

"Peace" Hoax Threatens Nicaraguan Masses

Smash the Contras— Complete the Revolution!



Gentile/Picture Group



Barricada

Crack Sandinista troops disembark from Soviet-made helicopter as they swing into action against Reagan's contra mercenaries. Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs demand vengeance for their sons who fell fighting for the revolution.

The "peace plan" adopted by the five Central American presidents last month is an attempt to reverse by negotiations the spread of revolution. They want to achieve at the bargaining table what Reagan's contra mercenaries and the

U.S.-financed Salvadoran army have failed to accomplish on the battlefield. In return for accepting the Sandinista regime, the "Arias plan" would impose international controls to guarantee the survival of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie.

It would prop up Duarte's death squad "democracy" in El Salvador by banning aid to leftist insurgents. The signing of this counterrevolutionary accord by Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega is a betrayal. But contra godfather Ron-

ald Reagan is doing his best to screw up the deal. And ultimately, the fate of the Central American revolution will be decided by guns, not a piece of paper.

According to the "procedure" signed *continued on page 14*

Black Miners Strike Showed Power of Labor

South Africa: Forge a Bolshevik Party!

They work deep underground in black pits where the temperature reaches 110 degrees. Every year hundreds are killed and thousands are maimed. They live in male-only, prison-like barracks forcibly separated from their wives and children eleven months of the year. The gold they dig out of the ground supports the most hideously racist state on earth.

But for almost three weeks the gold stopped flowing from the Witwatersrand to the banks of Wall Street, London and Frankfurt. The apartheid state was hit with the biggest, costliest strike in South African history as over 300,000 black gold and coal miners walked out. Every day the Randlords lost some \$8

million. This was not just a strike, it was a war. A raw, savage class war in the racist hell of South Africa.

In the aftermath of this hard-fought strike, the bloodsucking apartheid capitalists were in such a hurry to start up gold production that they plunged 89 miners into a fiery death as an explosion rocked the No. 10 shaft at St. Helena, about 160 miles south of Johannesburg. The mine is owned by the General Mining Corp. (Gencor) who also own the Kinross mine where last September 177 black miners died in the world's worst gold mining disaster.

The strike ended in a standoff. The union accepted the same terms it had *continued on page 12*



Independent

Militant black South African miners demonstrate at headquarters of mine bosses in Johannesburg.

PC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Remember Sacco and Vanzetti!

August 23 marked 60 years since the bloodthirsty capitalist state executed anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Targeted by the "Justice" Department as "radicals to be watched," Sacco and Vanzetti were framed up as part of the red scare and anti-immigrant hysteria of the 1920s. Led by the International Labor Defense (ILD) and International Red Aid, protests by millions of workers, from Buenos Aires to Berlin, stayed the executioner's hand for six years. Following this legalized murder ILD secretary James P. Cannon expressed what six decades later remains an appropriate means of commemorating these class-war martyrs:

"The electric flames that consumed the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti illuminated for tens of thousands of workers, in all its stark brutality, the essential nature of capitalist justice in America."

The imprisonment, torture and murder of workers is seen more clearly now as part of an organized system of class persecution.

"Against this system—the system of labor frame-ups—we must deliver our heaviest blows. The defense of individual workers, the material support of their families and our general work of defense agitation must be carried on as a part of the fight to build a wall of labor defense against the frame-up system."

—"A Living Monument to Sacco and Vanzetti,"
Labor Defender, October 1927

In the tradition of the early ILD, the Partisan Defense Committee now sends monthly stipends to 21 class-war prisoners on three continents. Former Black Panther Geronimo Pratt and Ramona Africa, the sole survivor of the 13 May 1985 police bombing of Philadelphia MOVE, are two of these imprisoned victims of racist capitalist "justice." Another stipend recipient is MOVE supporter



no credit
Bartolomeo Vanzetti (left) and Nicola Sacco (right) on their way to trial.

Mumia Abu-Jamal, former Black Panther and president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. Framed on charges of killing a cop, Mumia has been in the living hell of death row while the Reagan/Rehnquist Supreme Court opens the floodgate of Jim Crow executions.

We have also added as stipend recipients MOVE members Merle Austin Africa, framed up on charges of killing a cop, and Alberta Wicker Africa and Susan Leon Africa, jailed on charges stemming from an earlier cop assault on a MOVE home. We seek to sear the memory of Sacco and Vanzetti and the MOVE martyrs into the consciousness of the working class as part of laying the foundation for the mass organization of class-struggle defense. Join our struggle—Remember Sacco and Vanzetti! Abolish the death penalty! Free all MOVE prisoners!

For nearly three weeks racist South Africa was rocked by striking gold and coal miners. Despite mass firings, vicious attacks and more than 300 arrests the courageous miners stood fast against their apartheid bosses and racist cops. We sent a contribution of \$100 to the strike support fund and sent the following telegram of support:

"Victory to your resolute strike in defiance of apartheid police state. International working-class solidarity is imperative. Your courageous struggle is inspiration to workers throughout the world. Black labor has power to smash racist apartheid capitalism. Wealth of South Africa belongs to its toilers.
"Demand immediate release of all arrested miners along with metal and allied workers union leader Moses

Mayekiso and all victims of bloody apartheid terror."

Donations can be sent to: South Africa Solidarity Strike Fund, United Mineworkers, 900 15th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.

In a series of dawn raids on 30 August 1985, some 250 FBI agents backed up by local police in San Juan, Puerto Rico rounded up 13 pro-independence activists. Along with three others subsequently arrested, the *independentistas* have been charged with a broad conspiracy to commit robbery in Hartford, Connecticut. Most were held without bail for 16 months. Enrique Segarra Palmer and Filiberto Ojeda Rios remain behind bars. The FBI raids, massive wiretaps, RICO conspiracy laws and preventive detention of the *independentistas* were used to try out Meese's arsenal for criminalizing political opposition and suppressing the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence. Puerto Rican newspapers have recently revealed that the island's colonial overseers are maintaining intelligence files on over 19,000 pro-independence activists. The PDC sent a telegram of solidarity to the August 30 defense rally in Hartford noting, "Your defense is vital to all workers, oppressed and enemies of colonialism. PDC demands immediate release of Enrique Segarra Palmer and Filiberto Ojeda Rios. Drop all charges against Puerto Rico/Hartford 16."

As prime targets of New York's racist mayor Ed Koch's local version of the FBI's COINTEL program of the '60s to "neutralize" black leaders, the lives of the New York Eight are in danger. In 1985, a federal jury rejected the government's "terrorist conspiracy" frame-up attempt against the eight after they were rounded up and held in South Africa-style "preventive detention." On July 16 two members of the eight, Robert Taylor and Coltrane Chimurenga, were arrested in upstate New York. We sent telegrams to the Goshen, New York district attorney and United States Attorney protesting the arrests and demanding that all charges be dropped. Send your protests to: District Attorney, 265 Main Street, Goshen, NY 10294 and United States Attorney, 101 East Coast Road, White Plains, NY 10601

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. We are pleased to announce we now have 75 sustaining contributors. Become one yourself. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$7.50 to Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■



TROTSKY

The Communist Press

The Organization Resolution passed at the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921 codified the experience of building the Bolshevik Party which led the Russian Revolution. The resolution aimed at training and transforming the fledgling Communist parties of the West. Regarding distribution and use of the party press, it stated:



LENIN

A number of practical measures are required to turn the paper into such a real combat organization and a strong, vital working collective of communists....

Sales and subscription work for our newspaper must be systematized on a formal basis. First, use must be made of every situation in which the workers go into more rapid motion, and in which political or social life is further inflamed by any political and economic events. Thus, after every major strike situation or lockout where the paper has openly and energetically represented the interests of the struggling workers, as soon as the strike has ended a sales and subscription drive should be organized to approach each individual among the strikers. The communist plant and trade-union fractions within the trades involved in the strike movement must not only propagandize for the newspaper with lists and subscription blanks in their own areas of activity; but, if they possibly can, they must also obtain lists of addresses of workers who took part in the struggle, so that special working groups for the press can conduct energetic house-to-house agitation....

The social-democratic and independent-socialist press must be overcome through a continuous offensive: without getting lost in petty factional polemics, we must expose their treacherous attitude of concealing class contradictions through a number of examples from daily life. The trade-union and other fractions must strive, through organizational measures, to free the trade unionists and members of other workers organizations from the confusion and paralyzing influence of these social-democratic papers. Both in door-to-door agitation and particularly in the plants, sales and subscription work for our paper must be skillfully and deliberately aimed directly against the press of the social traitors.

—"Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work" (July 1921)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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

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No. 435

4 September 1987

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Kamchatka Provocation: U.S. Missile Ship in Soviet Waters

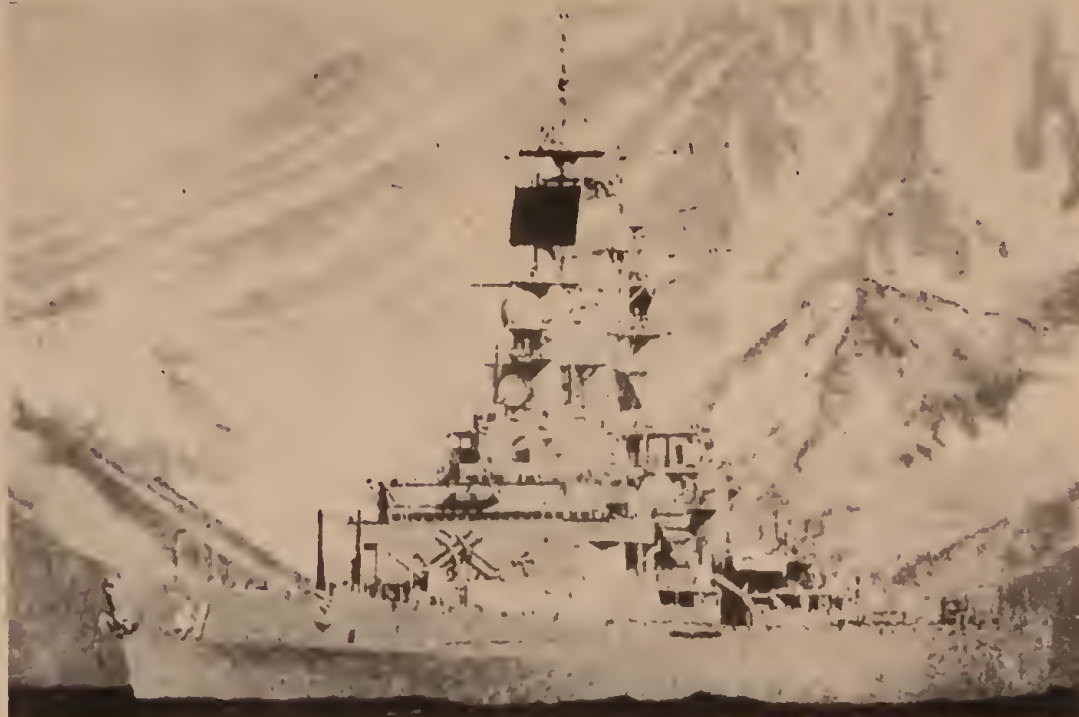
Don't Mess With Russia!

While Reagan assembles the largest war fleet since the Vietnam War for an adventure in the Persian Gulf, an even more ominous American naval provocation has gone unreported in the major media—a practice assault on the Soviet Union. Last month details leaked out about the so-called “exercises” of the U.S. Third Fleet, spearheaded by the nuclear-powered guided missile cruiser *USS Arkansas*, which suddenly turned up in May inside Soviet territorial waters just off Kamchatka Peninsula in the Soviet Far East.

The *Arkansas*, part of a nuclear “task force” centered on the aircraft carrier *Union* (home port Alameda, California), deliberately sailed into the restricted waters of Avacha Bay near the top-secret Soviet naval base at Petropavlovsk. The Soviets “responded in force with planes and ships,” reported the *San Francisco Chronicle* (17 August), and U.S. sailors worried they might be rammed. But the Soviets stopped short of blowing the intruder out of the water, which they had every right to do. Moscow issued an angry public protest on May 21 and Soviet ships dogged the U.S. fleet halfway back to the Aleutians.

While the Soviets mobilized their defensive forces, the *Arkansas* launched a small boat so that a photographer could snap a picture of the ship with the mountains of Kamchatka in the background. The picture was published in the 10 August *Navy Times* with an appropriate caption—“Too Close for Comfort.” In a bit of braggadocio, the ship’s officers had T-shirts made with the same photo. What are they trying to prove—that they could get the world blown up?

Like Ollie North, these war-crazed maniacs are no “loose cannons” but strictly following orders from Washington. Reporting on the Kamchatka provocation, Moscow’s *New Times* (8 June) notes that the American military regularly engages in such “games,” the most popular one dubbed “Chicken of the Sea.” In recent years, U.S. warships have repeatedly rammed and sideswiped Soviet naval vessels. When the *Arkansas* made a port call in Anchorage, Alaska, UPI interviewed some of the



PHAN B.P. Percy/Combat Camera Group Pacific Fleet

THE END OF THE WORLD? U.S. guided missile cruiser *Arkansas* invades Soviet territorial waters off Kamchatka. You come in, you don’t come out.

crew, revealing that a very dangerous confrontation had occurred. One sailor said, “I was scared to death, man,” while one macho type bragged that it was a “real thrill.”

