

South Africa "Power Sharing" Swindle

MARCH 6—After holding secret meetings (so-called *bosheraads*, or "bush retreats") with the apartheid rulers, and following terms dictated by Washington, the African National Congress announced late last month its agreement to a coalition government with the white-supremacist regime. After a ten-month breakdown of negotiations, a multiparty conference in Johannesburg this weekend agreed to hold substantive talks by early April on a transitional deal. While their leaders were talking, ten supporters of the ANC were mowed down by gunmen in Natal.

The projected "government of national unity," in which the ANC led by Nelson Mandela will jointly administer the country together with F.W. De Klerk and his National Party (NP) in the interests of the mine bosses and the Jo'burg stock exchange, is no sudden development. This is the culmination of a scheme to preserve South African capitalism which was put in motion with the release of Mandela and legalization of the ANC three years ago. The deal was conditioned by the agreement of the ANC not only to toss out its demand for nationalization of the mines, whose fabulous wealth is a product of black workers' toil, but even to abandon its program of majority rule for the 30-million-strong black population.

If the agreement holds, elections to be held by April 1994 will create a 400-seat assembly in which all parties receiving over 5 percent of the vote get seats proportional to their electoral support. The assembly would write a new constitution and serve as an interim parliament for five years. The president would be chosen from the most successful party. Any party that won at least 5 percent of the seats would be entitled to a place in the cabinet. The catch is that cabinet approval will be required on major questions and two-thirds approval on "certain issues." Thus the Nats and the Democratic Party, the leading white capitalist parties, together with their bantustan puppets, including Inkatha leader Buthelezi, and their collaborator parties in the present "tri-cameral" segregated legislature, would have effective veto power over all major decisions.

To get around the ANC's longstanding position of "one person, one vote," various plans for white veto power over a black "government" were bandied about. Proposals for a bicameral legislature with an upper house to "safeguard minority rights" were dropped as too obvious, and instead the coalition "unity government" with its "two-thirds" ratification requirement will serve the same end. Meanwhile, the Nats and their toady Buthelezi are insisting on "strong regional powers" as another choke on any ANC coalition, cementing conservative strongholds such as the Orange Free

Smash Neo-Apartheid! For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!



Protesting taxi drivers in Johannesburg defy apartheid riot police last month.

Financial Times

State, bastion of the right-wing Conservative Party and outright fascists such as the Nazi AWB (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), and preserving the bantustan fiefdoms.

Make no mistake, the "power-sharing" deal will leave power in the hands of the apartheid masters, spelling continued enslavement of the vast non-white majority of South Africa. The blood-drenched army and security apparatus will remain intact, along with the rest of the racist capitalist state. This pact marks a historic betrayal of the aspirations of the black toilers of South Africa, who for generations have struggled, endured prison and died by the thousands to win their freedom. Now even the ANC's Freedom Charter, which (despite the claims by various leftist cheerleaders) does not go beyond simple bourgeois democracy, is revealed as an empty piece of paper.

Under this cruel "compromise," the "new" "post-apartheid" South Africa will look very much like the old. What will change for the millions crammed into squatter camps on the edges of modern cities built with their sweat? For black women forced to live in backyards and hack bedrooms in wealthy white suburbs, taking care of other people's children? For rural blacks pushed off their land into barren bantustan wastelands? And the terror spread by shadowy gangs financed and instigated by the apartheid masters will go on.

As we Trotskyists have repeatedly stressed, there can be no democracy for

the exploited and oppressed under South African capitalism, which is based on the superexploitation of black labor, and therefore on the denial of the most basic rights for the black majority. Anyone who stands for the liberation of the black, "coloured" and Indian masses of South Africa, including whites who don't want to spend the rest of their lives in a permanent garrison state, must reject this grotesque "deal." Urgently needed is the formation of a Bolshevik party to lead the mobilization of the black proletariat in the fight for workers revolution. The International Communist League calls to: Smash the collaborationist pact! Those who toil must rule!

SACP Brokers Neo-Apartheid Pact

The current bargaining was preceded by internal fights on both sides, by the

NP against the diehard apartheid right, and the ANC against militant nationalists within its own ranks, and outside. De Klerk accomplished this by the racist referendum last May, in which 68 percent of the whites voted for his negotiation strategy. The ANC demonstrated its support among blacks in a massive two-day general strike in August which paralyzed Johannesburg and surrounded the capital buildings in Pretoria. Yet this mobilization was cynically geared to pressure the regime back to the bargaining table. After the bloody massacres in Boipatong township and Bisho in the Ciskei, the ANC had called off negotiations to prevent revolt from below as township youth demanded arms.

The deal was also preceded by a campaign within the 50,000-strong South African Communist Party, launched by

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KAL 007



YELTSIN WHITEWASHES REAGAN'S SPY MISSION

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Racist Death Penalty Frame-Up Exposed

On March 2, after spending five years on death row, Walter McMillian walked out of a Bay Minette, Alabama courtroom a free man. After turning down four prior appeals, the Alabama Court of Criminal Appeals threw out McMillian's conviction last month, leading to the hearing at which the district attorney's office finally withdrew the charges. Monroe County D.A. Chapman acknowledged that McMillian's conviction was obtained using perjured testimony and concealing evidence of his innocence.

Set in Munroeville, Alabama, the backdrop for Harper Lee's novel "To Kill a Mockingbird" about a similar racist frame-up, the McMillian case followed a script that's been passed down for over a century, complete with a hanging judge named for a Confederate general, an infamous Southern prison housing

countless frame-up victims, and the mix of race and sex that for generations has condemned black men to the lynch rope and the electric chair.

In the morning hours of 1 November 1986, Ronda Morrison, a young white woman, was murdered in a Monroeville dry cleaning shop. Unable to solve the Morrison murder for eight months, the cops decided to get McMillian, a black pulpwood worker known around town for dating a white woman. They picked up professional criminal Ralph Meyers in connection with another killing and threatened him with a capital murder charge unless he fingered McMillian. Meyers gave in. McMillian was arrested. And to make it clear that he was presumed guilty, McMillian was thrown onto death row before the trial began.

Though 12 witnesses testified that

McMillian had been home at a fish fry at the time of the murder, he was convicted and sentenced by the jury to life imprisonment. However, Judge Robert E. Lee Key, Jr. tossed out the jury's sentence and condemned McMillian to death, citing the "vicious and brutal killing of a young lady in the first full flower of adulthood"—an eerie echo of classic KKK appeals to defend "Southern womanhood."

McMillian's appeals discredited every piece of prosecution evidence. The state's three witnesses recanted. Meyers revealed how cops pressured him into fingering McMillian. Meyers' numerous statements absolving McMillian were concealed from the defense. Today Alabama Assistant Attorney General Ken Nunneley calls the McMillian frame-up "a totally aberrant occurrence." Tell it to Clarence Brandley, Randall Dale Adams, Darby Tillis and James Richardson, just a few of those who have proved their innocence and been freed from prison after many years on death row. Racist frame-ups and "legal" lynchings are integral to the American injustice system, together with the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by killer cops on city streets across the country. Just across the state line in Mississippi, 23 black men have been found dead in their cells in the past three years.

McMillian's attorney, Bryan Stevenson of the Montgomery Capital Representation Resource Center, told reporters, "It was too easy for the state to convict someone for that crime and then have him sentenced to death. And it was too hard in light of the evidence of his innocence to show this court that he should never have been here in the first place." Led by "Justice Death" Rehnquist, the U.S. Supreme Court is on a crusade to make sure that it's not just "too hard" but virtually impossible to overturn a death sentence.



Walter McMillian spent five years on death row, victim of racist frame-up.

In January the High Court racists baldly declared in the case of Mexican American Leonel Herrera that evidence of innocence is not constitutional grounds for overturning a death sentence (see "Supreme Court Executioners," WV No. 569, 12 February). To the bloody rulers of this country, innocence doesn't matter when the victim of state murder is poor, black or Hispanic, like most of the more than 2,500 men and women on death row.

Anyone holding their breath for Clinton and the Democrats to turn this around better exhale before asphyxiating. The Democratic Party has joined its Republican partners in supporting efforts to gut federal habeas corpus challenges to state court death sentences. Clinton took his own oath of loyalty to the racist death penalty when he left the campaign trail to oversee the execution of brain-damaged black prisoner Ricky Ray Rector. Rector was so out of it that he saved part of the dessert from his last meal for after the execution. As he watched TV just hours before his

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TROTSKY

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

March 8 is International Women's Day, a traditional socialist working-class holiday. In opposition to bourgeois feminism, Clara Zetkin, founding leader of the German socialist women's movement who later rallied to the Bolshevik Revolution and the Communist International, explained the centrality of Marxism and the class struggle to the emancipation of women.



LENIN

The old superstition that the position of women in the family and in society was forever unchangeable because it was created on moral precepts or by divine revelation was smashed. Marx revealed that the family, like all other institutions and forms of existence, is subjected to a constant process of ebb and flow which changes with the economic conditions and the property relationships which result from them. It is the development of the productive forces of the economy which push this transformation by changing the mode of production and by coming into conflict with the prevailing economic and property system. On the basis of the revolutionized economic conditions, human thought is revolutionized and it becomes the endeavor of people to adjust their societal superstructure to the changes that have taken place in the economic substructure. Petrified forms of property and personal relationships must then be removed. These changes are wrought by means of the class struggle....

The women's movement, however, owes much more to Marx than just the fact that he, as no other person before him, shed bright light upon the painful path of the development that leads the female sex from social servitude to freedom and from atrophy to a strong, harmonious existence. By his profound, penetrating analysis of the class contradictions in today's society and its roots, he opened up our eyes to the differences of interest that separate the women of the different classes. In the atmosphere of the materialist concept of history, the "love drivel" about a "sisterhood" which supposedly wraps a unifying ribbon around bourgeois ladies and female proletarians, burst like so many scintillating soap bubbles. Marx has forged and taught us to use the sword which has severed the connection between the proletariat and the bourgeois women's movement. But he has also forged the chain of discernment by which the former is inextricably tied to the Socialist labor movement and the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat.

—Clara Zetkin, "What the Women Owe to Karl Marx" (March 1903)

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Ernest Mandel Says He Will Debate Spartacists

We're Waiting

Kicking off a series of high-priced "seminars," United Secretariat (USec) leader Ernest Mandel gave a \$10-a-head talk in New York last month on "The Crisis of Neo-Liberalism." It would more appropriately have been titled, "The Crisis of the USec's Neo-Kaushyism." Some 50 Solidarity and Socialist Action longtimers and a handful of others heard Mandel's now-standard polemic against "labels": "socialists, communists, it doesn't make any difference."

It certainly doesn't matter to this centrist for all seasons. For Mandel the "three tasks" of Marxists today were a string of banal liberal clichés: defending "all the demands of the masses that correspond to their real needs, as they see them", for "total identification with human rights," with "radical feminism, the environment," for the "reunification of socialism and freedom"—as if they were counterposed!

Obviously, class struggle, socialist revolution and a Trotskyist party aren't trendy enough for Mandel. It's not surprising that he managed only one reference in his lecture to the counterrevolution which has ravaged East Europe and the former Soviet Union, tersely noting that "unemployment is rising for the first time in the bureaucratic post-capitalist societies."

The USec has good reason to be tight-lipped on this question, having

hailed every counterrevolutionary force in the former deformed and degenerated workers states, from Polish Solidarność to the Estonian Nazi Forest Brothers, right up to Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary ascendancy in August 1991. Now they lamely deny that capitalist counterrevolution has taken place throughout the former Soviet bloc.

When a Spartacist spokesman took the floor to point out the USec's political responsibility for Yeltsin counterrevolution, the glib "Marxist" professor blew a fuse, interrupting our comrade to demand "proof." Mandel may be too busy on the lecture circuit to read his own organization's publications, but he was immediately presented with a quote from a 29 August 1991 *Inprecor* article by leading USec cadre Catherine Verla, arguing for the need "to fight at Yeltsin's side."

