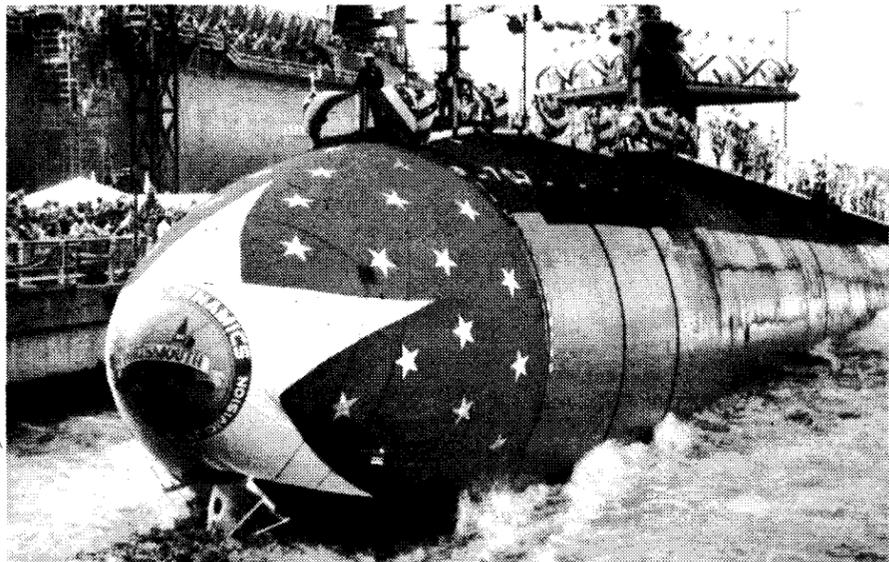


Reagan's America:

Billions for the Pentagon, Hell for the Homeless



General Dynamics



Wilson/Newsweek

Reagan to poor: "Let them eat missiles." U.S. attack sub launched in Connecticut, homeless at shelter in Seattle.

"Dividends are rising—proletarians falling." These words are Rosa Luxemburg's searing indictment of the horrors of World War I and the system which fathered it. In Reagan's America, profits are rising and people are freezing to death. While the U.S. is driving toward war with the Soviet workers state, they are waging a mean-spirited domestic war on workers and the poor. While Ron and Nancy are in Palm Springs preparing to dance the night away at a glittering New Year's ball, the starving stand in cheese lines and the homeless shiver over subway gratings. "Let them freeze, let them beg, let them taste police billy clubs": this is the "Reagan miracle" at work.

As the stock market soared over 1,500

and luxury building speculation booms, hundreds of thousands are being forced to find "shelter" on the frigid sidewalks, in vermin-infested "welfare hotels" or the filthy and dangerous dumping grounds set up to intern them (until they're thrown back out on the streets again). America's cities are swollen with a growing army of the homeless. In a cruel twist on "humanitarianism," New York, Boston and Philadelphia have enacted "emergency" measures wherein those found vagrant on the street are subjected to the tender mercies of the police, under orders to round them up when the temperature falls too low. On Christmas Day, an elderly lady known as "Mama" was found dead on the bench in Grand Central Station that she

called home. The night before the cops had refused to call an ambulance and kicked her out in the cold.

The Dickensian rationale is that if you have no place to live, you must obviously be mentally ill, possibly criminal, and have no rights whatsoever. In 1932 George Orwell described the poking, prying, religious "slumming parties" who invaded London shelters, noting, "This kind of petty tyranny can, in fact, only be defended on the theory that a man poor enough to live in a common lodging house thereby forfeits some of his rights as a citizen." Such round-ups are in part designed to remove the embarrassing eyesore of beggars and exhausted, freezing poor from those city centers frequented by

the petty-bourgeois professionals. But this "eyesore" won't go away.

There is an unprecedented crisis in housing. It is most acute in New York City where the condo kings rule and there is a 2 percent housing vacancy rate; where during the first December cold snap a record 22,000 homeless men, women and children were in the shelters, the most since the 1930s depression. Government apologists claim the homeless are unemployable derelicts, but the disorientation, drug addiction, etc. are largely derivative, the product of increasing immiseration and the failure of society to care for the elderly, the disabled. And while New York State mental hospitals "deinstitutionalized"

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Winnie Mandela Defies Apartheid Police State

Bloody Christmas in South Africa

DECEMBER 30—For more than a quarter century, Winnie Mandela has been a victim of the grotesque repression and harassment by the South African police state. She was jailed. She was "banned" so her statements could not be publicized. She was banished for years to the isolated town of Brandfort in the empty *platteland* of the Orange Free State. Why? Because she is an anti-apartheid fighter and married to African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, who has been jailed for the past two

decades, most of it in the notorious prison colony of Robben Island. The slave masters of South Africa have made her life hell, but today Winnie Mandela has become a symbol of black defiance against bloody white supremacy.

As mass protests in South Africa have become increasingly radicalized, as ANC flags have begun to appear at the endless black funerals, Winnie has spoken out. Last summer, they torched her house in Brandfort. Fearing for her life, she refused to go

back and instead stayed at her home in Soweto, the huge black "township" of two million outside Johannesburg. Last month she courageously broke the banning orders and cried out for vengeance at a burial service for 13 blacks massacred by police at Mamelodi. The regime responded by "lifting" the banning, but *not* from Soweto. As Winnie said, after meeting with her husband Nelson on Christmas Day, "I am charged with a crime that does not exist in most of the democratic, civilized world—being at home."

On December 21 the cops came for her, and when she resisted, they brutally dragged her from her home. But the next morning Winnie Mandela went straight back. Again the cops came, and again she physically resisted. This time they arrested her and threw her in jail overnight. When Winnie left the courtroom the next day, 400-500 people gathered and marched with her through the streets of Johannesburg. As we go to press, South African president P.W. Botha's

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Exchange on South African Revolution

August 24, 1985

Editorial Board
Workers Vanguard

Dear Comrades,

This is to reiterate my longstanding opposition to your change in line several years ago from the original slogan of yours which was in my view correct, "Smash Apartheid Through Proletarian Revolution," to your subsequent slogan, "Proletarian Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid."

I formerly criticized the change in line by saying that the slogan of "Proletarian Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid" could easily be interpreted in a Menshevik or two-stagist fashion along the approximate lines of, "Oh, sure, we'll have proletarian revolution LATER, but as for the MOST IMPORTANT TASK, it's SMASHING APARTHEID, and we must do that NOW." This was, as anyone with a knowledge of labor and socialist history knows, exactly the same rationale given by the German Social Democrats for giving their speeches advocating socialism once a year while doing nothing except the "practical" tasks the rest of the time.

I not only stand by my original criticism, but in line with the very attack on the nationalist policies made in your press add that these policies may lead to a military adventure and a subsequent black bloodbath. The nationalist leaders in South Africa must be defended against the apartheid state; the possible even defeated insurrection of blacks must, if it happens, be defended militarily in the same way as Karl Marx, **ALTHOUGH ADVISING AGAINST IT**, defended the Commune. However, the Major Owens type nationalists who are NOT the Mandela type nationalists (Mandela has the guts to stand for his principles while in jail; the Major Owens types shout for OTHERS' blood to flow FROM AFAR) coalesce nicely in their policies with liberal trade unionist bureaucrats seeking to keep the national

principle prevailing over the class principle.

The slogan "Proletarian Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid" IN PRACTICE means "Get voting rights now and socialism later." But as you yourself note in many correct analyses, **THAT IS IMPOSSIBLE**, and the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution is thereby vindicated once again. (I also reiterate once again my longstanding opposition to your formal position that the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution applies only in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and not in the advanced countries. I believe your correct slogan in the New York City mayoralty election, "Time to Finish the Civil War—Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution," to be a PRACTICAL confirmation of my view as over and against your view in these questions.)

I notice you have been forced by the empirical facts of REAL EVENTS in South Africa to come down hard on the nationalist principle, and, in your New York City mayoralty election brochure (hundreds upon hundreds of which I have been joyfully disseminating amongst New York City's working people, getting the message of revolutionary socialism across...) say "Smash Apartheid Slavery" and "Hot Cargo Military Goods, No Divestment Illusions in Bloodsucking Imperialists." All perfectly correct slogans from a Marxist standpoint—but, do tell, you have left out "Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid."

Fraternally,
Al Greene

WV replies: Al Greene's letter independently intersected and contributed to a discussion in the Spartacist League/U.S. regarding the slogans for proletarian revolution in South Africa. The problem with *both* slogans he refers to is that each expresses one side of the perspective of permanent revolution in South Africa, and each is schematically one-sided—though not wrong. After

considering these questions, a recent meeting of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S. adopted the following motion: "That our most central slogan is "Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!" We have, in fact, used this slogan far more frequently for many years now. It better conveys the algebraic interrelation between the struggle for democratic rights and national emancipation and for prole-

tarian state power—a black-centered workers republic—in South Africa.

In the aftermath of the June 1976 Soweto revolt, we undertook an extensive internal discussion on South Africa, the history and development of the brutal apartheid system, as well as the program for its revolutionary overthrow. An important aspect of this discussion was how Leon Trotsky's

continued on page 11

Bulletin Doth Protest Too Much

We reprint here an excerpt concerning the Spartacist League from the article "Political Lessons of Anti-Concessions Conference" contained in the 13 December 1985 *Bulletin*, organ of the recently Healyite U.S. Workers League. Those familiar with the activity of the SL in the real world may not be able to match this with the assertions in this account of the "National Rank-and-File Against Concessions" conference held in Chicago on December 7.

Attending the rotten "fight back" conference were all the usual out-bureaucrat suspects, and some not-so-outs, which the *Bulletin* doesn't tell you about—Victor Reuther was the honored guest. Also present were six Workers Leaguers, among them former National Secretary Freddy Mazelis who took over from former, former National Secretary Tim Wohlforth and was in turn replaced by current National Secretary David North.