The Pentagon tried to pooh-pooh the Kamchatka incident, and the American media dutifully hushed it up. But imagine what the U.S. reaction would be if a Soviet guided missile ship blithely steamed into Chesapeake Bay off the Atlantic Fleet headquarters at Norfolk! *New Times* reported that the *Arkansas* violated Soviet waters twice, on May 17 and May 21, and concluded correctly that this was no “accident,” it was a deliberate provocation: “the ‘chicken of the sea’ is growing increasingly aggressive.” Rambo Reagan could start World War III this way.

It’s all part of a criminal White House strategy of provocation designed to intimidate the Russians in preparation for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. The policy was brazenly spelled out as the so-called “Forward Strategy,” devised by the Naval War College, in which the much-ballyhooed 600-ship Navy would sail right into the “lair of the Russian bear” at major naval

installations, such as Murmansk on the Kola Peninsula and Vladivostok and Petropavlovsk in the Far East, to sink the Soviet fleet. In other words, a Pearl Harbor-style sneak attack!

In explaining the “maritime strategy” (U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings*, January 1986), Admiral James D. Watkins, former chief of naval operations, boasted that one of the major objectives would be “destroying Soviet ballistic missile submarines” in the first few minutes of a war in order to “alter the nuclear equation” in the U.S.’ favor. Almost half of Russia’s nuclear-powered ballistic missile-firing submarines are reported based at Petropavlovsk—so the *Arkansas* was checking out its intended targets close up.

Last year the U.S. Navy pulled off a similar provocation in the Black Sea. Just before the U.S. bombing raid against Qaddafi’s Libya, the destroyer *Caron* and the guided missile cruiser *Yorktown*, packed with electronic intelligence gear to probe shore-based defense facilities, deliberately penetrated into Soviet waters off the Black Sea Fleet headquarters at Sevastopol. Only the restraints imposed on Soviet defense forces prevented a military clash. Similar U.S. “exercises” have been held near the Soviet Northern Fleet base at Murmansk.

The Kamchatka Peninsula in particular has been the object of repeated provocations. In April 1983, an armada with three U.S. aircraft carrier battle groups comprising 40 ships and 23,000 personnel assembled off the Aleutians. The carrier *Midway* suddenly went into electronic silence, as it would in wartime, and then popped up southeast of Kamchatka, followed by a sudden mock attack by Navy planes from the *Midway* and the *Enterprise* which “violated Soviet borders by overlying the island of Zeleny in the Kurile archipelago” (Seymour Hersh, *The Target Is Destroyed* [1986]).

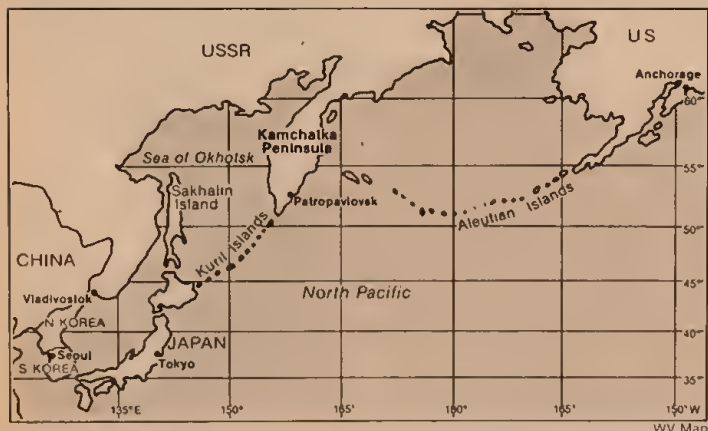
A few months later, on the night of 31 August–1 September 1983, the KA1 007 spy plane made its provocative flight across Kamchatka Peninsula and

Sakhalin island, triggering Soviet defenses along the way as intended by U.S. intelligence agencies monitoring the “errant” flight, before being shot down. More than 200 innocent lives were sacrificed by the Reaganites in pursuit of their anti-Soviet war drive. It was not the first time U.S. intelligence used civilian airlines as cover. UPI (12 August) reported that “administration officials” now admit:

“The United States also has equipped civilian airliners of Middle Eastern allies including Israel, Egypt and ‘possible [sic] Saudi Arabia’ with sophisticated, U.S.-made radio monitoring equipment to intercept communications.”

And the insane anti-Soviet provocations continue. This week, an Aeroflot jetliner coming into New York’s JFK airport was almost hit by a U.S. Air Force F-16 fighter playing “chicken of the air.” According to Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov, the Aeroflot pilot saw the jet “at the same altitude on a head-on course”; the fighter suddenly veered off and passed “at a distance of 50 to 100 yards” (*New York Times*, 28 August). Air traffic controllers say they did not see the military jet on radar, speculating that it didn’t have its electronic transponder switched on. This recalls an incident in January 1980 when air controllers blipped an Aeroflot jet landing at Kennedy off the radar screen, deliberately endangering the lives of Soviet ambassador Dobrynin and all those aboard.

The insanity emanating from the White House is the sign of a ruling class gone mad in its twilight years. Such provocations are Reagan’s answer to Kremlin pipe dreams of “peaceful coexistence.” Today Gorbachev seeks peace through “arms control” agreements with the imperialists. Stalin trusted in his pact with Hitler, only to be brutally awakened by the Nazi invasion on 22 June 1941. The madmen in their bunkers on the Potomac must be stopped by world socialist revolution before they plunge the entire planet into a thermonuclear holocaust. ■



Soviet Far East target of repeated U.S. war provocations. *Arkansas* penetrated major Soviet naval complex at Petropavlovsk. KAL 007 spy plane crossed Kamchatka and Sakhalin in 1983.

SL National Conference Bulletin Discussion:

On Proletarian Political Revolution

We print below a contribution to the discussion of the Spartacist League's national conference document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjunction," adopted as a draft for discussion by the SL/U.S. Political Bureau on June 16. This contribution refers to a section of the document, "The Russian Question and Gorbachev," which was published in WV No. 432 (10 July). To obtain a postpaid copy of the SL draft document, send \$5 to: Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

It seems to me the section of the document on the Russian question could do with three relatively minor refinements centered on the question of political revolution. The first deals with the phrase, "The Soviet army has been reliable in suppressing working-class unrest..." Though true, I think this should be more qualified. I think we can more emphatically assert that sections of the army would go over to the side of an anti-bureaucratic proletarian insurgency in the Soviet Union in the light of the Hungarian experience where, even on a foreign national terrain, there was significant fraternization by Soviet troops once they had determined that this was not the fascist counterrevolution which the Stalinist regime had told them it was. Thus Bill Lomax in *Hungary 1956* describes how:

"Despite the bitter fighting there were also numerous scenes where Russian tanks were to be found surrounded by unarmed crowds, with young students passionately arguing with the soldiers in Russian. More than one Russian was to declare to such a crowd that he had been told that counterrevolutionaries and fascist bandits were on the rampage in Budapest, but that he could now see this was false, and he would not shoot upon the Hungarian people." (p. 120)

Indeed what brought the developing fraternization to an end was a provocation of indiscriminate shooting, likely

by the Hungarian Stalinist secret police. This point is amplified by the earlier experience in the Vorkuta labor camps, where troops guarding the prisoners had to be pulled out and replaced because of fraternization.

Secondly (and related to the above), I think we should amplify the reference to civil war, noting that a civil war stem-

ing from political revolution would ultimately be one between the forces of revolution and counterrevolution, given that the bureaucracy represents no social class and has no independent program. The latest article on *Pamyat* develops this point about the character of the Soviet bureaucracy, but it deserves a place in the document. As Trotsky notes in "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (1 October 1933):

"A real civil war could develop not between the Stalinist bureaucracy and

the resurgent proletariat but between the proletariat and the active forces of the counterrevolution. In the event of an open clash between the two mass camps, there cannot even be talk of the bureaucracy playing an independent role. Its polar flanks would be flung to the different sides of the barricade."

To be sure, this did not come to pass in any meaningful sense in Hungary—



Budapest, Hungary: Insurgent workers topple Stalin's statue in 1956 political revolution against bureaucracy.

though the bureaucratic apparatus certainly shattered, and very dramatically, with large elements going over to the insurgent workers—but most likely because the whole process was aborted by the intervention of the Soviet forces.

Lastly (and, again, to give the document a more rounded character), we should reassert the integral connection between the Soviet political revolution and international socialist revolution, broadening out from the point that "The

future of the Gorbachev regime is organically linked to developments in the imperialist West..." Both from the observations of visiting comrades and general historical inference, it is clear that the masses of the Soviet peoples are deeply pessimistic about socialist revolution in the imperialist West, particularly the U.S., imbued in them by the bureaucracy's historical insistence on "socialism in one country" (and seemingly validated by empirical historical evidence). While Britain is hardly a military-strategic threat to the Soviet bloc, it is certainly to the point that the British miners strike seemed to have a profound impact on the Soviet working class. Again in "Class Nature," Trotsky writes:

"The Soviet workers would have settled accounts with the despotism of the apparatus had other perspectives opened before them, had the Western horizon flamed not with the brown color of fascism but with the red of revolution. So long as this does not happen, the proletariat with clenched teeth bears (tolerates) the bureaucracy and, in this sense, recognizes it as the bearer of the proletarian dictatorship."

In line with this, it would seem to me that the present policy of *glasnost* provides opportunities primarily for the establishment of Trotskyist propaganda nuclei among the intelligentsia and advanced workers, but for the prospect of political revolution to become real among significant masses of the Soviet proletariat requires some confidence on their part that the Western horizon can "flame...with the red of revolution." This does not mean, of course, that a successful socialist revolution in the West must be an accomplished fact before the Soviet workers can reassert their revolutionary traditions.

—Len Meyers
20 August 1987

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Soviets Warn Zionist Nuclear Madmen Over Missiles

Free Mordechai Vanunu— He Exposed Israeli Nuke Arsenal

AUGUST 30—Today in Jerusalem, Mordechai Vanunu is going on trial for his life. This courageous Israeli nuclear technician faces the death penalty for his spectacular exposure of the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal. Vanunu is formally charged with giving information to "unauthorized persons" and "passing secrets to the enemy"—i.e., the world press. (Yet Israel's possession of nuclear weapons is so well known that it features in novels like Gerald Seymour's *Glorious Boys*.) Under Israel's draconian security regulations, all proceedings against him are conducted behind closed doors, as will be his trial.

Last year Mordechai Vanunu, who worked for nearly a decade at Israel's top secret Dimona nuclear weapons plant, revealed Israel's massive nuclear arsenal of 100 to 200 bombs. We pointed out then that a dozen A-bombs could nuke every Arab capital, but 200 nukes meant that the Zionist warmongers had a bigger target in mind: *Soviet Russia*. Now Israel has a delivery system as well.

Washington's fellow Contragators in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem are preparing their own holocaust. Israel recently successfully tested a new ballistic missile, the Jericho 2, designed to carry nuclear warheads over a range of 500 miles, and is expected to have another version with a range of 900 miles. According to the Geneva-based *International Defense Review*, this "means Israeli missiles, armed with nuclear warheads, are now or will soon be able to reach all potential hostile capitals."

These missiles put strategic Soviet targets including Black Sea naval ports and Baku oil fields within reach of the Zionist nuclear madmen. Though Gorbachev is busy pursuing the pipe dream of "détente" with U.S. imperialism and its Israeli triggermen, this new threat could not be ignored. The USSR sent three stern warnings to Israel including a July 27 Radio Moscow commentary in Hebrew stating that continued development of the missile could cause the Zionist state "to encounter consequences that it could not possibly handle" (*New York Times*, 29 July).

The Jericho is Israel's principal nuclear warhead delivery system. In the first days of the 1973 October War when Israel thought it might be defeated by Arab armies, it armed an earlier version



Landau Jerusalem Post



Economist

Mordechai Vanunu (center) faces death for his courageous act on behalf of humanity. Zionist warmongers prepare holocaust: with new Jericho 2 missiles, Israeli nukes target Soviet Union.

Vanunu On Trial for His Life

The trial of Mordechai Vanunu opened on Sunday, August 30 in Jerusalem. Vanunu was brought in a police van with the windows sealed and painted over. The doors of the courtroom are closed and the windows boarded. The 32-year-old Israeli nuclear technician was secreted into court through a burlap-covered entranceway.

Vanunu's lawyer, Avigdor Feldman, remarked: "You'd think it was not Vanunu being brought into court but the H-bomb itself." Although he

was brought in handcuffed on Monday, Vanunu struggled out of a helmet the guards compelled him to wear. He attempted to speak to reporters, but the police were ready. They drowned him out with sirens.

Also on Monday, a Nobel Peace Prize committee official declared that Vanunu's nomination had come "too late" to be considered for the 1987 awards! The official said Vanunu would be considered for the 1988 prize along with former Nazi SS intelligence officer Kurt Waldheim, the

president of Austria.

The whole purpose is to silence him. Israel's supreme court has gagged Vanunu's defense in significant ways: the three-judge panel hearing the case excluded any testimony about how the Mossad secret police kidnapped him back to Israel. Reporters, human rights groups and even Vanunu's immediate family are excluded from these star chamber proceedings.