When a second Spartacist speaker was cut off by the chair after one sentence, despite objection from a third of the audience, it capped a descent into pandemonium which saw the chair and the speaker talking at once, amid appeals from the audience that Mandel should limit his remarks. A few carefully modulated heckles about James P. Cannon's record on workers democracy added to the comic opera quality, as the disunited American USec supporters (who prefer to act like the SL doesn't exist) squirmed.

Mandel spent the majority of two very lengthy "replies to questions"

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Sam Marcy and the "Red"-Brown Coalition Workers World Discovers Anpilov

Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) is still clinging to its anachronistic niche as American sycophants for Stalinist bureaucracies. The problem for the Marcyites is that this niche is shrinking rapidly. Besides North Korean "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung, photo ops with "great leaders" to impress the WWP ranks are almost nil. We expect to see posters soon in New York's Union Square: "Desperately Seeking Stalinists—Sam Marcy Wants YOU!"

Recently, however, the Marcyites were scrounging around in Moscow and dug up a Stalinist leftover to laud. In their first issue of the new year, *Workers World* printed an interview with Victor Anpilov, editor of the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRP) newspaper *Molniya* (Lightning), billing him as a leader of a group "in the forefront of the struggle against the Yeltsin regime." The article, complete with bombastic title ("Workers World

interviews Russian communist—"We are fighting to restore Soviet power"), is pure wishful thinking by an organization whose whole self-conception is to be slavish tailists for a "progressive camp" in the "global class war," if only they can find it.

Worse than Anpilov's ridiculous boasts about the size and power of the RKRP, taken at face value by the Marcyites, is Anpilov's fraudulent posturing as a longtime, granite-hard opponent of capitalist counterrevolution. In reality, the RKRP demonstrates jointly with all manner of fascists from Pamyat to supporters of the rabidly anti-Semitic nut case Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (who calls himself "the Almighty") and promises to "follow in Hitler's footsteps". These scum, the poisonous by-products of capitalist counterrevolution, must be swept away by the multinational Soviet proletariat in its fight for power. But the RKRP provides a left flank for the

infamous "red"-brown coalition.

Anpilov & Co. bloc with these reactionary pro-capitalist elements because their so-called "opposition" to Yeltsin is purely nationalistic. The occasional left noises emanating from the RKRP against privatization are regularly contradicted by their acceptance of capitalist property forms. Meanwhile, the RKRP's press calls on its readers to subscribe to the Pamyat-loving chauvinist rag *Dien*, and prints filth from fascists like General Alexander Sterligov, who denounces communism as "hostile to the old national traditions of Russia." Whatever socialist-sounding phraseology peacefully coexists with Great Russian chauvinism in the Anpilov/RKRP milieu is purely cynical, but useful for roping in those like WWP who have been practicing class collaboration for decades—people that their erstwhile Soviet Stalinist friends used to call "useful idiots."

The Marcyites are actually months behind the American Communist Party—Gus Hall's CPUSA came out last March in favor of the social-fascist bloc

of the RKRP with groups like Pamyat and Zhirinovskiy's scum! The *People's Weekly World* ran glowing reports about Anpilov et al. from their Moscow correspondent Michael Davidov.

Fighting against these Stalinist nationalists and their Black Hundreds cohorts, our comrades in the ex-USSR have called to return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, to build a section of a reformed Fourth International on the Bolshevik program of world socialist revolution. We advanced a program for independent working-class struggle against capitalist restoration and sharply opposed resurgent anti-Semitism and Great Russian chauvinism. Now the latest *Bulleten Spartakovtsev* supplement is out, with our article "Stalinism—Gravedigger of the Revolution: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled."

With the collapse of the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy and with the Chinese bureaucrats extolling the virtues of free markets, the Marcyites are reduced to their trademark cheerleading for Democratic Party popular fronts, from the "All-Peoples Congress" to LBJ's attorney general Ramsey Clark. And does Bill Clinton need a screwball Stalinoid outfit for that? ■



Bucharest street sweeper in front of Ceausescu's palace.

Capitalism Is So Bad, Romanians Say Life Was Better Under Ceausescu

On February 15, several thousand electronics workers marched through the Romanian capital of Bucharest protesting against economic decline and increasing unemployment.

"It was better under Communism" is a refrain one hears from eastern Germany to Mongolia. And now, it is reported, even in Romania. According to a poll last year, a majority (over 60 percent) of Romanians feel their life is no better or is even worse than it was under Nicolae Ceausescu. This was the astounding figure cited by *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Report* (17 November 1992), a mouthpiece for Washington Cold Warriors. Worse than under Ceausescu—that's really saying something.

For years, under Washington's favorite Stalinist despot in East Europe, life in Romania was truly horrible. He starved, froze and terrorized the population to make Romania free of debt to Western bankers. Abortions were outlawed, and orphanages were full because families could not afford to raise unwanted children. Homes, factories and offices went unheated in the dead of winter. Each apartment was allowed only one 40-watt light bulb. Every typewriter had to be registered, and a former head of the political police claimed that 10,000 microphonic bugs were hidden in Romania's walls, TV sets and ashtrays. In the end, the only meat available was chicken feet and repulsive grey sausage.

In late 1989, a popular uprising—the only one during the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe—toppled the hated despot and his clan. Ceausescu and wife were hastily executed and replaced by former Stalinist apparatchiks who renounced "Communism" and pledged to introduce Western-style "democracy" and a market economy. Now capitalist restoration has so immiserated the people of Romania that 40 percent say they were better off under a ruler who was an amalgam of Stalin and Dracula. The ghost of the man who called himself the "Great Conductor" and the "Genius of the Carpathians" may be enjoying it. The working people of Romania aren't. ■

WNBC's Anti-Gay Witchhunt Defend NAMBLA!

In an outrageous witchhunting attack, WNBC-TV Channel 4 in New York City has targeted members of a gay group, setting them up for vicious harassment at their jobs and in their neighborhoods. On March 2, 3 and 5, the nighttime edition of Channel 4 News ran a series of "reports" which purported to disclose the results of an "investigation" into the North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), which advocates the repeal of reactionary "age of consent" laws.

The station used a format similar to "consumer protection" spots popular with local TV news programs, but the broadcasts were hatchet jobs that smeared NAMBLA as a secretive, criminal conspiracy and were explicitly aimed at getting its targets fired from their jobs. "Undercover cops" are quoted as saying that the group advocates child molestation. One segment was introduced by news anchor Sue Simmons, who stated that the group "advocates the sexual molestation of young boys"—a bald-faced lie.

It's not the first time that NAMBLA has had to defend itself against attempts to criminalize it with false charges. The NBC witchhunt mirrors a similar media blast last year in San Francisco by KRON-TV, in which the SFPD's lying

accusations of "child molestation" were retailed. Fascist skinheads were mobilized to bust up a NAMBLA press conference held to refute the vicious KRON provocation (see "Hysterical Liberals Join S.F. Anti-Gay Witchhunt—Defend NAMBLA!" WV No. 544, 7 February 1992).

In the second installment of the WNBC series, several NAMBLA members were individually ambushed on the streets near their homes and workplaces. They were set upon by a WNBC camera crew, as "investigative reporter" John Miller thrust a microphone in their faces and peppered them with questions like, "Do you think that your role in NAMBLA would be upsetting to the people you work with?" The men shown in the broadcasts, including a schoolteacher and a school librarian, were named, as were their places of employment. Schoolchildren, parents and administrators were interviewed and given the names of school employ-

ees identified by Channel 4 as NAMBLA members and were urged by the WNBC reporter to take action against the individuals.

A NAMBLA press release protesting the series noted that "Ordinary activities such as going to the post office or meeting in a restaurant are presented as threatening and ominous." Yet as the press release pointed out: "NAMBLA, which is 15 years old, operates openly. Our publication, the NAMBLA Bulletin, is available in bookstores around the country, and it is in the collection of the New York Public Library." Clearly, WNBC is stoking anti-gay hysteria in the Big Apple, where NYC schools chancellor Joseph Fernandez was ousted amid a backlash over the liberal "Rainbow Curriculum." The hogs are up in arms over the distribution of condoms in the schools and, led by Cardinal O'Connor, they are excluding gays from the St. Patrick's Day Parade.

Playing for ratings in "Sweeps Week," NBC has been on a sensationalist yellow-journalist kick heavy on sex and sin. *New York* magazine (15 February) reported that WNBC's newsroom revolted over what was dubbed the "Fag Alert" series, including a planned segment titled "Warning Signs: How to Tell If Your Child Is Gay." Anchorwoman Carol Jenkins reportedly refused to work on the piece. "Are we going to report that if your kid can't throw a ball straight, you better watch out?" asked one WNBC staffer.

Instead, WNBC opted for a cruel attack against a vulnerable group, one which is ostracized even by most self-proclaimed radical homosexual activists. Channel 4 is NBC's flagship station and they should be a bit embarrassed these days, particularly after the network was caught out (and its "news" division chief resigned under fire) for staging a phony truck crash and burn for a special on unsafe GM trucks. And don't forget the smelly fish story: in one eco-piece, NBC purported to show "dead" fish which turned out to have only been stunned by scientists for test purposes.

WNBC's concern for children is entirely hypocritical. "Age of consent" continued on page 9

South Africa...

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SACP chairman Joe Slovo, to put majority rule on hold and accept the "power-sharing compromise" with De Klerk. Slovo opened the "debate" with an article in the *African Communist* last fall calling for an interim government with a protracted "sunset clause" for the white capitalist rulers and their state apparatus, including an amnesty for the apartheid butchers and guaranteed employment for the military and civil bureaucracy. Slovo allied with Mandela in pushing the deal through the ANC leadership circles.

This provoked unrest in both the ANC and SACP ranks. Black youth in the townships, fed up with Mandela's collaboration, hope for an alternative in Chris Hani, SACP national secretary and former head of the ANC's guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Hani, Harry Gwala, the SACP hardline Stalinist leader in Natal, and Winnie Mandela have been positioning themselves as the pseudo-radical opposition to a future Mandela government. They denounced the deal as a sellout of the fight for majority rule. And Hani has threatened to lead a breakaway "socialist alliance" that might compete with the ANC in

U.S. Imperialist chief-to-be Clinton confers with ANC leader Nelson Mandela at the UN, July 1992.



sharing" deal. But in their own way, such elements are just as alien from the black proletariat as those pushing the pact.

Moreover, the various critics are key players in making sure the deal goes down. Thus at the ANC National Executive Committee meeting February 16-18 the vote was unanimous to ratify the power-sharing deal. Hani and Gwala were conveniently absent when the vote was taken, thus ensuring there was no real fight. Their criticism concerns only the length of the "sunset clause." Five

the *London Guardian* (15 February) that while his long-term goal is socialism. "For the moment we are struggling for the Freedom Charter" as "the first step." But they won't even get that! The SACP leader tells journalists "nationalisation is not necessarily the answer" and calls for a pact between big business and the unions for better housing and education. Grotesquely, Hani calls for the army to be "controlled" during the transition, through the incorporation of MK fighters into the apartheid army! Hani used the *Guardian* interview to assure the nervous rulers that when the Communists are in the government, there will be no campaign to bring the apartheid butchers to justice, saying:

"We're not planning any Nuremberg trials, although they locked up our leaders, tried to eliminate so many of us in the cross-border operations. Look at Comrade Slovo; he sits there talking to the men who killed his wife."

How grotesque! Slovo's wife, Ruth First, a Communist leader, journalist and anti-apartheid activist, was assassinated by a letter bomb in 1982.