The *Bulletin* is compelled to mention the SL, castigating us as "revisionist" (along with the "revisionist Socialist Workers Party," "revisionist Trotskyist Organization," and "revisionist Revolutionary Workers League"). We note that for the WL this represents a downgrading from our previous classification as "fingerman for the world capitalists," the FBI and other dark forces. They also label us "sectarian" and take us to task for only sending a reporter to the event.

A discerning reader might conclude that we were the only principled Trotskyists there, refusing to play "honest trade-union center folk" or to suck up to some of the more entrenched union bureaucrats. Naturally any number of phony socialists undoubtedly consider that "sectarian." In the WL's case, Mazelis/North may be just a little defensive about their own deep immersion in this "rank-and-file" event which, by their

rank-and-file groups from r

Bulletin

13 December 1985

The revisionist Spartacist League sent a correspondent to the conference, but did not participate, in keeping with its stance that it is impossible to fight for revolutionary leadership in the actual struggles of the working class, and that trade union work is only "exemplary," i.e., for the edification of aging middle class radicals outside the labor movement.

Sectarians

The Spartacist League demonstrated its attitude to the struggle against concessions shortly after the first major battle at Chrysler in 1979. Their response was to reduce the weekly *Workers Vanguard* to a fortnightly because the objective conditions for a weekly paper did not exist. Nothing that has happened in the working class movement in the last six years has convinced these middle class sectarians otherwise.

The revisionist Trotskyist Organization, which publishes

own account, excluded rank-and-file groups from the leadership.

In any case, you'd think North & Co. would show a little modesty. Their international founder-leader—Gerry Healy of the British Workers Revolutionary Party—has, after all, only recently been expelled for alleged revolting sex crimes against young women as well as having called David North a CIA agent. Fairly squalid stuff. For our analysis, see "Healyism Implodes" in the latest issue of *Spartacist* (English edition), No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86.

To paraphrase Shakespeare, all the world's a revisionist except thee and me, and sometimes I wonder about thee.



Trotsky on Permanent Revolution

In countries with belated bourgeois development, Trotsky counterposed to the Menshevik/Stalinist dogma of the "two-stage revolution" the theory of permanent revolution which summed up the experience of three Russian Revolutions:

... the permanent revolution is described as a revolution which welds together the oppressed masses of town and country

around the proletariat organized in soviets; as a national revolution that raises the proletariat to power and thereby opens up the possibility of a democratic revolution growing over into the socialist revolution.

The permanent revolution is no isolated leap of the proletariat; rather it is the rebuilding of the whole nation under the leadership of the proletariat.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution* (1930)



LENIN

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

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U.S. Railroads Alabama Civil Rights Workers

ATLANTA—An Alabama black civil rights activist, Spiver Gordon, was convicted November 14 by an all-white Tuscaloosa jury on charges of "voter fraud," and sentenced by a federal judge to three years in prison and fined \$1,000. Gordon, a national board member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and head of the Greene County Civic League, is free pending appeal. Although his sentence was partially suspended, Gordon was ordered to spend six months behind bars and to do 500 hours of community service work. Gordon's "crime"? Assisting elderly blacks to file absentee ballots during the Democratic Party primary last year.

This obscene prosecution is part of the Reagan administration's all-sided assault on democratic rights and liberties. Under the doctrine of "original intent," Reagan's top cop Edwin Meese wants to turn the clock back to the days of the "founding fathers," when slavery was sanctioned in the Constitution and black people were sold as chattel. He is assisted by his "Civil Rights" commissioner (a post which has become akin to South Africa's minister of black "Bantu Affairs"), one Bradford Reynolds. This racist bigot is so notorious that even a Reaganite Senate rejected his nomination for the No. 2 post at the "Justice" Department. Meese/Reynolds want to nullify the 13th through 15th Amendments, the Reconstruction amendments, which emancipated the slaves and gave blacks the vote.

It is no accident that Meese and Reynolds began their campaign to disenfranchise black people in the desperately poor, Deep South "Black Belt" region of western Alabama. Targeting the black Democratic Party leadership of this rural area, 210 felony charges were originally filed against eight people. But five straight frame-up trials of Alabama civil rights activists have ended in acquittals or hung juries. In Selma on November 5, Albert Turner, Evelyn Turner and Spencer Hogue were acquitted of absentee-ballot tampering, after a 15-day trial by a jury of seven blacks and five whites. Albert Turner, a former chief aide to Martin Luther King, Jr., is the most prominent black leader in the ten-county area.

Black people are a majority in the "Black Belt," but for more than one hundred years after the defeat of



Spiver Gordon (right) with wife Barbara and co-defendant Frederick Daniels, who was acquitted. Meese wants to disenfranchise blacks.

Reconstruction, blacks were excluded from the polls and elected office by the poll tax, the literacy test and the lynch rope. During the 1960s and even into the '70s, whites were winning elections with lopsided margins, even where they were a distinct minority. As one black county commissioner put it, "Do you know why the roads to white folks' cemeteries are paved in the black belt? It's so people won't get their feet wet on election day."

It took ten more years after the civil rights movement and passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 for blacks to begin to win elections in this region. The absentee ballot was crucial to these victories, for this area has a high proportion of poor, infirm and elderly blacks who cannot travel. When Spiver Gordon ran for city council, armed white cops were posted at black polling booths. The absentee ballot allowed black people to vote without fear or intimidation in the privacy of their homes. When the absentee ballot began to pay off for blacks, the Reagan administration stepped in. In 1981 two elderly black women, Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilde, were convicted for "voter fraud." They served time in the notorious hellhole of Alabama's prison system even though prosecution witnesses later recanted and a federal court overturned the conviction.

In the summer of 1984, Meese issued a position paper which called for targeting "political participants" who "seek out the elderly, socially disadvantaged or the illiterate, for the purpose of subjugating their electoral will." One of the key

players in this move to disenfranchise Alabama blacks is right-wing fanatical anti-communist U.S. Senator Jeremiah Denton. Running as a Republican, Denton just narrowly won his Senate seat in 1980. His re-election in 1986 is dependent on keeping blacks off the registry rolls and away from the polls. The three U.S. attorneys who brought the prosecutions against Alabama's black political and civil rights activists are all Denton appointees, and he now wants to reward the attorney who won

At an "Alabama Black Belt Defense Committee" fundraiser in Atlanta December 4, Albert Turner detailed to *WV* the government's scheme to entrap the civil rights activists:

"It's not accidental that I was indicted, that Spiver Gordon was indicted. The guys who have been involved in this struggle for the last 20 years...every one of us was under investigation. "They went through some extreme measures trying to get me in jail. They changed 50 people's ballots to entrap me. I was a poll watcher, at the absentee ballot box that night. They numbered all the ballots. I got the number of every person's ballot that had any kind of configuration on it. And in the whole county, there wasn't but 35 ballots. When I went to trial they had 80 ballots. I accuse the government. They paid people to lie. They intimidated people to lie. They openly made it known that they intended to get me."

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

During the Civil War, runaway and freed slaves flocked to the Union Army and played a decisive role in the destruction of the old slave system. Under the protection of the Reconstruction Acts enforced by a Union Army military dictatorship, the freed black man took the lead in carrying through a social revolution and smashing the old slavocracy in the South. The franchise was often defended by armed black soldiers stationed at polling places. But the Compromise of 1877, representing a powerful bloc of Northern industrial capital and subordinate Southern Bourbon planters allowed the ex-slaves to be disenfranchised and forced back on the land as tenant farmers and sharecroppers.

While the civil rights movement drew on the deep hatred of the black masses for Jim Crow, its main beneficiaries were the relatively narrow black middle class. They were represented by M.L.



Cops arrest civil rights activists in '60s voter registration drive in Selma, Alabama.

the Gordon conviction, Jefferson Beauregard Sessions III, with a federal judgeship.

With the Reaganites targeting Alabama black voters, hordes of federal authorities descended on the "Black Belt" counties. The FBI, whose informant KKK-member Gary Rowe killed Viola Liuzzo 20 years earlier, now brought their own brand of fear and intimidation. The feds interrogated over 1,000 black absentee voters in their homes about ballots cast in the 1984 elections. They had secretly and illegally marked and tampered with ballots before the election so they could "spot" them afterwards. They carried out a raid on one voting rights activist's office.

Prospective inditees were offered a deal if they cooperated with the government in court. Even facing the threat of jail sentences and fines, many refused. Elderly and infirm blacks were herded into buses, brought under armed state trooper escorts to Mobile, over 200 miles from their homes. These grand jury "witnesses" were photographed, fingerprinted and forced to give handwriting samples. In one case, the Government Accounting Office launched a year-long investigation into a black farmers' cooperative, headed by Turner, which left it virtually crippled.

King and the SCLC whose political strategy, based on turn-the-other-cheek pacifism, was to seek the support of and above all avoid antagonizing the Northern white liberal establishment. They looked to federal troops, federal courts, federal laws, and of course the Federal Bureau of Investigation to aid them against Southern "states' righters." And now the federal government is using the same courts and laws to "roll back" not only the civil rights movement but even gains won by the Civil War.

