take over the United States and occupy Kansas!

Then in 1948, James Forrestal, the first Secretary of Defense, made the recommendation that we execute the operational war plan on the Soviet Union during the Berlin crisis of that summer. In 1954, President Eisenhower on five occasions was told by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs, the head of the National Security Council, vice president and the entire cabinet to launch a nuclear strike on the Chinese. President Eisenhower said, if we hit the Chinese with nuclear weapons, are you prepared to simultaneously hit the Soviet Union? On May 17, 1954, James Ridgeway, army chief of staff, writes a classified memo stating that the advance study committee of the Joint Chiefs is recommending a pre-emptive first strike on the Soviet Union, "Operation Shake-down." Not 50 atomic bombs, 1,000 Mark 6 plutonium bombs dropped by 735 bombers on the Soviet Union! They wanted to hit Russia in '54.

Why didn't the United States go ahead, given its monopoly in '48 and '54, and again in 1961? Well, get a copy of my book, published by South End Press, titled, *To Win a Nuclear War*, the secret story of the United States government. ■

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twice—in the late 1960s and the mid-'80s—although leftist guerrillas keep reappearing. In El Salvador, it could backfire.

Beginning on January 10, the army launched a large-scale invasion of rebel territory. Code-named Operation Phoenix, after the infamous CIA campaign in Vietnam which murdered 30,000 suspected Vietcong sympathizers and cadres, the aim was to drive the FMLN from its long-held bastion on Guazapa volcano, within sight of downtown San Salvador. Guazapa has been unsuccessfully attacked by the government at least 20 times in the past. This time, 5,000 government troops hacked up by aerial bombardment torched houses and crops, killed livestock and kidnapped or murdered hundreds of campesinos in an attempt to reduce "heroic Guazapa" to ashes. In addition to driving guerrilla forces off the volcano, the army was able to dismantle some rebel field hospitals and underground tunnels (*tatús*). The operation was a blow to the FMLN, but the army cannot hold Guazapa without stationing whole battalions of elite troops on the volcano. Two later offensives against rebel-controlled areas of Chalatenango and Morazán flopped.

And the FMLN has been able to counter with a series of dramatic actions in the last year, including the June attack on U.S. Marines in San Salvador's Zona Rosa, which badly shook the Americans; a July raid on Mariona prison which freed 149 prisoners; the kidnapping of Duarte's daughter in September, leading to the release of 22 leftist political prisoners and 96 wounded guerrillas; and the October assault on the Salvadoran military training center in La Unión, with more than 200 government casualties. Guerrilla mines have taken a heavy toll of army troops, and FMLN units have continued to seize towns in areas supposedly "cleansed" of guerrillas. A devastating campaign of economic sabotage has focused on blowing up electricity substations and toppling scores of power pylons, leading to frequent blackouts, as well as burning sugar and cotton plantations. During the last harvest, the guerrillas extended their operations to the home base of the coffee oligarchy in western El Salvador.

El Salvador was where the Reaganites declared they were going to "draw the line" against Communism in the Americas. Beginning with the Democratic Carter administration, the U.S. government has poured nearly \$2 billion into this tiny Central American country in an effort to crush the worker and peasant rebellion. In that time the Salvadoran army has quadrupled in size to more than 50,000 soldiers, and its arsenal expanded to include a fleet of 60 helicopters. Elliot Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Interamerican Affairs and Reagan's point man for Central America, boasted to Congress recently: "It's a great success story." But in spite of its overwhelming superiority in military hardware and numbers, the Salvadoran army has yet to win a single major battle over the rebels. And while the air force turns the northern tier of the country into a moonscape, by "draining the sea" of peasants they are flooding the capital with guerrilla supporters.

Duarte's "moderate" image and three "democratic" elections have indeed been a great PR success with U.S. Congressmen, who fork over hundreds of millions without blinking at Reagan's "human rights" certifications. In El Salvador, however, rightist oligarchs advertise in the newspapers for the military to take over and disgruntled colonels are held in check only by the need to keep U.S. aid flowing down the pipeline. Both the army and the FMLN talk of an endless war of attrition, while a war-weary population longs for peace. But the current labor upsurge points the way to ending the bloodbath which has claimed 60,000 lives since 1979 in the only way it can be ended—by revolutionary mobilization of the class with



left

the power to root out the Salvadoran bourgeoisie and its professional killers. Fighting for military victory to the leftist guerrillas and workers revolution throughout Central America, the Trotskyists insist that the key is forging an authentically communist workers party to lead that struggle.