Arm in Arm with Clinton and Capital

In the current multiparty talks, the ANC and the Nats have taken a united stand to push through their "government of national unity." The negotiations are the sequel to the CODESA ("Convention for a Democratic South Africa") talks in December 1991 and May 1992, wherebantustan chiefs, tricameral quislings, apartheid rulers and anti-apartheid activists sat down at the table together. Amid much talk of reconciliation, the "lambs lay down with the lions"...until these confabs were drowned in the blood of black people in Boipatong and Bisho, cut down by the same racist forces who were "talking" to their leaders.

Leaving for Washington to attend Bill Clinton's inaugural, Mandela said power-sharing would take some time: "How long it is going to take us to inspire foreign investors with confidence to invest in our country is something only a prophet can predict" (*New York Times*, 18 January). To win the confidence of capital, the ANC/SACP will police the black proletariat, politically and otherwise if necessary. Black labor emerged in the mid-'80s as the motor force of the anti-apartheid struggle. But as the power of black unions has grown, it has been straitjacketed by the popular-front politics of the ANC/SACP/COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) alliance. Now a web of "national reconstruction" pacts, arbitration schemes and agreements preventing miners from striking on "political" issues bind the proletariat and drain its self-confidence.

Currently ANC economic advisers have been meeting in Europe and Washington with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and De Klerk's finance minister Derek Keys, former chairman of Gencor, the country's second largest mining concern, to arrange conditions for big loans to the putative coalition government. Drawing the unions into the National Economic Forum "codetermination" talks with the government and the hoeses is one means of control. COSATU head Jay Naidoo says, "The romantic notion of dictator-

ship of the proletariat is way off the mark" (*Weekly Mail*, 8 January). Meanwhile, the ANC recites the mantra that "elections are the new mass action," international confabs are held to lift sanctions and turn the investment spigot back on, money is funneled through British Labour and Swedish Social Democrats to "train electoral officials," UN "foreign monitors" are in place.

While Mandela & Co. engage in semantic acrobatics explaining how this isn't "power sharing" (they're right in a way, the Randlords aren't sharing diddly), we greet Cosmos Desmond's blunt words, which so annoyed the ANC, when he wrote in the *New Nation* (11 December 1992):

"The NP/ANC proposal for a government of national unity is a guarantee of continued white rule, not only until 1994 but for the foreseeable future...."

"The ANC appears to have acted on the principle, 'If you can't beat them, join them'.... If the losers of the election are to share in the exercise of power, why bother about having an election in the first place? It will simply be a sop to people who have never had the right to vote.... Blacks can have the titles and the gold braid, but FW de Klerk's hand will still be firmly on the tiller."

"It is surely pathetic when a liberation movement is reduced to scrambling for some crumbs of power with one hand, while clinging to the shirt tails of the oppressor with the other...."

"Apartheid, which had served whites well for many years, no longer served its purpose; other means had, therefore, to be found to achieve the same end. He [De Klerk] finally opted for the means which, had it not been the tactic of the hated British, the Afrikaners might have chosen in the first place; co-opt the colonised."

ANC Sellout—"Patriotic Front" No Alternative

In addition to the ferment in the SACP/ANC ranks, criticism of the power-sharing deal is coming from other black nationalist and leftist groups as well. But behind the more militant verbiage are similar opportunist politics. The Pan Africanist Congress said that the ANC and the National Party "are going to get married and give birth to a baby called neo-colonialism." Yet at the March 5-6 conference at the Johannesburg World Trade Center, there was the PAC sitting down at the table with De Klerk, Andries Treurnicht's Conservatives and the split-off Afrikaner Volksunie. And while it engages in indiscriminate terrorism against whites, PAC holds its own *hoshberaads* with the apartheid regime in Botswana—they simply want a bigger piece of the deal.

The Mandela cheerleaders of the American Socialist Workers Party report (*Militant*, 12 March) that the ANC is "reaching out" to bring PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) into the popular-front fold. Speaking on a special broadcast of New York radio station WBAI's "Africa Report" (March 2), AZAPO spokesman Pandelane Nephohlovodwe denounced the scheme, saying that "to AZAPO, true democracy can only be obtained through majority rule, and not through power-sharing." Nephohlovodwe then called for the formation of a "patriotic front" as the alternative to the ANC plan.

AZAPO, which comes out of the



Joe Selale



Peter/Sipa



David Sifitoe

From left: Winnie Mandela, Natal ANC/SACP leader Harry Gwala and SACP general secretary Chris Hani.

elections. But all wings of the ANC/SACP have fundamental agreement with the negotiations strategy, differing only on timing and formulations.

Although she has been widely discredited, even Winnie Mandela's biggest detractors say she struck a chord in saying "the leadership of the ANC is getting into bed with the National Party to enjoy this newfound luxury." The ANC Youth League issued a statement on February 22 opposing a coalition government "after the adoption of the new constitution" (but not before?). Hani/Mandela are expressing the frustrations of the lumpen-plebeian supporters of the ANC, who unlike the black would-be yuppies around ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki would gain no benefits from the "power

years is too much, says Hani, a "unity" government wouldn't last more than nine months!

The ANC needs both to be in the government and to be in opposition to it. If Mandela is president, then Hani will be the "militant opposition" waiting in the wings. Hani spoke frankly in a *London Sunday Times* (31 January) interview saying, "I want the freedom to criticise from outside, to lead marches, to organise strikes, to pressurise the new government into doing the right things." The *Times* added, "Hani stressed that he saw no alternative to a temporary power-sharing deal, and confirmed that the communists would remain partners with the ANC for the first election."

In the classic reformist Stalinist tradition of "two-stage revolution," Hani told

JUST OUT!

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Black History and the Class Struggle

No. 10

Malcolm X: The Man, the Myth, the Struggle



What's Missing from Spike Lee's Movie
Activists Remember the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Era

"New World Order" Neocolonialism in Africa

February 1993

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1970s Black Consciousness Movement, has been internally torn over the negotiations. Acting as a pressure group on PAC, in late 1991 it was sucked into the ANC/PAC "Patriotic Front," only walking out when the short-lived PF refused to oust the apartheid collaborators of the "tricameral" parties. With its nationalist politics based on a purely democratic program, AZAPO's call for a "patriotic" popular front is based on "unity" with aspiring *bourgeois* forces. A revolutionary struggle against apartheid to free the black masses from racial oppression and brutal wage slavery requires a *working-class* fight for power, directed as well against those who would become the new capitalist rulers.

PAC and AZAPO would like to see some kind of black nationalist bonapartist regime, such as Nkrumah's Ghana, Nyerere's Tanzania and Kenya's Kenya. In particular they look to the example of Zimbabwe, where after a protracted independence struggle against the former British colony of Rhodesia, in 1980 Robert Mugabe's ZANU won elections and formed a Patriotic Front government including Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU (which was later driven into opposition). While Mugabe's cabinet didn't include representatives of the white settlers, and he is often referred to in the Western imperialist press as a Marxist, the Zimbabwe black government has from the beginning acted to protect white capital. A British-drafted constitution guaranteed 20 seats in the 100-member parliament for the nation's 100,000 whites, thus giving the white minority the right to block whatever changes the majority wants. The "Lancaster House Agreement" also included a clause outlawing for ten years any takeover of land and other property without fair compensation.

While the "reserved" white seats were abolished in 1987, Mugabe's regime has refused to expropriate the white capitalist farmers. The Patriotic Front govern-



Superexploited black gold miners produce the wealth on which apartheid capitalism depends. "Power sharing" deal will leave Randlords' power intact.

ment has broken strikes, arrested union leaders and brutally repressed student demonstrations as it imposes IMF starvation policies in the name of the "free market." In Zimbabwe this black (capitalist) government has grabbed the spoils of office, allowing a thin layer of white ranchers to sip sundowners on their verandas while warding off squatters by brandishing their R4s. But in South Africa, where the white population is proportionately five times as large, where there is a powerful state apparatus, armed to the teeth, and fabulously rich corporations, the capitalist exploiters are not about to fade into the sunset when Joe Slovo's "sunset clause" expires.

Forge a Trotskyist Party!

Speaking on the same WBAI "Africa Report," Neville Alexander of the Workers Organisation for a Socialist Africa (WOSA) denounced the negotiations process "initiated by the regime in order to gain time and to gain a lease on life for the racial capitalist system."

But Alexander's demand was for the creation of a "national united front of all those forces who are opposed to the negotiations process." Such a front would be based on "full commitment to a democratically elected constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote." There's nothing socialist about this program at all—it's nothing but the ANC's bourgeois-democratic "Freedom Charter" resuscitated.

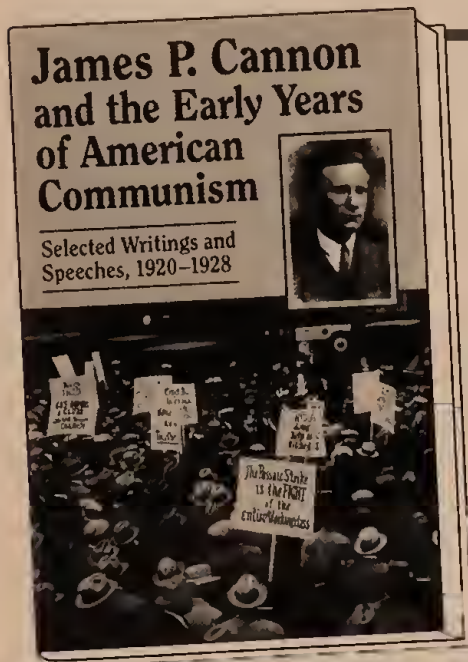
While South African supporters of the ostensibly Trotskyist British Workers International League write in *Qina Msebenzi* (December 1992/January 1993) of the need for a workers party, their model is not Lenin's Bolsheviks but Lula's social-democratic PT in Brazil. Moreover, in the absence of a workers party, *Qina Msebenzi* calls for a "critical vote for the ANC." They go on:

"We say to ANC worker and youth supporters that we will help them to put the faith they have in the ANC to the test. We call on them to fight within ANC structures and the Congress milieu as a whole...."

So the masses of blacks should continue to fight within the ANC, rather than break with the aspiring rulers of a "post-apartheid" capitalist South Africa. So in the 1920s should the Chinese workers and peasants have fought "within KMT structures and the Kuomintang milieu," as Stalin instructed them to? This led straight to the Shanghai massacre of March 1927, where Chiang Kai-shek murdered thousands of Chinese communists who had disarmed and joined the KMT. Trotsky denounced this criminal policy, calling on the Chinese Communists to fight in their own name for a workers and peasants government.

The New Unity Movement is at least refreshing in its spirit of non-collaboration. At its November 1992 conference, an NUM leader scored the "heavily-financed CODESA trail...devised by de Klerk and stage-managed for him from the house of Anglo-American." He denounced the pact "between exploiters and ambitious paid clients of Imperialism who have abandoned the freedom struggle for a mess of pottage." Or, in the case of former NUM leader and now ANC honcho Ramaphosa, for a house next door to former Anglo magnate Harry Oppenheimer. But NUM's answer is a "Ten-Point Programme of Minimum Demands" for democracy.

Leon Trotsky pointed out in his theses on permanent revolution that in the imperialist epoch even the basic democratic tasks require the conquest of power by the proletariat, under the leadership of a communist party, proceeding forward to socialist tasks. The Randlords of South Africa and their state cannot be phased out with a "sunset clause," they must be overthrown, their power smashed, their state dismantled, their property expropriated, if the black population is to be emancipated and begin the construction of an egalitarian society. The people of Soweto and Sharpeville cannot be free so long as Anglo American holds sway. ■



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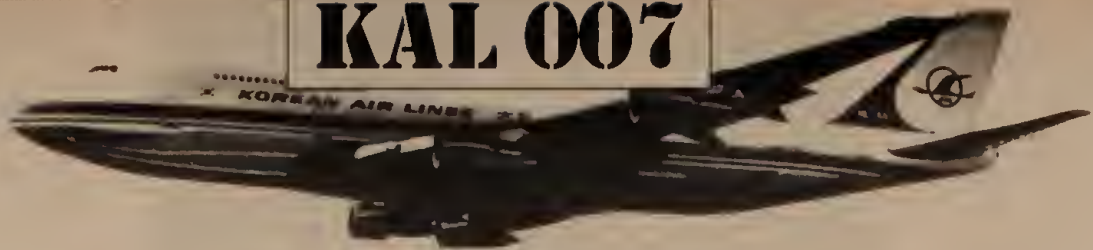
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YELTSIN WHITEWASHES REAGAN'S SPY MISSION

Last September Russian president Boris Yeltsin titillated the world's news media with the announcement that he had "materials" relating to the long-missing "black box" flight recorders from Korean Air Lines Flight 007, the jetliner which was shot down by Soviet fighter planes after penetrating deep into Soviet airspace in 1983. He claimed to have a "transcript" of the cockpit voice recorder tape, among other documents allegedly hidden away in KGB archives.

