



AP/Wide World

Reaganites Squirm Over Iran

Bonzo's Gonzo Diplomacy

Irish passports, Israeli go-betweens, cakes and Bibles, American hostages, the National Security Council, byzantine intrigue in Teheran and the White House basement: it's Ronald Reagan's gonzo diplomacy. This glimpse into what passes for U.S. imperialist policy is brought to you live and in color with former national security adviser Robert McFarlane and his bunch of wild and crazy guys. And it looks like it's turning into a major blowout for the administration: "probably one of the major mistakes the United States has ever made in foreign policy," said

Republican conservative standard-bearer Barry Goldwater. NATO allies are upset about being lied to, "moderate" Arab kings and emirs are livid over the U.S. arming Khomeini's fanatical Shi'ite mullahs, while Secretary of State Shultz publicly dissents and floats rumors of resigning (don't hold your breath).

Since the administration "spin control" on the Iranian junket has spun pretty far out of control, Washington does not now deny, "plausibly" or otherwise, that McFarlane undertook a secret mission to Iran. White



Sloane/Gamma-Liaison

Secretary of State Shultz.

House chief of staff Donald Regan now cynically refers to his media managers as a "shovel brigade that follow a parade down Main Street cleaning up." They managed to turn around the flap over U.S. disinformation on Libya, instantly repackaged

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What Are They Doing with 200 A-Bombs?

Zionist Madmen Target Russia

On November 9 the Israeli cabinet issued a terse statement, without further details, that one Mordechai Vanunu was being held somewhere in Israel. Later, police and prison authorities were quoted as saying that "the suspect" was not in a regular jail or detention center. The London *Guardian* (10 November) reported:

"Mr Vanunu is expected to face a secret trial in which neither the precise charge nor the final outcome will be made public on the grounds of national security."

Mordechai Vanunu is a 31-year-old technician employed for nearly ten years at Israel's Dimona nuclear facility. His "crime" against "national security"? He was the source for a blockbuster exposé splashed across the front page of the London *Sunday Times* (5 October) under the headline: "Revealed: the secrets of Israel's nuclear arsenal." The *Sunday Times* article trumpeted that it was "the first direct evidence that Israel has the bomb." More to the point, it has many, many bombs.

Vanunu had been dismissed along with 180 others in a cutback a year ago and subsequently left Israel, appearing in London in late September to sell his story (reportedly for \$456,000). Shortly after he finished his business with the *Sunday Times* on September 30, Vanunu dropped from sight. There were reports he had been kidnapped by the Mossad (the Israeli CIA) in Britain, or alternatively lured onto a yacht in the Mediterranean, and secretly brought back to Israel. In any case, this Deep Throat seems to have been silenced.

It's hardly new news that Israel has the bomb. As far back as 1974, the CIA had noted in a memorandum that "Israel already has produced nuclear weapons" (*New York Times*, 29 October). Indeed, a public United Nations



Chicago Tribune

Israel-U.S. alliance aimed at Soviet Union. American F-15, above, used by Israelis in 1,500-mile bombing raid on Tunisia last year.

report last year estimated Israel's nuclear bomb capability at "15 to 20 warheads." The real bombshell in the *Sunday Times* exposé was the revelation that the plutonium production at Dimona has been 40 kilograms a year, a figure far above all previous estimates. This means that "at least 100 and as many as 200 nuclear weapons of varying destructive power have been assembled" by Israel.

Two hundred nuclear weapons? This would make tiny Israel the world's sixth-largest nuclear power after the U.S., the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China. And it means they've probably got more nukes per capita than anyone. The article also presents evidence that the Israelis might have thermonuclear H-bombs, far more destructive than A-bombs. How did they get them, and what do they intend

to do with this arsenal? A dozen or so A-bombs could nuke every Arab capital and make Hitler's Holocaust look like child's play. Anyhow, the Jerusalem regime has always managed to get away with dropping murderous conventional bombs on peoples it didn't like, from Iraq to Tunisia.

What's going on here? Vanunu's story raises plenty of questions, and Rupert Murdoch's scab paper is no paragon of accuracy (they bought the bogus Hitler diaries, for instance). But 200 nukes would mean the warmongers in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem have a much bigger target in mind: Russia. Is this a joint operation with Washington in preparation for nuking the Soviets? (They're already in league with the White House in secretly supplying the Iranian ayatollahs with American arms.) Or are the Israelis preparing to go solo? The

Zionist madmen could very easily—and perhaps deliberately—trip over the trip wire for World War III.

Secrets of Dimona

In the late 1950s, Israel with the help of the French government (her ally in the Suez War against Egypt) began construction of an alleged "textile" plant in the Negev desert near the town of Dimona. When an American U-2 spy plane discovered in 1960 that the Dimona plant was really a nuclear reactor, Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion swore that it would be used only for "peaceful" purposes, and even agreed to allow international inspectors into the plant to verify his claims. Over the years stories circulated about the Israeli nuclear "bomb in the basement." Supposedly it was "only a screwdriver away" from being operational. Now it appears that they have been turning those screws all along.

According to Vanunu, alongside the "peaceful" reactor at Dimona there is a building known as "Machon 2," whose two innocuous floors above ground serve to hide a six-level concrete underground bunker. Here, spent fuel rods from the reactor are processed in order to separate out the vital plutonium for making A-bombs. False walls

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**Was El Al
Bomb a
Mossad Plot?**

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

CP Sabotages Defense of Soviet Union, Again

"When the leaders speak of peace, the common folk know that war is coming. When the leaders curse war, the mobilization order is already written out."

—Bertolt Brecht

To commemorate the 69th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, we published on the front page of the 7 November issue of *Workers Vanguard* an article headlined, "We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!" On the same date, the *People's Daily World* printed a not too competent polemic by Communist Party Political Bureau member Jim West against the Spartacist League titled, "The Trotskyites again betray the struggle for disarmament." For the CP, disarmament's the goal, talk of revolution is a provocation, and defense of the Soviet Union is not to be mentioned.

West sneers at revolution with a disdain worthy of a bourgeois politician: "What is the answer of the Trotskyites to the nuclear war danger? Not peaceful coexistence, but 'world-wide proletarian revolution.' You can hardly get more r-r-revolutionary than that, can you?" Permanent revolution is dismissed as a "fantasy theory." And of course there are the usual Stalinist denunciations of

ence only embolden the Reaganite reactionaries. West makes an amalgam of the "far right" and "phony left," declaring "peaceful co-existence" to be the "bane and the nightmare of the ultra-right and militarists." He inveighs against "Trotskyite splinter groups," chiefly the SL, "portraying the Soviet Union as making one concession after another to Reagan 'initiatives.'" Funny, but we don't recall any right-wingers raising *this* complaint.

Compared to the villainous "Caspar Weinbergers, the ultraright and military-industrial complex," Ronald Reagan almost comes off as a good guy in the CP's view. The favorites of the "détente"-blinded reformists are, of course, "peace-minded" Democrats. Another article in the issue proclaims a "Peace movement agenda for new Congress" following the Republican defeat in the November 4 elections. Actually, the Democrats' chief spokesman on "defense" (i.e., war), Sam Nunn, attacked Reagan *from the right* over Reykjavik for even suggesting giving up nuclear weapons.

To give the CP's liberal politics a "left" cover, West refers to a supposed "Soviet opposition on principle to the export of revolution and its advocacy of peaceful coexistence from Lenin's day on." This is an invention of the crudest sort. Repeatedly during World War I, Lenin denounced pacifist "disarmament" delusions:

"A bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, fundamental and cardinal facts of modern capitalist society. And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats are urged to 'demand' disarmament! That is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class-struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie.... Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able... to consign all armaments to the scrap-heap."

—V.I. Lenin, "The 'Disarmament' Slogan" (October 1916)

On "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, Lenin would certainly qualify as a "crazy" in the CP's book. In March 1919 he proclaimed: "The existence of the

The Trotskyites again betray the struggle for disarmament

The Reykjavik summit has served to bring the overriding issue of our times into sharp relief: the imperative need to free the world of the danger of nuclear annihilation.

So long as this cataclysmic threat and the tremendous costs entailed hang over the world, a brake is put upon progress in solving the great contemporary social problems and a black-out imposed on the hopes for a better future.

That is why all eyes everywhere were turned to the capital of Iceland when Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev met for the second time.

When Ronald Reagan pulled back from the brink of agreement on the historic end-of-the-nuclear-arms-race proposals of Mikhail Gorbachev, he signaled his intention to continue the slide to the brink of nuclear war by pressing ahead with the disastrous Star Wars program.

The Caspar Weinbergers, the ultra-right and military-industrial complex heaved a great sigh of relief. Reagan's rejection of the historic opportunity for real bilateral nuclear disarmament clouded out the spectre of peaceful co-existence, the bane and the nightmare of the ultra-right and militarists.

There was more than a jest involved when a senator said, in effect, that the far right would have banned Reagan from re-entering the U.S. on the McCain-Walter grounds that he had met with and had dealings with a Communist in Iceland.

The extreme right attack on the issues-clarifying, positive side of the summit has its counterpart in the attacks from the phony left. To be more precise, from the Trotskyite splinter groups.

According to the "Workers' Vanguard," Mikhail Gorbachev is a "betrayal," one who is selling out to imperialism for meeting with the president of the imperialist U.S.A. in order to advance the Soviet quest for peace. The sheet of the Trotskyite Spartacist League distorts what happened at the summit by portraying the Soviet Union as making one concession after another to Reagan "initiatives" (The far right was pointing to the "danger" of Reagan yielding to Soviet pressure!)

One can bear a demagogic "Amen!" from the extreme right and the militarists upon reading in "Workers' Voice" these words: "The world, in short, would become a far more dangerous place if the proposed 'disarmament' deal were signed."

What is the answer of the Trotskyites to the

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JIM WEST

nuclear war danger? Not peaceful coexistence, but "world-wide proletarian revolution." You can hardly get more r-r-revolutionary than that, can you?

This is the "solution" that all the Trotskyite splinters offer in one way or another. From handbills and papers that littered the streets on the route of the Great Peace March on Oct. 25th, we read:

"Those who today want an end to war can only want revolution." This from a group calling itself "The Spark."

The "Workers' Advocate" (Marxist-Leninist Party, USA) attacks the Soviet Union as "social imperialists," shouts that superpower talks are a smokescreen to hide increased armaments, and demands "bring down the imperialists once and for all." And so it goes from one Trotskyite outfit to another.