In a nearby courtroom for six months sadistic Nazi death camp guard John Demjanjuk, "Ivan the Terrible," has been accorded every legal right in a public trial. But Mordechai Vanunu, who bravely seeks to spare humanity a nuclear holocaust, is treated like a prisoner in Demjanjuk's Treblinka.

of the Jericho with nukes and put them on combat readiness. Reportedly, in response the Kremlin was prepared to ship nuclear warheads to Egypt. The U.S., reeling from the Nixon Watergate crisis, put its nuclear forces on red alert, preparing to set off a worldwide thermonuclear holocaust.

All humanity owes Vanunu a debt of gratitude for his courageous act, for which he was kidnapped by the Mossad (Israeli CIA) last September, and held incommunicado until protests from family and friends saved him from being "disappeared." In recent accounts, the Australian and British press have exposed the sinister role of the Australian and British secret police in the abduction. The [London] *Sunday Times* (9 August) reported that when Vanunu was persuaded to come to Britain to publicize his story:

"The Australian Security Intelligence Organisation notified Britain's MI6 and when the plane landed at Heathrow on September 12, two special branch officers were watching."

For the past eleven months, Vanunu has been held in complete isolation 30 miles south of Tel Aviv in the notorious Ashkelon dungeon run by the Shin Beth (an Israeli cross between the Gestapo and the FBI). Despite a 33-day hunger strike he waged earlier this year, Vanunu is deprived of even the minimal rights normally accorded prisoners. Last December he ingeniously revealed that the Mossad had kidnapped him in Rome by flashing this message written on the palm of his hand as he was being

transported in a police van.

Since then the conditions of Vanunu's imprisonment were made even more brutal. The Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* (14 August) began its report, "The Secret Prisoner of Ashkelon": "Neither the light of day nor the sounds of the outside world enter his cell. His every move is monitored day and night by a video lens. Even a special soundproof corridor has been constructed in the room where his trial begins August 30, to prevent any outsider from asking him a single question."

In lighting for his freedom, Vanunu's determination is shared by his family. Vanunu is permitted only one half-hour visit by a family member every two weeks. And his Israeli jailers threaten his family and attorneys with 15-year jail terms for revealing the facts relating to Vanunu's abduction, his work at Dimona or even his motivation for exposing Israel's doomsday machine. Nevertheless, Vanunu's brother Meir went to Italy to give evidence to a special government inquiry into the Mossad kidnapping, and to Britain to meet with the press and with those supporting his brother. As a consequence, Israel has issued a warrant for Meir Vanunu's arrest on charges of *espionage*. Clearly, for the Israeli Reich, the peoples of the world are the enemy.

But Mordechai Vanunu remains unbroken. At a New York Spartacist forum, "For International Class-Struggle Defense," in June, Vanunu's close American friend Judy Zimmet read a letter from "Motti" stating: "I did

what I believe is good to do for peace and safety on this earth." Thanks to the tireless efforts of Vanunu's family, Judy Zimmet, Australian Rev. John McKnight (who converted Vanunu, a Moroccan-horn Sephardic Jew, to Anglicanism) and other supporters, there have been some calls to honor Vanunu's heroic deed and demand his release.

The British Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation together with 40 British Members of Parliament and nine MPs and senators in Australia have petitioned for Vanunu to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. (Usually the Nobel prize is given to war criminals like Henry Kissinger and Irgun terrorist Menachem Begin.) Four British authors including Graham Greene signed a joint letter to the *London Times* (14 July) protesting Vanunu's incarceration as "intolerable as it offends against justice and international human rights," and demanding his immediate release.

Vanunu's heroic exposure of Israel's anti-Soviet doomsday machine underlines the urgency for the international working class to disarm the capitalist rulers. Now working people and all enemies of imperialist militarism must rally to the cause of his freedom and demand that all charges against his brother Meir be dropped. The Partisan Defense Committee has begun sending Mordechai Vanunu a monthly stipend. Contributions for his defense and messages of support can be sent to the Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 45005, Somerville, MA 02145. ■



De Tnd

Meir Vanunu, Mordechai's brother, faces arrest by Zionist state.

South Korea: Strikes Shake Dictatorship

In the past month, the South Korean proletariat has dramatically taken center stage in the social upheaval threatening that country's bloody dictatorship. Since June 29—when the regime of strong man Chun Doo Hwan gave into a wave of mass protests demanding direct elections—more than 1,900 companies have been struck, including the handful of government-sponsored monopolies which dominate the country's economy. Tens of thousands of workers have battled the regime's riot cops and troops, seized and occupied mines, factories and shipyards, and erected barricades. On August 18, some 100,000 strikers and their supporters rallied in Ulsan, headquarters of the mammoth Hyundai conglomerate. Fearing that workers' struggles combined with middle-class protests for "democratization" could escalate into a revolutionary challenge to the regime, South Korea's nervous military rulers made concessions. But with the loosening of police-state chains, and students threatening a renewed "fall offensive," the country could well explode.

On August 22, 21-year-old Lee Suk Kyu was struck down by exploding shrapnel from tear gas grenades fired at Lee and his fellow workers at the giant Daewoo shipyards on Koje Island as they demonstrated for a wage increase and independent trade unions. Lee's death triggered angry protests throughout South Korea, striking fear into not only the ruling party but the bourgeois opposition as well. Demonstrators shouted, "Let's avenge the death of Lee Suk Kyu!" Lee's coworkers stormed a hotel in an attempt to track down Daewoo's president. For days after, hundreds of them battled cops who sought to seize Lee's body in order to cover up the evidence of their crime. Strikers wanted to make their fallen comrade a "national labor hero." As Lee's body was being transported to Kwangju to be buried alongside other martyrs of the struggle against the dictatorship, the cops vindictively swooped down to steal the coffin and arrest 45 of the workers' leaders.

While many of the strikes and sit-ins have been settled within a few days with the employers granting relatively mod-



One hundred thousand Hyundai strikers and supporters rally in company town of Ulsan, August 18. Workers won recognition of independent trade union.

est wage increases of 12-15 percent (\$25/month), the current workers' upsurge has been marked by the pervasive demand for recognition of independent trade unions. Thus the strikes are pitted directly against the regime and the corporatist Federation of Korean Trade Unions, spawned and lavishly supported by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and its CIA "labor" front. Workers at Hyundai scored a key victory in forcing government recognition of their new union after several days of strikes, protests and street battles, at one point overwhelming police barricades to occupy the factories after a lockout. Hours after 40,000 strikers marched behind commandeered fire engines, fork lifts and dump trucks through the com-

pany town of Ulsan, the Chun regime intervened to strong-arm Hyundai's tyrannical anti-union boss, Ching Ju Yung, into acquiescence. This victory is unprecedented in the history of labor struggles under the South Korean dictatorship.

Cold War Police State

At the height of the student revolt two months ago, we insisted that the South Korean working class is "the only power which can carry out a revolutionary overthrow of dictator Chun Doo Hwan and the generals." The existence of a deformed workers state on the northern half of the peninsula, the rapid growth of an industrial proletariat, the presence of an occupation army of more than 40,000 American troops, all rule out any liberal-democratic "solution." South Korea has been a highly militarized, corporatist police state since its creation as a bastion for U.S. imperialism's Cold War designs—and it will remain so until it is smashed by socialist revolution. International class solidarity with the embattled South Korean workers is an urgent necessity, especially by American workers whose bloodsucking bosses own huge chunks of South Korean industry. Half of Daewoo's auto operation is owned by General Motors, and significant pieces of other of the *chaebol* (the giant conglomerates like Hyundai, Daewoo and Samsung) by Ford and Chrysler-Mitsubishi.

Chun and his cronies have warned repeatedly that they will move against "impure elements" and radical "outside forces" supposedly animating the strike wave. The so-called democratic opposition of the "two Kims," even as they seek to capitalize on the wave of revolt to boost themselves into government, have been no less reticent in denouncing any independent proletarian threat to the established order. Kim Dae Jung insists

that "There have been no political demands or radical remarks" (*Washington Post*, 12 August), while Kim Young Sam more emphatically warns that "violent action by workers may give an 'excuse to those who do not want democratic development'" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 20 August). The "two Kims" may be preening themselves to be South Korea's Cory Aquino, but there will be no real "democratic development" as long as South Korea remains capitalist. Even in the Philippines, with its far less substantial working class, "people power" is being buffeted by popular protests and coup attempts.

South Korea is a prime example of combined and uneven development, with mammoth modern industrial concentrations heavily penetrated by foreign (primarily Japanese and American) capital coexisting with a backward (albeit shrinking) peasant economy. It has the world's largest textile mill, and recently surpassed Japan in shipbuilding. It also has the highest accident rate of any industrialized country (more than 23,000 killed or crippled last year). Schoolgirls of 16 or 17 slave 12 hours a day, six days a week for \$160/month in textiles and electronics sweatshops. The *chaebol* run their factories and cities like a cross between feudal fiefdoms and concentration camps. Workers live in barracks-like dormitories called *tak-cha* (chicken coops), many forced to wear their hair close-cropped.

Moreover, South Korea since its creation has been a front-line state in the anti-Soviet war drive. The Korean people, as well as the Vietnamese, were the first to pay in blood for the postwar drive to crush the deformed/degenerated workers states, as upwards of five million were slaughtered in the 1950-53 "police action" against North Korea and China following U.S. imperialism's

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South Korean riot cops in Darth Vader helmets deploy against student revolt in June.

Cole/Picture Group

Young Spartacus

2, 3, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism! Vietnam Was a Victory!



Young Spartacus Photos

Hanoi war sacrifice memorial (right). Two million Vietnamese fell in struggle against imperialism so that their children would have a future.

Vietnam Today: An Eyewitness Report

The following is an account of a Spartacist comrade's recent trip to Vietnam, based on his travel journal.

My first sight of Vietnam: strange, round, water-filled holes in the ground around the Hanoi airport. These are the bomb craters left by the American B-52s. You see them as soon as you come down through the clouds toward the landing strip. Visiting Vietnam as a Trotskyist partisan of the Vietnamese Revolution, I was deeply impressed by the heroism and sacrifice that went into both the great victory over French imperialism at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and the liberation of Saigon in 1975 which brought the social revolution to the south of the country. All around you see signs of what these victories for the world's working people cost the Vietnamese. The country has been at war for half a century; every year a new crop of 18-year-olds are called up for military service. Many young Vietnamese soldiers went down the Ho Chi Minh Trail to fight U.S. imperialism in the south. Two million Vietnamese, soldiers and civilians, were killed by America's dirty war. And today, they must defend Vietnam against Washington's Chinese ally to the north as well as defend Cambodia from the U.S./China-backed contras to the west. *Defend Vietnam against U.S. imperialism!*

In Hanoi you pass Bach Mai hospital, a prime target of Nixon/Kissinger's 1972 "Christmas bombing," and

bridges repeatedly bombed out by the Americans, now rebuilt with Soviet aid. Every town and village has at least one "war sacrifice memorial." In the south you see children born deformed because their mothers were bombed with Agent Orange. One boy walked on all fours in a spider-like position, unable to straighten his spine; his eyes were a strange brown-orange color, set in a beautiful face. Half-American children are a common sight.

I also saw hypodermic syringes openly on sale among street peddlers' wares in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon). These are more legacies from the imperialist rape and occupation of Vietnam when drug-running military officers joined pimps and torturers to make South Vietnam a bastion of the "free world." The Vietnamese fighters showed that imperialism can be defeated, but the imperialists are still trying to get their vengeance. Desperately needed medicines, spare parts, trade and credits are being choked off by the Washington-orchestrated blockade.

In Vietnam we heard news of recent shakeups in the leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party, *glasnost*-style self-denunciations of bureaucratism and inefficiency, and criticisms of the waste of Soviet aid. But one can't help thinking the Soviets should provide Vietnam with a lot more aid. By defeating U.S. imperialism on the battlefield, the heroic Vietnamese did more

to defend the Soviet degenerated workers state than a thousand "summits" where Stalinists preach the illusory policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Plundered and devastated by the

French, Japanese and Americans, bombed and "defoliated," Vietnam is a terribly poor country. It is a peasant country. In the north I saw teams of women scooping water out of irrigation

continued on page 8

Thwarting imperialist division of country at 17th parallel (DMZ), courageous Viet Cong youth units moved troops and artillery south down "Ho Chi Minh Trail." Today Vietnam battles U.S./China-backed contras in Kampuchea.



Vietnam...

(continued from page 7)

ditches with huge wicker baskets hung on bamboo poles. This is considered *light* work. And while I saw lots of new brick houses in peasant villages and a number of brick factories, the tremendous weight of scarcity is ever present. There is little industry: a petrochemical industry, run out of the old American embassy (poetic justice) and aided by Soviet technicians; some textile mills; plants to recycle steel from old U.S. tanks; bicycle factories; handicraft enterprises.

In contrast, the role of small commodity production and exchange is enormous. The streets are packed with individuals selling everything from fruits, vegetables and dried squid to dust mops and books. Hundreds of restaurants and cafés, owned by individuals or groups of people, sell *pho* (beef noodle soup), water snake soup (very tasty), coffee, pastry and beer. These places are packed with customers.