On 14 October 1992, Yeltsin made a show of meeting in Moscow with representatives of the association of families of KAL 007 victims, along with South Korean officials. He gave the American families nine documents and a large multicolored map purporting to show the flight path of KAL 007. Yeltsin claimed Soviet leaders "knew about this for ten years" but "hid it," and he pontificated about "our sacred duty to explain the whole truth." Yeltsin's "desinformatsiya" is in the service of a decade-long campaign by U.S. imperialism to crucify the former Soviet Union as a heartless "evil empire," murderers of innocent civilians.

Ronald Reagan seized on the downing of KAL 007 as a bloodthirsty rallying cry in the imperialists' Cold War. The morning after the shootdown, Secretary of State George Shultz went on TV to accuse Soviet leaders of knowingly shooting down a civilian airliner. The drumbeat of lies and cover-up has continued to this day. But we immediately nailed it as a Cold War provocation, headlining our front-page article, "Reagan's Story Stinks!" (WV No. 337, 9 September 1983). We also issued a Spartacist pamphlet compiling our early coverage. Before long, even the *New*



Yeltsin presents KAL 007 "black boxes" to South Korean regime. Ten days later Seoul says flight data recorder tape was "missing," voice recorder contained only a "poor reproduction."

York Times (7 October 1983) felt compelled to admit that U.S. "intelligence experts...found no indication that Soviet air defense personnel knew before the attack that the target was a commercial plane."

Over the years, the U.S. government and their kept media have trotted out one "expert" after another, concocting a host of conflicting accounts to explain what a "civilian" plane was doing flying hundreds of miles inside Soviet airspace, over some of the most sensitive military installations in the Soviet Far East. While most of the left stayed mum for fear of bucking the anti-Soviet crusade,

the Spartacist League debunked the imperialist lies in article after article. Our aggressive campaign of exposure of Reagan's spy mission flowed from the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. Our findings were vindicated by a number of independent investigations over the years by air navigation specialists.

"Straight Lines" and Crooked Journalism

Now Boris Yeltsin has re-ignited the imperialist propaganda campaign with his KAL 007 "materials." In case anyone missed the political message, he simultaneously released alleged KGB files on the 1940 Katyn Forest mass killing of Polish bourgeois army officers, implicating Stalin himself. The U.S. capitalist media eagerly seized upon Yeltsin's "revelations": "Russia Releases Secret Files on 2 Mass Killings," announced the *San Francisco Chronicle* (15 October 1992).

Curiously, the day after Yeltsin made his October 14 handover of KAL documents, American CIA chief Robert Gates made an unprecedented three-day visit to Moscow, where he met not only with Yeltsin, but also with Yevgeny Primakov, head of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, and Lt. Gen. Fyodor Ladygin of Russian military intelligence. Press releases hinted that "U.S. and Russia May Share Intelligence Services" (*New York Times*, 19 October 1992), but the purpose of Gates' visit was a secret—no *glasnost* here. The counterrevolutionary heirs of the former KGB are now in the pay of Yeltsin and his newfound friends in Washington.

The capitalist press—now joined by the former Soviet government organ *Izvestia*—played up parts of the alleged "transcript" which appeared to record the dramatic scene on KAL 007 moments

after it was struck by a Soviet missile. *Izvestia* had earlier run a 17-part "investigation" of KAL 007, explicitly carried out at the suggestion of U.S. Senators Sam Nunn and Edward Kennedy. Democrats Nunn and Kennedy for years rejected liberal pleas for a Senate inquiry into the Reagan/Bush connection to KAL 007, but they were more than willing to see more mud thrown at the Soviet military by the Moscow paper.

Now *Izvestia* proclaims that Yeltsin's documents "convincingly substantiate our newspaper's version of events," and they dutifully published the full texts last October 15-16. Perhaps as a sop to still-powerful military officers, the paper's editor, Oleg Golembiovsky, tried to add "balance" to the reportage by insisting on American TV that "it was no accident that the plane was off course. It was intentionally following an erroneous path" (NBC *Today*, 15 October 1992).

Meanwhile, the *New York Times* (16 October 1992) headlined "Tape Displays the Anguish on Jet the Soviets Downed," conjuring up "shouts" of terror from a tape they never heard. As if on cue, U.S. apologists who have been pushing the claim that KAL 007 was on an "innocent flight" rushed into print to proclaim Washington's innocence and denounce Communist "evil."

James Oberg, a so-called aerospace "expert" who seems to have become the unofficial U.S. government cover-up artist on the affair (the State Department won't comment when questioned on the subject, but they will suggest you speak to Oberg), had a four-column op-ed piece in the *Wall Street Journal* (21 October 1992), which gloated "Shooting Down the Myths of KAL Flight." "The flight data recorder showed a straight-line path all along its route," Oberg declared. "The implication is clear: An innocent navigation error led to the tragic loss of 269 lives."

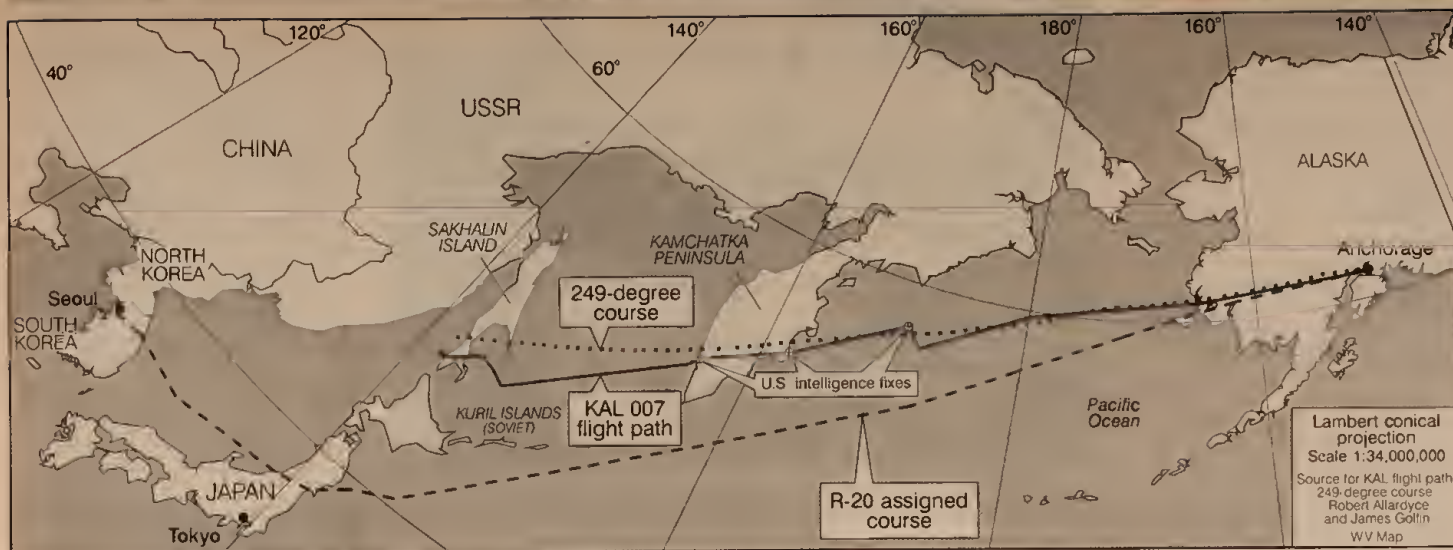
As he has in the past, Oberg virtually smeared all "spy flight" theorists as Soviet dupes or worse, in particular going after the liberal Washington-based Fund for Constitutional Government. And he seems obsessed with trying to refute the technical analysis by retired flight engineer Robert Allardyce and writer James Gollin which was reported in the *New York Times* (20 February 1992). This showed that the plane must have changed course several times during its flight, thereby demonstrating conscious intervention by the pilots (see "KAL 007 Was on Deadly Spy Mission," WV No. 547, 20 March 1992).

Oberg says the plane's path was a "straight line," and the crude map published by *Izvestia* tries to give that impression too. For almost a decade Washington's minions have tried to erase all evidence of curves, turns, zigzags, or deviations from the mythical "straight line" course of the "innocent" KAL pilots who presumably fell asleep in the cockpit for nearly five and a half hours.

continued on page 8



Press conference by Soviet Chief of General Staff Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, September 1983. While Imperialists concoct one fraud after another, all reported electronic fixes of KAL 007 position are in accord with Ogarkov map.



Workers Vanguard map compares scheduled flight plan (broken line) and Yeltsin's invention of "249-degree magnetic course" (dotted line) with actual flight path of KAL 007 (solid line). Repeated changes of course give lie to claim that penetration of Soviet air space over sensitive military targets was accidental.

Ten Questions for Izvestia

1. According to the USSR Defense Ministry/KGB "findings" on the flight data recorder, dated 28 November 1983 and signed by Lt. Gen. of Aviation Makarov and other members of the group of experts (published in *Izvestia* on 16 October 1992), KAL 007 was flying on autopilot with a "constant magnetic course [kursovy] of 249 degrees, without the inertial systems being switched into the automatic pilot." Also, "for more than five hours of flight, the crew did not intervene in the steering of the aircraft."

The 1983 "findings" tell the reader to "see map": is the map published by *Izvestia* the original 1983 map referred to? The *Izvestia* map does not agree with the text. It does show a straight line "gradually deviating" from the plane's assigned route, as the "findings" call for, but then there is a sudden change of course in the Sea of Okhotsk, suggesting conscious intervention by the pilots, in contradiction with the "findings." Does the data recorder show such a sharp change in course? How can this be explained?

The *Izvestia* map appears to be a Lambert conical projection, on which a straight line is a Great Circle course, and a constant magnetic course would be a curved line. Yet the *Izvestia* map shows a straight line from Alaska to the Sea of Okhotsk, one which does not appear to be even close to 249 degrees. Did the original "findings" include a map with such gross errors? If this is not the original map, where is it?

2. In navigation there is an important distinction between "heading" and "course." If the plane's autopilot was set to fly a constant magnetic heading (the direction in which the plane is pointed each moment) of 249 degrees, its eventual course would not be a straight line of 249 degrees because of variations in wind and variations in the earth's magnetic field (the magnetic variation can vary from as much as 24 degrees over Alaska to zero degrees near Kamchatka). Without intervention by the pilots, the plane's radar track would not be a straight line—if it was, that would be *prima facie* evidence that the pilots were constantly intervening to keep the plane on a constant magnetic course.* The "findings" seem to assert the plane flew a straight magnetic course, yet the pilots did not intervene. How can this be explained?

3. The available radar track of KAL 007 over Alaska, made by U.S. Air Force radars at King Salmon and Kenai, do not show a constant magnetic course of 249 degrees. Rather, the radar track reveals that the plane flew a Great Circle course over Alaska, *prima facie* evidence that the autopilot was switched into the Inertial Navigation System, since only the INS uses Great Circle segments to generate a course. This was noted years ago by Harold Ewing, an experienced pilot, who, in attempting to explain KAL 007's deviation from the assigned

route as an "accident," had to concoct a scenario based on a "finger-error" entry into the INS systems. His scenario was incorporated into Seymour Hersh's book, *The Target Is Destroyed* (1986).