All of these phony-left sects have their feet firmly planted in the cement-block foundation stone of Trotskyism: the fantasy-theory of "permanent revolution." By this they mean that once a socialist revolution starts anywhere it must be continued without interruption until the whole world is socialist. Because the Soviet Union refused to impose a workingclass revolution on Poland after its own revolution in 1917, despite Trotsky's demand, the Trotskyites have denounced "the betrayal of the Soviet bureaucrats" ever since. To them, the Soviet opposition on principle to the export of revolution and its advocacy of peaceful coexistence from Lenin's day on, is betrayal and capitulation to capitalism!

So it was not surprising that the Trotskyites opposed a negotiated peace in the U.S. war on Vietnam. They wanted the war to go on until U.S. imperialism was overthrown no matter how many Vietnamese people and U.S. youth were killed. How much havoc they tried to create in the peace movements of that time!

It is this same bed-rock fantasy theory of permanent revolution, against which Lenin strongly polemicized and rejected — that impels the sundry Trotskyite phony-left groups to play a disruptive, splitting role in the peace movements and in whatever movements they penetrate. Hatred of peaceful coexistence and of the quest for a peaceful world in the nuclear age is endemic to Trotskyism. Little wonder that in the broad peace movements they have earned the designation of "Crazies."



CPUSA press, 2 September 1983: cringing falsification in face of U.S. KAL 007 spy provocation.

"Trotskyites" as splitters, disrupters and "crazies" driven by "hatred of peaceful coexistence."

The *People's Daily World* was attacking our article on the Iceland summit ("Limits to Betrayal?", *WV* No. 414, 24 October) in which we warned that Kremlin concessions to U.S. belliger-

Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is inconceivable. In the end one or the other must triumph."

It was J.V. Stalin who proclaimed the myth of "peaceful coexistence," a corollary of his anti-Marxist dogma of building "socialism in one country." This was the antithesis of Lenin's program of world socialist revolution, on which the Communist International was founded. As for opposition "in principle" to the "export of revolution," even Stalin didn't dare proclaim that until a decade after he usurped power, politically expropriating the Soviet working class. In 1936, after Stalin allowed Hitler to march unimpeded to power, and prepared to behead the Spanish Revolution, the Great Organizer of Defeats told an American bourgeois reporter, "The export of revolu-

tion is nonsense. Every country, should it so desire, will achieve its own revolution...." It was Stalin's epitaph for the Comintern he had destroyed.

To buttress one historical fabrication, West invents another, claiming it was "Trotsky's demand" that the Soviet Union "impose a workingclass revolution on Poland after its own revolution in 1917." This is completely bollixed. In 1920, the Red Army under Leon Trotsky repelled a surprise attack by Pilsudski's Polish army. When they reached the border of Poland, the issue was posed whether to keep on going. Lenin was strongly for continuing the offensive, seeing the historic opportunity of linking up with the German workers; Trotsky had reservations, fearing the Polish workers and peasants would not rise up to greet the Red Army as

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On November 13, two U.S. marshals, without warning, barged into the Washington, D.C. private residence of *Izvestia* correspondent Leonid Koryavin. These government thugs with badges grabbed the Soviet reporter's typewriter, the principal tool of his work. And they threatened to return with a truck and haul away his desk, filing cabinets, bookcases and even his television set!

This Gestapo-like raid on the home of a foreign correspondent grew out of a so-called "libel" settlement awarded California "businessman" Raphael Gregorian. Gregorian claimed he lost a \$10 million operation in the Soviet Union after an 18 November 1984 *Izvestia* article accused him "of 'contraband operations' and of selling outdated medical equipment" (*New York Times*, 14 November). The Soviet bureaucracy, enamored of mythical

Hands Off Izvestia! U.S. Breaks Into Home, Robs Soviet Reporter

"peaceful coexistence," is, if anything, oversolicitous of Western capitalists who in return routinely use their men in Moscow to engage in espionage.

Gregorian launched a \$320 million damage suit against *Izvestia* and the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade which revoked his trade license with the Soviet Union, in a U.S. district court in California. In June the federal judge awarded him \$413,000. Not content with using the courts to violate

the rights, invade the privacy and steal the property of Soviet journalists, Gregorian's attorney has also subpoenaed the Soviet press agency TASS and asked the judge to seize the U.S. bank accounts of the Soviet Bank for Foreign Trade.

The Soviet embassy sent a diplomatic note to the State Department protesting this grotesque violation of human rights, press freedom and the international conventions protecting

foreign journalists. When on the basis of considerable evidence the Soviets arrested and charged U.S. *News & World Report* "correspondent" Nicholas Daniloff with espionage, the American media raised a smokescreen of righteous indignation over freedom of the press. Where is the hue and cry over the U.S. government when it tramples upon elementary democratic rights in robbing an *Izvestia* reporter in his home?

This sinister and provocative attack on a Soviet journalist is of a piece with the mass expulsions of Soviet diplomats, repeated incursions into Soviet waters and airspace, and arming cutthroat mullahs and feudalists fighting the Red Army in Afghanistan: a pattern of provocation aiming at war. The wackos and witchhunters in Washington had better be stopped. Hands off *Izvestia*!

S.F. Black Firefighter Victimized For Fighting Racist Attack

SAN FRANCISCO—Hugh Smith is a firefighter, an ex-Marine who was commended for bravery last year by the city fire department. But this is racist, capitalist America, and Smith is one of a relative handful of black firemen in the city run by Democratic mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein. When Smith confronted a white racist fireman who called him a "nigger" in his station house last June, Smith's superior officers covered up the incident and ordered him to lie about it. When Smith blew the lid off, he was charged with making a "false report" and ended up with a "letter of reprimand" in his file—to be removed in six months if he "keeps out of trouble"! This is an outrage! As Smith bitterly commented, "A guy attacks me racially, and they put me on trial. I feel I was a victim" (*Chronicle*, 23 October).

During the Fire Commission's farcical hearing, the three officers involved in the cover-up defended themselves by claiming Smith agreed to go along with it. When the black fireman first demanded action from his superiors, one simply ignored him while another tried to pretend he was "kidding." Smith testified that he was ordered to report that a hand injury received in his scuffle with the racist resulted from a fall in the shower. The racist creep, Jack Fitzpatrick, said he used the word "nigger" frequently to include people other than blacks and defined the word as "the lowest element of any race or people."



Hugh Smith

Even the commission was astounded by his brazen claim he meant no racist insult. This disgusting racial epithet is a fighting word. It's Klan talk, the language of the lynch rope. Smith's response—that of any self-respecting black person—was more than justified.

Two of the three officers involved in the cover-up ended up with short suspensions, the third with a "letter of reprimand" to be removed in six months, but unlike Smith's without the insulting "stay out of trouble" condition. Fitzpatrick was suspended for 30 days. This token punishment of the racists and egregious slap at the victim gives the green light to racists throughout the city. Smith's case has become a focal point for a racist mobilization in the department. At the Fire Commission

hearings, white firemen sat on one side, blacks on the other. A statement circulated by John Flaherty, president of the San Francisco Fire Chiefs Association, and signed by 34 of the 62 chiefs, denounced the token punishments meted out to the four whites as "extraordinarily unfair and inconceivably harsh," and Smith's punishment as "absurdly lenient!"

Far from being an isolated episode (as Feinstein tried to claim, blaming "a few bad apples"), the incident exposed the pervasive racism in the city's fire department, 85 percent white in this multiracial city with large minority populations. Today there are only 79 blacks in the force of some 1,500, which has long been a job-trusted, ethnic white, largely Irish preserve, with jobs passed on to relatives. A lawsuit is currently in the process of being settled, challenging the civil service tests used to hire and promote firemen as racially and sexually biased (93 percent of whites and 55 percent of blacks passed the last one). As Robert Demmons, president of the Black Firefighters Association, told a Board of Supervisors committee hearing in October, racial harassment on the job began when San Francisco's first black firefighter was called a racist name his first day on the job in 1955 and has continued ever since.

Hugh Smith got a firsthand taste of what can be expected from the bosses' state. In this city it's run by Feinstein,

who flew the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror in front of her city hall for two years before the Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense tore it down. Her cops posted a Nazi swastika poster in a police van at an anti-apartheid demonstration in 1985. Democratic Party administrations have been doing the dirty work for Reagan in cities around the country—like black Democrat Wilson Goode, mayor of Philadelphia, who ordered the 1985 MOVE massacre in which eleven black people, including five kids, were murdered. While the courts may order some cosmetic changes in the SF fire department's discriminatory hiring practices, the state generally takes an interest in "equal employment" in the labor movement only as a cynical cover for union-busting schemes.

The American proletariat has a vital stake in fighting to integrate the workforce, including the firemen who (unlike the racist union-busting cops) are part of the working class and perform vital social services. We fight for *revolutionary integrationism*, including jobs for all, union-run special recruitment and training programs for minorities and women, an end to racial and sexual discrimination in hiring and on the job. It will take an integrated, class-struggle leadership of Bay Area labor to clean out the bigots from the station house to the suburbs and crush the KKK racists. That was shown in practice in 1980, when the 1,200-strong ANCAN mobilization led by the Spartacist League stopped the Nazi scum from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in the San Francisco Civic Center. And this means a workers party to struggle against the capitalist parties, for a workers government to put an end to the racist, capitalist system of exploitation. ■

Again, CP Sabotages...

(continued from page 3)

liberators. But *Stalin* did everything he could to sabotage the offensive, diverting crucial forces from the drive on Warsaw, which ultimately stopped the Red Army on the Vistula (see "The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution,'" *Spartacist* No. 27-28, Summer 1980).

Continuing the method of the amalgam, the CP tries to equate us with every manner of minuscule anti-Soviet sect, such as the social-democratic "Spark" group and the "Marxist-Leninist Party" (MLP), erstwhile acolytes of Enver Hoxha's Albania. The MLP would certainly object to being labeled "Trotskyite"—indeed the various ex-Maoist groups are merely Stalinists without a country. And in treacherously equating the USSR with the USA

as two imperialistic "superpowers," they scab on the defense of the gains of the Bolsheviks' October Revolution. West, of course, doesn't mention that our article prominently declared: "Defend the Soviet Union!"