### For Permanent Revolution in Central America!

But that is hardly the program and strategy of the FMLN—much less that of their liberal/reformist allies of the FDR. The FDR/FMLN have called repeatedly for a "negotiated solution" to the civil war. Duarte, in turn, periodically agrees to some empty "dialogue" when he thinks he can get some electoral mileage, or perhaps split the rebels. After two sessions without results in La Palma and Ayagualo in 1984, the talks were interrupted until April, when FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora met with government spokesman Julio Rey Prendes in Lima, Peru. His aim, said Duarte, was to entice the social democrats and dissident Christian Democrats in the FDR to break with the FMLN guerrillas, pack their bags and rejoin the "democratic process"—i.e., the Yankees' bought-and-paid-for elections which mask the murderous war. Zamora declined, for the moment. Only a few months earlier he was quoted as asking, "What would we gain by ending our alliance now?" (*New York Times*, 22 January).

In El Salvador today, where even moderately left-wing politicians, militant unions or independent newspapers are still banned, bombed or "disappeared," talk of "democratization" is a farce. Any FDR politicians who sought to join a "government of broad participation" with the present rulers, any FMLN guerrillas who tried to form a "common army" with this officer corps of professional killers—measures called for in the rebels' platform for a "political solution"—would be signing their own death certificates. And Contadora, that pact among the local bourgeoisies to "peacefully" strangle revolution in Central America, prohibits supplying weapons to "irregular forces" like the Salvadoran guerrillas. The FDR/FMLN's constant talk of negotiations reflects a reformist political program that has held back the struggle militarily. A recent article by the rad-lib North American Congress on Latin America, echoing arguments by FMLN commander Joaquín Villalobos, referred to events of 1983-84:

"The FMLN's very success on the battlefield confronted the rebels with an extraordinary dilemma. Given the worsening geopolitical climate [after Reagan's invasion of Grenada], the FMLN judged that it might be, paradoxically enough, too strong for its own good. ...

"After overrunning targets as important as the barracks at El Paraiso and the Cuscatlán bridge, what remained? Only the largest of the enemy's fixed positions: other key garrisons, strategic installations such as dams and strikes at the major cities. To hit any of these successfully might invite a U.S. inva-

Godfather Shultz backs up Salvadoran puppet president Duarte as victims of death squad "democracy" mount; over 60,000 killed in six years.



Der Spiegel

sion. Likewise, to press on to a 'final offensive,' with the real prospect of the disintegration of government forces and a rebel military victory, would produce the same result. If the FMLN then proved unable to keep power, it would in effect have won the war only to lose the revolution."

—NACLA Report on the Americas, January-March 1986

So in order to avoid the "disintegration of government forces and a rebel military victory," the FMLN opted for a "war of attrition," allowing the government army time to rebuild after its near-collapse! During this same period *Workers Vanguard* put forward a sharply counterposed perspective, calling repeatedly for the leftist guerrillas to smash the butcher army, with headlines such as "Forward to San Salvador!" (*WV* No. 323, 11 February 1983) and "Salvadoran Rebels Must Go for Victory Now!" (*WV* No. 346, 20 January 1984). Today, as the battlefield has shifted to the cities, the same treacherous reformism holds back the workers' struggles, as leaders of leftist unions tailor their demands to the program of the ex-Duarte supporters. Thus in early April, the UNTS held a "national forum for survival and peace," including the bitterly anti-communist Salvadoran Small Business Federation (FENAPES) and the National Conciliation Party (PCN), for decades the instrument of oligarchic and military rule.

The forum called for "dialogue" and opposition to Duarte's IMF-style austerity program. The fact that this was agreed to by such diehard conservatives as the PCN and FENAPES indicates the depth of the social unrest in El Salvador: small businessmen are also squeezed by increases in gas prices and a war that has reduced the economy to a shambles. The response of a class-conscious workers movement should not be to "moderate" their demands but to call for audacious revolutionary struggle to bring down the increasingly isolated regime. A labor-led struggle for a workers and peasants government would find tremendous sympathy not only among the poor and unemployed

in the *tugurios* (slums) of San Salvador, but also in wide sectors of an economically squeezed and war-weary middle class, and could split the swollen ranks of the conscript army from the corrupt, kill-crazy officers. But such a fight requires the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist party, forged on the program of permanent revolution.

In a civil war, as Lenin said, you either win or lose. Today "dialogue" is being used as a tactic in the Yankees' strategy of pacification. To Salvadoran workers we say: don't repeat the bloody experience of the "popular front" with liberal politicians and "patriotic" military men which destroyed the revolutionary opportunity of October 1979. And in the United States we call for a sharp fight against the Democratic Party, which together with Reagan provides the real power base for the butcher Duarte. Yet the rad-lib "solidarity movement" has tied itself to the Democrats' cart, campaigning for Jesse Jackson and then Walter ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale in the '84 elections, and since then sinking into oblivion. In contrast, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League are fighting to build an internationalist leadership of the working class, from El Salvador to the U.S. ■

At present there are approximately 500 union members being held by the "democrat" Duarte at the Mariona and Ilopango prisons, or in the torture chambers of the various security forces. American labor can bring considerable pressure to bear by demanding their release, something the AFL-CIO has refused to do because of its support for Duarte, and by refusing to transport military goods to El Salvador. And in the event of another murderous attack against the Salvadoran unions such as that carried out by a U.S.-trained SWAT team last June against striking hospital workers, U.S. workers should stand ready to respond by hot-cargoing goods to and from El Salvador.