A more recent analysis by professional flight engineer Robert Allardyce and writer James Gollin ("Technical Analysis" dated November 1991 and reported on in the *New York Times* of 20 February 1992) calculates that "at 1304.26Z [about four minutes after takeoff], the plots stabilize on a heading of 243 degrees, indicating that the pilot... had switched control of the 747 to the autopilot in [magnetic] HDG mode. The aircraft continued on the 243-degree heading for not quite five minutes, until 1309.05Z. At this moment, the radar plots begin to trace a precise curving course, indicating that the pilot had switched his autopilot to INS mode." By 1312.11Z, the plot fully "captures" the Great Circle course which the plane followed "across Alaska."

Yet the USSR "findings" of 1983 published in *Izvestia* assert the plane's autopilot was never switched into the INS but rather was switched into magnetic heading mode four minutes after takeoff, and remained so for the entire flight. How can this be reconciled with the U.S. radar data?

4. On 9 September 1983 Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov held an international press conference to explain the Soviet position on KAL 007. Here he displayed a large map of the radar track of the "intruder" airplane, clearly showing a sharp deviation from a straight course as the plane turned right in the Sea of Okhotsk and then left over Sakhalin, demonstrating conscious intervention by the pilots. The map also suggests the "intruder" made a zigzag just before Kamchatka. How is this explained in the context of the black box "findings" of a "constant magnetic course"? Why do the "findings" make no mention or explanation of Ogarkov's map, which flatly contradicts the "findings" claiming that the data from the flight recorder "on the actual route coincide with our [Soviet] calculations"?

5. The "findings" of 1983 on the data recorder were evidently incomplete, as they admit "fourteen lines of recordings have not been identified" and "nine individual commands have not been identified." Were there any further analyses since 1983? Please provide the text. Where is the data recorder tape now? (The tape was reported missing from the box given to South Korea.) Was the tape given to the UN's International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) at the meetings in Moscow on December 8-10 as promised? What transpired at the ICAO meeting?

The box's manufacturer is Sundstrand Data Control, Inc., Redmond, Washington, USA. Have they been contacted to get assistance to decipher the rest?

6. The cockpit voice recorder (CVR), by

its nature, records conversations and noises in the cockpit in the previous 30 minutes. Yet the ostensible transcript contains only one minor conversation, the rest being recordings of radio exchanges. This is especially strange: supposedly in the last few minutes of the doomed flight, when they are apparently experiencing explosive decompression and losing altitude, the pilots don't say anything to each other! Nor do they issue a mayday: the copilot initially makes only a routine call to Tokyo. How can this be explained?

At a 21 November conference on KAL 007 held at the University of Washington in Seattle, leading investigators pointed out many strange problems with the CVR transcript published in *Izvestia*. In a letter to U.S. Senator Boren, investigator John Keppel (a 20-year employee of the State Department, now retired) states flatly that the transcript of the CVR "is a forgery." He lists 12 oddities about the transcript, such as the fact that "it contains virtually none of the normal chatter which would be recorded on the voice recorder" and "it fails to include parts of KE 007 transmissions recorded by Tokyo, which would have to have been recorded on the CVR." Keppel also notes that "the transcript contains none of the remarks by the cockpit crew which would have been associated with the airliner's climb from FL 330 [flight level 33,000 feet] to FL 350 [35,000]," including the obligatory reading of a Climb Check List.

French investigator Michel Brun (in a document of 16 October) also notes that the transcript "is but a long list of radio communications and does not contain any cockpit conversation, except for one or two trivial comments. As a matter of fact, it is a transcript of 51 radio communications and only one cockpit conversation." He notes with astonishment that after the supposed time when the missile hit the plane, the captain "issued no orders, command, no comment at all." Can you explain this?

7. The CVR transcript records passenger cabin announcements (breakfast at 0300, normally announced by the flight attendants in the cabin, and later an automated "emergency descent" message). Also, engine noise is noted. But pilots know these sounds would not be heard in a 747 cockpit, and thus would not be recorded on the CVR. How can this be explained?

In addition, at one point the transcript alleges that radiotelegraphy signals are heard on the CVR tape. But as Brun notes (in a document of 8 November), "Radiotelegraphy signals are NEVER heard on the voice channels of Aviation radiotelephony." Therefore this tape "CANNOT" have been made by a CVR, but must have been made by a device which had many different channels available to it, such as an electronic listening post on the earth.

Keppel notes discrepancies between the

CVR transcript and the Tokyo air traffic control tape, in which transmissions from Tokyo are confused with transmissions from KAL 007. This could not happen if the transcript were taken from the CVR, but such a "misreading might be expected if the text had been taken from a radio intercept." Can these contradictions be explained in any other way?

8. The veracity of the CVR transcript can be checked by comparing the text, sequence and timing of events against other tapes of KAL 007 transmissions, particularly the tape of radio exchanges with Tokyo air traffic control. John Keppel notes in his letter to Senator Boren, "the time intervals between transmissions by KE 007 and KE 015, on the one hand, and Tokyo on the other are not, repeat not, the same on the alleged CVR transcript and on the Tokyo tape. The difference between the two series varies from a low of 1 minute 27 seconds to a high of 4 minutes 19 seconds." Mr. Keppel believes this is "*prima facie* evidence of fraud." Please comment.

9. The integrity of the CVR transcript published by *Izvestia* is marred by the fact that it is interspersed by editor's commentary on what he hears, implying that the tape was played for *Izvestia*. Why wasn't the tape played for the international press, so everyone can hear the original? Does the Russian government still have a copy of the CVR tape, or do the South Koreans have the only tape? Was a copy given to the ICAO? Can investigators hear and record it, or get a copy?

10. *Izvestia*'s 1991 series on the KAL 007 affair reported that the wreckage of the plane was found near Moneron island, just west of Sakhalin. But if the plane's autopilot was set for a constant magnetic heading of 249 degrees, as the "findings" assert, calculations show it would not pass anywhere near this location but would be well to the north. How can this be explained?

Also in the 1991 series, *Izvestia* reported various descriptions of the "black boxes" given by so-called eyewitnesses; the reporter admitted these did not match reality. Even the chief of the Soviet dive team could not confirm finding the black boxes. But the two boxes have an unmistakable appearance: they are high-visibility yellow with known rectangular measurements. Why is it that the "eyewitnesses" did not report such boxes? Also, as the *Izvestia* reporter noted last year, the serial numbers of the missing black boxes are listed in the report of the ICAO. Do these numbers match those on the boxes released by Yeltsin?

Mark Kellerman
Workers Vanguard correspondent
20 December 1992

* We are grateful to Robert Allardyce and James Gollin for pointing this out.

KAL 007...

(continued from page 6)

But the "innocent flight" theory still won't fly. In fact, the Yeltsin story quickly began to fall apart in spite of the compliant media.

Play the Tape!

Yeltsin never released to the public the actual tapes contained in the two alleged "black boxes." To this day the media has taken his "transcript" as good coin without a second glance, without even hearing the voice tape. But even the corrupt, CIA-riddled South Korean government felt compelled to quietly complain that the information was "incomplete." Since Seoul was considering resumption of \$3 billion in aid to Russia, Yeltsin moved to placate them with a surprise presentation of two "black boxes" when he visited Seoul on November 19. The media published pictures of Yeltsin holding a suitcase containing two boxes, without even bothering to ask if the serial numbers on the boxes matched those on the missing recorders. Yeltsin got his money.

But ten days later the Koreans announced that the flight data recorder tape was "missing" from its box, and the voice recorder "contained only a poor reproduction"! If such a stunt had been pulled by a Kremlin leader ten years ago, the imperialist press would have screamed "Comms Disappear KAL Tapes." But now the capitalist media is oh-so-understanding of their crude counter-revolutionary Russian crony that the incident was buried on the inside pages as a forgivable "mix-up."

The new story was that Yeltsin intended to hand the tapes over to the UN's International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) at a conference in Moscow on December 8. That date came and went, and still no tapes. The missing tapes were finally (reportedly) handed over to the ICAO in Paris in early January. They were to be analyzed in the next weeks and a flight simulation undertaken "in late February," according to *Aviation Week*. Now again there is silence. The word on the grapevine is that due to mysterious "difficulties" in reading the tapes, the final report won't be out until April.

One would think that if the ICAO were having difficulty reading the tapes, they would call on the manufacturers of the boxes for help (and to verify that the tapes are originals). But no. When *Workers Vanguard* called Sundstrand Data Control in early March, we were told that the ICAO contacted them for advice about how to play back the tape, but not for aid in analyzing it. Are they worried about others seeing the tapes?

If the ICAO is run like the rest of the UN these days, you can be sure nothing will be revealed which conflicts with



Anchorage, Alaska air controllers saw KAL 007 heading for Soviet airspace but did nothing. Flight was a deliberate Cold War provocation.

Washington's line. Perhaps the tape will be pronounced "unreadable," so they can all sigh with relief—as did former deputy CIA director Ray Cline's newsletter in a report on the Yeltsin revelations: "We may never learn how the Korean pilot came to be so far off-course for so long" (*Foreign Intelligence Literary Scene*, Vol. 11, No. 5, 1992).

They wish. As we have said all along, the KAL flight was a U.S. war provocation on a scale with the World War I *Lusitania* incident, and like the latter, the truth will eventually be known to all. In any event, the Yeltsin material can be shown today to be utter nonsense which flatly contradicts the known, hard evidence about the flight of KAL 007.

Dubious KAL "Transcript"

Let's look. The KAL Boeing 747 was equipped with two standard "black boxes" made by separate manufacturers: the cockpit voice recorder (CVR), which records the last 30 minutes of cockpit conversations, noises and radio communications; and the digital flight data recorder (DFDR), which records various flight parameters (air speed, altitude, etc.) for the last 25 hours in thousands of bits of data, including direct feeds from the Inertial Navigation System (INS) on the plane's latitude/longitude direction of motion. With special equipment, technicians can analyze the DFDR tape and produce irrefutable proof of the plane's flight path.

Yeltsin's material purportedly included not only an alleged "transcript" of the CVR tape, but also various analyses/reports on the DFDR tape, allegedly made by Soviet military, KGB and aviation "experts" in 1983. But there is a problem with this material: hardly any of it matches reality. And there are some curious aspects of the "transcript" Yeltsin produced. For example, the KAL 007 pilots are overheard asking the pilots

supposedly of KAL Flight 015 about wind conditions at a waypoint ahead of 007. Yet the second plane was supposed to be on the same R-20 international course minutes behind KAL 007.

It's not as if nothing is known about KAL 007's flight. Much of the plane's radar track, for instance, is publicly available, though there are some significant pieces missing, largely because of the secretiveness of the U.S. and

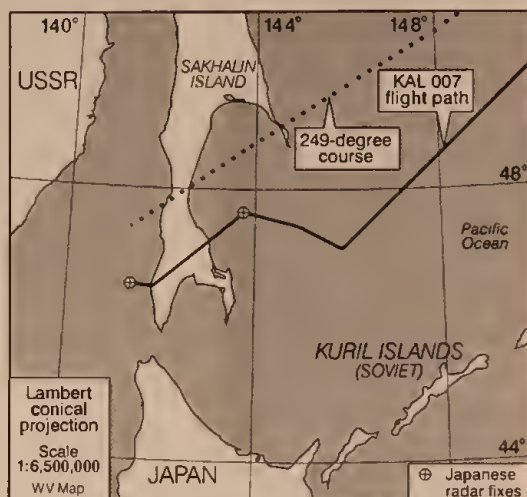
And, of course, there is Soviet Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov's map of the flight path based on Soviet radar tracking, presented to the press on 9 September 1983. All these various sources can be used to crosscheck each other, as well as to crosscheck the veracity of Yeltsin's DFDR "analyses." As we shall show, the latter prove to be sheer fantasy. As for the alleged CVR "transcript," this can be compared with the Tokyo air traffic control tape of radio exchanges with KAL 007. And guess what? They don't match.