In fact, West doesn't mention defense of the Soviet Union—and for good reason. West tries to claim the Soviet mantle by hailing the "historic" disarmament proposals of CPSU general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. But we've pointed out before how the CPUSA's "détente" illusions have led it to abandon defense of the Soviet Union on several occasions. For example, when the KAL 007 jetliner was shot down overflying some of the most sensitive Soviet military installations in the Far East, the *Daily World* (2 September 1983) published a banner headline: "Soviets Deny Downing Plane." They not only invented a Moscow denial, but refused to believe the Soviet Union would defend itself against the unidentified intruder.

What about when the *New York Times* (2 November 1984) asked Gus Hall where the CPUSA disagreed with the Soviet Union—Hall replied that Polish Solidarność was "a positive step," and, "The other socialist countries should learn a lesson from it...." This was the favorite "union" of Reagan, the pope and the Wall Street bankers! The Spartacist League said: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" Or when Hall told the CPSU congress that Gorbachev had a duty to come to a summit in the U.S. no matter what provocations the Reaganites threw up. "Do you suggest," the astounded Soviet leader asked, "that I come to your country without conditions?" Hall replied, "Without conditions" (*New Times*, 24 March). This was Reagan's line! At least the Kremlin said no to that one.

Appeasement is not the way to deal with these capitalist warmongers, who go from one provocation to another, dispatching civilian planes to penetrate

CPUSA chairman Gus Hall peddles social-pairloic line of "peaceful coexistence."

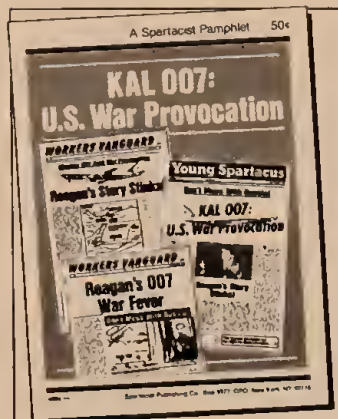


Soviet air space over military zones, sending U.S. ships into Soviet territorial waters near key naval bases, ramming Soviet submarines, expelling Soviet diplomats en masse. This is not to say that the Trotskyists reject all negotiations with the imperialists. West takes us to task for opposing a "negotiated peace" in Vietnam: "They wanted the war to go on until U.S. imperialism was overthrown no matter how many Vietnamese people and U.S. youth were killed." We denounced the CP and its reformist and liberal cohorts for calling for negotiations in Vietnam instead of fighting for the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution. But we did not call the 1973 Paris accords a betrayal: we said it was a "temporary bargain" and proclaimed: "The Civil War Goes On" (*WV* No. 16, February 1973). The war did go on, U.S. imperialism was overthrown, and we hailed that victory.

As we proclaimed in the article *West attacks, as Lenin repeatedly declared, 'Workers Revolution Must Disarm the Imperialists!'*

One has to ask after all this, why is it that the CPUSA should print such an ignorant and vulgar "polemic." Certainly not in order to expose their "Communist" pretensions to ridicule. Is Gus

Hall getting some heat over his groveling pro-détente line from abroad, as when French CP leader Duclos sent a missive (on Stalin's behalf) to Earl Browder suggesting that dissolving the CPUSA was carrying the People's Front with Roosevelt too far? Or could it be that some quite senior CPers are getting a little tired of their crappy organization, and like seeing a genuine communist paper, if only as an external point of reference. ■



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Industrial Murder in the North Sea

LONDON—On November 6, one of the worst helicopter crashes in history took place just off the Shetland Isles in the North Sea. Forty-five men, oil workers working on the offshore oil rigs, died as their Chinook helicopter foundered and broke up in the icy waters of the North Sea, where you're lucky to last two minutes in the near-Arctic conditions before freezing to death. Miraculously, two survived, by clinging to a piece of wreckage and a dinghy and being fortuitously picked up by a coast guard chopper on a training flight within minutes of the crash. Otherwise, they too would have frozen and drowned.

The ill-fated Chinook helicopter was owned by Robert ("Captain Bob") Maxwell, darling of treacherous Labour leader Neil Kinnock and owner of a number of daily papers. His recently acquired British International Helicopters has taken over much of the work involved in ferrying oil workers to and from the various rigs and depots dotted around the North Sea. Having sent these 45 mainly Scottish workers to their deaths, the despicable Labourite millionaire then launched a fund drive for the bereaved families through his newspaper chain. Truly, blood money!

"Accidents will happen," the bosses are saying in chorus. But why do they happen? The drive for profit that is intrinsic to capitalism involves systematic negligence and outright, wanton murder. Maintenance engineers insisted on delaying the fatal flight when they discovered an oil leak before its takeoff, and an eyewitness to the crash on a nearby fishing vessel saw one of the rotor blades fall off just before the Chinook started its dive into the sea.

Aircraft design experts describe the Chinook as an "engineering nightmare." In February 1983 this same chopper had to make a forced landing when a gearbox bearing failed. Only two of the three improvements recommended in its wake by safety experts—on fire safety, flight deck warning indicator and gearbox design—were ever implemented. In October 1984, the synchronisation shaft failed during maintenance. Given the Chinook's overlapping twin rotor blades design, the synchronisation mechanism is critical to keeping the blades from smashing each other to bits. That was the cause of a similarly horrific crash in Mannheim, West Germany in 1982, in which 46 French and Welsh amateur parachutists aboard a military version of the Chinook were killed. It appears that something very similar happened on November 6.

North Sea oil rig: Capitalism creates disaster-ridden, frozen hell for workers.



Conditions on the North Sea oil rigs epitomise the total disdain for the lives and welfare of the workforce that is characteristic of capitalist exploitation. In April 1977, "Red" Adair, the American oil rig troubleshooter, said: "Whatever precautions are taken, there'll be a disaster in the North Sea, sooner or later. There are no proper facilities for coping with it" (*New Yorker*, 27 January). The North Sea oilfield has been plagued with disaster from its inception. In December 1985, 13 men were killed when the *Sea Gem*, one of the first drilling barges, capsized and sank. Several weeks after Adair's prediction, Well 14, on Ekofisk Bravo in the Norwegian sector of the oilfield, blew out. The oil companies had previously rejected Adair's proposal for a specialised firefighting vessel on the grounds of expense.

North Sea oil adds something like £2 million (almost \$3 million) per hour to the coffers of the oil magnates—every penny of it leached out of the blood of the workforce. The workers, many of them highly skilled and specialised, work straight 12-hour shifts 14 days at a stretch. (You can get a taste of the Dante-like infernal scene, minus the high-tech, from the Sean Connery film *Outland*.) They are forced to work on slippery platforms blown backwards and forwards by gale-force winds in a prisonlike regime—booze and women are banned, newspapers are generally several days old, their only source of relaxation videotapes. Except in the sleeping areas, the deafening din and vibration of the rigs is everywhere and always present. And, unlike onshore oil refineries, workers can't run away from a fire; they can only jump into the surrounding icy sea.

And the helicopters—mostly Chinooks and the smaller Sikorski S-61s—

which are central to the functioning of the oilfield are five times more likely to malfunction and crash than fixed-wing aircraft. The pilot must maintain hands-on control of these "unstable platforms" during every instant of flight. And in the North Sea oilfield, they operate virtually without cease, making the air traffic control centre at Brent Log one of the busiest in Europe (at one time second only to London's Heathrow international airport). The *New Yorker* correspondent notes that "The parallel between the North Sea and space has become one of the clichés of the industry." But if the imperialist bourgeoisie is prepared to see seven astronauts blown to bits aboard the Challenger space shuttle, what concern

of the PATCO air traffic controllers union led directly to a sharp rise in air fatalities. Had the ASTMS struck in support of the heroic British coal miners strike—when oil-fired power stations played a crucial strikebreaking role—they could have made the difference in deep-sixing "Iron Lady" Thatcher, whose revenues depend heavily on North Sea oil. For union control over safety and working conditions! For a strong industrial union of North Sea oil workers under class-struggle leadership!

From Whitehall to the City of London, the ruling class has seen in the North Sea oilfield the saviour that would somehow save clapped-out British capitalism indefinitely from economic disaster. But it has not. And now the one region of Scotland that due to oil has had some measure of alleviation from the all-around economic devastation is finding that this was transient and illusory. As the oil industry goes into decline, it is estimated that 40,000 jobs will be lost, ripping the heart out of this enclave of Scottish "prosperity." It's no accident that a significant number of those killed aboard the Chinook came from Fife, once a rich coalfield, since turned into industrial desert. Acting out a capitalist sequel to the Highland Clearances, Scotland (like Wales) has been viciously ravaged and ripped off by the British bourgeoisie in its epoch of decay. And look what British imperialism has done in Ireland.

Marxists stand for the right of self-determination for the Celtic fringe. We

Striking British miners in 1984 funeral procession for coal miner killed by scab. General strike then could have brought down bloody Thatcher.



would one expect the notoriously rapacious oil companies to give to their workers?

The North Sea helicopter disaster was fundamentally of a piece with the Kinross gold mine catastrophe in South Africa a couple of months ago, in which nearly 200 black miners were asphyxiated a mile underground. For the capitalist bloodsuckers, the bottom line—literally—is their profit statement at the end of the fiscal year; and to that end, human life is expendable. In particular, the English-centred bourgeoisie has routinely treated Scottish working people as expendable, be it as cannon fodder in the Scottish regiments or as workers on North Sea oil rigs.

The oil workers have considerable industrial muscle. The nascent South African black National Union of Mineworkers organised a powerful memorial strike in outrage over the Kinross massacre. But to the extent the North Sea oil workers are unionised, they have only the pathetic ASTMS, which organises primarily white-collar technicians. Shortly before the recent crash, government official Norman Marguerite wrote to "interested parties" (no doubt including the ASTMS leadership) expressing gratitude for their "patience" over long-postponed reforms in safety conditions.

Union-busting paves the way to industrial murder. Reagan's smashing

do not, however, urge a course of separation: the Scottish and Welsh proletariat have been in the vanguard of the working class movement in the British Isles. The answer is neither the fool's gold of Scottish nationalism, which would leave the Scottish working class no less brutally exploited, nor the vile "socialism" of Kinnock's Labour Party, which revels in its strikebreaking and treacherous fealty to the English ruling class. Having stabbed the miners in the back, "Judas" Kinnock goes off on a pilgrimage to the Berlin Wall to laud the Nazi effort to fight off the Red Army liberation of Berlin and then lays a wreath for the racist cop killed during the police invasion of London's Tottenham ghetto last year!