Southern blacks won back the franchise only to have their misleaders sell it to the party of the Dixiecrats. The bankruptcy of the SCLC strategy is epitomized by the fact that 20 years after the passage of the Voting Rights Act, Alabama's black Democratic Party establishment had nothing better to offer black voters than state governor George "Segregation Forever" Wallace. Jesse Jackson's voter registration drive signed up four million blacks, but only as voting cattle for loser Democrat Mondale who endorsed Reagan's racist rape of black Grenada, and his running mate Ferraro, who with her anti-busing stand tried to mobilize the racist white ethnic vote. Now the federal authorities with their federal laws are swarming

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Long Island Bishop, D.A. Call Out Anti-Abortion Bigots

The Long Island Catholic bishop and Nassau County district attorney staged a sinister action outside a well-known abortion clinic in Hempstead, New York on December 28, calling out some 3,000 chanting, praying bigots to target the Bill Baird Institute. D.A. Dennis Dillon and county comptroller Peter King marched with Bishop John McGann as he led thousands through the streets chanting, "Bill Baird kills babies!", ending up at the clinic. There, a counterprotest of 300 to 500 abortion rights defenders demonstrated along with clinic director Baird in front of the facility.

McGann boasted his "silent scream for life" was an important milestone in the church's reactionary anti-abortion crusade, the first time any New York

bishop has taken his own diocese into the streets against abortion. Spearheaded by 200 priests and nuns, the action began with a church service. As the crowd shouted "Baby killers!", a habited nun told the press, "I sort of look at Bill Baird as a modern-day King Herod." Baird pointed to the ominous threat posed by Bishop McGann's forces together with the representatives of the state: "We're counter-picketing him to let the American people know that you stand up to a bully."

On the day of the "right-to-life" march the clinic got two telephoned bomb threats causing police to first search, then shut down the clinic for the afternoon. Asked about the bomb threats, D.A. Dillon said, "This is the fourth demonstration we've had here,

and generally it's some kind of a threat, allegedly called in. Nothing ever happens." *Nothing ever happens?* The pioneering Baird clinic in Hempstead, the first such facility in the country, has been a repeated target of right-wing terrorists, including a firebombing with 50 women inside six years ago, and a menacing "demonstration" of uniformed Nazis in jackboots and swastikas!

In Manhattan on December 10, a bomb exploded in the bathroom of a busy abortion clinic at 3:30 p.m. on a Tuesday afternoon, starting a fire. Because the caller had warned the police bomb squad, the building was evacuated in time. There was no warning in Portland, Oregon, however, when a big bomb arrived in the mail of a women's

health center. This murderous package was intended to kill people. Portland postal officials then found other mail bombs, addressed to two abortion clinics and to Planned Parenthood. According to the *New York Times* (18 December 1985), during the last two years there have been 50 bombing and arson incidents at abortion and family-planning clinics.

Abortion is still legal in this country. Yet the presence of Nassau County "chief law enforcer" Dillon in the march and picket gives the state's green light to the anti-abortion terrorists. In bloc with New York's Cardinal O'Connor, these bigots have been in the forefront of attacks on women and gays, from the campaign to block two Albany abortion clinics from opening, to the ban on hiring homosexuals at city-financed church social service facilities. With the blessing of the White House, the crusade against abortion rights is the spearhead of reaction against every decent and progressive social measure won in the past 200 years. Don't let them turn back the clock to the Middle Ages! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand! For the separation of church and state! Women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

police have arrested Winnie once again for attempting to go home to Soweto.

Class War, Not Race War

Winnie Mandela and the millions of South African blacks she inspires are pushing their defiance to the limit, but the heavily armed apartheid state still has the whip hand. The liberal nationalism she and the ANC espouse has challenged, but cannot destroy the apartheid regime. More urgently than ever, events in South Africa show the deadly results of this impasse.

On December 23, five whites, including three young children, were killed in a terror bombing at the "whites only" beach resort of Amanzimtoti near Durban, provoking calls for retaliation from the white population. On Christmas Day, 56 blacks died on the outskirts of Durban when 2,000 Zulus brandishing spears, clubs, knives, machetes and some shotguns clashed with 3,000 Pondos, a Xhosa-speaking people. The confrontation was sparked by job competition in South Africa's recession-ravaged economy, as the Pondos migrate from the impoverished bantustan of Transkei and settle in the shantytowns around Durban, which lie in the Zulu bantustan of Kwazulu. It was the worst tribal clash in a decade.

Also on Christmas Day, five blacks died in Soweto as youths calling for a "black Christmas" fought with migrant workers who refused to cancel their holiday celebrations. And three blacks were left dead, and others wounded, as a result of fighting over the holidays in a black township northeast of Cape Town between the United Democratic Front (UDF), a multiclass and multiracial coalition of anti-apartheid groups, and the narrowly black nationalist Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). As the danger of degeneration into a disastrous race, tribal and factional war looms, South Africa's anti-apartheid revolt cries out for the leadership of a racially integrated Leninist party, armed with the program of revolutionary proletarian class struggle.

In the past year over a thousand blacks, many of them young children, have been killed by the racist police state. But while blacks bury their dead in the impoverished townships, white suburbanites a few miles away play cricket and host dinner parties. One can understand that desperate black rage may have motivated whoever set off that bomb in the exclusive Durban beach

resort. However, indiscriminate terrorism against the white population is not only criminal and morally indefensible, it will rebound against the black masses.

The Amanzimtoti bombing plays into the hands of hardline white supremacists who are prepared to kill, in truly Hitlerite fashion, hundreds of thousands of blacks to restore apartheid law and order. Reporter Alan Cowell contrasted whites' reaction to the



Winnie Mandela at the Mamelodi funeral protest.

Durban beach resort bombing with their attitude to the daily police terror in the black townships:

"Black death, to many whites, is but a consequence of the enforcement of what is called law and order. The slaying of the five whites, touching the raw nerves of those who control the power of the Government, by contrast, seems to those same people a hurt and a challenge that must be met with the punishment that history's overlords reserve for their underlings....

"If there was a mood among the whites who saw the bloodshed in Amanzimtoti, other than shock, it was a desire for vengeance."

—*New York Times*,
25 December 1985

And the whites have all the guns.

While no group has publicly claimed responsibility for the Durban bombing, the ANC has definitely not repudiated it. In the past, the ANC carefully restricted its guerrilla raids to military and economic installations. But last year it announced a policy shift to include "soft" targets, acknowledging that this would mean an increase in

white civilian casualties. At the same time, the ANC leadership is still working for a deal with the more "liberal" wing of the white ruling class, represented by the giant Anglo American mining and manufacturing empire.

Against the ANC and its nationalist rivals in the Black Consciousness Movement, proletarian communists seek to lead the South African struggle along class not national (racial) lines. *He who labors should rule!* We strive for a black-centered workers government, in which there had better be a place for whites. With their technological and cultural skills, South African whites can be a valuable economic resource for the socialist reconstruction of all Africa.

Free Nelson Mandela! Defend Winnie Mandela!

For over a generation Nelson and Winnie Mandela have symbolized the resistance of the black masses to white supremacist rule. When early last year, the No. 1 apartheid terrorist, P.W. Botha, announced he would consider releasing the ANC leader if he renounced "violence," Mandela replied:

"Let him [Botha] renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid.... Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them.... I cannot sell my birthright nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free."

Winnie Mandela has shown the same steadfastness and the same defiance of the apartheid regime. When the government banished her to the godforsaken *dorp* (Afrikaner country town) of Brandfort, they got more than they bargained for. As she walked through the "whites only" entrances of Brandfort's stores, the rednecks made way or took refuge outside. The local Afrikaners, for whom blacks are objects worth far less than the farm equipment they operate, were astounded to see a stream of international visitors making their way to Mandela's tiny house. When other blacks began to emulate Winnie's tenacious insistence on her dignity, and the local Afrikaners begged their government to remove her from Brandfort, she jocularly stated that if the banning orders were not lifted she would insist on remaining where she was!

Winnie Mandela has paid a heavy price for her defiance of the apartheid state. Government agents attacked her house in Brandfort, assaulting her sister, her infant grandson and dozens of children. Winnie commented, "The following week they bombed the house. The previous week they had killed in cold blood a very close friend of mine in

Durban. I took that to be a direct message to me" (*Newsweek*, 30 December 1985). And now they are trying to drive her out of Soweto. Through militant demonstrations and labor solidarity actions internationally, all those who hate apartheid must act to beat back the deadly threats against Winnie Mandela. Drop the charges! Free Nelson Mandela and all anti-apartheid fighters!

The great personal courage of Nelson and Winnie Mandela is based on the justice of the demand of South Africa's 24 million blacks to be citizens and rule in the land of their birth. The Mandelas belong to a generation of ANC leaders who were won away from a narrow black African nationalism to the goal of a multiracial South Africa, in large part through the influence of the South African Communist Party. But the CP, in Stalinist fashion, sees a multiracial democratic South Africa arising from the classless unity of all "progressive" forces (a people's front). The ANC does not seek to smash apartheid superexploitation and the capitalist state which enforces it, but rather to pressure the South African bourgeoisie into dismantling formal apartheid.

It is because of this reformist program that Winnie Mandela takes a "liberal" imperialist like Teddy Kennedy to be a friend. Because it cannot transcend the framework of nationalism, the ANC (based upon Xhosa-speaking peoples) cannot lead the way to overcoming tribalist conflicts such as that between the Zulus and Pondos. And without a program which can smash the apartheid state, black resistance turns in on itself, substituting gestures of self-sacrifice for real blows against the white ruling class. As for the moralistic "black Christmas" campaign, like the divestment campaign, a key aspect of the ANC's politics, it says to the workers not "organize your power as a class," but "suffering will set you free."