In the weeks following Yeltsin's October 14 announcement, *Workers Vanguard* conducted an investigation into all this material, talking to knowledgeable people who have investigated the subject over the years. We finally arrived at ten questions (see "Ten Questions for *Izvestia*") signaling the contradictions between the Yeltsin documents and the known facts. Last December we presented these questions to a key *Izvestia* reporter on KAL 007, who had earlier professed interest. But no longer.

Yeltsin's Screwy Map

Now, what about the large (six-foot) multicolored technically detailed map Yeltsin gave the U.S. families in Moscow, which purported to be the last word on 007's flight path. (The map published in *Izvestia* appears to be only a grossly oversimplified derivative of this one.) Allardyce/Gollin recently produced a

The end of flight KAL 007. Yeltsin's fabrication of "249-degree magnetic course" puts flight over 50 miles to the north of its actual path over Sakhalin Island (solid line), conflicting entirely with Japanese radar fixes.



Japanese governments. (The U.S. Air Force allegedly "routinely" erased some key radar tapes shortly after the incident.) Among the available information there is the FAA-certified radar track of KAL 007's flight across Alaska; there is Japanese radar data on the plane's overflight of Sakhalin; and, more recently, U.S. intelligence sources declassified three "fixes" on the plane's flight across Kamchatka (obtained by Allardyce/Gollin).

technical analysis of this map, as well as the Yeltsin "transcript" and other documents.

As we and others did, they note the "clocking discrepancies" when comparing the CVR "transcript" with the Tokyo radio tape, and remark how strange it is that "missing from the transcript documents is the flight crew's own follow-up response to its terrible emergency situation." Thus there are no "damage assessments one would expect from copilot and flight engineer," and there is "no Mayday call." One Air Lines Pilot Association representative bluntly reported to his organization that "the transcript is a fake." But the really devastating part of the Allardyce/Gollin report is their analysis of Yeltsin's map.

They note that it "seems not to be a single map but a composite" of maps based on different projections and with different scales. Moreover, the map presents two different flight paths: one supposedly representing the flight data recorder's version; and a second parallel track 20 to 30 nautical miles to the south, which is alleged to be the Soviet air defense radar track of KAL 007. It should be noted that this alleged Soviet radar track of KAL 007 is completely different from Ogarkov's 1983 Soviet map—in particular, his display of the plane's sharp turn toward Sakhalin has been eliminated. No explanation is given for this; Ogarkov's famous press conference is now a "blank space" in Yeltsinite history.

Allardyce/Gollin decided to compare this map with the technical analysis in

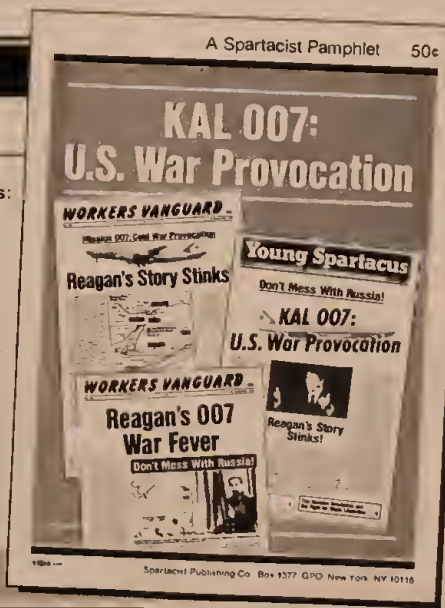
You Read It Here First

Pamphlet contains first articles published in the U.S. that told the truth about Reagan's spy plane (September 1983). 50¢ (24 pages)

In addition to the articles contained in the Spartacist pamphlet *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation*, WV has published the following articles:

- "Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels," WV No. 350, 16 March 1984
- "Yes, KAL 007 Was on U.S. Spy Mission," WV No. 357, 22 June 1984
- "KAL 007 Spy Mission: Footprints Lead to the White House," WV No. 362, 14 September 1984
- "Guardian Shot Down Over KAL 007: Dirty Stalinoid Confessions," WV No. 363, 28 September 1984
- "Nation Liberals Hit KAL 007 Cover-Up," WV No. 369, 21 December 1984
- "Rose Mary Woods and the KAL 007 Tapes," WV No. 375, 22 March 1985
- "The New York (Kept) Review of Books—KAL 007 Was U.S. Spy Plane," WV No. 379, 17 May 1985
- "Skeletons in the White House Basement," WV No. 394, 3 January 1986
- "The Spectre of KAL 007," WV No. 415, 7 November 1986
- "KAL Pilots Knew," WV No. 419, 9 January 1987
- "The KAL Tapes" and "We Accuse Reagan!" WV No. 437, 2 October 1987
- "KAL 007 Was on Deadly Spy Mission," WV No. 547, 20 March 1992

For copies of these articles and the KAL pamphlet, send \$3 to Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.



Waco...

(continued from page 12)

of the bugaboo of the decade, child abuse. Add to that Koresh's polygamy, and the fact that he considers himself god, or Jesus, or King David, and you have a socially marginal group which makes a real good target. So an authoritarian religious commune is not how most of us would choose to live. But who's to prescribe how people live?

In a letter of protest addressed to Clinton the Partisan Defense Committee demanded "that all troops, tanks, police and federal agents be removed from the area." As the PDC letter noted, "The 'Branch Davidians' are a threat to no one. Your army of agents is a threat to one and all.... We think you would do well to take the advice of the newly elected President Lincoln, who when asked what he proposed to do about the polygamous Mormons replied, 'I propose to let them alone.' We demand hands off the 'Branch Davidians'!"

The government assault is designed to create an atmosphere in which dissidents can be mowed down with impunity. Even the *New York Times* (7 March) noted the many parallels between the Waco siege and the 1985 Philadelphia MOVE massacre, in which eleven black people, including five children, were murdered during a massive assault by hundreds of cops and the FBI. In that case, after raking the house with 10,000 rounds for 90 minutes, the cops dropped a bomb on it, producing a firestorm that leveled 62 homes. There is one big difference, though: the MOVE commune members were black and lived in the urban ghetto, so the government didn't even bother "negotiating" before wiping them out.

While the overwhelming sentiment in Texas is that anyone would blow away anybody who tried to break down their door, the media are busily trying to

demonize the Davidians. The principle was summed up in a *Times* "Editorial Notebook" as "My religion is a denomination, yours is a sect and theirs a cult." The Texas flatlands are teeming with cults, of various sizes, which has earned Waco the nickname of "Jerusalem on the Brazos." On top of the heap are the Southern Baptists, with Baylor University, the biggest Baptist college in the world, located in Waco. With Southern Baptists in both the U.S. presidency and vice presidency, they must be feeling their oats. Catholics better watch out.

Waco is also Klan country: Simon Tisdall reports in the London *Guardian* (6 March) that in the 1920s a KKK picnic in Waco drew 15,000. "Nationally, the town became notorious for its public lynchings of blacks." In the '60s, the Klan grew in opposition to court-ordered school desegregation. Today the Austin, Texas *Hot Blast* (Winter 1993) reports that KKK Grand Dragon Michael Lowe of Waco brags, "I would build the biggest Klan there ever was." Lowe, who was a Ross Perot campaign worker, says the Klan is tripling its number of recruitment rallies in Texas this year.

Charges of "child abuse" are the witchhunters' current all-purpose favorite, used for everything from closing down day-care centers to going after film directors. But social workers who have talked with the children that have emerged from the compound say they are happy, well-adjusted, smart, they know their math, and just want to be reunited with their family. So in today's Big Brother psychobabble, child psychiatrists worry about ensuring the kids have "positive images" of the compound...since the state is never going to let them see their parents again.

The raid was supposed to be a cakewalk to justify the continuing existence of the embattled BATF—they didn't even arrange for any medical personnel to be present. Even before the Waco

debacle, this anachronistic military arm of the U.S. Treasury Department, that originated in the "Whiskey Rebellion" of 1791, was under fire from rival agencies. The BATF is currently under investigation for sexual harassment of female agents, and black BATF agents recently refiled an enlarged lawsuit against the agency's racist practices. After the fiasco a BATF spokesman whined, "I don't believe we were outmaneuvered or outplanned. The problem is we were outgunned." Not even the FBI buys that, and federal authorities investigating the World Trade Center bombing in New York are complaining about BATF agents tampering with evidence in order to claim credit.

The ostensible purpose of the raid, which involved over 100 BATF agents, National Guard and state police, was to arrest Koresh on illegal weapons charges and to search the farm for "military-style assault rifles" and "machine guns," even though the county sheriff had previously assured the church that none of their weapons were illegal. The BATF frequently raids the homes of licensed gun owners, destroying property and terrorizing the occupants. But the message of the Waco siege, carried out in a state with more guns per capita than any other in the nation, is that the U.S. government will go to any lengths to disarm the population—even if they have to kill 'em. Now these people near Waco are being killed for "resisting arrest" over a non-crime.

The government and media refer to the "gun-crazed cult" to whip up anti-gun hysteria. Macho Texas Democratic governor Ann Richards (a Baylor grad who likes to pose Annie Oakley-style with her pump action 12-gauge) is proposing a ban on "assault" guns. And of course the *New York Times* is leading the charge to justify this massive assault on Americans' constitutional right to "keep and bear arms." To the bloodthirsty bour-

geoisie, the murder of innocent men, women and children by the freelancing, out-of-control gun-toting anti-gun freaks of the BATF is a useful tool for advancing the bipartisan "Brady bill." Naturally, despotic regimes prefer to rule over defenseless subjects; an armed people can fight back.

Back in the 1800s, the American ruling class could tolerate the Second Amendment: there wasn't much organized labor, blacks were enslaved, and "the people" consisted mainly of white freeholders. But in capitalism's death agony, with the economy on the skids and labor/black/Hispanic explosions threatening the "New World Order," they want to take guns away from the people. These days, the government has turned on the National Rifle Association, whose right-wing political and cop connections are of no avail against the capitalist consensus to push for civilian disarmament. Trying to sound more-law-and-order-than-thou, the NRA is pushing reactionary calls for "more prisons" and for abolishing the (already tenuous) right of *habeas corpus*.

The whole issue of gun control turns on the question: do you trust *this state* to have a monopoly of arms? The fact is, the biggest danger to hearth and home right now is this country's government. We remember well the role of the BATF in arming and training the Klan and Nazi murderers who in 1979 massacred five leftist civil rights workers and labor organizers in broad daylight in Greensboro, North Carolina. Marxists oppose racist gun control and defend the right of labor/black armed self-defense. As we wrote in our article "Revolution and the Right to Bear Arms" (WV No. 475, 14 April 1989): "Having guns is no magic talisman, but an unarmed population faces merciless slaughter at the hands of this vicious ruling class whose state is armed to the teeth." And this state has gone wacko in Waco. ■

the Yeltsin documents—i.e., the alleged USSR defense ministry "findings" about the flight path. The key "finding," in a document dated 28 November 1983 and allegedly signed by Lt. Gen. of Aviation Makarov and other members of the group of experts (*Izvestia*, 16 October 1992), is that starting about four minutes after takeoff, KAL 007 was flying on a "constant magnetic course of 249 degrees, without the inertial systems being switched into the automatic pilot." Also, "for more than five hours of flight, the crew did not intervene in the steering of the aircraft."

In short, the autopilot was not switched into the Inertial Navigation System (INS) but was guided by magnetic compass. We pointed out the contradictions of this assertion in our questions to *Izvestia*. Allardye/Gollin plotted the points for a course of 249 degrees constant magnetic heading (with winds and magnetic variation accounted for), and placed these on Yeltsin's map. Surprise—they don't match at all! In fact the 249-degree track bohs and weaves first north, then south, of Yeltsin's map line.