A revolutionary struggle for socialism can unite the English working class with the downtrodden peoples of the Celtic fringe and the oppressed black and Asian minorities—who all have good reason to hate and fight the British ruling class. Above all, that requires the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party through splitting the working-class base of the Labour Party from the pro-capitalist tops. Such a party will act as triune of the oppressed, mobilising all the downtrodden in this society behind the social power of the proletariat and finally sweeping the racist butchers of this senile ruling class into the dustbin of history. ■

JUST OUT!

Women and Revolution

Winter 1986-87
No. 32 (32 pages)

- Meese Police Target Everybody
- The Trouble with Sexual Utopias
- Harriet Tubman: Fighter for Black Freedom

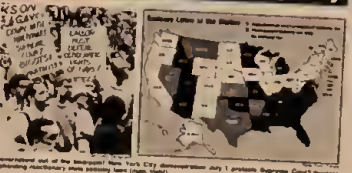
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Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Committee of the Spartacist League, USA

Defend Busing, Abortion, Privacy!
Meese Police Target Everybody



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Harriet Tubman: Fighter for Black Freedom... 32

Hundreds of Thousands Homeless After Quake

Salvador Workers: Give Duarte the Somoza Treatment!

The October 10 earthquake in El Salvador struck a heavy blow at the poor and working people of this land who have already withstood six years of civil war. This was no "act of God" divorced from the class struggle: it is the slum dwellers who are homeless today, the rich are not sleeping in the streets! In fact, rapacious Salvadoran capitalists and their bloodthirsty military guard dogs used the opportunity to continue pillaging the country and persecuting working-class fighters. A revolutionary workers party would respond to this disaster by mobilizing the Salvadoran masses against their utterly corrupt and cynical rulers. In Nicaragua, Somoza's looting of relief supplies fueled outrage ultimately leading to the July 1979 Sandinista-led popular insurrection that sent the dictator packing. In El Salvador, where a militant workers movement is recovering its strength after several years underground, the earthquake could be a detonator for proletarian revolution sending shock waves throughout the region.

Within minutes of the first tremor, half the capital lay in ruins. While the Salvadoran government of U.S.-puppet president José Napoleón Duarte tried to downplay the destruction, relief officials estimate that as many as 3,000 were killed, 20,000 injured and 300,000 left homeless (SALPRESS, 13 October). More than 500 died in the Rubén Darío office building, condemned after the last quake but never ordered razed by then-mayor Duarte. Some 30,000 homes were destroyed, not counting the rude mud and adobe structures of the *tugurios* (slums) which were especially hard hit. Compared to last year's Mexico quake, whose force was over a hundred times greater, the number left without a roof over their heads in San

repressive forces have slaughtered more than 61,000 civilians, and in the last couple years murderous governmental aerial bombardment combined with frequent army "search and destroy" sweeps have created an internal refugee population of about 500,000 living in and around the capital. With half the population either underemployed or unemployed and the economy mired in depression, the outlook for the Salvadoran masses was catastrophic even before the October 10 earthquake. Their experience since then proves that the class struggle is not suspended for natural disasters; the resulting chaos and victimization of the dispossessed only intensifies it.

The government "relief" operation strips bare the brutal realities of class oppression in El Salvador. In Mexico after last year's killer quake, the military went through the motions of aiding the victims. In El Salvador, the army has done nothing outside of the Ilopango air base (center of the CIA's contra gunrunning operation) and protecting government warehouses. Soldiers watched with cold disdain, fingering the triggers of their M16s while Salvadoran and international volunteers feverishly searched for survivors. Treasury Police chief General Rinaldo Golcher told *Newsday* (13 October), "The men are here to keep order." The dust had hardly settled before government death squads resumed their kidnapping and killing. Among the fatalities were seven members of a refugee relief organization and Francisco Méndez, an electrical worker of the STECEL union shot by the army while working as a *brigadista* aiding quake victims.

At the airport, the army deliberately delayed desperately needed relief supplies. These guardians of the bourgeois

Salvador were held on the ground for nearly a week. Inside the city, for days only the Catholic church and international Red Cross distributed limited aid, while hundreds of victims gathered outside the hangar where official relief was centered, clamoring for food and

broken mains, advertised for new workers rather than rehire 236 fired union militants. As for reconstruction, some destroyed communities may never be rebuilt as wealthy landlords reclaim the meager parcels on which the poor had put up their squatters' shacks.

As the initial shock of the earthquake wears off, anger is mounting over the criminal exploitation of the relief operation. On November 11 hundreds of students burned an effigy of Uncle Sam and shouted "*¡Duarte asesino!*" when the puppet president tried to set foot on the University of El Salvador to "evaluate damage" from the quake. "Duarte, you have hurt the university more than the earthquake did," came the outcry, recalling that the campus was shut down in 1980 under the Duarte junta after scores of students were murdered by a police and army attack. The Salvadoran masses who have lived through the bloody civil war and this latest infernal calamity must burn with class hatred: there will be no salvation for them without sweeping away the brutal rule of Duarte and his Yankee godfathers, of the insatiable local bourgeoisie and bloodthirsty military.

For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America!

During times of crisis nationalists and reformists rally 'round the flag, submerging the class struggle in the name of "national unity." Following the October quake the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the guerrillas' Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) declared a unilateral truce. Having earlier canceled the "dialogue" at Sesori by militarily occupying the site, the government responded by increasing military operations in rebel-controlled zones. In the U.S., rad-libs and reformists like CISPES and the Socialist Workers Party take up disaster relief as a form of charity. What's urgently needed is revolutionary struggle against the oppressors! The earthquake was a natural phenomenon; the fact that hundreds died and hundreds of thousands are left homeless is the product of *capitalism*. There should have been militant demonstrations against the government demanding that relief supplies be handed over; the warehouses should have been seized and slum areas turned into "no-go" areas for the military.

In imperial Russia, at the turn of the century widespread famine sparked philanthropic relief efforts by the impotent "Zemstvo" provincial councils permitted by the autocratic regime. V.I. Lenin could have been describing El Salvador today when he noted in October 1901 that "the tsarist government officials hamper and reduce relief, minimise the extent of the distress, impede the opening of food-kitchens, etc." To Narodnik populists and Zemstvo liberals who accused the socialists of "artificially applying the concept of the class struggle" to the issue of famine, Lenin responded that "the Russian Government *excels us all* in the judgement of the profundity of the class struggle." The "increasing exploitation of capital" and "predatory policy of the government and of the landlords" had reduced the peasants to their ruinous state, he wrote. The future leader of the Bolshevik Revolution called for



San Salvador earthquake: a scene of devastation.

plastic sheets to protect them from the storms.

The entire disaster relief operation has been political from the start. The U.S. has tried to control supplies in order to strengthen its grip on the capital where a resurgent labor movement had begun to assert itself. Perhaps the most obscene image of this was the photo of U.S. secretary of state George (Let 'em Eat Bullets) Shultz and butcher Duarte surveying the earthquake damage. After his visit, Shultz recommended that the majority of future U.S. aid be destined for the military. Duarte, meanwhile, turned coordination of external disaster aid over to the private sector, partly out of recognition of widespread government corruption and partly to appease the ultraright. The businessmen chosen for the task are leaders of the Salvadoran Foundation for Development, a group directly linked with the U.S. extermination campaign in the countryside through the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Not surprisingly, with this Reagan-style "magic of the marketplace" scant aid reached the victims. Most international donations were siphoned off for private construction projects or hoarded by the army. Striking personnel at the Policlinica Salvadoreña, who worked around the clock performing surgery in the hospital parking lot, complained that medicines were siphoned off by the military hospital. And with mass starvation looming, the Christian Democratic regime announced it would sell 2,000 tons of wheat donated by the government of Japan. Meanwhile, with more than 30,000 phone lines down, the military manager of ANTEL (telecommunications) refused to bring back 20 fired technicians, instead contracting a foreign team. And the ANDA waterworks, facing urgent repairs to hundreds of



Militant water workers confront Salvador National Police.

no credit

Salvador was double that in Mexico City. The astounding toll of homeless victims reveals the precarious existence eked out by the poor and working class who live in shacks teetering along river gullies and clinging to steep ravines. As more than 1,000 aftershocks and torrential rainstorms battered survivors, San Salvador became a veritable hell on earth.

This disaster comes in the midst of the U.S.-backed war to crush a workers and peasants insurgency seeking to throw off the yoke of more than half a century of bloody military rule. Kill-crazy right-wing death squads and uniformed

order went over arriving planes with a fine-toothed comb, grotesquely searching for arms to the leftist rebels! Sandinista Nicaragua sent a delegation with blood plasma, medicine and blankets. However, the Salvadoran government rejected outright an offer by Cuba to supply a fully equipped field hospital and team of doctors. It also blocked aid shipments destined for distribution by unions. A U.S. relief agency denounced the fact that 15 plane-loads of supplies were denied landing rights in the days just after the disaster. Two planes from the Los Angeles-based Medical Aid to El

exposing the government's criminal food policies and insisted:

"There neither is nor can be any other means of combating unemployment and crises... than the class struggle of the revolutionary proletariat against the entire capitalist system."

—V.I. Lenin, "Review of Home Affairs" (October 1901)

The suffering of the hundreds of thousands of homeless in El Salvador will not be alleviated by a truce, but through mobilizing the urban poor and the peasants behind the workers movement in revolutionary struggle. Over the last two years, the combative Salvadoran workers have repeatedly taken to the streets in massive demonstrations and work stoppages. September saw a "broad movement of labor solidarity" showing "increased class consciousness" (*Proceso*, 8 October) around strikes by construction workers, hospital workers and workers at the CIRCA textile plant, who won their economic demands after a month on strike. On September 19 phone workers stopped work for three hours, disrupting communications from Duarte's "peace" charade in Sese. On October 1 and 2 more than 15,000 teachers and other public employees walked out. And on October 4, 50,000 people from around the country defied a military blockade to march for a "political solution to the national conflict and the demands of the workers."

What "negotiated solution" can there be with the arrogant Salvadoran ruling class, which prides itself on crushing a worker-peasant uprising in the bloody



Union-called national demonstration of 50,000 in San Salvador defies military blockade, October 4.