Vietnam's per capita income is even lower than Haiti's. But the *social revolution* that abolished capitalism socialized the basic infrastructure of the economy, nationalized the land, and built a collectivist framework that makes the hideous oppression of a place like Haiti or any other capitalist country of the "Third World" unthinkable in Vietnam today. Education and free or very inexpensive medical care are available for all. Walk down the streets of any Latin American capital, and you will see mothers and children begging all over the place. In Hanoi, of the literally thousands of children I saw in the week I was there, only four were begging. The overwhelming majority were obviously well fed and healthy, wore good, colorful clothes, and were remarkably re-



Tiziano Terzani

Right: Victorious NLF troops roll through gates of presidential palace in Saigon, 30 April 1975. Woman soldier celebrates defeat of U.S. imperialism and its puppets.



Demulder/Gamma-Liaison

Japanese tape decks in coffee shops, and I saw some of the kind of "close" dancing that I hear is banned in Peking. I also visited an art gallery and saw a variety of works that were by no means "socialist realist." Women wear jewelry, make-up and fancy scarves, and Western fashion magazines were displayed in the window of a men's tailor shop. The picture presented by a recent *Smithsonian* article on Hanoi as a "drab, gritty" place is far from what I saw.

I walked past a big beer hall in downtown Hanoi with perhaps 200 people inside. I sat down at a table with four young guys who eyed me in a wary but not unfriendly way. After a while I started trying to talk to them, and we gradually got friendlier—a process that was assisted by the large glasses of beer that kept appearing in front of us. All four were soldiers from the country-

official use. Municipal road crews work out of carts pulled by water buffalo plus a truck here and there. In Ho Chi Minh City there are lots of cars and buses, well-paved streets and not a water buffalo to be seen. Buildings in Hanoi are mainly small, many of them shabby, and the electricity goes off almost every day for a few hours. Hotels in the south are air-conditioned affairs with telex machines, elevators, uniformed doormen and aging *maitres d'*—a world away it seemed. Even the *official* exchange rates are different: about 80 dong to the dollar in Hanoi, 120 in Ho Chi Minh City.

One way to summarize the north/south contrast is this: Hanoi is very poor, hut has been liberated for 33 years, and the people look healthy and the kids look great. Ho Chi Minh City has been liberated for only 12 years. It is much richer but there is glaring inequality—beggars, filthy teenagers sleeping in doorways (something you just don't see in Hanoi), kids with infected sores. The imperialists and their puppets left the Vietnamese with a god-awful *mess* in the south, including people who had known no other life than that of a parasite or prostitute. Much of the enormous work of reintegrating north and south still lies ahead.

In an effort to stimulate production, the government has encouraged private enterprise in recent years. No doubt this is in some part necessary as a stopgap measure, but I was also struck by the dangers. Government employees, including skilled technicians, are encouraged to moonlight to make ends meet. A government architect told me he makes 4,000 dong a month, not including the money he makes moonlighting on private jobs. Factory workers make 300 dong a month, plus a "premium" of 700 which they can multiply by working overtime. But the bigger money seems to be in the private sector. A private guitar seller told me he sells a couple of his best guitars a week for 4,000 dong each—the architect's monthly salary. In addition to this promotion of the private sector, the black market is prevalent and alarming. On the street in Ho Chi Minh City I was offered 600 dong to the dollar by an ex-ARVN (South Vietnam's former puppet army) type black marketeer.

As a point of reference, a pack of cheap cigarettes is 30 dong; medicines are inexpensive at a couple of dong; a bottle of Vietnamese lemon vodka is 140 dong. Most people get a meat ration ticket for one kilo of meat per family member per month at the government set price of a few dong. Workers get a larger ration, determined by the kind and intensity of work they do. After your ration you can buy more meat at "free market" prices, and I saw lots of meat, mainly beef, on sale.

The quality and supply of goods in state stores varies widely. Cooking utensils and bicycle parts were plentiful, cheap, and of good quality, while clothes and children's toys were much better in private shops than in govern-

ment department stores. In one department store I saw a long line of people waiting to buy sugar at the subsidized price, using ration coupons. Nearby stood a policeman (unarmed), one of the few policemen I saw in Vietnam other than those directing traffic. It made me think of a passage from Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*:

"The basis of bureaucratic rule is the poverty of society in objects of consumption, with the resulting struggle of each against all. When there is enough goods in a store, the purchasers can come whenever they want to. When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy. It 'knows' who is to get something and who has to wait."

The Vietnamese workers state was born bureaucratically deformed; in Russia, the workers state established by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution degenerated when political power was usurped by the conservative Stalinist bureaucracy. But despite the difference in historical origin, the scene in the Hanoi department store could have come straight out of Trotsky's book. The revolution has made tremendous gains for the working people. But there is no way to abolish scarcity and reach socialism within the Stalinist framework of "socialism in one country." Only the international extension of the revolution to the advanced countries can show a way out. This was the perspective of Lenin and Trotsky. Today, it means also the fight for workers political revolution in the deformed workers states—above all the USSR, upon whose industrial and military power countries like Vietnam and Cuba are dependent as they confront the unremitting pressure of vengeful U.S. imperialism.

Our Debt to Vietnam

There are portraits of Ho Chi Minh in many offices and shops. I saw no pictures of the current leaders on display. A government bookstore had a big picture of Gorbachev, advertising a Vietnamese translation of his speech to the recent Soviet party congress. Gorbachev seems to enjoy substantial popularity among some young people. However, there does not seem to be much political discussion going on—organized or otherwise—and all political conversations I got into were at my initiative. I was told that for a period of time, "under Chinese influence," people had to sit through boring harangues at work, until a stop was put to this caricature of political discussion. I got the impression that in addition to being burned by this experience, many young people are deeply frustrated by the absence of soviet democracy and the inefficiency of the bureaucracy which monopolizes political power, compounding the severe problems of underdevelopment and the imperialist blockade.



Young Spartacus

Peasants carrying produce to markets in Hanoi. Auto and truck transport is still scarce in the north.

laxed, cheerful and outgoing. In the city, children wore shoes and almost all carried book bags. They looked a lot better off than many inner-city kids in America.

Another thing that struck me immediately is the very high literacy rate. All over, you see people reading—on park benches, in stores, walking down the street. In addition to the government bookstores, there are a large number of privately owned book stalls on the street. Among the many books I saw on sale were Vietnamese translations of Alex Haley's *Roots* (but unfortunately not *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, which Haley co-authored), *Carmen*, *Oliver Twist*, *Learn to Play Soccer with Pélé*, books by Victor Hugo, Agatha Christie and the works of Marx, Lenin, Ho Chi Minh, etc. Quite a contrast to the China of Mao's "Cultural Revolution" with its banning of Plato, Kant, Beethoven and other "foreign devils."

American rock blared from fancy

side, on leave in Hanoi. They were in the middle of a seven-year hitch, and indicated they were worried about finding work when they got out. There is still considerable unemployment and underemployment. I was glad I had the opportunity to drink with members of the fighting force that whipped the American imperialists.

You don't see many signs of the Vietnamese military presence in Cambodia or the sporadic clashes with the army of the slaveowning Thai warlords. There are a few posters about Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea friendship, and a Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea sports arena in downtown Hanoi.

North and South

One of the striking though not surprising things about Vietnam is the enormous difference between north and south. In Hanoi everyone goes around on bicycles. The few municipal buses are old and cars are rare and mainly for

At the Revolution Museum in Ho Chi Minh City I ran into a class of 12-to-15-year-old schoolchildren. The boys goofed off, but many of the girls intently studied the displays on the Tet Offensive and the growth of the resistance in South Vietnam: old underground printing presses and mimeo machines, Viet Minh posters, proclamations of the Japanese occupation army during World War II, red battle flags with a star or hammer and sickle. On the museum's grounds are trophy U.S. planes, a helicopter and artillery pieces. There were no photos or other signs of the massive international protests against the French or U.S. aggression. Yet the people of Vietnam should draw pride and hope from the worldwide radicalization of a generation of youth who witnessed the impotence of the U.S. against the resistance of a determined people fighting for national liberation and social revolution. The political damage done to the U.S. war machine at home is still a fetter on imperialism's bloody plans for more dirty wars.

In a display of "revolutionary pamphlets from 1936-1939" there was *Trotsky va Phan Cach-Mang* ("Trotsky and Counterrevolution"). This was not just a standard addition to the Stalinist library. The Vietnamese Trotskyists had a mass base in Saigon, the country's proletarian center, and they led an insurrection against the return of the French



Young Spartacus

Despite American Imperialist embargo, designed to choke Vietnam of vital technological/economic assistance, today the port in Ho Chi Minh City bustles with commerce, including Soviet vessels.

imperialists following World War II. For this they were murdered by the Stalinists, who helped to defeat the insurrection and welcome back the "democratic" French army.

The Ho Chi Minh Museum is housed in an elegant building once used by the French colonial administration. In contrast to the solely Vietnamese focus of

the Revolution Museum, this museum features Ho Chi Minh's membership cards and delegate credentials from French Socialist Party and Communist Party conferences and from congresses of the Communist International. One exhibit begins with materials explaining the Russian Revolution and proceeds through the Vietnamese revolu-

tionary movement in exile to the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930.

The area outside the museum is a popular spot for outings; a young soldier was playing volleyball with a bunch of civilians. Young couples and families, including a father and his son, a young man with artificial legs, were promenading or watching the boats in the bustling harbor area around the museum.

As we taxied down the runway in Ho Chi Minh City I got my last sight of Vietnam: row upon row of old U.S. DC-3 warplanes which used to rain death on this country. Sitting disused and rusting by the side of the airstrip, they symbolize both the U.S. war and the U.S. defeat. They remind me again of the great revolutionary debt that the world's workers owe to *heroic Vietnam*. This must be repaid by spreading the revolution—the only solution to the many problems I've witnessed. The perspective of the Russian Bolsheviks was to link their poor country to the prospect of world revolution in industrial Germany. Vietnamese revolutionists today must look to extending the revolution to Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. And the duty of revolutionaries in the "belly of the beast," the USA, is to put some of the same kind of courage and determination shown by the Vietnamese into the fight for socialist revolution here in America. ■

Spartacist 4 Events

Nicaragua Eyewitness Reports and Slide Shows

Defend Nicaragua! Complete, Extend the Revolution!

NEW YORK

Thursday, Sept. 3, 12 Noon

North Academic Center, Room 1/201
City College of New York

Guest Speaker:

Mary Jo Marino
member, TWU Local 100
CCNY student
recently returned from Nicaragua

Speaker:

Cheri James
member, Spartacus Youth Club

Friday, Sept. 11, 7:30 p.m.

Room to be announced
Columbia University

Speakers:

Dan Carew
member, Spartacus Youth Club
recently returned from Nicaragua

Alison Murray
member, Spartacist League

For more information (212) 267-1025

OBERLIN

Tuesday, Sept. 15, 7:30 p.m.

Mudd, Room 456
Oberlin College

Speaker:

Judith Preston
member, Spartacus Youth Club
recently returned from Nicaragua

For more information (216) 881-3700

BOSTON

Thursday, Sept. 17, 7:30 p.m.

Science Center, Hall A
Harvard University

Speakers:

Liisa Martin, Pam Elliott
members, Spartacist League
recently returned from Nicaragua

For more information (617) 492-3928

Defend Nicaragua! Smash U.S. Imperialism!

CHICAGO

Wednesday, Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m.

Room to be announced
University of Chicago

For more information (312) 663-0715

Speaker: Judith Preston, member, Spartacus Youth Club
recently returned from Nicaragua

MADISON

Tuesday, Sept. 22, 7:30 p.m.

See "Today in the Union"
for room location, UW-Madison

For more information (608) 251-6431

Nicaragua: Smash the Contras— Complete the Revolution!

ITHACA

Thursday, Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m.

Room to be announced
Cornell University

For more information (212) 267-1025

Speakers:

Jan Norden, editor, *Workers Vanguard*
Spartacist League Central Committee
Dan Carew
member, Spartacus Youth Club
recently returned from Nicaragua

70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

SAN FRANCISCO

Thursday, Sept. 24, 5:00 p.m.

Student Union, Room B-112
San Francisco State University

For more information (415) 863-6963

OAKLAND

Friday, Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m.

Location to be announced

For more information (415) 839-0851

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, Spartacist League Central Committee

Defend the Soviet Union Through World Revolution! Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Thursday, Sept. 10, 7:00 p.m.

Undergraduate Library Lecture Room
Howard University

For more information (202) 636-3537

Speaker:

Marjorie Stemberg,
Spartacist League
Central Committee,
Spartacist candidate for
NYC mayor, 1985

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Chicago Cops Kill Larry Hawkins, Invade Black Homes Labor, Blacks Must Mobilize to Smash Racist Terror!

CHICAGO

Saturday, Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m.

Michigan Room, Hyde Park Hilton
(4900 South Lakeshore Drive)

For more information (312) 663-0715

Speaker: Ed Clarkson

Spartacist League Central Committee

Guest Speakers:

Kevin Quirk
member, ATU Local 241
Mark Kelly
Partisan Defense Committee
representative
Roosevelt Hawkins,
brother of Larry Hawkins

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Principles of Communism

MADISON

Alternate Saturdays, 1:30 p.m.