Even more devastating, both the 249-degree line and Yeltsin's line *come nowhere near the known positions of KAL 007* indicated by publicly available radar information (see our maps). For instance, on KAL 007's approach to Sakhalin island, the 249-degree track is *54.9 nautical miles to the north* of the first radar fix made by several radars of the Japan Self-Defense Forces. And comparing the FAA-certified radar track of KAL 007 across Alaska, Allardye/Gollin show that the 249-degree track deviates to the north by as much as 7.8 nautical miles. Moreover, at every point beyond Alaska where there is an electronic fix from non-Soviet sources on the position of KAL Flight 007, these correspond roughly and sometimes exactly to the

course shown by General Ogarkov's map in 1983—and they are nowhere near either the 249-degree line or the Yeltsin map!

The Allardye/Gollin report diplomatically concludes that if these documents fairly represent what is on the alleged tapes, "then the authenticity of the tapes themselves must be considered open to question." We would be more blunt: Yeltsin's KAL 007 documents add up to a *fraud*. And this fraud is in the service of a capitalist counterrevolution which has destroyed the first workers state in history, eliminating the Soviet military/industrial powerhouse which stood as an obstacle to U.S. imperialism's rape of the world's peoples. As we wrote back in 1983:

"What Ronald Reagan is looking for is the ideological banner for World War III. For Teddy Roosevelt it was 'Remember the Maine,' even though the evidence indicates the Spanish didn't blow up that U.S. ship in Havana harbor. Woodrow Wilson dragged the U.S. into World War I using the excuse of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, even though it was later proved to be carrying munitions to the British and the German government warned Americans not to sail on this British ship. Lyndon Johnson used the trumped-up 'Tonkin Gulf incident' to get the Vietnam War approved by Congress.... Today, Reagan's rallying cry is 'Remember the Korean Air Lines massacre' as he escalates his anti-Soviet war drive in the Far East, the Near East and Central America."

—"Reagan's 007 War Fever," WV No. 338, 23 September 1983

Where the imperialists and their counterrevolutionary henchmen lie to defend their decrepit order, we have told the truth about KAL 007 because we are guided by a revolutionary program. Only when socialist revolution sweeps away the blood-drenched American ruling class and the rest of the imperialists will the danger of nuclear war be eliminated. ■

NAMBLA...

(continued from page 3)

laws are not aimed at protecting children but at imposing abstinence and guilt on youth who wish to have sex. Such laws differ from state to state, but adjudge anyone below a certain age—in New York the age is 17—in-capable of consenting to have sex with anyone older. Such a sweeping and arbitrary presumption is patently unjustified and oppressive. Attempts to portray sex between older and younger people as equivalent to child molestation are aimed at enforcing social conformity and reactionary sexual mores, and are in no way related to

protecting the interests of youth.

NAMBLA is an easy target for WNBC's retailing of crude slanders and self-serving statements from police agents involved in failed police sting operations. The repressive climate produced by such media witchhunting actually fosters teen suicide, as young people discovering their homosexuality are oppressed by officially promoted guilt. As we wrote in response to the KRON/SFPD witchhunt in San Francisco: "The guiding principle for sexual relations should be that of effective consent, nothing more than mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion—the state has no business interfering." Stop the witchhunt against NAMBLA! ■

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Trumka Knifes Peabody Coal Strike

One month after more than 5,000 miners struck Peabody and Eastern Associated mines, United Mine Workers union tops have ordered them back to work under a 60-day "extension" of the coal contract. A picket at Eastern's Harris No. 1 mine in Bald Knob, West Virginia, told WV that miners "don't like it a bit." Throughout the coal fields, there is deep anger at the regime of UMW president Richard Trumka for its policy of "selective strikes." A fraction of the UMW at Peabody was left to go it alone, while the rest of the union remained working for the other bosses of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

It is no coincidence that Trumka scuttled the strike after he returned from the beach at Bal Harbour, Florida, where the AFL-CIO Executive Council met with Clinton's labor secretary. The Peabody strike, if expanded into a national coal strike, would have been the first major labor confrontation of the new administration. By appealing to longshoremen, rail and barge workers not to handle scab coal, a coal strike would have sent shock waves through the labor movement. But Trumka was well-schooled by the bosses' government when he apprenticed 20 years ago as a staff rep for UMW "reformer" Arnold Miller and his Labor Department-installed regime.

In a cynical stunt, Trumka "expanded" the Peabody strike for one day at a handful of Consol, Arch and Freeman Energy mines in West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Illinois, knowing full well that he was going to scuttle it the next day. On March 2, miners were told to immediately take down their picket lines and "go home and listen to TV to find out when to report to work."

Like the UAW tops when they folded at Caterpillar last year, the UMW bureaucracy is ludicrously claiming a "victory." District 17 president Bob Phalen blustered, "By God, we won the battle. We got everything we wanted," referring to the union's demand for information on the ownership of coal reserves and non-union subsidiaries by Peabody and the other big coal producers. This is echoed by the reformist Communist Party's *People's Weekly World* (6 March), which headlined



Scab coal being moved out of Rocklick prep plant in West Virginia. Peabody strike was sabotaged by UMW tops.

"Coal Miners Win First Round." But miners aren't buying, as they expect to be right back out in 60 days.

Trumka credited the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service for helping to "craft" the agreement, and reportedly had a line open to Harvard boy Labor Secretary Robert Reich. The UMW tops are taking their orders from Clinton, and hope the 60 days will let them grease the skids for more givebacks in health care, work rules and non-union operations. These are the disastrous results of previous "selective strikes" at A.T. Massey and Pittston.

Trumka wants to keep the miners working underground even as the historic gains of the UMW in the coal fields are dismantled. Union miners now dig only one-third of the coal produced in the U.S. And with the proliferation of non-union mines, hundreds of workers are paying for the betrayals of the union tops with their lives. In only five weeks during December and January, 18 workers were killed and many more injured in a series of deadly mine accidents.

It is a straight line from the pro-Labor Department

Strikers occupy Nova Scotia food processing plant last June as bosses and scabs flee by helicopter.



"reformer" Miller 20 years ago to Trumka's bowing to the bosses' courts and their "strike training" edicts today. A striker from Local 9177 at the Rocklick preparation plant told WV that UMW officials have sunk so low they sent union miners at small, non-striking "contract mines" to work at the Hardhat portal—across the picket lines of Peabody/Eastern strikers! This scabherding continued when the bureaucrats ordered pickets to let coal trucks through to the prep plant as well.

Working in deathtraps, miner set against miner—this is the future of the UMW if the pro-capitalist bureaucracy isn't ousted by a class-struggle leadership. But that means above all a fight for the political independence of the workers movement from the capitalist state and the bosses' parties through the construction of a workers party.

Workers Revolt Sweeps Nova Scotia

TORONTO—For eight months now, a wave of bitter labor struggle has swept the island of Cape Breton in Canada's eastern maritime province of Nova Scotia. Militant fishery, auto and other workers throughout the island have fought back against scabherding and threatened plant closures by reviving the powerful tactic of factory seizures. Facing yet more economic devastation in an area where official unemployment is already 26 percent, angry workers have pushed through police lines, driven scabs and management from the plants, defied court injunctions and held millions of dollars worth of equipment for ransom until their demands were met.

On February 1, management at the Premium Automotive Tanks plant in Port Hawkesbury announced the factory was to close, effective immediately, and a convoy of trucks began removing completed gas tanks and assembly equipment to a warehouse in New Hampshire. But the next day 50 furious workers, members of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW), stormed and took over the plant. While the bosses cowered behind barricades, unionists set up a round-the-clock vigil to guard the remaining equipment, demanding that either the plant be reopened or the company cough up the three months' severance pay legally due each of the 80 workers. Within days the company capitulated, agreeing to the full \$300,000 severance package.

The same week another 30 CAW members at a North Sydney fish processing plant began their own 24-hour-a-day blockade. In an article titled "Worker Revolt: Angry Nova Scotians Fighting for Their Lives," the *Toronto Globe and Mail* (15 February) described how "in the bone-chilling cold of a Cape Breton winter" unionists stood guard outside the National Sea Products factory, preventing the company from removing equipment and eliminating their jobs. Local union chairman Archie MacKinnon vowed the fishery workers would "stay here as long as it takes."

The plant occupations began last June, when 600 striking fishery workers and their supporters seized the Clearwater Fine Foods lobster processing plant in the town of Arichat. Marching past police lines to the plant entrance, strikers from CAW Local 1970 demanded that company security guards leave the premises and take the scabs who were in the plant with them. When the company cops refused, strikers tore down barricades, occupied the factory and forced scabs and goons alike to flee. The *Halifax Daily News* wrote: "In a scene reminiscent of the fall of Saigon, a company-hired

helicopter plucked replacement workers from the roof...after angry strikers stormed the building." The scabs never returned.

The same month, workers at North Sydney's Scotia Rope factory began a six-month-long plant blockade, preventing nearly \$1 million worth of rope-making equipment from being moved out after the owners announced the factory would be closed and the equipment sold off. Defying a provincial Supreme Court injunction, they stood guard outside the plant for week after week. Finally in late November the Nova Scotia government agreed to buy the equipment and the jobs were saved. "They had court orders and the law on their side," said rope worker Earl Murrin, "but we defied them.... We've said enough is enough."

Canada's worst depression since the 1930s has brought devastation to working people coast to coast, with the highest rate of unemployment among the "Group of Seven" industrial powers. A quarter of all manufacturing jobs have been eliminated in the Southern Ontario industrial heartland, and for the already dirt-poor Atlantic provinces the consequences have been nothing less than catastrophic. Overfishing by profit-mad conglomerates like National Sea Products has virtually eliminated fish stocks, throwing tens of thousands of fishermen and shore workers on the scrap heap.

Those who have managed to hold their jobs are forced to work in ever more desperate conditions. In early February five Nova Scotia fishermen on the scallop dragger Cape Aspy were killed when the ship sank after being sent out in a major winter storm. Ten days later, 50 fishermen in Lunenburg were threatened with dismissal when they defied a company order to go onto the high seas in the face of another brewing storm. Last year, 26 miners in Pictou County were killed in an explosion at the Westray coal mine, a notorious deathtrap which had regularly been cited by inspectors for serious safety violations.

In the face of capitalist economic disaster, union bureaucrats like the national leaders of the CAW have signed away hundreds of thousands of jobs in auto, airlines and other industries, pushing round after round of concessions and givebacks. In Cape Breton, the Clearwater lobster strikers were eventually forced to swallow a rotten settlement after the CAW national office threatened to cut off strike funds. Meanwhile Audrey McLaughlin, leader of the social-democratic New Democratic Party, came to the worker-occupied Premium automotive plant in early February to grandstand about "solidarity." But the same NDP has launched its own strikebreaking attacks on labor and the poor from the provincial government benches in Ontario, British Columbia and elsewhere, all in the name of capitalist austerity and the sacred need for profit.

Cape Breton has a long history of worker militancy, going back to the early years of the century when District 26 of the United Mine Workers waged battle after battle against the coal bosses and their government allies. In 1922, miners and their families stood firm against thousands of soldiers and even Royal Navy warships that were called out to try to break their strike. The kind of class-struggle tactics which are today being revived on the island—factory seizures, mass pickets, defiance of the bosses' court injunctions—can galvanize workers facing a jobs massacre throughout the continent and help to turn back the bosses' anti-labor offensive. But stopping the greedy capitalist profiteers and winning jobs for all will take more than this. From Cape Breton to California, we need a revolutionary workers party to lead a fight against the entire bankrupt capitalist system and win workers power! ■

Haitian Protest...

(continued from page 12)

even if the ban is rescinded, it wouldn't necessarily apply to the Haitian refugees imprisoned at Guantánamo since they have not yet made it to the U.S. An INS official expressed the vicious racism of the U.S. rulers, declaring: "They are going to die anyway."