Matanza of 1932 without calling in the Yankees; with the racist exploiters who today employ psychopathic killers like D'Aubuisson so they can dispose of the "Indian" toilers like cattle! Communist leader Farabundo Martí understood in 1932 that "until the rich class is forced from power by all of us, we will always be their slaves." Martí's battle cry was for "All power to the workers, peasants and soldiers councils!" The FDR/FMLN nationalist-reformists despair about making a revolution because as nationalists they have no perspective of international class struggle. They look instead to "progressive" bourgeois governments of the Contadora group—like

Mexico, whose PRI rulers fear the contagion of social revolution could spread from Central America to their own earthquake victims and the deeply exploited Mexican proletariat.

In the U.S. the fake "solidarity" brokers look to Democrats like Walter ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale and to "progressive" union bureaucrats such as the National Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, which voted at the October 1985 AFL-CIO convention for a treacherous negotiated settlement in El Salvador and Nicaragua—i.e., the FDR/FMLN should sit down with the butchers and the Sandinistas should

bargain with the contra killers! The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League call instead for military victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador, and to defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution. We stand for a class fight against Duarte's death squad "democracy" and its Republican and Democratic paymasters, for a class-struggle workers party and concrete actions of labor solidarity: hot-cargo arms to El Salvador, for material aid to defend Nicaragua, for labor strikes against a U.S. invasion of Central America.

The San Salvador disaster could be a turning point for the Salvadoran revolution, much as the 1972 Managua earthquake was in Nicaragua. Ten thousand people died there, and a quarter of a million were left homeless; the center of Managua was leveled. International aid poured in. Somoza and his cronies saw in the catastrophe a chance to make immense profits. Through ruthless land speculation, raking in huge loans and stealing international relief aid, *El Jefe* and his pals made millions from the suffering of the Nicaraguan people. But the incredible greed and cruelty of these blood-suckers fueled the Sandinista rebellion which eventually put an end to Somoza's tyranny. In El Salvador today, the avarice of the bourgeoisie and the heinous crimes of the military and their front man Duarte must spark proletarian revolution throughout Central America to bring these bastards down. ■

Sons of Salvadoran Unionist Jailed and Tortured Free José and Jaime Centeno!

More than 500 trade unionists and other victims of rightist repression in El Salvador are imprisoned under the dictatorial decrees of President José Napoleón Duarte. Among them are the two sons of the Association of Salvadoran Telecommunications Workers (ASTTEL) secretary Humberto Centeno. The seizure of Centeno and his sons José and Jaime by a death squad of plainclothes police in November 1985 provoked a national strike by the 7,000 ASTTEL members. Although the elder Centeno was quickly released, Salvadoran phone workers stayed out until his sons were transferred from the torture cells of the Treasury Police to Mariona prison. While in the hands of the sadistic cops, a forced "confession" was extorted from them of supposed involvement in the kidnapping of Colonel Omar Napoleón Avalos, head of the civil aviation agency, CIA agent and Duarte confidant.

This case of brutal anti-labor repression is part of an offensive against ASTTEL, which has been fighting for its life for the last year. In a 51-day strike by militant telecommunications technicians this spring, 20 strikers were fired, including the union delegates (see *WW* No. 409, 1 August). In the U.S. the Partisan Defense Committee has highlighted their struggle, and locals of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) in Oakland, Cleveland and New York City have expressed solidarity with their class brothers and sisters struggling under Reagan-Duarte's death squad "democracy." As part of our defense of the militant Salvadoran phone workers, *Workers Vanguard* spoke with Humberto Centeno about the circumstances of his and his sons' capture. Following are excerpts from his account:

Centeno: We Salvadoran workers have suffered repression for many years. As government employees, we are completely unprotected by the laws. They can fire us any moment they want. And as in El Salvador there is so much unemployment, everyone initially was afraid of forming their unions. Nevertheless, the very hunger as well as the economic crisis that all Salvadorans suffer led us to form associations. From the beginning [in 1984] we weren't going to be an association that organized fiestas or held raffles. A series of strikes were called—at least by ASTTEL as well as in the Post Office, at the Ministry of Agriculture, at Social Security, by the water utility union. The government realized that we weren't going to be a pro-Christian Democratic Party association, and neither could the leaders of ASTTEL be bought off by the American Embassy with its millions of dollars that it throws away in El Salvador.

On November 8, they seized me in my home. When they arrived they asked

only for me. But my sons, on hearing the uproar caused by the entry of many men dressed in civilian clothes—death squad types—came out to see what was going on. The guy in charge asked me who



Salvadoran union leader Humberto Centeno.

they were. My eldest son (José) is 21 and the younger (Jaime) 18. When I told them that these were my sons, they told me that they should accompany them too. So we left my home in Cojutepeque. They put us face down. They threatened us. They mistreated us. I was very upset. Never in my life had I been in a jail for any reason. I never belonged to any political party. I've never been connected with anyone, except in the struggle for the workers.

When we arrived at the Treasury Police, I was taken before Colonel Golcher. He was very annoyed; he told me they had made a big scandal about my seizure. At that point I didn't know that my ASTTEL colleagues had declared a work stoppage, and also that all the radio stations in El Salvador were strongly criticizing my capture. Colonel Golcher told me that I could go home, but that my sons would remain there and that they would hand them over to me in the afternoon. Well, from there we went to the Roma center where the compañeros were meeting. With a great spirit of solidarity they told me that they were going to continue on strike until my sons were released.

Later we went to a congress that FENASTRAS [National Federation of Salvadoran Workers] was holding in a hotel in the capital. Then some Americans accompanied us to the Treasury Police at about five in the afternoon. When we arrived, instead of releasing my sons, they gave me a notification saying that they would be there for 15 days. Possibly during that day that my sons were there, the brilliant idea occurred to them of framing them up in the kidnapping of Colonel Napoleón Avalos. The next day when my wife and I came, my sons didn't recognize us. They were quite drugged. So I called a press conference and reported that they were torturing them, they were drugging them.



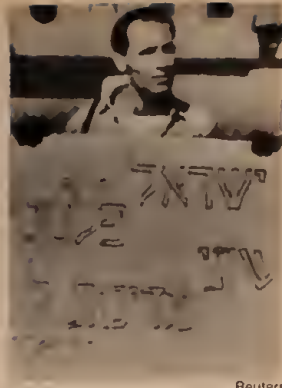
JOSIPES
José and Jaime Centeno in Mariona prison, May 1986.

From then on, we waged a hard campaign. They felt obliged, for the first time in El Salvador, to have a picture taken of them. About three days later, they invited the national press on the condition that they take pictures without asking questions. It seemed strange to me that my sons appeared in those photos wearing jackets. Later, when they were in Mariona, they told me that they had put the jackets on them because they had scars from electric shocks on their arms. The important thing was the sentiment of solidarity of all the workers of El Salvador, of all the people. The telecommunications workers felt that they were trying to blackmail me, and therefore the whole union, so we continued on strike some 19 days.

In November, my sons will have been held prisoner for one year, unjustly. As Salvadorans, we don't find that strange, since for more than 50 years they have been violating our human rights. Although my sons are in Mariona, and although they have broken up a home, they haven't lowered our morale to keep struggling in favor of the workers, not only the telecommunications workers, but all the Salvadoran workers. After the capture of my two sons, our work has become greater, 100 percent more. We hope for the day when all workers unite, and that is one of the aspirations of many Salvadorans, so that they respect us as human beings. ■



Photos (left) of Israeli nuclear bomb factory beneath Negev desert from **Sunday Times** (London), 5 October 1986.



Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu at demonstration for a Palestinian state last year.

Reuters

Zionist Madmen...

(continued from page 1)

hid the elevators to the secret underground factory from the prying eyes of international inspectors. Vanunu gave the *Sunday Times* more than 60 photographs of the ultra-secret bunker, one showing a component of lithium deuteride (for a thermonuclear bomb with the force of "hundreds" of kilotons). His account was double- and triple-checked by nuclear scientists in Britain and the U.S.

The article noted that one would expect "bigger gaps" in the knowledge of "a mere technician," but this might be explained by the fact that he worked at Dimona for nearly a decade. How come he was left alone to photograph the entire secret complex (there are no people in his photos)? The *Sunday Times* explanation was that British control room technicians are often free to roam around nuclear plants alone to "follow up alarms." Reputable scientists said it would have been possible to secretly upgrade the original Dimona reactor from 26 megawatts capacity to the 150 megawatts needed to produce so much plutonium. But other questions remain—e.g., why did the usually efficient Shin Beth (the Israeli FBI) let Vanunu out of the country shortly after his dismissal, and how did he smuggle out his film?

The story has its bizarre aspects. We are told that while working at Dimona, Vanunu "became a member of the Israeli Communist Party and was active in pro-Palestinian demonstrations" (*New York Times*, 10 November). Also he was reportedly "modeling naked for drawing classes at Beersheba University," in a small desert town where most of the Arabs are pro-Zionist Bedouins. A girlfriend says he "volunteered to be laid off." He then went to Australia, the story goes, where he met a Colombian journalist named Oscar Guerrero, oddly working as a handyman at an Anglican church (where Vanunu was converting to Christianity), who persuaded him to tell his story to the press. Guerrero wanted money, but Vanunu told *Newsweek*, "I'm doing it for peace."

Not surprisingly, the *New York Times* (29 October) reports "there is a school of thought among military analysts in Israel that suggests the entire

Vanunu affair is a ruse by Israeli intelligence." Israeli military planners openly talk about the "next war," the one against Syria. The *Economist* (15 November) speculates that Vanunu's story "could have been intended to serve as a deterrent to any attack on Israel the Syrians may have been thinking about." But an Israeli disinformation scheme is unlikely in the extreme because the information is terribly damaging to Israel. This sounds like the Mossad trying to cover an egregious security breach.

The American Connection

One thing is certain: the Israelis didn't develop their nuclear weapons by themselves—they had help from key imperialist allies. The French provided

Shapiro who, according to a 1977 exposé in *Rolling Stone* magazine, was supplying Israel with uranium; President Johnson, however, ordered an official cover-up.

Last year reports surfaced that Israel had purchased 800 nuclear bomb triggers from an American firm; U.S. officials had not asked to inspect the sites where these krytrons were in use since "such a request could be construed by the Israelis as an affront to their national sovereignty" (*New York Times*, 16 May 1985). And this past week it was revealed that Department of Energy records document a 1963 shipment to Israel of four metric tons of heavy water—a key ingredient in running the nuclear reactor at Dimona. (NATO ally Norway supplied another

"There are a hundred targets in the Arab world, the destruction of which will change the face of the area to the extent of not being recognized..."