Sept. 5, 19, Oct. 3, 17, 31, Nov. 14

See "Today in the Union"

for room location, UW-Madison

For more information (608) 251-6431

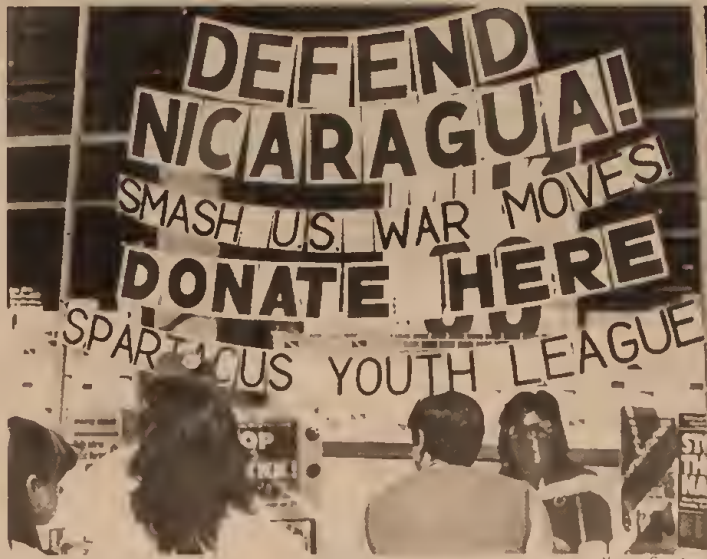
Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Donate Dollars to Crush the Contras!

When Reagan's sadistic contras murdered Benjamin Linder in cold blood last April, they hoped to intimidate the thousands of international volunteers who have traveled to Nicaragua to solidarize with the revolution. But when Ben Linder fell, *hundreds stepped forward*, doubling the number of American students and young workers volunteering for Nicaraguan work brigades. Many youth were grossed out by "Olliemania," this summer's Congressional horror show. Now, as Reagan prepares to ask Congress for millions more for his "freedom fighting" contra scam, there's something you can do to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Nicaraguan workers and peasants: give to the Spartacus Youth Clubs' "Nicabucks" campaign!

We launched Nicabucks as a campaign of material aid in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution after Reagan imposed a trade embargo on Nicaragua in 1985. Our appeal to "Donate Dollars! Crush the Contras!" showed that thousands of Americans are ready and eager to support the courageous fighters the Pentagon calls "the enemy." In six short weeks \$25,800 was raised on campuses, street corners and at factory gates across the country. Subsequent donations have pushed the total up over \$30,000. With Reagan trying to bleed Nicaragua white, hard currency is desperately needed now for everything from medicines to spare parts to arms. Take a side! *Donate to Nicabucks!* Every penny you donate goes directly to Nicaragua—the Spartacus Youth Clubs assume all administrative costs for this campaign.

As one Spartacus Youth Club supporter who recently volunteered a



Spartacist comrades raise "Nicabucks" at Cleveland street fair, 1985.

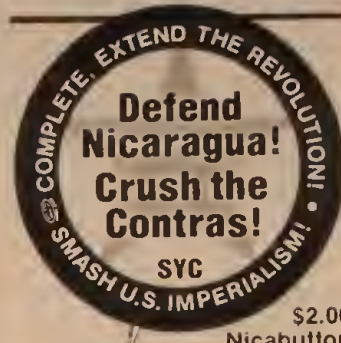
month's labor as an electrician in Nicaragua wrote upon her return:

"Strategically the contras are washed up and that's understood on all sides. Still their cowardly hit-and-run tactics continue to take a toll in human lives and drain the economy. The working class is literally unable to make ends meet. Fifty percent of the national budget and 25 percent of the country's material production goes to defense. Inflation is skyrocketing at a rate of 30 percent per month. Despite the poverty and hardship, Nicaragua has become a beacon of hope for the struggling masses throughout Central America. What this revolution promises more than anything is the possibility of a future and they're willing to fight to the

finish, house to house if necessary, to defend that."

Another comrade who lent a hand rolling bandages at the Esteli hospital when the town came under mortar attack by contras last year wrote:

"Standard procedure is that when the contras come upon wounded soldiers lying on the ground, they douse them with gasoline and torch them. For a mother to have her son come home as ashes in a shoebox is especially awful, considering the importance of funerals there. At this funeral, several hundred people marched slowly to the edge of town with the coffins, shouting defiant slogans and yelling out the names of the soldiers followed by '¡presente!' One old



DIG DEEP!

Make your Nicabucks contribution and button orders payable to/send to:

Student Committee to
Oetend Nicaragua
c/o SYL
Box 3118 Church Street Station
New York, NY 10008

lady pulled me aside and said, 'when you have seen two of these, you will understand our struggle a little better.'

Recently it was revealed that the Reagan administration courted apartheid South Africa for "contra-hutions." The response of the reformist "left" to the Contragate cabal is yet another round of letter-writing and petitioning of Democrats. But the sniveling Democrats have capitulated before "contra in chief" Reagan every time. When the Democrats ran Walter Mondale for president three years ago, he promised to quarantine Nicaragua unless it would "bend" to the imperialists' will. Now the Democrats propose to "test the Sandinistas," threatening to vote millions more in contra aid unless the Nicaraguan government gives these contra murderers free rein to organize bloody counterrevolution.

Reagan vowed to topple the Sandinistas before leaving office, as part of his global "war against Communism" whose main target is the Soviet Union. With the mass of the American people deeply suspicious that the administration is pushing toward a new Vietnam-style military adventure, Reagan & Co. got themselves enmeshed in conspiracy and cover-up: the "Iran/Contragate" scandal. Yet now that the Reagan gang is vulnerable, the Soviet bloc is reportedly limiting vital oil shipments to Nicaragua and there is a danger that the revolution will be tossed as a bargaining chip in the vain hope of negotiating "peaceful coexistence" with the American warmongers. But this only emboldens U.S. imperialism in its anti-Soviet war drive. As we have repeatedly insisted, *defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America!*

The desperate economic situation in Nicaragua cries out for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, the contras' "fifth column" in Nicaragua. But the Sandinista nationalists forswear support to liberation movements in the region—the so-called Guatemalan "peace plan" which the Sandinistas have agreed to would have the Salvadoran guerrillas lay down their arms! We say: *Smash the contras—defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!* The workers' struggle is international: the home front of the imperialist war drive is busting unions, slashing wages and imprisoning millions of black people in hellish ghettos. *Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!* ■

Stop Cornell's Union-Busting!

Defend Campus Workers!

For the past six months, 930 Cornell University service and maintenance workers, organized by the United Auto Workers (UAW), have been negotiating with the university administration for a new wage agreement. Presently, 234 of these employees earn less than the federal poverty level, while Cornell shows off its newly built multimillion-dollar Alumni Club in New York City.

On Sunday, August 23 returning students and their parents were met by hundreds of Cornell workers who set up "informational" picket lines around the campus. Supporters of the newly formed Spartacus Youth Club in Ithaca have earned recognition and respect from campus workers for joining the picket line with signs reading: "Victory to UAW Local 2300!" and "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" At union meetings and on the picket lines, over 100 copies of the *Workers Vanguard* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" were eagerly grabbed up by UAW members.

The arrogant Cornell administration is out to bust this union in its "company town." Two days after the job action, two prominent members of the union's strike committee—one of whom has slaved for Cornell for over 20 years—were fired by the university and face criminal prosecution for supposedly



Spartacus Youth Club supports Cornell workers' picket, August 23.

stealing envelopes! This is obviously a set-up by Cornell to intimidate the rank and file by screwing over their stewards. For labor action to restore Tom Parkin and John Cleveland to their jobs—Drop the charges!

Students can play an important support role in this struggle. The same administration that razed a symbolic

shantytown and arrested hundreds of anti-apartheid demonstrators now has its sights set on smashing the campus workers. We call for one campus-wide union of all Cornell workers! In the event of a strike students must take a side, help build militant picket lines and shut Cornell down tight by boycotting classes. *Victory to UAW Local 2300!* ■

Mexico...

(continued from page 16)

refusing to pay a 23 percent pay increase that has been ordered by the government and generally implemented by Mexican employers. But unlike Volkswagen where the independent union has mobilized the ranks, the union at Ford belongs to the CTM labor federation which is part of the ruling bourgeois-nationalist "Institutional Revolutionary Party" (PRI) and is keeping the strike under rigid government control.

As U.S. and Canadian auto workers face upcoming contract deadlines, they should learn from the hard-fought struggles of their Mexican class brothers. Instead of buying the protectionist poison spewed out by the Big Three auto bosses like Lee Iacocca and the chauvinist UAW leaders, they should fight for real solidarity with the Ford strikers in Mexico. In addition to producing cars for the Mexican market, this plant exports engine hocks and dies to the U.S. Detroit bosses have set up a whole string of high-tech, low-wage assembly and parts plants in northern Mexico. While GM closes eleven factories in the U.S. it is opening a dozen south of the border. Labor's response to "runaway shops" should be joint Canadian-U.S.-Mexican auto strike action, fighting in particular to raise the wages of the lowest-paid workers.

The Mexican auto workers' battles are in direct response to the ravages of the capitalist austerity program implemented by PRI president Miguel de la Madrid at the behest of the New York bankers. Workers' wages were drastically slashed, and because middle-class salaries plummeted as well, auto sales fell by almost two-thirds since 1982. Ford and VW had prepared for a long strike to draw down inventories of unsold cars. In addition, they wanted to bring down wages to the level of the *maquiladoras* (free trade zone plants) in the north, which are considerably lower even than in Korea. While U.S. auto workers get \$12-\$14 an hour, the highest paid workers at Volkswagen in Puebla made that much a day. The aver-

the workers pelted them with rocks.

In addition to seizing the plant and sealing it off completely, from Day One they maintained mass picketing of 800 workers per shift, 2,400 a day. The VW plant became a giant fortress of workers power, which the police were leary of attacking. It was high-spirited: they played volleyball on the front steps, ice cream vendors and snack bars appeared. The union had been abandoned by the CTM, but they appealed for popular support in the city of Puebla with its 1.2 million people. Despite a smear campaign in the local press trying to "satanize" the strikers, every available wall on the west side of the city was plastered with signs. "Viva la huelga." They had sitdowns in the Zócalo (plaza), brigades raised money in the markets and support committees were set up in the workers' barrios.

On August 6 after a union meeting, thousands of auto workers spilled onto the Mexico City-Puebla turnpike, shutting it down for nine hours. This was accomplished by seizing two dozen city buses and placing them across the highway, setting dozens of tires on fire and surrounding them with a sea of strikers and their supporters. When a week later the company still only offered a 7 percent increase, in addition to the government-ordered 23 percent, the union cut off eight entrances into Puebla for several hours, causing a mammoth tie-up as they sealed off truck and car traffic. The strikers carefully kept the city buses under lock and key to prevent their being damaged by riot police. Occasionally they were taken out to drive strikers into town, and filled up at local Pemex gas stations where donations of gasoline were accepted.

The left-wing daily *La Jornada* (19 August) reported that the government-owned CONASUPO stores offered to supply the strikers with food, "but they asked as well that they return approximately 50 buses held hostage in the plant, and that they pay for the gasoline they had arbitrarily taken."

At a meeting on Saturday, August 22, more than 6,000 strikers gathered in the VW plant parking lot as the PA system played Motown hits, "Do the Locomotion" and "Dream Lover." SITAVW



VW strikers play volleyball on front steps of occupied plant.

age auto worker in Mexico makes about \$6 a day, and that's double the minimum wage.

The Battle of Puebla

The Independent Union of Volkswagen Workers (SITAVW) wasn't buying the pleas of poverty on the part of the VW bosses. The SITAVW broke with the dictatorial control of CTM boss and PRI kingpin Fidel Velásquez in the early 1970s, and has struck nine times in the last 15 years. Without a strike fund and shunned by the official labor movement, they were prepared to fight to win. A strike committee was formed that mobilized several hundred of the most active militants. Strike votes were taken by mass union meetings attended by thousands of VW workers. An insulting company offer was rejected at an assembly held in Puebla's main plaza, where the strikers were encircled by three battalions of riot cops. When judicial police pulled out their pistols,

union leader Facundo Antelmo Ochoa declared that "everything we have won we got with our bare fists" and that they had set a "great example" for organizing the rest of the country. The union leadership refused to put before the ranks the company's latest offer of less than the 52 percent won by other auto workers. And Ochoa warned that if there were no settlement the next week, "the president is going to have problems" during his September 2 "state of the nation" speech: "We're going to take the [West German] embassy; we're going to go to Los Pinos [Mexican presidential residence]; we're not going to let them screw us."

For a Mexican Trotskyist Party!

Speaking to *Workers Vanguard* after the meeting, Ochoa said that international solidarity had played a significant role in the strike. The Puebla plant not only produces the VW "beetle" for the Mexican market, but 60 percent of

Chicago Protest Against Killer Cops



WV Photo

Remember Larry Hawkins, Stop Racist Terror!

CHICAGO, August 29—Thirty spirited protesters rallied at Chicago police headquarters today to protest the racist cop murder of Larry Hawkins. Hawkins, a 29-year-old black man and disabled auto worker, was gunned down on July 27 when four white cops barged into his home. The demonstration, organized by the Hawkins family, was joined by supporters of the Spartacist League, the Partisan Defense Committee and militant transit workers. The crowd defiantly chanted, "Remember Larry Hawkins—Stop racist terror!"