The question in South Africa is not whether blood will flow—it is whose blood, when, where and how. To avert a senseless racial-communal bloodbath, in which the overwhelming majority of the victims will be the oppressed black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian majority, it is vital to forge a Trotskyist party in South Africa, a workers party which can wage the struggle on class lines, neutralizing a section of the white population and winning the best elements to the fight for a socialist Africa. Only such a party, standing at the head of the oppressed black African, coloured and Indian masses, can smash apartheid and avenge all the martyrs of the struggle for black freedom. ■

"Free Enterprise" at Work

1985: Year of the Air Disaster

The children were waiting to see Santa Claus at a crowded shopping mall in suburban Concord, California the day before Christmas, when suddenly a twin-engine Beechcraft Baron airplane crashed through the roof of Macy's. Aircraft fuel poured through the 50-foot hole and ignited, creating a rain of flaming roofing tar on the panicked crowd below. "The effect was like napalm," said a doctor later. The plane's three passengers were killed, along with a 22-year-old woman who was in the mall to pick up her wedding ring and a young child who died later from burns. Eighty people were injured, including four children who were seriously burned. Police later found one of the plane's missing propellers "wedged between an information booth and a stroller rental concession" (*Newsday*, 26 December 1985).

"The accident was waiting to happen," commented a local resident who had watched in recent years as buildings sprang up on the flight path to the airport. Another resident noted that planes flew so close to the parking lot "you could see the pilot's eyeballs" (*New York Times*, 26 December 1985). And even the less-than-minimal rules of the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) were ignored in the scramble for the high-profit commercial space: the recently completed office tower of the Bank of America near the Concord airport is taller than FAA limits. The obstacle course of tall buildings combined with inland fog led to the disaster.

1985 in fact was the worst year in civil aviation history as the mounting number of air disasters racked up nearly 2,000 deaths in one year. Meanwhile the FAA under Donald Engen has fought every attempt to impose tighter safety standards on the airline industry—in Reaganite jargon that would be considered "government interference." The FAA never seriously imposed truly safe standards, but lately they seem to have completely folded shop. While government was pulled off the backs of the airline owners, its grip on the labor force was tightened through an assault on the unions. As we wrote last summer:

"In the Reagan years government air safety controls have been thrown to the wind in the name of 'deregulation.' The frontal attack on air safety was signaled by Reagan's 1981 firing of 11,400 striking PATCO air traffic controllers, whose main concern was staff shortages and job pressures creating safety hazards. Today the system is stretched thinner than ever with 14,300 controllers, 2,000 less than there were before the strike, and only half the workforce is rated fully 'qualified'....

"The dramatic nose dive of air safety under Reagan underlines a key point: union rights and passenger safety go hand in hand."

—"Reagan's Deadly Skies,"
WV No. 383, 12 July 1985

Right after we published that, there was a cluster of major air disasters confirming every word we wrote. On August 2 a Delta Air Lines L-1011 jumbo jet got caught in a deadly "wind shear" and crashed at Dallas-Ft. Worth airport, killing 134 people. The recovered cockpit tape recordings later revealed that 17 minutes before the crash the plane's crew were complaining about the air traffic controller's directions. The crew had spotted "a pretty good-sized cell" of bad weather and the captain commented, "It's getting kind of hot in the oven with this controller.... See, that's what the lack of experience does" (*New York Times*, 1 October 1985).

The incident also triggered renewed calls for installation of Doppler radars at airports to provide warning of dangerous wind shear patterns. "It has been known for two years that Doppler radar was probably an answer to wind shear," commented the *New York Times* (29 August 1985) in an editorial. But an internal FAA document obtained by the *Washington Post* (18 August 1985) revealed that the FAA preferred patching up the existing non-radar detection system because it was considered "the most cost-effective method"—i.e., it's cheaper to pay in human lives.

On August 12, a Japan Air Lines 747 crashed outside Tokyo, killing 520 crew and passengers, one of the worst civilian aviation disasters on record. The plane had lost a section of its tail fin when the aft cabin pressure bulkhead collapsed, apparently because a botched repair job by the U.S.-based Boeing company involved faulty riveting. (Boeing later agreed to split compensation costs with JAL to quash the outcries from the victims' relatives.) The depressurization explosion caused the pilot to lose control of the aircraft, possibly because of a design flaw noted by FAA certification engineers 20 years ago: the four hydraulic control lines are not adequately separated in the tail section.

As a British Air Tours 737 was taking off in London on August 22 one of its jet engines blew up when a red-hot combustion chamber broke loose, ripping into the wing and severing a fuel line. The resulting fire killed 54 people; toxic fumes from flammable seat cushions probably added to the death toll, and many passengers reported it was hard to escape because more seats had been jammed in. Subsequent press reports revealed long-standing troubles with Pratt & Whitney's JT-8D engine, apparently due to lax maintenance procedures and FAA standards.

In September, another 31 died in the crash of a DC-9 in Milwaukee, also apparently because of the Pratt & Whitney engine. And a near-miss between a helicopter and an Eastern Airlines shuttle jet at Washington's National Airport caused Congressmen to raise questions about the FAA. Then came the spectacular December 12 Arrow Air crash at Gander, Newfoundland in which 248 American soldiers died. A grim summary of Reagan's deregulation of the airlines in the name

of unfettered "free enterprise."

The Defense Department and Air Force cynically tried to palm off blame for the Gander crash by noting that the DC-9 was "under charter to the Rome office of the international peacekeeping force in the Sinai Desert, and not to the United States Government" (*New York Times*, 17 December 1985). In actuality, Arrow Air is one of a slew of fly-by-night outfits that are kept alive by U.S.

\$34,000—a mere slap on the wrist. The widow of a captain who died in the Arrow Air crash commented that both she and her husband worried when he left on an Arrow plane last summer because "it just looked so sleazy." Her husband was "extremely depressed" on the phone at the prospect of returning with the same company, and she pointedly refused to attend Reagan's cynical ceremony for the dead.

Reagan's yahoos capitalism has unleashed the sleaziest profiteers. "Since deregulation, one of the tendencies we've all seen has been a tendency to degrade maintenance," noted Charles O. Miller, a former high official of the National Transportation Safety Board, on ABC's *Nightline* recently. In keeping with the pursuit of maximum profit, the FAA has granted Boeing permission to eliminate two of the ten exit doors on its 747 jumbos in order to squeeze in more seats. One cynical Reaganite budget official commented in response to questions about recent crashes: "More people were killed on motorcycles last week. How safe is safe?"

Terrorist murder of civil air



Reagan's deadly skies: wreckage of Delta Flight 191 at Dallas-Ft. Worth airport, August 2.

government contracts. The owner of Arrow Air, George Batchelor, who piloted U.S. generals in World War II, restarted the company in 1981 after years of inoperation because "Federal deregulation opened the way to greater airline competition" (*New York Times*, 24 December 1985).

In Reagan's America it seems that any little puddle-hopping airline which can pluck stranded U.S. diplomats from embassy rooftops in Southeast Asia or make heroin runs for the CIA gets FAA approval. They deal with passengers like that notorious labor-hater president of World Airways, pistol-packing Ed Daly, who pushed out the U.S.' hapless Vietnamese collaborators as they tried to clamber aboard the "last flight out of Da Nang."

Arrow Air has a history of safety violations noted by the FAA, particularly excessive "deferred maintenance," for which they received a fine of

passengers is a rotten business. In the last year some 84 people were killed during terrorist actions in airplanes and airports. But compare this to the 1,950-plus killed as a result of plane crashes. Does cynical murder-for-profit leave the dead any better off?

Well, that's "free enterprise" for you. We are reminded of astronaut Gus Grissom's comment about his horrifying thoughts during launchings, that the whole thing was put together by "a crowd of lowest bidders." (Grissom died in 1967 when a flash fire broke out inside an Apollo space capsule atop a Saturn rocket at Cape Kennedy.) We socialists are fighting for a system where safety of human lives, not private profit, is the bottom line. A planned economy is needed to do away with capitalist anarchy in the skies. And that will take a socialist revolution to accomplish. As a start, we demand the immediate rehiring, with full back pay, of the fired PATCO air controllers. ■

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Skeletons in the White House Basement

Having finished his "peace" charade at the Geneva summit, Reagan is back to his usual anti-Soviet ranting. Last week he submitted a report to Congress about a so-called "pattern of Soviet non-compliance" with arms control agreements. It's all a giant smokescreen, of course, behind which the administration intends to violate every weapons pact on the books, by expanding the nuclear fleet of Trident subs (limited by SALT II) to Reagan's first-strike "Star Wars" schemes, a frontal assault on the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

For the umpteenth time, the White House report dredges up the two-and-a-half-year-old U.S. complaint about the new Soviet phased array radar system at Abalakova (near Krasnoyarsk) in Siberia. This issue has become a peculiar paranoid obsession in the Oval Office. Conservative pundit William Safire devoted a whole column to this old news recently (*New York Times*, 31 October 1985), jabbering about "Krasnoyarsk Chutzpah." Our interest was caught by Safire's claim that a July 1983 Evans and Novak column about the Russian radar was the "scoop of the year."

The Reaganites protest too much... and they may have inadvertently pointed to the origins of the Korean Air Lines Flight 007 spy mission. By sending a civilian jetliner over the most sensitive Soviet military installations in the Far East, Washington Cold Warriors caused the deaths of more than 200 innocent passengers. As Reagan and the "responsible" American media vituperated against Russian "barbarism"—for defending their airspace against an unidentified intruder—we proclaimed, "Reagan's Story Stinks!" Our 1983 pamphlet, "KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation," told the truth about this deadly Cold War plot a year before the first liberal journalists publicly questioned Reagan's Big Lie.

Now even the snotty reactionaries of the London *Economist* (12 October 1985) have begun to raise more questions about this fishy affair. In an article titled "Stir, and the Plot Thickens," they list a number of revelations showing that the course of the KAL jetliner was no "accident": radar data released by the Japanese government last May "suggesting that the pilot of 007 purposely misled Japanese air controllers" regarding the plane's true position; evidence filed in a lawsuit against the U.S. government indicating that "American radar operators knew hours beforehand that 007 was off course and that one taped radio conversation contains the words of an American operator saying 'We should warn him'"; cancellation of an investigation by the National Transportation Safety Board only hours after the Russians shot down the intruding plane.