—Ha'aretz, 14 November 1980

And Israel won't suffer from the fallout! Yet even in this crazed scenario, what are the other hundred nukes for? A writer in the Histadrut "union" newspaper last year vituperated:

"The Soviet regime is the principal source of international terrorism... Syria is the root of terrorism in the Middle East, especially against the State of Israel. The western world in general and Israel in particular must cut off the head of this cancer, if necessary by force."

—Davar, 1 July 1985

War with Syria is openly projected in the Israeli establishment. And the nuclear delivery systems are in place. The "nuclear capable" Jericho-2 surface-to-surface missiles, with a range of 700 kilometers (about 435 miles), have reportedly been deployed in the Negev and on the occupied Golan Heights overlooking Syria. Israeli Kfir and F-4 Phantom fighter planes can also reportedly deliver nuclear bombs. But what if it's no "six-day war"? If worse comes to worst, it looks like the Zionist generals may be preparing to attack the Soviet Union, and let the Americans pay the price. This may be crazy, but crazy is what they are.

Target Russia?

At first glance, the Soviet Union may appear to be beyond the reach of the Israelis. The delivery of a large number of nuclear bombs onto Soviet territory would require long-range planes or missiles. One should note, however, that the Israelis did manage to send up to eight F-15s on a 1,500-mile bombing run on Tunis in October 1985, apparently by a complicated midair refueling procedure (with the likely connivance of the U.S. Sixth Fleet). Curiously, the Lavi fighter-bomber now being developed by Israel with about one billion dollars of American money could fill the bill. The plane incorporates Israel's "unique battle experience and the latest electronic gadgetry to help elude a new generation" of Soviet surface-to-air missiles (*Washington Post*, 6 August).

Most striking is the combat radius of the plane: 1,150 nautical miles "for air-to-ground missions" (*Aviation Week*, 28 July). This reaches far beyond the Arab states. It is, in fact, more than enough to reach Soviet Black Sea fleet headquarters at Sevastopol, and go as far as the Ukraine. With refueling, they could hit Moscow too. Two prototypes of the Lavi now are being tested, and Israel plans to begin production of 300 planes in 1990. Its high cost (\$1.7 billion, mostly American money and technology) indicates that the Reaganites clearly have a big stake in this American plane. And with the *Sunday Times* exposé, we have to ask: are the Israeli bombs a U.S. reserve arsenal for a "lightning war" (*Blitzkrieg*) on the Soviet Union?

This also adds a more sinister dimension to Israel's campaign to "Free Soviet Jewry." For years, they've sought to milk Russia of some of its most highly trained technical personnel (10,000 engineers, 3,800 doctors and dentists, 7,000 students and 1,200 scientists from 1971 to 1984). The USSR is the last repository of Jews whom Israel could



Israelis target Russia: new Lavi fighter-bomber could nuke Soviet Black Sea fleet headquarters at Sevastopol. With refueling, they could reach Moscow.

the initial nuclear infrastructure, and then the U.S. came in, with secret help from the West Germans. In 1979, according to CBS News, Israel tested a nuclear bomb in the South Atlantic "with help and cooperation of the South African government" (quoted in Israel Shahak, *Israel's Global Role* (1982)). In the mid-60s the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission discovered several hundred pounds of enriched uranium missing from the inventory of a Pennsylvania company headed by one Zalman

20 tons.) American complicity clearly goes way back.

To be sure, the Zionists' local ambitions sometimes clash with U.S. strategic interests. In the first days of the 1973 October war, when it looked like Israel might actually suffer a defeat by Arab armies, "Israel's Jericho surface-to-surface missiles were armed with nuclear warheads in a frantic three days of activity centered around Dimona" (Colonel William V. Kennedy, *Intelligence Warfare* [1983]). The Kremlin reportedly responded by preparing to send nuclear warheads for Egyptian missiles, whereupon the U.S., at the height of Nixon's Watergate crisis, put its strategic forces on red alert.

So what would the Zionists do with 200 nuclear bombs? Israel Shahak, the courageous Israeli civil libertarian, has translated the following hair-raising musings of Shlomo Aharonson, a prominent supporter of "liberal" Zionist Ezer Weizman (the former Israeli air force chief and then war minister in the Likud government):

"A sufficient amount of atom bombs... can hit hard all the Arab capitals, and tear down the Aswan Dam. Another amount can hit other cities and oil installations. Thermonuclear bombs (H-bombs) can destroy territorial aims, including concentrations of Palestinians in Lebanon....

Spartacist Forums

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SAN FRANCISCO

Was El Al Bomb a Mossad Plot?

While the "Teherangate" affair was blowing White House credibility to kingdom come, another bombshell exploded when French prime minister Jacques Chirac was quoted, in an interview reported in Sun Myung Moon's *Washington Times*, saying he understood from top German officials that the El Al bomb plot in London last April may have been a Mossad job, orchestrated by the Israeli spy agency from start to finish. For the last several years, Reagan's *shlick* in the imperialists' anti-Soviet "state-supported terrorism" campaign has been Libya-bashing, leading to the Americans' March air raid on Libyan SAM sites and Reagan's Tripoli murder raid against Qaddafi in April. Now Britain and Israel are pushing the "Syrian connection," with clearance from Washington. Syria is widely understood to be the target of the Israeli war buildup. But the Chirac revelations cut the ground from under this latest criminal provocation as well.

From the beginning, the case of Nezar Hindawi and the alleged plan to blow up an El Al jet sounded uncannily like a plot straight out of *The Little Drummer Girl*, John Le Carré's pro-Zionist espionage novel. A high-living Palestinian terrorist in London induces a naïve, lonely Irish chambermaid, just two months off the boat from Dublin, to be his unwitting pawn. Supposedly, Hindawi hands his girlfriend, Ann Murphy, whom he's gotten pregnant and promises to marry (in Israel!), a brown suitcase (which during the trial changes its color to blue) containing a plastique bomb, and a detonator (disguised as a pocket calculator) timed to explode somewhere over the Swiss Alps en route to Israel. After she is left holding the bag, as it were, Hindawi runs to the Syrian embassy, meets with the ambassador, no less, and is spirited away to a safe house.

Fearing that the Syrians are going to do him in, he bolts and holes up in a London hotel where he is conveniently arrested by Scotland Yard, who it turns out had been trailing him for almost two months. Meanwhile, his brother, Ahmed Hazi, is implicated by West Berlin police in the March bombing of an obscure German-Arab friendship association. (For a while they tried to link Hazi to the April 5 bombing of La Belle disco, the West Berlin club frequented by black American GIs and Turkish workers, which was the pretext for Reagan's terror-bombing of Libya.) Hindawi writes to a cousin in Italy, telling him to "persuade the Syrians to arrange for Britain to release him,



perhaps by kidnapping Britons in Beirut" (*Jerusalem Post* [international edition], 8 November). But the letter is intercepted by Italian police, and the cousin is in custody on charges of involvement in last year's *Achille Lauro* cruise liner hijacking. If you believe this...

Nezar Hindawi was convicted by a London court on October 24 and sentenced to 45 years in prison. Thereupon Margaret Thatcher's government announced it was breaking off relations with Syria, and called on Britain's allies to back her up—based on the supposedly conclusive evidence of Syrian involvement (which was not presented at the trial). Washington withdrew its ambassador from Damascus and announced empty "sanctions," such as a ban on ticket sales for Syrian airlines, which don't fly to the U.S. anyway. After some arm-twisting, the Common Market countries fell into line as well. Greece dissented, however, comparing the anti-Syrian campaign to the anti-Soviet propaganda barrage over the shooting down of the South Korean airliner which overflowed key Soviet military installations in September 1983. The Greek stand against sanctions will be proved right, said the deputy foreign minister, just as the KAL 007 "was proved to have been conducting espionage" (*New York Times*, 16 November).

In the midst of all this came the Chirac revelations. Paris first tried to deny the report, disputing the "interpretation" given to the French prime minister's remarks. But after the *Washington Times* (10 November) published the full transcript of the pithy interview, Chirac conceded its accuracy. No wonder Hôtel Matignon, the prime

minister's office, was embarrassed. This is how the imperialists talk *entre nous*. On the El Al plot, Chirac had told the paper's editor in chief Arnaud de Borchgrave:

"But let's take the Syrian affair. I spoke to both [West German Chancellor Helmut] Kohl and [Foreign Minister] Hans-Dietrich Genscher about it. I don't go as far as they do, but their thesis is that the [Nizar] Hindawi plot was a provocation designed to embarrass Syria and destabilize the Assad regime. Who was behind it? Probably people connected with the Israeli Mossad in conjunction with certain Syrian elements close to Assad who seek his overthrow. Things of this nature can be infinitely complex."

When de Borchgrave claimed that British intelligence (who "are pretty good with electronic surveillance") knew of a meeting between Hindawi and the Syrian ambassador, Chirac replied: "Nothing is easier than to fake that kind of evidence without government leaders knowing about the real plot." He added that "I am always suspicious of this sort of affair, especially when it fits into a certain policy. First it was Libya, and now it's Syria..."

This was already enough to set Washington on its ear, but the trenchant critique of Reagan's Near East policies by the right-wing French prime minister was too much even to report. When de Borchgrave claimed that the U.S. and even French intelligence had demonstrated the existence of an "international terror network...linked to Eastern secret services," Chirac dismissed the "Soviet connection" out of hand: "Your services and our own are worthless. Moreover, they are all penetrated.... They've always been penetrated." Asked his opinion about the April 14 U.S. air

strike against Libya, Chirac replied, "Totally, completely counterproductive.... the Americans with their farcical air raid merely retarded the destabilization of Qaddafi's regime." "You are saying the U.S. does not have the will to act," commented de Borchgrave. "That is self-evident," Chirac responded.

Replying to a barb from de Borchgrave, Chirac said that France supported Washington in Central America, because "this region was of vital interest to the U.S.," but complained the Americans were not reciprocating in Africa, where they tried to muscle in on French operations in Chad. Appealing for "prudence" in the Near East in order to "prevent the stampede of fundamentalism throughout the region," he said, "the West must...not allow itself to be deflected by a few bombs going off in the streets of their capitals".