The cruel cynicism of Clinton toward Haitian refugees epitomizes the racism of the U.S. ruling class. During the presidential campaign, Clinton denounced Bush's policy of forcibly repatriating all Haitian refugees picked up on the high seas as "cruel," "wrong" and "illegal." Yet, in mid-January, as inauguration day approached and many Haitians prepared to flee the island, Clinton announced that he would maintain Bush's policy, and the Coast Guard (with Clinton's approval) dispatched a flotilla of over 20 ships and a dozen aircraft to lock up Haiti in an airtight blockade.

Last week Justice Department lawyers went before the Supreme Court to defend the very policy which the Democratic Party candidate had so fulsomely denounced! The case was brought last October by the Bush administration after a federal appeals court ruled against forcibly repatriating Haitian refugees. Candidate Clinton had hailed this court ruling as "the right decision." But now President Clinton says pulling Haitian refugees off their boats and forcing them back to face the bloody military and Tontons Macoutes is "saving lives."

Racism, AIDS and Concentration Camps

The torment being inflicted on the Haitian refugees at Guantánamo is truly barbarous. Inmates suffering from acute tuberculosis are returned to the camp after a quick visit to the hospital (in



Ferry boat crowded with impoverished Haitians later sank in storm off Haiti's southern peninsula, killing more than 1,000 passengers.

handcuffs!) and are left to live miserably in the open air among the other Haitians, whose run-down condition makes them vulnerable to contagion. Even the eleven refugees who are seriously ill with AIDS have been refused "humanitarian paroles" in order to be treated in hospitals in the U.S. Refugees cannot even trust what they are told about their own condition—the military admitted that some diagnoses of HIV-positive were mistaken—and many are refusing medication.

When refugees at Guantánamo organized a demonstration last July to protest the dreadful conditions, thousands of soldiers surrounded the camp as MPs kicked and beat the refugees with clubs and shouted racial epithets. At a protest meeting in Brooklyn on February 10, Haitian refugee Siliese Success' described how the U.S. soldiers then "handcuffed people hand and foot and laid them out in the sun. They spat in our faces. They kicked us out of the camps. We slept in the rain." Her three-

month-old baby caught pneumonia as a result of this hideous mistreatment and died, murdered by the racist U.S. rulers.

Another speaker, Donovan Cole, a former U.S. soldier stationed at Guantánamo, recounted how he was arrested and discharged for "dereliction of duty" for refusing to draw his gun in response to the "Haitian migrants' rioting." Cole declared: "I was told if I talked to them nice or if I gave them cool water or just treated them more like human beings, that I made them too comfortable. They don't care about these people. They don't care whether they live or die."

The Haitian refugees languishing at Guantánamo have endured inhuman suffering, first from the murderous Haitian army and Tontons Macoutes and now from the racist rulers in Washington. Not a few of the Congressmen and administration officials who declaim against "illegal aliens" themselves have Haitian maids. While anti-Communist Cuban *gusano* scum are automatically granted residency, Haitians fleeing one of the

bloodiest dictatorships in the hemisphere are locked up in a U.S. base occupying Cuban territory! We demand that all those who have been seized by the Coast Guard be granted immediate asylum and provided proper medical treatment in the U.S.!

But the Haitian masses will not be liberated through exodus to the north. The Spartacist League, section of the International Communist League, has long championed the cause of the Haitian working people, hundreds of thousands of whom are congregated in urban centers along the East Coast of North America. In Haitian demonstrations in New York last year, SL spokesmen repeatedly warned against illusions in the capitalist Democratic Party. The ICL also calls upon workers in the Dominican Republic to defend the thousands of Haitians reduced to slavery in the Dominican sugar cane fields, and to organize together with them to overthrow the capitalist dictatorships which dominate the island by keeping the masses divided.

We have insisted that the liberation of Haiti, where Toussaint L'Ouverture led the first successful slave revolt in history in conjunction with the French Revolution, will come about not by appealing to the "democratic" pretensions of the imperialists in Washington and the UN, but through hard class struggle. The "masters of the universe" shiver as they gaze down from their Wall Street offices to see the streets filled with tens of thousands of militant Haitian demonstrators. What is needed is a Trotskyist party uniting the North American proletariat with its Caribbean brothers and sisters in struggle for socialist revolution.

Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Asylum for Haitian refugees! For people's tribunals to bring the Macoute criminals to justice—For a workers and peasants government in Haiti! Defend Cuba—U.S. out of Guantánamo! Down with Yankee imperialism—Workers to power! ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

execution, Rector announced that despite Clinton's troubles over the Gennifer Flowers affair he was voting for him anyway.

Mumia Abu-Jamal: The Scottsboro Case of Today

Countless black frame-up victims before McMillian inhabited the notorious prison at Holman-Atmore, including Scottsboro defendant Haywood Patterson. In the Scottsboro case of the early 1930s, nine black youths were framed on charges of rape and sentenced to die. The Scottsboro case defined for a generation the cruelty and injustice of the Jim Crow South. It took an international campaign of protest, led by the Communist-affiliated International Labor Defense, to save their lives and finally win their freedom.

The struggle to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal has become known as the Scottsboro case of today. Jamal is on death row because he has fought for the oppressed for 25 years. A former Black Panther Party spokesman and award-winning journalist who became known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his searing critiques of American racism, Jamal was framed in 1982 on charges of killing a cop. Jamal's case expresses the barbarity of the racist death penalty.

Jamal's attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass, are preparing a legal challenge in the Pennsylvania courts to expose the frame-up. Weinglass has recently prepared a six-page summary of the frame-up, "The Trial of Mumia Abu-Jamal," which is available from the Partisan Defense Committee. Weinglass has also set up the Committee to Save

Mumia Abu-Jamal to raise funds for the legal defense. Send your contributions, payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

The PDC has played a leading role in the campaign to save Jamal's life—organizing protests in cities around the world, distributing tens of thousands of pieces of literature against the racist death penalty. A PDC video, "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal," has been shown in union halls, campuses and community organizations around the country. Mumia Abu-Jamal will not be saved by courtroom battles alone. Like the Scottsboro case, it will take an international campaign of publicity and protest to save Jamal from the executioner. Contact the PDC to join the campaign now. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

Mandel...

(continued from page 2)

polemizing against us directly (including on questions our speaker had never raised in his intervention), during the course of which he repeatedly insisted that if we organized a meeting he would debate us. When an SL comrade interjected, "Is that true—we will have a debate?", Mandel replied, "Yes, yes." The exchange continued:

SL: "You will debate us? You agree?"

Mandel: "Yes, absolutely. Organize your meeting."

SL: "Thirty minutes either side, OK?"

Mandel: "I repeat: if you organize a meeting, you give me 30 minutes, I will speak in your meeting."

Well, we'll see. Three days later Mandel was presented with a hand-delivered debate challenge from the International Communist League, reprinted below. "You will certainly get a reply," said Mandel after reading the letter, "but I am a disciplined comrade, so you will have to wait. I cannot do this on my own."

It's been a long time since we've heard anybody in the notoriously disunited USeC invoke "discipline." But we are waiting, comrade Mandel.

24 February 1993

Ernest Mandel

Dear Comrade Mandel,

At the Marxist School forum on Sunday, 21 February, you repeatedly affirmed that you would debate a rep-

resentative of our organization if we invited you to a meeting organized by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

We accept this offer, and invite you to attend a public meeting at a date of mutual convenience. We suggest a debate on the topic "The Russian Question and the Collapse of Stalinism." Our preferred venue would be Berlin, but we would be open to other suggestions (for example London or Paris).

We also accept the 30 minutes per speaker format you suggested. Of course, we would also want time for those in attendance to have an opportunity to speak and suggest a timed round, followed by summaries for yourself and our representative.

Naturally we would be prepared to discuss any modifications you might propose.

Yours fraternally,
Alastair Green
for the International
Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

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Haitian Hunger Strikers Protest Racist Exclusion

Let Them In!

MARCH 7—For almost six weeks, over 200 desperate Haitian refugees quarantined at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo, Cuba have been on a hunger strike, demanding to leave the camp where many have been imprisoned for almost a year and a half. They were initially cleared for entry into the U.S. by immigration officials, although thousands of others—about three-quarters of the 40,000 people who have been plucked out of their boats by the U.S. Coast Guard as they fled the bloody military regime—were forcibly sent back to Haiti.

However, when 221 refugees reportedly tested sero-positive for the HIV virus which causes AIDS, they were summarily refused entry into the U.S. Unable to return to Haiti and barred from the U.S., they and their families—a total of 265 people—were locked up in a concentration camp called Camp Bulkeley, isolated in a remote, desert-like corner of the naval base and surrounded by chain link fences, concertina wire and armed guards. Desperate to escape this living hell, the hunger strikers have vowed: "It's leave or death."

Meanwhile, deposed Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide is counting on President Clinton, with whom he is scheduled to meet on March 16, to pressure the Haitian military into letting

him return to office. Aristide called on Haitians not to take to boats to escape their tormentors, but he has pointedly refrained from criticizing the U.S. policy of patrolling the high seas and repatriating Haitian refugees. As Aristide's overthrow by the military in September 1991 graphically demonstrated, the fact that this radical priest occupied the presidential palace was only a façade, allowing the official terror to continue.

A recent report in the *New York Times* (1 March) reflects the explosive sentiment of revolt building among the Haitian people. Reporter Howard French noted that "for the first time" large numbers of ordinary citizens "have begun to warn that they will take matters into their own hands." Following a mass in the town of Jérémie for hundreds of victims who died when an overloaded ferry sank late last month, mourners demanding the return of Aristide were brutally beaten and arrested. The terror by the blood-crazed army continues under the gaze of a team of UN observers, who are supposedly negotiating a "return to democracy."

President Clinton vs. Candidate Clinton

President Bill Clinton and his band of callous yuppies are acting as if they

Haitian refugees at Guantánamo detention center protest deportation back to murderous military junta.



Keating/Newsday

would be just as happy to see the doubly unfortunate refugees in Guantánamo perish. Clinton promised during the electoral campaign to rescind Bush's policy of banning those infected with HIV from entering the U.S., but now the new

administration says there is "no timetable" for this. And as racist Congressmen scream about the cost of medical care if HIV-infected refugees are let into the country, it is being suggested that

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Murderous Fed Assault on Christian Sect

Shootout Near Waco



Smith/Saba

It was supposed to be a lightning-fast raid by heavily armed federal agents on a little-known religious group's farm east of Waco, Texas, prepared months in advance by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) with the help of agents who had infiltrated the compound. But the feds didn't reckon on a Good Samaritan's tip-off which alerted the nearly 100 members of the "Branch Davidians," a split-off from the Seventh Day Adventists, to the cops' murderous plan. So when the massive strike force made their move on the morning of February 28, approaching the compound in three teams, one of which broke in through a window, the well-prepared residents opened fire through the walls, stopping the assault cold.

When the dust settled, four feds lay dead and 16 wounded, the worst losses taken by the BATF since the days of Prohibition. Several injured agents had to flee ignominiously, clinging to the hood and bumper of a local TV station's car. Inside the compound, an unknown

number of church members, including a 2-year-old girl, were killed by the feds, and many, including the sect's leader David Koresh, were wounded. A ceasefire was hastily called, and the FBI was brought in for negotiations with Koresh, which are still continuing. While the government has dropped its claim that the Davidians have a .50-calibre machine gun, the feds have moved in armored vehicles mounted with cannons. Huey helicopters hover over grazing cattle and grain silos.

The BATF hypocritically claimed that a full-scale invasion was needed just to arrest one man. Koresh, because they were afraid of a mass suicide like the 1978 Jonestown cult massacre in Guyana. In other words, they had to kill them to keep them from killing themselves! Shades of Vietnam, where U.S. commanders vowed they had to destroy cities in order to "save" them (from Communism). In case the weapons charge wasn't enough, the feds also accused the sect

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