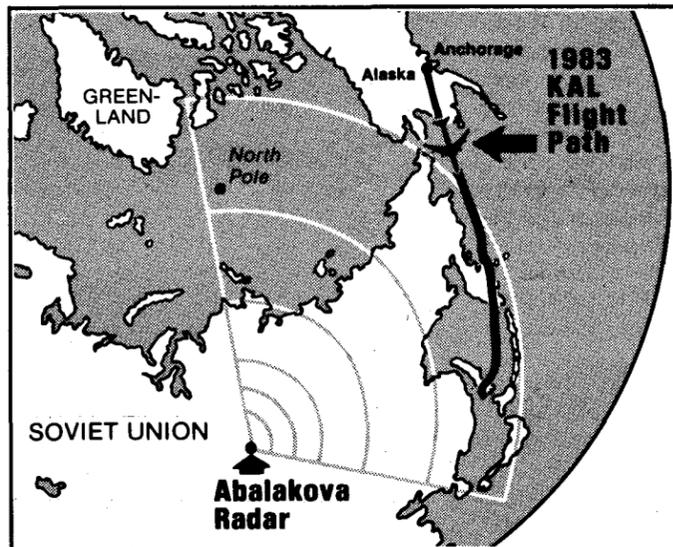
Even though the U.S. State Department confiscated all the NTSB records and put them under classified wraps, where they remain to this day, damning leaks continue. The *Economist* reports: "An American lawyer involved in the lawsuits has claimed that the widow of the pilot of 007 told him in front of witnesses that her husband and the copilot were routinely paid to fly over the Soviet Union, and that they had said they wanted to stop doing it because it was getting too dangerous."

The probable purpose of such a mission, these British Tories note, would be "to trigger the Russian air-defence system"

so the U.S. could record the reactions. But why at this time and place? The answer may well lie in the Reaganite obsession with Abalakova.

To the fevered brains in the White House basement, the newly discovered Siberian radar threatened to upset U.S. plans for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. The new "Red threat" was not a Russian plot to attack the United States, but rather a supposed

shal Pyotr Kirsanov revealed that the orbit of a U.S. "ferret" spy satellite was "strictly synchronized" with the flight of KAL 007. The electronic surveillance satellite, which would remain operational for only a few months, had been launched as a piggyback payload atop a "Big Bird" photo reconnaissance satellite, and the purpose of the latter was openly admitted: *Aviation Week & Space Technology* (22 August 1983)



WV Graphic

KAL 007's provocative intrusion into Soviet airspace: U.S. probe of new Russian radar?



Clark and Reagan aboard Air Force One. Reagan told Clark: take Soviets to the mat.

Russian plan to detect American attack! As Evans and Novak explained:

"The new radar... would close a gap in Soviet coverage to the Northeast against incoming U.S. ICBMs targeted on Eastern Soviet territory and possible submarine-launched missiles from the Pacific."

—*New York Post*, 27 July 1983

Searching for a legal pretext, the Reaganites decided that Abalakova represented a "breakout" from the ABM treaty because they assumed the radar was designed for "battle management" of Soviet defensive missiles, and the installation is not on the "periphery" of Soviet borders as mandated by the '72 treaty.

The Soviets have repeatedly responded that the radar is for tracking objects in space, allowable under the treaty, not for directing ABM defenses. And the magazine of the American Association for the Advancement of Science noted that "the bulk of the U.S. intelligence community" believes the radar's physical characteristics will give it "only slight ballistic missile defense capability" (*Science*, 22 March 1985). But to ultraright Reaganites, even the "intelligence community"—not to mention academia—is riddled with "pinkos" and "Soviet moles."

The Radar, the Ferret and KAL 007

A little over two weeks after the shooting down of KAL 007 on 31 August/1 September 1983, Soviet air mar-

bragged that CIA photo interpreters "spotted the new radar" at Abalakova on the returned film from Big Bird. The photos revealed that the radar was oriented "to the northeast," which would "enable it to detect Trident missiles launched from submarines in the Bering Sea or Gulf of Alaska." What they still needed was electronic data on the new radar—its operating frequency, coverage fan, etc. That would be the job of the electronic ferret.

After reading Safire's column, we went back to look at the public record during the summer of '83. What we found goes a long way toward explaining the genesis of a full-blown U.S. war provocation:

- Sometime probably in early 1983: a CIA spy named A.G. Tolkachev working "at a top-secret military aviation compound in Moscow" gives the U.S. "its first tipoff about Soviet plans for the large phased-array radar system" (*New York Post*, 18 October 1985).
- 15 April 1983: the U.S. launches a "close-look" film-drop spy satellite over the Soviet Union. It was one of the last such expensive photo satellites in the U.S. inventory.
- 20 June 1983: the U.S. launches the Big Bird photo reconnaissance satellite to get a more complete picture. Secretly, the Big Bird releases into separate orbit an electronic "ferret" satellite designed to pick up electromagnetic radiation, particularly the emissions from Soviet radar.

• 15 July 1983: a top-secret "warning" about the new radar is sent by the "intelligence community" directly to the White House, according to the Evans and Novak "scoop." A flurry of paranoid panic ensues in Washington. Senator James McClure writes a letter to Reagan asking for a special closed-door briefing on the "flagrant" Soviet "violation"; Secretary of State Shultz reads a statement to the Soviet chargé d'affaires demanding a special meeting of the arms-agreements monitoring group; and the White House creates a special arms control "verification panel" headed by the president's national security adviser, William P. Clark.

• 19 July 1983: the first meeting of the powerful new interagency group takes place. Reagan created the new body "to take responsibility for arms control away from the State and Defense Departments and place them in the hands of William P. Clark," according to the *New York Times* (20 July 1983). At this first meeting Reagan shows up in person to urge the group to "explore every possible angle."

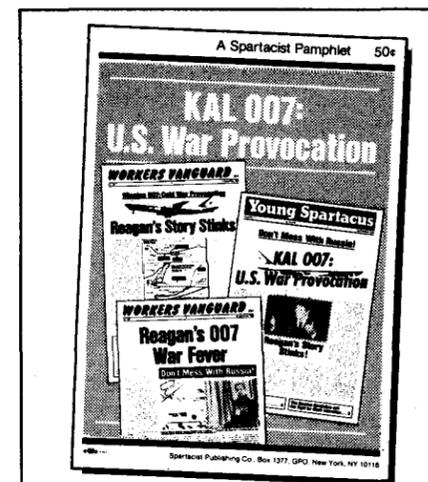
Clark, a former Army counterintelligence officer, had by the summer of 1983 become "the President's chief instrument for guaranteeing that his Administration takes a hard-line approach to Communism and Soviet influence in the world," worried White House correspondent Steven Weisman ("The Influence of William Clark," *New York Times Magazine*, 14 August 1983). "Echoing the President, [Clark] has characterized the Soviet state as 'a bizarre and evil episode of history whose last pages are even now being written.'" Clark, who was also a prime mover behind "covert" aid to Nicaraguan contras and the threatening U.S. military maneuvers in Central America, was now in charge of a top-level nuclear arms policy group made up of leading Cold Warriors, including Robert McFarlane, Richard Burt, Lawrence Eagleburger, Richard Perle, Fred Iklé and representatives of the CIA and Joint Chiefs of Staff.

What were Clark's plans for the U.S. "ferret" satellite orbiting the Soviet Union that summer? The electronic spy-in-the-sky would pick up the emissions of the standard Soviet border radars, but strategic radars like the one at Abalakova would only be turned on by an unusual border penetration. Enter KAL 007 from Alaska.

Reagan: Putting Confrontation Back in Vogue

In the *Washington Post* of 17 August 1983 Evans and Novak published another column, obviously a "leak" from White House sources. They wrote that "President Reagan has quietly signaled national security adviser William Clark to damn the torpedoes and go full speed ahead in challenging the Soviet Union to explain apparent

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Salvadoran Workers Strike Against Duarte

For more than a year now, the United States government and the American press have been crowing that El Salvador is a "success story" for Ronald Reagan's foreign policy. The country supposedly has an elected government, indiscriminate terror by security forces is down and the army is winning the war in the countryside, they claim. This picture is in good measure the result of a CIA "perception management" program, whose purpose (according to the *Los Angeles Times*) is "to change El Salvador's image from that of a cauldron of war and death to that of a country where conditions are improving as a result of U.S. policies, and to persuade the U.S. Congress to keep pumping economic and military aid into the Central American nation."

But the killing goes relentlessly on—more than 60,000 dead and "disappeared" since 1979. In the countryside, random massacres by the army have been replaced by indiscriminate bombings against the civilian population in areas controlled by the leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). As a result, more than half a million Salvadoran peasants have fled the war zone, cramming into refugee centers in the cities. Altogether in 1984, the Catholic Legal Aid office reported 3,552 civilians killed by government forces and paramilitary groups. And according to a recent report by the Americas Watch human rights group, death squad killings have more than doubled in the last six months.

This hasn't prevented the guerrillas from landing dramatic blows, however, such as the attack on U.S. Marines in the Zona Rosa last May and the seizure of Christian Democratic official Inés Duarte, the daughter of the Salvadoran president, in September. In October, on the FMLN's fifth anniversary, rebel commandos attacked the military training center in La Unión, producing more than 200 casualties and capturing scores of soldiers. But as the army's forces quadrupled and U.S.-supplied air power made it difficult to concentrate large forces, the insurgents have gone over to a war of attrition. The *New York Times* (14 October 1985) reported: "American diplomats privately concede that a deadlock is developing. The Government, they say, can contain the rebels but not defeat them."