"But Britain continues to sell arms to Iran, and we now hear the U.S. does too, and they don't even bother to conceal what they are doing. So much for Western solidarity.... Britain wants us all to sever relations with Syria because of some obscure bomb plot that misfired. Do they really think that people will then say, 'Bravo, they've got balls'?"

In the subsequent brouhaha, British right-wing Labourite Denis Healey asked why this should come out in a Moonie newspaper. Arnaud de Borchgrave, you see, is a long-time journalistic operative "witting" in the ways of U.S. intelligence agencies. Chirac clearly intended the published article based on an off-the-record interview to reflect his general views, while his more bluntly put goodies would be passed on directly to the White House. But the *Washington Times* editor had his own ax to grind, in particular getting back at the French for their refusal to allow Britain-based U.S. F-111s to take the direct route for their Libya strike.

The Western allies are still united on "the basics," namely the drive to "roll back Communism" and ultimately reconquer the Soviet-bloc bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states for capitalism. But here we have the interimperialist contradictions exposed to the light of day—with the United States desperately struggling to recover hegemony after its resounding defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese peasants and workers a decade ago, while France, still smarting over Dien Bien Phu and the battle of Algiers, is trying to rebuild a sphere of influence in the Levant. As for the supposed Syrian plot, we find, buried in the middle of a London *Times* (11 November) article on Chirac's interview, the laconic remark: "The father of Nezar Hindawi jailed in Britain for trying to blow up an El Al airliner, was sentenced to death in his absence by Jordan for spying for Israel...." ■

conceivably drag to the "promised land," especially since New York Jews long ago discovered what a hellhole/deathtrap Israel is and limit their support to dollars for Israel Bonds. (Soviet Jews who get conned into leaving Russia for Israel quickly decide to move on to New York, and some of the latter are now moving back to the Soviet Union, where they can at least get a job and free medical care.) Is Israel now trying to get all the Jews out before an anti-Soviet holocaust is unleashed?

The legacy of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, even following the bureaucratic Stalinist degeneration, is the prime target of the Western imperialists. The Zionists have sought to make themselves the instrument of one imperialism after another, from the British Balfour Declaration to Shamir's offer to Hitler to build a fascist "New Order" in Palestine to the Israeli rulers' chosen role as point men for the anti-Soviet war drive. In fact it was the Israelis who first invented the slander about the Soviet Union as the "source" of all "terrorism," a theme which became the hallmark of

the Reagan administration.

The Israelis have taken on the dirty work of providing arms and training for Reagan's anti-Soviet terrorist scum around the world, from the Somozaist "contras" in Nicaragua to the apartheid racists of South Africa. And Israel has become well integrated into Reagan's nuclear first-strike plans: the two countries recently conducted joint military maneuvers and Israel has agreed to allow "pre-positioning" of U.S. military supplies on its soil, as well as cooperating in Reagan's "Star Wars" space weapons scheme. As one Israeli observer perceptively noted:

"The Americans pay us because they want to keep a plane-carrier with 4 million inhabitants in [a] place with extraordinary strategic value, near to the USSR, near to East Europe, near to the oil fields."

—P. Sever in *Al Hamishmar*, 29 April

The Zionists are dangerous madmen who are fully capable of pushing the button. But their big brothers in Washington are also war crazy. We don't know how many nuclear weapons

the Israelis have, but it's an open secret that the U.S. has over 25,000 ready to hit the Soviet bloc. And while Reagan hallucinates about "Star Wars," it's official U.S. policy to "decapitate" the

Soviet leadership and "prevail" in a "limited nuclear exchange." It will take world proletarian revolution to thwart the plans of these nuclear nuts for a thermonuclear Apocalypse Now. ■

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Gonzo Diplomacy...

(continued from page 1)

the Reykjavik summit, even put a good face on loss of the Senate to the Democrats, he bragged. But not four times in a row. Reagan finally went on TV to tell the story of the Iranian guns-for-hostages deals, to no avail: 14 percent of the American people believed him. Most thought the president was suffering from foot-in-mouth disease.

It must have been quite a scene in Teheran last spring. Disguised as a flight crew, the party carried a cake in the shape of a key, to symbolize the reopening of Iran-U.S. relations. There was also a pair of Colt pistols, and a Bible reportedly with an inscription by Ronald Reagan himself about the affinity of different religions. Plus they brought along a couple planes with military equipment as sweeteners. The Bible was probably not a big hit with the ayatollah; they might as well have brought a candied ham or a bottle of scotch. Khomeini reportedly told Iranian "parliament" leader Hojatolislam Rafsanjani not to receive McFarlane's message, and the crew were kept locked up in their hotel room for five days (while their phone calls to Reagan were taped). As for the cake, according to

there's this McFarlane megalomaniac acting like he's Henry the K, complaining when the Iranians wouldn't meet with them: "You are nuts. We have come to solve your problems, but this is how you treat us. If I went to Russia to buy furs, Gorbachev would come to see me three times a day." (Oh, yeah? Try that kind of stunt in Moscow and see what happens.)

Even the nutty ayatollahs running Iran know they're dealing with some far-out people of the lunar persuasion in Washington. So they quickly chuck out McF & Co. and leak the story before even stranger things start happening to their country—bombings, invasions, terror strikes in the name of "fighting terrorism." Sure, the U.S.' 1980 embassy hostage "rescue" mission got stuck in the desert with sand up their turbines; the Delta Force was so panicked they left their dead on the ground. But an imperialist bully, defeated in Vietnam and made a laughing stock over Iran, is dangerous indeed. They struck mercilessly at tiny Grenada and bombed Qaddafi's Libya while gearing up to do a murderous job on Sandinista Nicaragua. And where was the ubiquitous Col. Oliver C. ("Now You See Him, Now You Don't") North of overt covert contra war fame? In 1980 he was just over the border in Turkey; this time he ran the show from Cyprus.

Back in Washington, White House



Speaker of Iranian parliament Rafsanjani (left), and carnage of Iran-Iraq war.



Jordan/Time

Stupido" (New York Times, 15 November). So much for "Operation Staunch."

"Teherangate" has provided the Democrats with an excellent opportunity to out-Reagan Reagan. Maybe they figure they could ride back into office in '88 by mimicking Reagan's "stand tall" rhetoric against Carter. (The media are willing to do their part, rerunning clips of Reagan vowing never to negotiate with "terrorists.") Outgoing Democratic House Speaker Tip O'Neill on CNN News (14 November) pointed to the sinister pattern of the Reagan administration: "I just see so many incidences in the past. When [KAL Flight] 007 went down that's the day we met and decided to send our Marines to Beirut. When the 241 Marines were killed, three days later get it off the front page and go into Grenada. At Iceland, it's a disaster and two hours later, public relations: 'why it's been a success'."

No matter what the immediate objectives of Reagan's NSC operations in Iran, behind the arms shipments and farcical "secret diplomacy" is the urgent desire to secure strategic anti-Soviet interests in the region. The Soviet Union borders Iran to the north, Afghanistan to the east. As the Navy Times (17 November) noted:

"Under current doctrine, the United States is committed to defend the Persian Gulf—meaning Iran—with any means against any threat from outside the area, which means the Soviet Union.... If Iran were prepared to abandon its reflexive hostility to the United States, however, the U.S. strategic task would be greatly simplified.... The Soviet Union would know that it would not be able to count on

continued hostility between Iran and the United States—natural strategic allies who are now deeply at odds."

And the U.S.' privileged partner in the Near East, Zionist Israel, has maintained close ties with Iran both under the CIA-installed shah and the Shi'ite fundamentalist ayatollahs. As far as they're concerned, although Islamic, Persian Iran is an enemy of the Arabs, and therefore a natural friend of Israel. They love the bloody Iran-Iraq war (more than a million dead so far) which is doing more to tie down their enemies than the shah ever did.

In their bizarre fashion, the Reaganites were trying to mend anti-Soviet fences in the region. It's not so easy given the hodgepodge of competing nationalisms. By botching it so ineptly, they've led even conservative pundits and politicians to wonder if it's bedtime for Bonzo. But the White House spinmeisters aren't giving in: after getting shellacked at the polls, they put the president up there again to say the "Reagan revolution" would continue—just no more Mr. Nice Guy. For the working class, the administration's temporary diplomatic setback won't amount to much, and the Democrats in power would be more of the same: remember Billy Carter and Qaddafi? The Iran follies are low comedy, but when the Great Communicator "joked" about the bombing of Russia beginning in five minutes, he wasn't kidding. It's only by the working class organizing and taking state power away from the nuclear-armed madmen in Washington that we'll get to have the last laugh. ■

White House/Washington Post



Abbas/Gamma

Delta Force debacle, Iran 1980: Bungled U.S. "rescue mission" abandoned its dead in the desert.

Rafsanjani the airport guards were hungry and ate it.

This One Takes the Cake

Who will ever know the fierce debates within the National Security Council over what kind of cake would smooth relations with the ayatollahs? Have they already sold the royalties to Hollywood? We do know the Iranians were oddly unamused. Consider their plight: some very dubious types show up with phony IDs, plane loads of guns, bags of weird goodies, probably making jokes about the good old days of the shah. You run a check, and it turns out they're heavy-duty White House operatives. Plus

spokesman Larry Speakes (who learned something about credibility gaps while serving as press aide to Nixon's Watergate attorney James St. Clair) was trying to get the press and Congress to back off. But the story is out. Meanwhile, the Danish seamen's union has provided information about the flow of U.S. arms to Iran, out of understandable concern over their members' safety in the midst of the war with Iraq. Columnist Russell Baker said he'd planned to start his piece with the remark, "In President Carter's time the Ayatollah Khomeini called the United States 'The Great Satan.' After dealing with President Reagan he will call it 'El

WHITE HOUSE SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION:

Col. Oliver North (top photo, second from right) with Reagan and contra leaders at White House (Washington Post, 14 August 1985).

Photo (bottom) given to New York Post by White House disappears North.



White House/NY Post



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NEW YORK CITY

AFL-CIO Tops Push Anti-Japan Crusade

Workers: Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!

When they are not giving back their members' wages and benefits, this country's union tops are busy whipping up chauvinist hostility against the Japanese, whom they scapegoat for the wretched state of American capitalism. Taking time off from setting up sweetheart deals with contractors, the AFL-CIO building trades honchos picketed the Japanese embassy in Washington a few days ago, demanding the hiring of more unionized labor for a Toyota plant being built in Kentucky. They're considering another such demonstration in Lexington, Kentucky on Pearl Harbor Day, December 7. We wouldn't be surprised if they picked the anniversary of the A-bombing of Hiroshima next.