The cops in "Segregation City"

have been terrorizing the black community. Just six days before Larry Hawkins was killed, five cops kicked down the door and seriously injured a black CTA bus driver, Cassandra Seay, in her own home. A PDC placard called for "Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Attacks!" To fight racist terror, whether its perpetrators wear white sheets or blue uniforms, the mass power of Chicago unions and minorities must be mobilized.

The Hawkins family has filed a \$25 million lawsuit against the Chicago police department.

the parts for the VW Passat and Audi models 80 and 90 which are assembled in West Germany. When Volkswagen attempted to put on a third shift at its Kassel plant to make up for parts made unavailable because of the Mexican strike, West German auto workers, who recently won a 37-hour week, refused to work the shift (*Excelsior*, 20 August). (Earlier, in an act of internationalism, the Mexican Volkswagen union contributed some \$4,000 to the Salvadoran FENASTRAS union federation.)

The union leadership appealed to the Federal Conciliation Board to pressure VW management, and talked of asking for arbitration. Yet as a sign painted on the turnpike in front of the plant says, "Government and bosses [are] enemies of the working class." The PRI regime has consistently acted as enforcer for the International Monetary Fund. In 1983 when the militant Uramex atomic workers struck, President de la Madrid pulled a PATCO, shutting down the entire plant and dissolving the leftist-led SUTIN union. Carrying out Wall Street's orders to sell off state-owned industry, last year the government closed the Fundidora de Monterrey steel plant, throwing thousands of workers out of their jobs, and it is trying to sell off the Ecatepec steel plant north of the capital.

The semi-corporatist CTM unions predictably didn't lift a finger to defend the VW workers. Meanwhile, they're running the Ford strike into the ground. (Ford union chief Lorenzo Vega is also the PRI mayor of Cuautitlán, a huge workers suburb of Mexico City.) Intypical CTM bureaucratic manner there have been no votes, no union information to the strikers, no marches, no coordination with the VW workers. The reformist left, totally absorbed in electoralism, largely ignored this sharp class battle. The only evident "solidarity" with the VW strike from the recently formed PMS (Mexican Socialist Party) was a couple of newspaper ads. The pseudo-Trotskyist PRT (Revolution-

ary Workers Party) was completely silent: nothing in its paper, and not a single contribution on working-class struggles in hundreds of pages of internal bulletins for its congress.

This almost total divorce of the Mexican left from the organized labor movement combined with the PRI/CTM's stranglehold over the bulk of the workers movement has produced a situation rife with possibilities for the growth of syndicalism, with class-conscious workers rejecting all "parties" and looking instead to militant "independent" unions. The "Trade Union Coordinating Roundtable," to which the SITAVW belongs, held a solidarity march with the Volkswagen workers in Mexico City July 24. But aside from this single gesture, the rest of their "support" has been "moral"—i.e., empty. The other main "independent" union federation, the "Proletarian Independence Movement," held a 25,000-strong march on August 18 but ignored the VW strike. On May Day these two federations, with no evident principled differences, held separate marches.

As Trotsky wrote in his notes on "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940): "In Mexico the trade unions have been transformed by law into semistate institutions and have, in the nature of things, assumed a semitotalitarian character." He went on: "In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution." And that means that "without the political leadership of the Fourth International the independence of the trade unions is impossible." Today, as militant strike struggles multiply from South Africa and South Korea to Central America, Mexico and Canada, as the Reagan regime totters in the imperialist colossus to the north, the leadership of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International, and the construction of a Mexican section, is all the more urgent. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

rejected before the strike began including a 15-to-23 percent wage increase (the union had demanded 30 percent). While there is no guarantee that the 44,000 union militants fired during the course of the strike would be reinstated, the overwhelming majority probably will be. Most importantly the miners union was not broken, its forces remain intact.

Although the immediate demands of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) did not go beyond wages, benefits and conditions, this great labor struggle has had an enormous political impact. As the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (21 August) observed:

"The strike is more than a wage dispute. It is a direct challenge to a government that has snuffed out all other forms of black protest.

"By disrupting a system in which black laborers help produce enormous wealth for South Africa at minuscule wages, the miners are at the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggle."

Gold in South Africa is mined and processed from very low-grade ore. The billions in profits extracted by the mine magnates every year represent the brutal *superexploitation* of black labor subjected to a vicious form of indentured servitude. But the recent strike, in its massive size, duration and discipline demonstrated the growing power and sophistication of the miners union. The last black miners strike in South Africa on this scale—in 1946—was crushed after four days and the union was destroyed. Before the rise of organized black labor in the 1970s, whites in the mining industry earned eleven times the wages of black workers. Now that ratio has been reduced to five-to-one, and most whites are foremen or supervisors. Moreover, on the second day of the strike the NUM won the elimination of the "reserve" clause which previously barred blacks from getting blasting certificates, the ticket to higher-paying jobs in the industry.

The black miners are recruited from the deeply impoverished bantustans and black client states bordering South Africa. They are forced to live hundreds of miles from their families eleven months a year in prison-like male-only compounds. But even the mine magnates have made noises about abolishing the "migrant" labor system, a demand raised by the NUM. The mine barons tried to buy off the growing militancy of the black miners with significant pay raises on a base wage of around \$170 per month. Even this lousy wage is far above what most American multinationals pay in South Africa and

Apartheid mine owners open talks with Mineworkers union leader Cyril Ramaphosa (far right).



Asia, and represents a standard of living incompatible with the kind of police-state regimentation black miners and their families hack on the bantustans are subjected to. Black miners produce the wealth of South Africa and they are becoming increasingly conscious of the disparity between the vicious exploitation they endure and their real social power.

So the miners waged a hard strike for the wealth that is theirs. The economic power and combativity of the miners will surely inspire the oppressed black African, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers of South Africa. But the mine struggle underscores the urgent need for a communist political leadership to lead the anti-apartheid struggle toward workers power.

Showdown on the Witwatersrand

The racist apartheid regime has tried through naked terror to crush the three-year-old nationwide revolt against apartheid rule. Anti-apartheid organizations have been banned and their activists in the thousands have been jailed under "Emergency Regulations" or murdered by right-wing death squads. But in defiance of this savage police state, black unions have only grown stronger and more militant, as demonstrated by the phenomenal growth of the NUM. And the three-week-long strike showed the power of proletarian class solidarity to transcend in struggle historic tribal antagonisms and the social backwardness of the less urbanized "migrant" workers. These divisions have been exploited for decades by the mine magnates to keep these

toilers enslaved.

The six-million-strong black proletariat of South Africa, with black miners at its core, can smash apartheid and be the powerhouse for the liberation of all southern Africa. The mine strike posed the question of *power*: which class will rule South Africa? When



Victim of apartheid terror: striker shows wounds from rubber bullets.

Anglo American began mass firing of the mine strikers, the giant COSATU federation intimated that plans for a general strike were under way. But the NUM leadership drew back, unprepared to lead the revolutionary struggle which was posed. The insurgent black labor movement in South Africa desperately needs a multiracial Bolshevik party, which must be, as Lenin said, the tribune of the people—uniting the townships, the migrant workers, the women, the Indian and coloured masses, the anti-apartheid whites in a struggle for workers revolution to topple the racist slavemasters.

The union leadership urged miners to go home for the duration, signaling the determination to wage a long strike if necessary. At the same time, having union militants leave the mine fields tended to weaken the strike in the face of the bosses' massive scabberding by security guards and police. Nine strikers were killed and hundreds wounded, and according to union sources over 400 have been arrested. But black miners have not been passive victims of apartheid terror. They fought back with stones, knives and gasoline bombs.

The mine bosses' main weapon in trying to break the strike was the wholesale firings of union members—over 44,000 dismissed. When the union rejected the Randlords' take-it-or-leave-it offer last week, Anglo American spokesman Neville Huxham warned, "we will now concentrate all our efforts to returning our mines to full production" (*New York Times*, 27 August). But the black miners were not cowed. They

answered Huxham by *sitting* in more than a mile underground at Anglo American's Western Deep Levels, the deepest pit in the world.

Anglo American has been the main target of the strike and the most ruthless of the mining houses trying to break it. The company's chief negotiator, Bobby Godsell, threatened:

"There is a continuing romanticism in the minds of people inside and outside South Africa which thinks that the trade union movement is the short cut to revolution. They are wrong.

"If the trade union movement devotes its resources to a head-on confrontation with the South African state through a national strike, the government will smash the trade union movement."

—*New York Times*, 25 August

Most of the strikers killed were killed by Anglo American security guards and most of those fired were fired by Anglo American. Even the moderate Ramaphosa leadership of the NUM accused Anglo American of seeking "to break the strike with the aid of the South African police."

This giant mining and manufacturing conglomerate constitutes the core of English-speaking capitalists in South Africa and is the key link to Wall Street and the City of London. The corporation is well named since half its owners are Americans and Englishmen. No less important than Anglo American's economic dominance has been its crucial *political* role in contemporary South Africa. Harry Oppenheimer, the corporation's founder, and its current head Gavin Relly have been viewed as the mainstays of the so-called "liberal" or "progressive" wing of the white ruling class. Thus the petty-bourgeois nationalist African National Congress (ANC) has long looked to Oppenheimer, Relly & Co. as its hoped-for partner in dismantling apartheid and constructing a "democratic, nonracial" South Africa.

Relly and his political underlings meet with ANC spokesmen in various black African capitals and declare their desire for a "peaceful, negotiated solution" to South Africa's crisis. But Anglo American security guards terrorize black workers daily, and faced with any serious level of class struggle, Relly & Co. turn to the police and army—the core of the apartheid state. For the fundamental basis of the apartheid system is capitalist *superexploitation* of the black majority. There can be no liberation from apartheid slavery without the revolutionary expropriation of capitalist wealth.

Gold, Anglo American and Ramaphosa

The main source of capitalist wealth in South Africa lies in the mines. Gold exports alone account for 60 percent of the country's foreign-exchange earnings. Coal, which was also struck, is also crucial for the South African economy

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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

South Korea...

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dismemberment of the country. "Peaceful reunification" is the hobbyhorse of all, from Kim Il Sung's Stalinist regime in the North to the vaguely nationalist radical student movement to the Southern capitalists. But there can be no peaceful reunification between these two states—one proletarian and the other capitalist—whose class divide is embodied in a "DMZ" hissing with barbed wire and armaments.

For Workers Revolution!

Economist business unionism can't get off the ground when even the right to have a union poses a direct struggle with the state. Of 276 labor actions in 1986, not one was considered legal, and half of all political prisoners are labor demonstrators, often convicted in one-minute "trials." "Politicizing" union struggles with a handful of liberal demands aimed at turning the working class into cannon fodder for the bourgeois opposition is a dead end for the workers. Any serious struggle to put an end to the series of brutal dictatorships which have ravaged this country since the postwar American occupation must point to a workers revolution and, in turn, to a struggle to smash the Cold War partition of Korea along the 38th parallel. First and foremost that means unconditional military defense of North Korea and the Soviet Union as well as the other bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialism.

For all the regime's talk of "impure elements," at least from a distance it appears that the recent struggles have been largely spontaneous. However, in



Kwangju, historic center of militant struggle: Insurgents patrol the streets during 1980 uprising.

recent years both student activists and church groups have oriented toward industrial workers. And, according to the *New York Times* (4 August), despite the draconian repression, "A small number are clearly Communists, committed enough that they learn Japanese so that they can read Marx and Lenin...." Leaders of the *Sodaehyop* student federation denounce both Kims as "products of the existing structure" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 6 August).

There is fertile soil in the militant history of Korean workers' struggles for genuine communism—not the vulgar Stalinism and nepotism of Kim Il Sung's caricature of "socialism" in half a country to the North. The early Korean Communist Party was one of the first to be established in the Far East in response to the Russian Revolution: a

Korean delegate, Pak Chin-Sun, addressed the Communist International in 1919. The American occupation in 1945 involved the suppression of popular anti-Japanese resistance committees which had disarmed the Japanese and proclaimed a Korean People's Republic in Seoul. The installation of American puppet Syngman Rhee (Lee Sing Man) in 1946 was met by popular resistance which a *Chicago Sun* report described as a "full scale revolution." Four years later, in anticipation of the advancing North Korean troops, Kwangju erupted in a general strike.

Today South Korea teeters between a generalized workers' upsurge pointing toward proletarian revolution to topple the American-backed dictatorship of strong man Chun, and bloody military suppression of the rising workers movement. Key to resolving this crisis in

favor of the long-suffering South Korean masses is the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party under the banner of permanent revolution. This means not only a struggle for revolutionary reunification of Korea through socialist revolution in the South and proletarian political revolution in the North, but internationalist appeals to the workers of Japan and the U.S. as well. In an address to the Executive Committee of the Communist International in late 1919, when Korea was still a Japanese colony, Korean Communist Pak Chin-Sun said:

"Taking into account the fact that the interests of the toiling masses of Japan and Korea are interrelated and that the yoke of Japanese imperialism and capital is equally distressing for them, it is essential to have close ties between the revolutionary organizations of both countries."