What the media have completely

blackened out is the escalating class war in the cities. The Salvadoran labor movement, the most combative in Central America, is on the move again. During the first eight months of 1985, there were 80 strikes reported involving 400,000 workers. This means that in the last year probably the majority of all urban workers have struck against the regime of José Napoleón Duarte—in the midst of a civil war! Every single public worker who strikes does so illegally, and every demonstrator risks his life, marching "under the eye of death" with only long-billed visors for protection from prying government cameras. The Salvadoran workers are demonstrating tremendous courage, and after going through five years of terror they are back in the vanguard.

Following a defiant demonstration of upwards of 25,000 workers on May Day, up to the end of June there was a march or labor action every three days on the average. In a speech marking his first year in office, Duarte vituperated against the unions as being "infiltrated" by the guerrillas. The next day a special U.S.-trained SWAT squad hit the sit-down strike at San Salvador's general hospital, managing to kill four undercover cops and causing the death of a woman patient (see "Class War in San Salvador," *WV* No. 383, 12 July 1985). But this did not intimidate the strikers. While some unions had to retreat without winning their main demands, most managed to prevent reprisals. After a summer pause, protests and labor actions succeeded each other every other day all fall.

In the spring, the initiative was taken by left-led federations, but now even conservative, formerly pro-government unions were entering the struggle. By mid-November almost 50,000 government employees were on strike. One of the main demands was repeal of Decree 162, passed by the legislature in September, allowing the government to weed out union militants through summary transfers. Other demands included repeal of Decree 296, prohibiting unionization and strikes by public employees; of the state of emergency (Decree 44), providing for the militarization of public employees; of the wage freeze (Decree 544) and the state of siege. Trade unions are so hog-tied by these restrictions that virtually every labor action is illegal, and treated as such.

In demanding across-the-board pay



FENASTRAS Meeting of SETA water utility workers demands "defense of jobs and eradication of corruption and repression."

increases, Salvadoran workers are fighting literally for survival. Today industrial wages average \$4.40 a day in San Salvador; with wages frozen (there has been only one pay raise in the last six years), double-digit inflation has led to a drastic decline in real income. But the most frequent cause of the walkouts has been the arrests or kidnappings of union leaders, which have increased dramatically in recent months. Last September, the left-wing National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) published a list of 41 trade unionists who had been arrested, kidnapped, tortured or killed since January. Another list, compiled by the independent news agency SALPRESS in its *Boletín Semanal Centroamericano* (4-17 November 1985) lists another 28. This is the "democracy" which Reagan and Duarte brag of.

Where union supporters were not simply murdered, their comrades have quickly mobilized to save their lives. In late July, Facundo Mauricio Ramírez (a leader of the bank workers union) was arrested but soon freed due to strike action; when Salvador Rodríguez Duarte (general secretary of the transport workers) was detained three days later, the threat of a work stoppage won his release. The most important strikes this fall were the repeated walkouts by the telecommunications workers of ASTTEL, which effectively cut off phone service to the outside for weeks. When ASTTEL official Humberto Centeno and his two sons were seized on November 8, the 7,000 unionists immediately walked out; after Centeno was let go, they stayed out until his sons (accused of being FMLN supporters) were transferred from the barracks to Mariona prison.

Salvadoran Labor: "Back From the Dead"

"El Salvador's radical labor movement seems to live nine lives," wrote the *Wall Street Journal* (24 September 1985). During 1979-83, more than 5,000 union activists were killed by government forces in and out of

uniform. Five different current or former secretary generals of the FUSL labor federation were murdered. Unions were destroyed, union halls bombed, union leaders forced into clandestinity or into exile. Only CIA-funded "unions" linked to the AIFLD (American Institute for Free Labor Development) could function openly. As recently as 1984, virtually the entire executive committee of the transport workers union was assassinated. But with more than half a century of experience of bloody rightist repression, the left-led labor movement successfully went underground and then, when conditions were favorable, began to stick their heads up.

A few tentative economic strikes in 1983 won modest pay gains, the first break in the brutal wage freeze. The following year militant unionists took to the streets on May Day. And increasingly during 1984-85 labor actions have radicalized: plant occupations, lengthy walkouts and openly political marches are now common, something inconceivable only three years ago. Colonel Rinaldo Golcher, director of the murderous Treasury Police, says bluntly: "It's the first stage of the new urban war." Compared to the last labor upsurge, during 1978-80, the *Journal* notes two differences. The "popular organizations" linking leftist unions with peasant groups disappeared in the terror, many of their militants joining the guerrillas. And a number of "center" unions have broken with the government and are now collaborating with the left.

These "labor" outfits were originally a product of Yankee dollars operating under the political cover of Christian Democracy to foster yellow unions as a bulwark against Communism. The main vehicle was the Popular Democratic Unity (UPD), formed by the AIFLD in 1980 on the basis of peasant cooperatives which benefited from the land reform enacted by the Christian Democratic/military junta, and government workers who held their jobs at the pleasure of the current government. Set

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Hector Recinos, general secretary of left-wing FENASTRAS labor federation.

Salvadoran Workers...

(continued from page 7)

up to provide an organized social base for the Duarte regime, the UPD unions first struck in 1983 when death squad leader Roberto D'Aubuisson's ultra-rightist ARENA party was in the ascendancy, gutting land reform and firing Christian Democrats from government positions.

Now Duarte is back as president. But even though he signed a "social pact" with the UPD prior to the '84 elections, in order to get union activists to bring out the vote, which they did; and although the Christian Democrats won a majority in the legislative assembly last March, Duarte has not carried out his "reform" promises. Under pressure from Washington and the big landowners, he has let agrarian reform go to hell; at the behest of Washington and factory owners he denounces strikers as "subversives"; following orders from Washington and the military, he abandoned even his phony La Palma "dialogue" with the guerrillas. UPD leaders were forced into a corner, and facing competition from the resurgent labor left, some began acting like unionists.

The first break came in August 1984 when the UPD condemned Duarte for dragging his feet on "dialogue," and obliquely criticized U.S. military aid (see Chris Norton, "Build and Destroy," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, November/December 1985). For Washington, the whole purpose of Duarte's election and the setting up of "free trade unions" was in order to entice more military aid for the Salvadoran regime out of Congress, so naturally the AIFLD controllers hit the roof. With a heavy hand on the purse strings (90 percent of the AIFLD budget comes from U.S. government funds), they cut off the UPD and moved to set up a rival Confederation of Democratic Workers (CTD). But the move backfired.

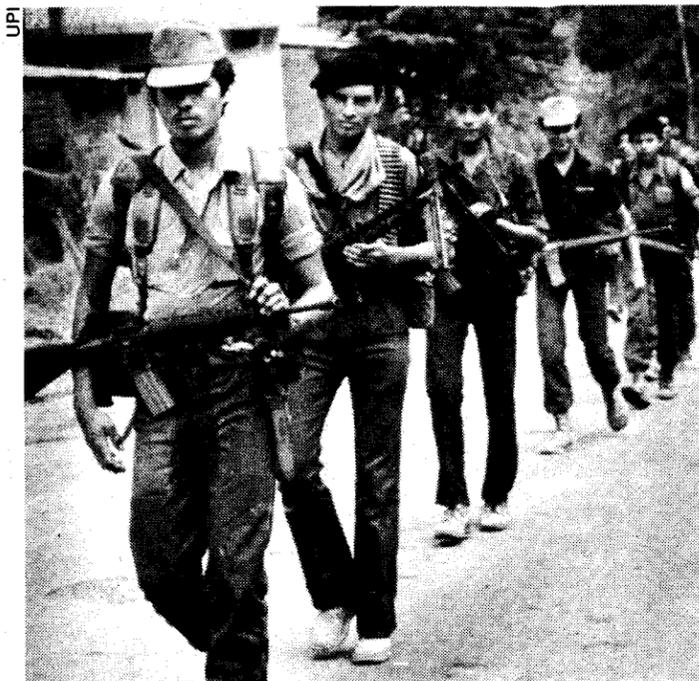
While the AIFLD was repossessing jeeps and office equipment, the government's social base was breaking with their patrons. As Julia Preston reported in the *Boston Globe* (19 August 1985):

"Instead of unifying a conservative labor bloc, the Institute angered many of its former friends, leading some to adopt Marxist-sounding rhetoric and others to move further to the right. The story of the Institute's involvement in Salvador's labor movement shows how much Americans still pull the strings of politics here."

Early last year, both the peasant federation and the construction workers replaced pro-AIFLD leaders with independents, and in August the CST (government workers) split from the UPD. As the phantom CTD sought to turn agricultural co-ops into private businesses run jointly with the growers, farm worker leaders complained, "They're asking us to embrace the men who murdered our brothers in the past." The CTD now exists as a hollow shell, with plenty of dollars and few members.

Salvadoran Workers: "Thirst for Justice"

Meanwhile, on September 15 left unions staged a 10,000-strong march, including a couple hundred women in black from the Committee of Mothers and Relatives of the Political Prisoners and Disappeared chanting, "Dialogue yes, repression no!" "Duarte's henchmen are the real terrorists!" and "From strike to strike, we will win!" And in early November another audacious event took place in a San Salvador hotel: a public convention of the leftist FENASTRAS unions, attended by more than 300 delegates and 50 international guests. Federation president Hector Bernabé Recinos, arrested in 1980 and sent from prison into exile four years later, flew in from Mexico accompanied by American unionists. The wave of strikes and street protests,



Salvadoran guerrilla fighters on patrol in Usulután province.

said Recinos, represents the masses' "thirst for justice."