Anti-Japanese protectionism and

other measures are the only "answer" of the sellout labor bureaucracy to givehack contracts, union-busting, speedup, mass layoffs, plant closings and the rampant deindustrialization of America. Economic warfare against Japan is the "friend of labor" Democratic Party politicians' "answer" to Reaganomics. Walter (Big Loser) Mondale carried on at an electrical workers' convention a couple of years ago:

"We have got to get tough—and I mean *really* tough!—with nations that use our markets but deny us their markets! And I'll tell you today that if you try to sell an American car in Japan, you better have the United States Army with you when they land on the docks!"

No wonder a leading Japanese con-

Toyoto-bashing publicity stunt by Indiana steel union, 1982.



servative politician, who visited the U.S. a few years back, said the climate of opinion here reminded him of the years just before World War II.

Japan was driven into that war by protectionist barriers raised against its exports by the Western powers during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The attack on Pearl Harbor was a direct response to the American, British and Dutch embargo of oil shipments to Japan without which its economy could not survive. U.S. imperialism thus provoked Japan into war and then ended it with one of

the most cold-blooded atrocities in modern times: dropping the first nuclear weapons on the defenseless civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Today once again, capitalist decay and the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracies are driving American and Japanese workers against one another. The answer to Pearl Harbor and Hiroshima is for the American and Japanese workers to unite and wage *class war* against their own exploiters on Wall Street and in Tokyo, from the Fortune 500 to the *zaibatsu*.

GM Shutdown...

(continued from page 12)

the impending plant closings that both company and union officials *knew* were coming.

The UAW philosophy these days is "what's good for GM, auto workers better eat." But there can be no partnership between labor and capital. Kissing the company's ass at home and promoting trade war abroad has meant turning over billions in concessions to the bosses. The "voluntary" quotas imposed on foreign car makers allowed the companies to jack up prices and make profits hand over fist. The jobs of auto workers have not been saved: since 1978 some 215,000 or 30 percent of the jobs in the industry have gone down the tubes. The American capitalists will not rebuild industry: last December GM used its massive profits to buy out Hughes Aircraft instead.

The concessions racket was ushered in in a big way in 1979, when Chrysler went bankrupt. Then Doug Fraser and

UAW head Owen Bieber (right) sells out auto workers in 1984 pact with GM chairman Roger Smith.



black Detroit could have halted the union-busting drive that burgeoned two years later when Reagan busted the PATCO air traffic controllers.

The UAW's sole "success" story since then has been the joint GM-Toyota New United Motor Manufacturing, Inc. (NUMMI) plant in Fremont, California. With import quotas in force, Japanese and now Korean auto makers have increasingly chosen to open up plants here, often with no union or with virtually company unions, like the UAW at NUMMI. The old GM plant here was reopened with half the workforce hired without regard to union seniority, the grievance system essentially destroyed, and job classifications reduced to four. Nor is NUMMI heavily automated—it's old-fashioned speedup, turning up the screws to increase the rate of exploitation. The American bosses know a good thing when they see it, and the new GM Saturn plant in Tennessee will model its "labor relations" on NUMMI. The rotten Saturn deal was accepted by the UAW tops before workers were even hired!

Recently Victor Reuther, brother of long-time UAW chief Walter, surfaced as a spokesman for opponents to the Saturn deal. But Victor Reuther and the house "dissidents" in the UAW accept the same pro-capitalist and anti-foreign-worker program as Bieber & Co. In exchange for an annual 3 percent wage increase, the Reuther bureaucracy (which trained the Biebers and Ephlins) enforced company discipline on the shop floor and shackled the union to the state. The UAW was one of the first unions to register under the anti-labor Taft-Hartley law. Victor Reuther was a self-confessed bag man for the CIA, whose work centered on purging left-wingers in unions abroad, thereby helping pro-boss union misleaders gain ascendancy. Now the chickens have

come home to roost: the 3 percent is long gone, American auto workers have taken massive cuts, while UAW leaders hypocritically squawk that they are undercut by "company unions" abroad.

For Militant International Solidarity!

In explaining the militant stand of the South African auto workers striking GM, NAAWU leader Fred Sauls noted: "We can't just stand back and let them leave the country with all the gold and diamonds and profits they've made here" (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 November). This statement applies equally to the United States. The big corporations have looted basic industries, closing

dozens of plants and throwing hundreds of thousands of workers on the scrapheap, in order to make a bigger buck elsewhere. U.S. Steel has become USX, while GM/Hughes has become one of the prime Star Wars defense contractors. The only answer is for the workers to "divest" the bosses in a socialist revolution that will expropriate the means of production and achieve an *international* planned economy.

South African unionists have shown the way forward for real international solidarity: in February 3M workers there struck in solidarity with locked-out 3M workers in Freehold, New Jersey. A class-struggle leadership in the UAW would shut down the entire GM chain with militant strike action and plant occupations in solidarity with the courageous South African auto workers and in defense of the jobs of American workers. Such a leadership would oppose import quotas designed to rob Japanese and Korean workers of their jobs, and would appeal to these workers for their support by not boosting exports during a strike. But such a perspective requires a militant, internationalist leadership, not the labor lieutenants of capital who tie the workers to the bosses, in the U.S. as well as Japan and Korea. An international Trotskyist party must be forged, with deep roots in the trade unions, that will unify the struggles of workers around the world and fight for final victory over the parasitic system of capitalist exploitation. ■



Spartacist banner at UAW protest at GM headquarters, Detroit 1979.

Lee Iacocca, in concert with Democratic president Carter, bailed out Chrysler at the expense of half the company's workforce. UAW head Doug Fraser got his payoff by becoming a member of Chrysler's board so that he could vote on demanding more billions in givebacks from the union! (Striking South African workers, who are asking for a member on the company board, should learn from the U.S. experience.) At that time the Spartacist League called for sit-down strikes to seize Chrysler's assets. A wave of plant occupations centered in

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WORKERS VANGUARD

South Africa: Mass Firing of Auto Strikers



Pontiac workers leave plant after GM closings announced (left). Striking South African workers at GM Port Elizabeth plant confront company cop (right).

General Motors Shutdown to Ax 120,000 Jobs in U.S.

NOVEMBER 17—General Motors Corporation called in South Africa's apartheid police on November 7 to break up plant occupations in Port Elizabeth by militant auto workers there. The workers were striking in response to GM's announcement that it was "divesting" its local operation, leaving workers with no guarantee of union protection or any jobs at all. Simultaneously the largest American manufacturer announced a sweeping program for domestic disinvestment: it will shut nine automotive assembly and stamping plants outright and partially close two more, terminating 29,000 workers in Michigan, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois. The massive cutbacks in GM's American operations, the most sweeping in its 78-year history, will result in an anticipated 120,000 layoffs, including workers in related industries.

In South Africa members of the National Automotive and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU) and the Motor Assembly and Component Workers occupied GM's Kempston Road and Aloes plants when the company announced it was selling out to a consortium consisting of its former white managers. In an exceptional display of class solidarity cutting across racial lines, white workers initially downed tools along with black workers (*Weekly Mail*, 31 October-6 November). NAAWU demanded severance pay and pension payments, seeking compensation for lost job security and seniority rights. The bosses' answer was to call out riot cops and troops to evict the workers. Some 567 militants were fired; in the face of continued strike action, GM has announced that it will hire scabs and resume production "with or without the unions." And on November 17, cops viciously attacked the Port Elizabeth strikers with snarling dogs and whips.

GM's brutal treatment of its South African unions exposes the liberal lie that divestment schemes and pressure from American corporations will liberate the black masses from apartheid slavery. From South Africa to America, GM attacks unions and lays off workers in pursuit of one and only one goal: higher profits. The U.S. plant closings will massively devastate an already industrially devastated area. The closing of the Fleetwood/Clark assembly and Conner stamping plants will leave only two auto plants within the city limits of black Detroit. Flint, Michigan will be even harder hit when approximately 8,000 workers pick up their pink slips as GM closes two facilities including the body plant that was the site of the famous six-week sit-down strike of 1937 that established the United Auto Workers (UAW).

Also slated for the unemployment lines are over 6,000 workers in Norwood

and Hamilton, Ohio along with thousands more at St. Louis, Willow Springs, Illinois and Pontiac, Michigan. And GM chairman Roger Smith said to look for more "consolidations" (plant closings). Already, 1,500 additional Buick workers in Flint have been laid off. Flint UAW officials lamented that while their people will be losing everything, "Roger Smith has dollar signs in his eyes" (*Detroit Free Press*, 7 November).

If ever a situation cried out for militant, joint labor action from Port Elizabeth to Detroit to shut down a bloodsucking capitalist giant and seize the plants, this is it. The UAW tops in "Sacrifice House" predictably acted otherwise: union vice president for GM Donald Ephlin would only "regret this decision," and avoided any criticism of GM. Instead the union called on the Democratic-controlled Congress to bail out the bosses by passing chauvinist

protectionist legislation limiting foreign car imports. The UAW misleaders expressed gratitude at having been given "early notice" of the layoffs. "Both Mr. Ephlin and company officials said the plant closings had been expected for several years...."

In other words, UAW officials from International president Owen Bieber on down *lied* when they sold the rotten contract with GM two years ago, claiming that it guaranteed job security. One labor economist noted: "Often, you find that clauses written into contracts protecting job security seem to go by the wayside when it comes to company survival or corporate profits, and that seems to be the case here" (*New York Times*, 7 November). The "job protection" negotiated by the UAW was certainly designed to ensure that there would be no incursion on company profits. It omitted "only" one eventuality:

continued on page 11



International labor solidarity: militant black workers at Johannesburg 3M demonstrate in support of New Jersey 3M workers fighting plant closure.

15 November 1986

To: National Automotive and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU)
102 Lotus Building, Cottrell St.
Port Elizabeth, S.A. 6001

Motor Assembly Components Workers Union
P.O. Box 11136
Port Elizabeth, S.A. 6000

Victory to your resolute strike defending jobs and unions against GM and in defiance of police state. At same time GM chops 30,000 jobs in U.S. International solidarity from American workers imperative. Smash apartheid. Wealth of South Africa belongs to its toilers.

Partisan Defense Committee