—Dae-Sook Suh, ed.,
Documents of Korean Communism, 1918-48 (1970)

The American proletariat, whose union dues go to finance counterrevolutionary anti-labor activities in South Korea (among other places), have a particular obligation to the embattled workers there. Get U.S. troops out of South Korea! Japanese workers, themselves saddled with company unions, would do well to follow the lead of their Korean class brothers and sisters. Concrete solidarity action by the American and Japanese workers movements would go a long way to undercut virulent anti-Korean chauvinism, which has expressed itself in racist protectionism here and brutal colonialism and violent racism against the Korean minority in Japan. For international solidarity with the Korean workers' struggles! For a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Korea, part of a reformed Fourth International! ■

as its main domestically produced energy source.

The more far-sighted Randlords, like Oppenheimer and Relly, realized that their total subjugation of the black miners could not last. In the late '70s Anglo American and the other mining houses were hit by a series of bloody wildcat strikes. Recognizing that black unionization of some sort was inevitable, Oppenheimer and Relly wanted to ensure that the leadership of such unions was moderate and reformist.

Into this explosive situation stepped the young black African lawyer Cyril Ramaphosa. In the mid '70s, as a student activist in Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement, he was held for 18 months in police detention. This was typical for young black intellectuals of his generation. However, in the late '70s Ramaphosa served on the board of directors of the Urban Foundation, a fund launched by the Oppenheimer empire to promote a black middle class.

When the Anglo American bosses decided to allow the growth of "responsible" unions with which it could bargain, Ramaphosa launched the National Union of Mineworkers in 1982. Doubtless Oppenheimer and Relly hoped and expected that the NUM under Ramaphosa would restrain the seething anger of the black miners. But the nostrum of class-collaborationist unionism could not be sold in the infernal pits and prison-like barracks. Black miners have never bought Anglo American's much-touted "liberal" image. And this strike has exposed Gavin Relly as just as vicious an enemy of the black oppressed as P.W. Botha

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

Communism is a positive word among South Africa's black masses, symbolizing opposition to the hated system of apartheid capitalism. At funerals for the victims of police-state terror,

defiant protesters carry red flags with the hammer and sickle. Sympathy for Communism is further reinforced by the war in Angola, where Soviet-backed Cuban troops are defending a black African state against the South African army.

Nonetheless South Africa's black proletariat can be politically tied to the Randlords through the medium of petty-bourgeois nationalism, principally the African National Congress. The ANC and its long-imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela, possess great moral authority among the black African masses, including unionized workers.

For decades the ANC's strategy has been to pressure "progressive" white capitalists like Oppenheimer and Relly against the Afrikaner nationalist regime. In the fall of 1985 Gavin Relly himself led a delegation of white businessmen which met with Tambo in Lusaka, Zambia. Significantly, only a month before this meeting the NUM reached a last-minute settlement with Anglo American which averted an expected nationwide gold strike. Doubtless Ramaphosa did not want to embarrass Relly on the eve of his "historic" meeting with the ANC. As a result, the NUM struck only one of the six major mining houses. Isolated, the 1985 gold strike was quickly crushed.

The miners strike and especially Anglo American's role in it expose not only the ANC's dangerous illusions in class collaboration but also its narrow nationalism. Over 40 percent of the miners on the Witwatersrand come from outside the borders of South Africa, from glorified bantustans like Lesotho or neocolonies like Mozambique. Yet neither the ANC nor the remnants of the Black Consciousness Movement raise the elementary democratic demand of full citizenship rights for all workers in South Africa.

More fundamentally, the ANC in no way opposes neocolonial rule in black



Black miners at Vaal Reef gold mine. Those who labor must rule!

Africa. On the contrary, it looks toward the black regimes from Senegal to Zambia—savagely oppressive of their people and subservient to Wall Street and Washington—as its main source of diplomatic support. But neocolonialism need not be South Africa's future. South Africa is the one place in sub-Saharan Africa where there is the possibility for a workers state, because here the black population has been partially absorbed, at the bottom, into a modern industrialized society which can, based on the revolutionary reorganization of society, provide a decent life for all its citizens.

For socialist revolution to become a reality in South Africa a racially integrated Leninist-Trotskyist party must be forged in irreconcilable struggle against all forms of nationalism and class collaboration, counterposing the program of *permanent revolution*, the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The great miners

strike has demonstrated anew the enormous economic power and heroic combativity of the black proletariat. But for that proletariat to conquer *political* power there must be a Bolshevik party at its head. There is no other way. ■

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

in Guatemala City August 7, the murderers and rapists Reagan calls "freedom fighters" would be amnestied along with the imprisoned torturers left over from dictator Somoza's National Guard. The CIA mouthpiece *La Prensa* would be allowed to reopen. Catholic bishops Bismark Caballo and Pablo Vega, notorious for supporting Reagan's contra "aid," would return to join contra cardinal Obando y Bravo. "Free" elections would be supervised by the Organization of American States, which Che Guevara rightly termed the "Yankee ministry of colonies." The Sandinistas would be banned from providing any kind of support—even office space—to the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas. In return, the Central American presidents beseech Washington to cut off the contras' supply lines. Fat chance.

A week later in his "apology" speech on the Iran/Contra conspiracy, Reagan declared he remains "totally committed" to the contras. He ostentatiously met with his contra capos, who called on Congress to vote more dollars of death, to be held in "escrow" if the Sandinistas behave. If the Democrats balk, the White House will just continue shelling out the CIA hucks with Oliver North-style "creative accounting." The Reaganauts have made no bones about their distaste for a "negotiated solution" that would leave the Sandinistas in place. But their contra creatures, good for nothing except raping health workers and murdering unarmed peasants, are still getting whipped by Sandinista troops and militias defending the revolution. And the American public, despite the brief midsummer "Olliemania," still opposes contra aid not to mention a U.S. invasion.

The Guatemala accords are the Democrats' answer to the failure of Reagan's attempts to crush the Nicaraguan Revolution by the force of contra arms. Despite tactical disagreements, the partner parties of U.S. imperialism share the strategic goals of reversing the spread of revolution in "America's backyard" and waging a war drive against the Soviet Union. The Congressional hearings served as a podium for North & Co. and covered up everything from Reagan's criminal culpability to the drugs-and-murder conspiracy and plans for imposing military rule in the U.S. Then, putting ContraGate behind them, House Speaker Jim Wright authored a "peace" plan for Reagan. And when Central American leaders agreed on the essential points of the plan put forward by Costa Rican president Oscar Arias, the Democrats embraced it. The Nicaraguan Jesuit review *Envio* (July 1987) explained that the Arias plan was worked out in cooperation with Democratic Senator Christopher Dodd who:

"...explained to the Central American leaders what a Democratic Party policy would be with regard to Nicaragua, based on an end to contra aid and on containment of the Sandinista revolution through political, economic and diplomatic means, rather than military means."

The "Nicaragua debate" in the U.S. bourgeoisie is a replay of post-World War II differences between Democratic policies of "containment" and Republican "rollback" of Communism. Beyond the common ground of anti-Sovietism, both sides represent the interests of an American empire in retreat. Iran/ContraGate was the product of a government desperately trying to get around massive opposition (including in the ruling class) to intervention in Central America, product of the humiliating U.S. defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers a decade before. But while Reagan is down, Yankee imperialism is far from out. And attempts at appeasement only embolden the wounded beast. The only

"peace" that will be achieved in Central America by sacrificing the revolution is a "peace of the cemeteries."

This blood-drenched isthmus has long endured the abject poverty of capitalist/landlord rule under the military boot. Two hundred thousand people have been killed by the death squads and mercenary armies in the last decade, and more than three million have become refugees. Genuine peace for the Central American masses can only come through revolutionary victory over their oppressors. And that requires common struggle against imperialism with the working class and minorities in the United States. The fight against union-busting and racist terror at home must be part and parcel of a struggle against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive which threatens to take all humanity into the abyss of nuclear war. Not concessions to Reagan's Central American puppets but sharp class struggle for

funding the contras, the Sandinistas would issue decrees eliminating the state of emergency and reopening the opposition newspaper *La Prensa* even before the November 7 deadline stipulated in the accords.

Comrades report from Nicaragua that the "peace agreement" was front-page news in the FSLN's *Barricada* for days, and there is understandably a yearning for an end to the killing. But the Sandinistas have not publicized that the accords call for an amnesty to the contras. If implemented, it would mean that sadistic killers like "Attila," "Mercenario" and "Exterminator" and the CIA's paid front men like Adolfo Calero and Alfonso Robelo would be walking the streets of Managua. Nor have they spelled out that several thousand National Guardsmen still in jail for their crimes against the Nicaraguan people under the Somoza tyranny would be released. It was from escaped and

aganda being spewed out by the rag they called "La Prensa." The protesters, held back by the Sandinista police, were fired on from inside the newspaper.

Commenting on the closure of the right-wing press by the Petrograd Soviet following the February 1917 revolution in Russia, Leon Trotsky wrote:

"The press does not stand above society; the conditions of its existence during a revolution reflect the progress of the revolution itself. When the latter assumes, or may assume, the character of a civil war, not one of the warring camps will permit the existence of a hostile press within the sphere of its influence—no more than it will let escape from its control the arsenals, the railroads, the printing establishments. In a revolutionary struggle the press is only one kind of weapon. The right to speech is certainly not higher than the right to life. A revolution takes the latter too into its hands. We may lay this down as a law: Revolutionary governments are the more liberal, the more tolerant, the more 'magnanimous' to the reaction, the shallower their program, the more they are bound up with the past, the more conservative their role. And the converse: the more gigantic their tasks and the greater the number of vested rights and interests they are to destroy, the more concentrated will be the revolutionary power, the more naked its dictatorship. Whether this is a good thing or bad, it is by these roads that humanity has thus far moved forward."

—Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution* (1932)

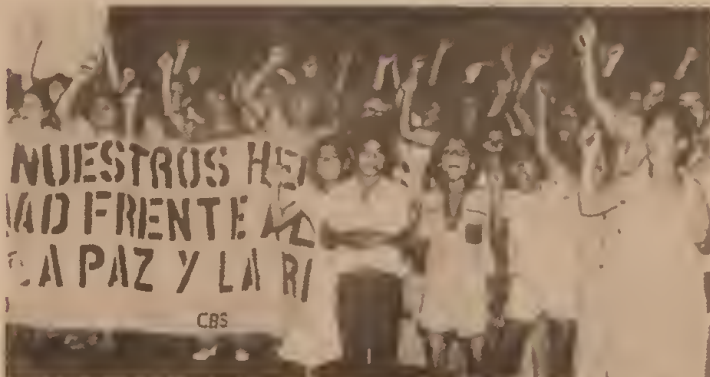
If today the Sandinistas allow the voice of the CIA and the contras to reopen, it will be because they are seeking to turn back the revolution, to enforce a counterrevolutionary "peace" of the exploiters.

Mexico or Cuba?

Foreseeing what Nicaragua would look like if the Sandinistas agreed to enforce the Arias plan, "even reluctantly," the London *Economist* (15 August) wrote: "it will become a one-party state with many pluralist trappings (a fair description of Mexico too) and little ability to interfere with its neighbours. That may not be ideal, but it is acceptable." The Mexican comparison has also been raised by Daniel Ortega himself, responding to charges that Sandinista Nicaragua was following the "Cuban road." In an interview with *Time* magazine last year, Ortega said: "The revolution is most like the Mexican Revolution when it started" (see "Cuba, Nicaragua and the Permanent Revolution," *WV* No. 428, 15 May).

What would it mean for Nicaragua to go the "Mexican road"? It would require the *reconsolidation of a capitalist state* following the end of the contra war. When the FSLN rode into Managua on 19 July 1979 after a Sandinista-led mass insurrection, they had smashed the governing apparatus of the previous one-family capitalist state. The National Guard, the backbone of the Somoza dictatorship, ran for the borders in fear of popular vengeance for their heinous crimes. But despite the Reaganauts' talk of "Sandino-Communism," the victorious FSLN did not establish a new proletarian state based on collective property and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. These petty-bourgeois nationalists were not wedded to either socialist or capitalist property forms. Like the victorious Cuban guerrillas led by Fidel Castro who conquered Havana 20 years before, they could go either way. In the Cuban case, the intransigent opposition of U.S. imperialism combined with the weakness of the local bourgeoisie and the absence of a working class fighting for power in its own name led swiftly to the consolidation of a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

The Sandinistas are still trying to follow a "middle road," to stop the revolution halfway. The all-sided onslaught orchestrated by the Reagan regime in Washington was pushing Nicaragua



January 1982: Angry demonstrators in Managua demand closing of *La Prensa*, voice of counterrevolution. Under new "peace" plan, CIA mouthpiece would be reopened.

socialist revolution led by international workers parties: this is the only road to a just peace for the working people, poor and oppressed of the Americas.

Silence the Voice of Counterrevolution!

Managua has hailed the Guatemala plan as a "historic first step" and pledged to loyally carry out the provisions worked out with the presidents of countries where "democracy" is synonymous with death squads and military coups on orders from Washington. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has proclaimed as its banner a "mixed economy, pluralism and nonalignment," even writing this holy trinity into a new constitution promulgated last January. In a recent speech, FSLN comandante Bayardo Arce, one of the reputed "hards" in the Sandinista directorate, declared:

"Should the agreements be met—and we will fight to see that they are—many of the social and political positions (of Nicaragua)...are going to change substantially."