At the FENASTRAS congress, Recinos declared that "the present Christian Democratic government does not represent the people's will," but rather the interests of Reagan and the rich. To resolve the national crisis, he said, requires a "popular and democratic government" of "national consensus." Recinos calls on "all political forces active in national life" to join in "broad national unity" (*Intercontinental Press*, 16 December 1985). Yet, even leaving aside D'Aubuisson's fascistic ARENA and its recent offshoot Patria Libre (Free Fatherland) as well as the traditional "oligarchic" parties, which are plenty active, who can believe that the ruling Christian Democrats would "take firm steps in implementing the transformations that would satisfy our people's needs"? Duarte won't even carry out his own land reform!

What "national unity" or "consensus" can there be in the midst of a raging civil war? Higher interests are involved here, class interests of the capitalist latifundistas and military officers against the workers and peasants who have suffered under their boot for decades. What must be the response of the workers movement to the war which has been the overwhelming reality of Salvadoran life for the past half decade? We Trotskyists say that labor must take a side, calling for *military victory to the leftist insurgents* in the struggle for a *workers and peasants government* that could truly transform El Salvador and all of Central America in the interests of the oppressed.

At its congress in November, FENASTRAS called for a "union forum," to pave the way for a "national forum" including all those interested in peace. In an interview with *Workers Vanguard* on 18 December 1985, Recinos elaborated on this call: "A national forum... will invite bosses, unions, rural workers, university students, small and medium-sized businesses, political parties, the church—in short, those who wish to look for a political solution to the civil war." But instead of looking to "patriotic" businessmen, who will never accept a revolution that "satisfies the people's needs," class-struggle unionists must look to the strength of labor. At present a key objective must be to mobilize that power to free all imprisoned unionists and other victims of the Duarte dictatorship.

This is not the first time the call for a "national forum" has been launched by Salvadoran leftists. In September 1979, FENASTRAS joined with other unions and professional associations and Duarte's *Christian Democratic Party* to form the Foro Popular on a platform calling for free elections, political pluralism, respect for human rights and economic reforms. The Foro appeared at the height of an explosive strike wave, led off by Recinos' own STECEL electrical workers, with plant occupations and labor marches taking place

daily. What was needed at this crucial juncture was a revolutionary struggle for working-class power, not a list of liberal reforms.

In less than a month, the Foro was in power together with officers who led the coup that toppled the Romero dictatorship; yet the new "revolutionary junta" began attacking the occupied factories and repressing the residents of working-class barrios. As James Dunkerley wrote in *The Long War: Dictatorship and Revolution in El Salvador* (1982), "there was a unity of purpose between the military and the *Foro Popular*; they both sought to divert mobilisation. However, the civilians balked at the degree of the repression this required." It was this junta that set the stage for the present civil war; it was the Foro Popular which provided the "reform" cover (designing the agrarian reform, for instance) behind which the bloody repression escalated.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Following a leadership meeting last July, the FMLN guerrilla coalition has



From left, FMLN guerrilla leaders Guardado and Cienfuegos join FDR spokesmen Ungo and Zamora at La Palma 1984 "peace" talks with Duarte. No negotiated sellout! Military victory to leftist insurgents!

announced its intention to form a single revolutionary party. According to a report in the *New York Times* (22 December 1985), a rebel document calls for the war to be "led by a vanguard that is trying to construct one Marxist-Leninist party," whose "direction is toward socialism" and the "liquidation of the capitalist system." In the past, the leftist insurgents have carefully avoided references to socialism, in order not to alarm the U.S. Congress and public opinion, and to maintain their alliance with the marginal petty-bourgeois liberal "Volkswagen parties" (so-called because their membership could all fit in a VW) of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR).

Lately, FDR leaders have criticized the FMLN on both the Zona Rosa attack and the kidnapping of Inés Duarte, and have talked of participating in the regime's periodic electoral hoaxes. But while a split (apparent or real) may be developing in the rebel

alliance, the leftist guerrilla groups have not moved any closer to genuine Marxism and Leninism. A recent FMLN statement calls for a "transition government" including both the insurgents and the present regime, and for merging the government and guerrilla armies (*New York Times*, 18 November 1985). We can confidently predict that such a two-headed beast will never exist, and any leftist fighter who wants to be in the same army as the Salvadoran death squads must be prone to suicide.

The FMLN statement adds, "The blood has not been spilled in vain, the people must satisfy their aspirations and gain the objectives for which they have been fighting for decades." From the heroic 1932 uprising, where 30,000 Indians were murdered in the infamous *Matanza* (massacre), generations of Salvadoran workers and peasants have laid down their lives fighting for workers revolution to overthrow the military/landlord capitalist dictatorship, the rule of the bloody oligarchs and their kill-crazed guard dogs, both the uniformed military and the death squads. This was the program of Communist Farabundo Martí in 1932, not the treacherous "negotiated solution" advocated by those who falsely claim his heritage today.

What's needed in El Salvador is not "unity" of the petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrillas, who have repeatedly settled their internal political disputes by shooting their rivals, and all of whom support the treacherous policy of "popular front" with the "progressive" exploiters. As Trotskyists we understand, as the experience of October 1979 and two Christian Democratic governments amply proves, that there is no "progressive" or "patriotic" sector of the bourgeoisie that can somehow break free of imperialist and oligarchic domination. Not the "unity" of murder and lies, but a rip-roaring programmatic fight for the political/organizational independence of the working class is urgently needed, for a return to the program of Lenin, Trotsky... and Farabundo Martí.

In this country, proletarian internationalists must fight Yankee imperial-

ism from within, opposing not only the Reaganites, but also the liberal Democrats who vote for economic and military aid to the Duarte dictatorship as long as it has "human rights" strings attached. Class-struggle militants demand that U.S. labor break all ties to the CIA's AIFLD "labor" front. And American unions can play an important role in fighting to free their Salvadoran brothers and sisters from the jails of the Duarte dictatorship. Above all, the power of the workers movement must be brought into action against the U.S. war drive in Central America: "Hot cargo" arms to Central American rightist regimes—Labor strikes against direct U.S. intervention!

The courageous and combative workers of tiny El Salvador, oppressed by a "death squad democracy" made in U.S.A., must not fight alone. A real struggle against imperialism abroad can only mean revolutionary class struggle against capitalism here at home. ■

Hell for the Homeless...

(continued from page 1)

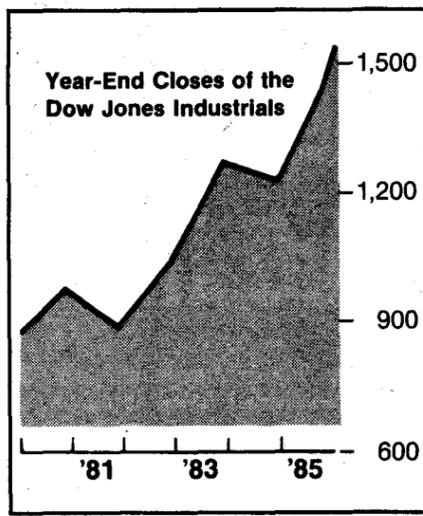
126,000 patients between 1965 and 1977—a policy which first produced the social phenomenon of “bag ladies”—many of the homeless are actually working poor. A large proportion are unemployed families with children. And in racist America, at least a third are black.

Remember the 1960s quip, “Urban renewal equals Negro removal”? The stock of affordable housing for lower-income and working people has been consciously destroyed in the big cities in the interest of “gentrification,” the retaking of the cities by the bourgeoisie. In Boston, 85 percent of the “SRO” (single room occupancy) hotels have been eliminated as “yuppies” move into the downtown area; in New York, as Manhattan is refurbished as a playground for the rich, the number of SRO units has fallen from 127,000 a decade ago to 14,000 today. And as far as City Hall cares, anything goes. Last January, in order to circumvent a moratorium on razing such buildings, developer Harry Macklowe ordered the SRO Hotel Lenox demolished in the dead of night, without a permit and with gas and electricity still on. It’s lucky the whole block wasn’t blown up. But in a shameless deal with district attorney Morgenthau, Macklowe admitted all to a grand jury—and got off!

Los Angeles, which now has an estimated 35,000 to 50,000 homeless, is also embroiled in a fight between the real estate barons (the “developers”), and the homeless. An L.A. grand jury complained about “Greyhound therapy—the rest of the nation giving the homeless a one-way bus ticket to Los Angeles,” and urged the downtown be declared a disaster area, eligible for federal aid. In frozen Chicago “warming centers” are now opened when the temperature drops below 11 degrees (!), but even these don’t even have beds, you just get to sit up in a room with a radiator. On Christmas Eve some 10,000 people lined up on the South Side to receive free food baskets from the Paul Hall boys club. Most major cities report overflowing of armories, Salvation Army depots, bus and train stations.

In the “rust bowl” of the Middle West, the economic “recovery” has supposedly taken hold. Auto makers are crowing about a “record year”—for the profits of the Big Three. But hundreds of thousands of laid-off auto workers and steel workers have long since exhausted their unemployment benefits, and stand to lose everything they’ve got because they can’t make the payments. Many went south looking for jobs, but ended up living out of their cars on the outskirts of Sun Belt cities, the ‘80s equivalent of the “Hoovervilles” of the last “Great Depression.” On the farm lands of America’s heartland, bank repossessions are producing men such as Iowan Dale Burr who, facing ruin, shot his neighbor, his wife, then himself, but not before he plugged the bank president too.

And there were a lot of homeless people in Philadelphia this Christmas, not least the former residents of Osage Avenue where Mayor Wilson Goode and the cops bombed the black MOVE commune last May, murdering eleven people in their home, including five babies. The entire neighborhood was burned to the ground in the Philly inferno, and the city reneged on its “promise” that the 62 black families would have their houses rebuilt by Christmas as the contractor was indicted for fraud. The MOVE bombing bore the signature of the Reagan years, its message to black people who “get out of line.” And with this official green light, arsonists and KKK lynch mobs have been forcing black and interracial



Source: The New York Times

Life's a bowl of jelly beans for Ron and Nancy, as Wall Street hits record highs and millions live in misery.

couples from their homes, as racist terror in Philadelphia rides high.