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## 75,000 March Against Death Squad Regime

# El Salvador Workers Face Showdown

After almost two years of escalating labor struggle, El Salvador's working class is facing a showdown with the "Made in U.S.A." government of President José Napoleón Duarte and the military who have run this Central American country for the last half century. During six years of civil war, the Salvadoran union movement has been the principal target of death squad terror. But after a period of clandestinity, throughout 1985 and the first months of this year numerous strikes and marches have reasserted the power of organized labor. Three times in three months the unions have mobilized impressive shows of strength: on February 21, some 60,000 workers and peasants marched to protest Duarte's starvation economic "package"; on April 24, tens of thousands stopped work for four hours; and on May Day an estimated 75,000 marched in downtown San Salvador. There has not been such a powerful proletarian upsurge since 1979-80...when the generals unleashed a bloodbath to head off a revolution.

In recent months the Duarte government and its American godfathers have claimed they have the leftist insurgents of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) on the run. (The guerrillas' social-democratic allies in the Revolutionary Democratic Front [FDR], meanwhile, talk of returning to participate in the electoral games of Duarte's death squad "democracy.") But although U.S.-supplied air power has forced the rebels to change tactics, they have refused to be trapped in frontal battle. So the military are systematically depopulating FMLN-held areas with scorched earth tactics and saturation bombing reminiscent of



San Salvador, May Day—Mass workers' march against "Reaganomics with machine guns," courageously defying Duarte and Salvadoran army.

Vietnam. Rather than increasing government control over the masses, this strategy has moved the war from the countryside to the cities. Now thousands of homeless refugees are joining with urban workers driven to the wall by the regime's brutal austerity policies. So the next battles of this bloody class war may be fought out in the heart of San Salvador.

### "Reaganomics with Machine Guns"

Taking his cue from Reagan, who seeks to finance his anti-Soviet war

buildup by slashing social welfare programs, Duarte is trying to pay for the costly war by tightening the belts of already destitute Salvadoran workers and unemployed. On January 21, he announced the inauguration of an anti-worker economic "stabilization" program which included devaluing the *colón* by half, raising gasoline prices by 50 percent and a reduction in government credits for peasant agricultural cooperatives. A rise in the minimum wage was turned by the devaluation into a real pay cut, to US\$3.85 a day. This was IMF austerity without the IMF—orders from the U.S. embassy were enough to twist Duarte's arm. The result was an immediate 15-30 percent increase in prices, as the higher cost of transportation rippled through the economy. With galloping inflation and unemployment of 40 percent, the *paquetazo*, or "austerity coup," as it was called, could only be imposed by force. Unionists promptly dubbed this war economy plan "Reaganomics with machine guns."

The political effect was to eliminate the last vestiges of the Christian Democrats' social base. The Popular Democratic Union (UPD), a labor-peasant grouping founded by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) in 1980 and bankrolled by U.S. funds, had been largely responsible for Duarte's electoral triumph in 1984. Alienated by his economic policies, failure to continue the land reform and refusal to engage in dialogue with the rebels, as well as some heavy-handed

maneuvering by the AIFLD, the UPD split and the majority joined up with some left-wing unions to form the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), representing some 500,000 workers. On February 21 the UNTS called a "March for Survival of the Workers," bringing out the largest crowd for an anti-government protest since 1980. When a newly formed UNOC (Worker-Peasant Union) called a pro-Duarte parade on March 15, it only rounded up two-thirds as many, mostly peasants trucked in by the government.

Indicative of the workers' combativity has been the running battle between the government and the telecommunications workers (ASTTEL). Following a strike last November to release the sons of union leader Humberto Centeno from the clandestine torture chambers of the Treasury Police, other ASTTEL activists were seized. In January, the phone company fired union general secretary Rafael Sánchez for participating in a peace march. When ASTTEL called an eight-hour strike in February to protest forced transfers of union activists, the army surrounded union headquarters and locked officials out. On April 15, about 800 technicians went on strike demanding back salary increases. The government responded by declaring the strike illegal. When ASTTEL extended the walkout, the government sent in soldiers to man the equipment, resulting in service disruption. On May 7 ASTTEL was expelled

*continued on page 14*



Lettist rebels liberate town of Berlin, 1983.