—London Independent, 24 August

And Nicaraguan vice president Sergio Ramirez stated that if the U.S. stops

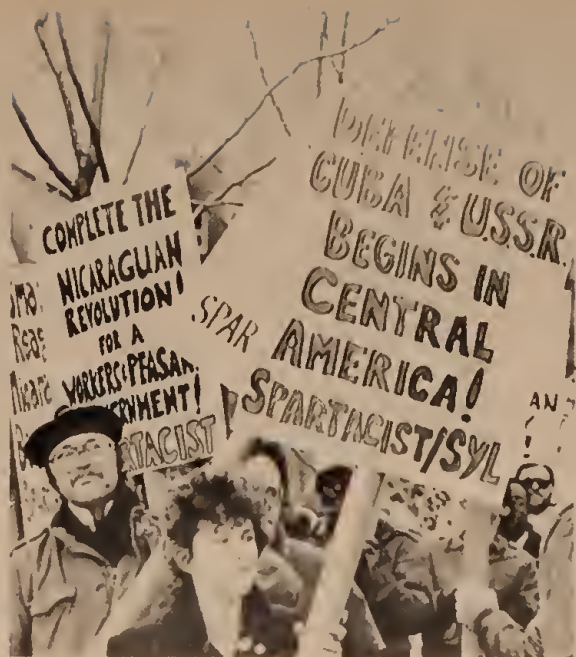
released Guardsmen that the CIA first put together its bloody contra army. Instead of allowing these criminals to go free so they can kill again, they should be subject to the revolutionary justice of genuine people's tribunals!

One of the most controversial measures is the plan to reopen *La Prensa* and allow Radio Católica to broadcast again. For imperialist liberals this is the test of freedom of the press, a key plank of bourgeois democracy. Costa Rican president Arias has sent a message to Ortega that this matter is "not open to interpretation." But the Nicaraguan masses have a very different view of these mouthpieces for counterrevolution. *La Prensa* was closed in June 1985 after Reagan imposed a trade boycott on Nicaragua and the U.S. Congress voted military aid to the contras. These measures were a virtual U.S. declaration of war, and in wartime enemy propaganda is just as much a weapon as guns. Last spring it was revealed that *La Prensa* had received \$100,000 from Reagan's "National Endowment for Democracy," a CIA conduit. But the Nicaraguan masses didn't need ContraGate hearings to find this out. In January 1982 Managua's workers and poor demonstrated against the contra prop-

toward economic collapse, presumably as a prelude to a U.S. invasion to wipe out a "Communist beachhead on the American mainland." But in the aftermath of Iran/Contra, the Reagan-auts' ability to carry out their threats is doubted by everyone. Will the counterpart to the demise of Reagan's contras be Sandinista subservience to the Central American bourgeois rulers and the re-establishment of capitalist rule in Managua?

If so, it will be a bloody business and could well split the Sandinista leadership. Many Sandinista directors of nationalized factories taken over from the Somoza family show appetites to become part of a new bourgeois regime. But they face a militant working class, however weakened by the ravages of inflation and massive shortages. And the workers are armed. One of the main obstacles to a U.S. invasion has been the fact that more than 300,000 arms are in the hands of Nicaraguan civilians, predominantly workers and peasants. These heroic fighters brought down Somoza and have beaten the contras every time they have crossed the border from their lairs in Honduras and Costa Rica.

To see what Nicaragua going down the Mexican road would mean, one need only look at what it meant in Mexico. The "Institutional Revolutionary Party" which has held power for more than half a century grew out of the suppression of the peasant revolution which swept Mexico from 1910 to 1917. Like Nicaragua today, they boasted of having the "most advanced constitution in the Americas," which decreed land reform, labor rights and various other social rights. But this constitution was a fig leaf for the assassination of Emiliano Zapata in 1918 and Pancho Villa five years later, and the destruction of their peasant armies. The workers' "Red Battalions," which had been used by the demagogic northern landowners against the peasants, were dissolved. In late 1916, the death penalty was decreed



Central America: Front line of bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.

for strikes and nine months later a militant oil workers strike in Tampico was broken by force of arms. These were the origins of the semi-bonapartist regime which has been the chief enforcer of IMF-ordered austerity on the Mexican workers and poor.

The consolidation of a bourgeois state in Nicaragua today would likewise be over the corpses of the most conscious proletarian militants. Defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution requires that it be completed by expropriating the bourgeoisie—the contras' internal "fifth column"—and extended throughout Central America and beyond. Providing aid to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents and militant workers is vital to preserve the gains won by the Nicaraguan masses. To carry out this internationalist program of class struggle

rather than nationalist class collaboration requires the leadership of Trotskyist parties forged on the program of permanent revolution.

Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!

Part of the pressure on the Sandinistas pushing them toward acceptance of the Guatemala "peace" accords has come from the Soviet Union. For the past two years, the Soviet bloc has been the main source of oil supplies for Nicaragua—after its Latin American "allies" Mexico and Venezuela cut them off for non-payment. The USSR has also provided hundreds of millions of rubles worth of military equipment to Managua. This Soviet aid is a matter of life and death for Nicaragua. While Democrats and Republicans alike de-

nounced Ortega for going to Moscow in May 1985 to obtain these vital supplies, the Spartacist League proclaimed: "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs!" And we initiated our modest "Nicabucks" campaign to raise dollars from American students and workers to defend the embattled revolution.

On August 1, Nicaraguan defense minister Humberto Ortega announced that the Sandinista regime was proceeding with preparations to receive Soviet-made MIGs. Simultaneously Nicaraguan spokesmen reported that they will have a 40 percent shortfall in their oil supplies despite deliveries from the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries. Last week Managua doubled the price of gasoline. At the same time, according to the London *Guardian* (26 August), a Soviet spokesman denied it is cutting back on oil deliveries and said "it is willing to negotiate an increase in supplies."

In any case, aid to Nicaragua is not charity but a matter of self-defense against predatory imperialism which yearns to overturn the historic gains of the Russian October Revolution. Unfortunately, the Soviet and Cuban leaderships, reflecting the nationalist outlook of bureaucracies sitting atop proletarian property forms, have consistently opposed the deepening and extension of the Nicaraguan Revolution. To give in to American demands that Russia abandon Sandinista Nicaragua, as Reagan suggested last week in Los Angeles as a condition for a bogus "arms control" agreement, would be a betrayal of the defense of the Soviet Union. And the Arias "peace" plan, should it be implemented, will only embolden imperialism in its appetites to "roll back Communism" around the globe. The defense of revolutionary gains anywhere on the planet can be achieved not through illusions of "détente" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism but only through world socialist revolution. ■

UAW...

(continued from page 16)

company in the world! But the pattern set by Solidarity House over the last decade is to slice the UAW into two-tier unions and two-tier locals.

Auto workers can smash the givebacks and defend their jobs through militant joint labor action. For plant occupations—sit-down strikes—to stop plant closings! For an industrywide strike to take back the givebacks! One out, all out—Reopen the Chrysler contract—Strike the Big 3!

UAW Tops—Company Cops

The capitalist press expressed pleasure at the "restrained" response of the UAW International tops to GM's demands. No wonder. UAW president Owen Bieber is a loyal member of the Chrysler board of directors, occupying the seat that former UAW chief Doug Fraser paid for with the jobs of tens of thousands of Chrysler workers. (His predecessor, Leonard Woodcock, was rewarded for shafting auto workers with an ambassadorship to Peking.) Since 1979, 30 percent of the union has been wiped out. These company cops have spent years in an open alliance with the auto bosses against the UAW membership and Japanese, Korean and Mexican auto workers. Their only answer to the "rust bowl" decay of American capitalism is racist protectionism aimed at foreign workers.

Even as Bieber sits in negotiations, GM is slashing 30,000 more jobs across the country. The second shifts at the Fleetwood and Clark Street Cadillac assembly plants in Detroit were axed in June; the plants are slated to close in

December. At the Norwood, Ohio assembly and stamping plants 6,000 workers were thrown on the street August 26. And while the UAW tops push protectionism, fueling anti-Asian frenzy, a Cincinnati court acquitted the killer of Vincent Chin on May 1. Chin, a Chinese American, was beaten to death with a baseball bat in Detroit five years ago by Chrysler foreman Ronald Ebens and his nephew.

In a falling out among thieves, Canadian UAW director Robert White split the union and formed the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) in 1984. A protégé of Doug Fraser, White offers nothing but the same pro-capitalist betrayals as Bieber, with a heavy dose of Canadian nationalism thrown in. CAW contracts covering 65,000 workers at the Big 3 in Canada also expire September 14, but one of the UAW tops' contract demands is to define work sent to Canada as "outsourcing" and "protect" UAW jobs by laying off Canadian auto workers! UAW GM department head Donald Ephlin justified the anti-working-class demand: "The labor cost differential (\$8 an hour) is probably greater between us and Canada than

between us and Hiroshima!" (*Detroit News*, 30 July). This racist company stooge expresses his solidarity with the atom bombing of Hiroshima, just a week before the anniversary of that hideous slaughter!

Build a Workers Party!

Auto workers are paying a terrible price for the shackling of the UAW to the Democratic Party and the program of trade war. The auto bosses continue to increase exploitation on the shop floor, and now they're talking of slashing another quarter million jobs in the next three years! The GM-Toyota plant in Fremont, California is Bieber's model for what jobs are left: job classifications eradicated, massive speedup and a gutted grievance system. And the much-touted Mazda plant is opening in the old Ford Flatrock foundry without a union, as UAW tops cave in to legal threats by the union-busting Right to Work Committee.

Meanwhile, fake-leftists such as the Communist Party (CP) and the Workers World Party (WWP), cravenly loyal to the pro-company labor bureaucracy

and the Democratic Party, push the illusion that capitalist politicians will legislate the defense of jobs. The WWP-supported Stop Plant Closings Committee is touring Democratic Congressman John Conyers and supporting his phony-baloney bill for "notification" of runaway plants. And the CP explicitly says "Legislation to stop plants from moving to Mexico is what is needed" (*People's Daily World*, 12 March).

Instead of this racist protectionism, a class-struggle leadership in the labor movement would fight the plant closings at GM with mass plant occupations—hold the bosses' property hostage! A militant, national auto strike should be the impulse for the massive fight needed for jobs for all—a sliding scale of hours and wages—30 hours work for 40 hours pay. Such a leadership would forge common action with workers from Japan to South Africa, opposing chauvinist import quotas and "Buy American" schemes. It would fight to break the labor movement from the Democratic Party, sweeping out the labor traitors and building an internationalist, revolutionary workers party. ■



UAW top Bieber (left) glad-hands GM boss Warren, screws workers.

Scheinwald/AP

WORKERS VANGUARD

VW Workers Win! Solidarity with Ford Strikers!

Mexican Auto Workers Play Hardball



VW strikers win "with bare fists": 10,000 marched through Mexico City in July 24 strike rally.

WV Photo

PUEBLA, Mexico—For almost two months, the 10,500 workers at Volkswagen de México's giant plant here waged hard class struggle against the country's largest auto manufacturer. Management wanted to import Reagan-style union-busting: in the face of triple-digit inflation, VW demanded a 15

percent *pay cut* (the first company in Mexico to do so) and the firing of 730 workers. But Volkswagen workers, who have seen their real wages slashed by almost half in the last five years, were not about to take it. The union demanded a 100 percent wage hike and no layoffs. They occupied the factory and

ran up the the red and black flag, traditional symbol of labor struggle in Mexico. Repeatedly, thousands massed in the Puebla city center, marched on the capital and blocked the highways.

And they won! After 57 days Volkswagen workers achieved a victory as the company abandoned demands for fir-

ing and cutbacks, granting a 78 percent pay hike, backdated to July 1, and half pay for days on strike. As we go to press, a second Mexican auto strike by 3,800 workers at Ford's Cuautitlán plant north of Mexico City was continuing. The Detroit-based multinational was

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Take Back the Givebacks—Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!

Auto Workers: Strike the Big 3!

UAW Tops Play by the Bosses' Rules

United Auto Workers union members have been ravaged by eight years of givebacks and layoffs. As the UAW approaches its September 14 contract deadline with Ford and General Motors, workers in South Africa, Korea and Mexico are engaged in pitched battles with mining, steel and auto bosses. With the Big 3 wallowing in profits, and union-buster Reagan mired in one imperialist misadventure after another, now is the time for militant labor and black struggle to break the disastrous cycle of concessions and job slashing which have decimated Detroit and stripped tens of thousands of auto workers of their jobs.

Even as Ford and GM rake in record profits, they are planning to put the finishing touches to their rape of the

UAW: GM's August 28 contract "proposal" calls for massive cuts in health care benefits, a two-tier wage structure, pay cuts for workers in parts plants, and more wage cuts at "unprofitable" plants during the contract! The industrywide contract was smashed at Chrysler in 1979. Now GM intends to reduce the UAW to a collection of warring locals, each undercutting the other in a desperate bid for jobs.

On August 31, the UAW selected Ford as the "target" company for "pattern" bargaining. After throwing 43 percent of its workforce on the street in the last eight years, Ford now proposes to freeze wages and benefits. Ford, which is sitting on a cash hoard of \$9.14 billion, is the most profitable auto

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Detroit, July 27: UAW protesters outside GM headquarters.

Detroit News