“American Dream” and Dickens’ Reality

Because the tidal wave of homeless is so visible, their plight has received a rash of media attention. As *Newsweek* (16 December 1985) put it, “For all the ‘safety nets’ and saintly acts, the reality is out of Dickens.” Reagan has even proposed selling the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) to private investors. This is one federal agency that actually makes a modest profit, but its sale was proposed to show an estimated \$3 billion deficit reduction from the proceeds. Established in the Depression to insure mortgages for lower- and middle-income housing, the FHA was the archetypal example of the “American dream” at work: in the “land of opportunity” every worker can own his own home in the suburbs, maybe even a little hunting shack or a boat, send the kids to college. Sounds like a pretty sick joke today.

The administration has apparently backed off from selling the FHA, for now, although selling off federal assets and programs to private industry is a cornerstone of the “Reagan revolution.” Next on the Heritage Foundation’s hit list are water supply, sewers, public transport. Meanwhile, the proposed new budget calls for even more harsh cuts in already slashed housing programs. These include canceling two-thirds of the \$9.9 billion Congress appropriated for housing assistance to low income people, cutting federal housing subsidies and ending all rental housing development grants, which subsidize construction of rental housing in poor neighborhoods. Not only do they object to spending money on the poor, Reagan’s construction company cronies particularly want to get rid of the FHA’s minimum construction and safety standards.

“Let ‘em Drink Bubbly”

The disparity between fantastically wealthy New Yorkers in their stretch limos and the thousands marginally surviving in tent cities and subway tunnels is so grotesque that even Democratic Senator Daniel Moynihan (of “benign neglect” fame) warns of “A Tale of Two Cities” in which the emergence of a desperate “underclass” threatens a social explosion. The man most likely to touch it off is Mayor Edward I. Koch, who flaunts his contempt of “the poor” like a modern-day Marie Antoinette. At a photo opportunity in December, Koch received a gift of New York wines for Gracie Mansion. Spotting some “Great Western” champagne, well-known to be undrinkable, he haughtily ordered, “I think this should be taken to the shelters.” Or, as the *Village Voice* put it, “Let ‘em drink bubbly.”

Last month, King Koch declared that homeless families were taking advantage of the welfare hotels, in hopes of getting a city-owned apartment. (What a “crime”!) From now on they would be



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sent to dormitory-like shelters—“not something people might rush into”—where they sleep on iron cots. On a Christmas Day walking tour with reporters, Koch, asked why there were so many homeless, brazenly claimed that one-third of single individuals in shelters are mentally ill, one-third are alcoholics and a quarter are drug addicts! Fred Griesbach, director of the Coalition for the Homeless, angrily replied: “The mayor thinks the homeless are all crazy, lazy, or families looking for a free ride. He doesn’t seem to come to grips with the fact that they have no place to live” (*Village Voice*, 7 January).

The truth is that the welfare hotels are so horrible, teeming with rats, roaches and menacing junkies that many people choose to sit up all night on welfare center floors. And the big shelters are something out of the days of “debtors’ prison.” The *Times* described one Manhattan shelter as a “cavernous drill hall... always dim. And even at midnight there is a constant din—talking, moaning, drunken babbling.” No wonder homeless people resist the cops’ handcuffs, preferring doorways and subway benches. Responding to official mythology that the homeless are by definition misfits, two New York Civil Liberties Union attorneys noted that given conditions in some city-run facilities a person’s preference for the streets may be a sign of mental health rather than illness.

The latest scheme for housing the New York City homeless is a building scam in which Leonard Stern, millionaire manufacturer of Hartz Mountain pet foods and publisher of the *Village Voice*, will raise \$100 million in private funds to construct “temporary” small homes in residential neighborhoods. They’re “garden apartments,” but deliberately “spartan”—designed to be inadequate and uncomfortable, with communal bathrooms and kitchens “to discourage families from looking upon the shelters as permanent,” crowed a *Times* editorial Christmas Day! You can put canaries in cages and feed them Hartz Mountain birdseed, but the homeless need homes. We say: seize Trump City, and Macklowe’s Metropolitan Tower while you’re at it. Expropriate the condo kings!

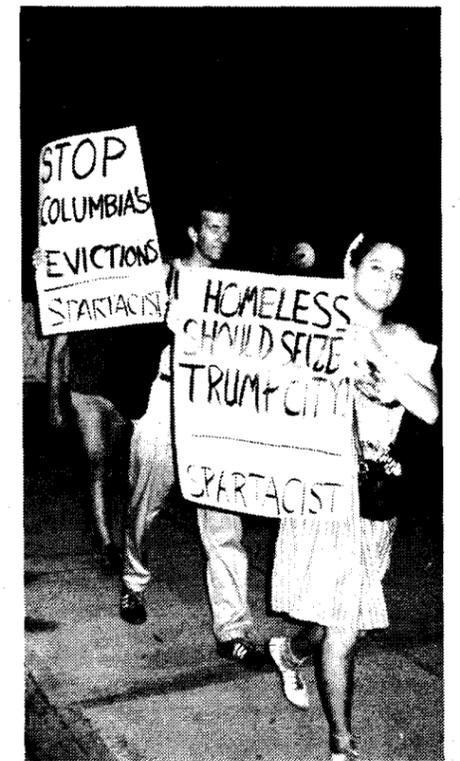
Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Traditionally the response of reformists and “rad-libs” to such a social crisis has been to demand “butter not guns,” “jobs not war,” as if it were a question of spending priorities. Social programs are being chopped to pay for the war buildup, but it’s no budget trade-off. Following the United States’ humiliating defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers, there has been a fundamental bourgeois consensus for the anti-Soviet war drive. They hope to “recuperate” the one-third of the world which has been ripped from capitalist exploitation. And they are waging war on working people at home. Destruction of the PATCO air controllers union and

the gutting of housing programs are just as much a part of this war drive as building Trident submarines.

Waged by the imperialist world in a prolonged economic crisis since the early/mid-1970s, capitalist rulers throughout the West have sought to drive up profits by slashing “unproductive” “welfare state” programs. Thatcher in Britain, Reagan in the U.S., even social democrat Mitterrand in France have all pursued anti-working-class austerity policies. And it’s notable today that the liberal Democrats aren’t pushing any brand of social reform schemes. On the contrary, they have joined Reagan in slashing everything from Medicaid to the last holdovers from the “war on poverty.” This is not capitulation to “Reaganomics”: the attacks on social services began under the Democrats, with the New York City fiscal crisis of 1975-77, and today they are carried out by Democratic big city mayors such as Philadelphia’s “mayor of murder,” Wilson Goode.

So what is to be done? Every major social reform won from the capitalists has been a by-product of class struggle. And if schools, public transit, lunch programs, medical services are all under attack, it’s because of the absence of militant workers struggles in recent years. That the venal AFL-CIO bureaucrats have no intention of waging such a struggle on behalf of the embattled trade unions—let alone the rest of the working people—has been obvious for decades. It is urgently necessary to break with the Democrats



WV Photo

Spartacists in protest against Columbia University slumlords, August 1985.

and oust the labor lieutenants of capital in order to wield the enormous strength of the workers movement. For the big battalions of labor in America’s cities have every interest in using this power to fight for a society where there are no homeless, no unemployed, no ghettoized minorities subjected to hideous racial oppression.

The Reagan counterrevolution is the cutting edge of a capitalist onslaught that targets all of us. With every gain won by the working people under attack, we must fight to defend blacks against racist attacks, to defend women’s rights against Moral Majority terror, to defend the unions and defend the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution. To defeat the all-sided attacks will take international workers revolution, to lay the basis for the creation of a planned socialist economy where production will be determined by the working people’s need for housing, not a Donald Trump’s thirst for profits. The forging of a workers party to lead that struggle is the task to which the Spartacist League is dedicated. ■

Philippines...

(continued from page 12)

impact on the essentially fragile ASEAN neocolonies. Already the Suharto regime in Jakarta, backed up by Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore, has expressed grave anxiety to Washington. The Indonesian military junta fears that, were it not for their massive oil and gas reserves and a precarious "stability" built on the horrendous anti-Communist massacre of 1965, their island archipelago would undergo a similar crisis. The recent firings of thousands of oil workers, supposedly for having been members of a CP-led union 20 years ago, reflect their fear that the Philippine crisis could ignite the whole region. A Philippine revolution would also shatter the unholy U.S./Chinese blockade of Soviet-allied Vietnam.

Its reverberations would spread into the imperialist heartlands of the U.S. and Japan. And without the military complex at Subic and Clark, American pledges to protect Australia, a privileged white outpost in Asia, would be in tatters. The ANZUS treaty specifically mentions U.S. bases in the Philippines, and last May Australian foreign minister Bill Hayden floated the "hypothetical scenario" that Australia would be "obliged" to send troops to help defend the bases if asked. Canberra is already propping up Marcos with various forms of military and "civilian" aid, but the Australian ruling class knows from their experience in the Vietnam War that sending troops to fight counterrevolutionary wars for U.S. imperialism in the

Laurel and Aquino: bourgeois opposition "Made in U.S.A."



bases have become the focus of American counterinsurgency plans for the Philippines themselves. Already units of the Rapid Deployment Force have been stationed at Subic and Clark, specifically the elite Special Warfare Unit I and a Special Operations Squadron trained in anti-guerrilla warfare.

With Marcos' rule on the wane Washington is looking for a replacement. The Pentagon's eye is on West Point graduate General Fidel Ramos, who was acting head of the Philippine army during Ver's absence. No doubt they would like him to be a new Ramon Magsaysay, the defense minister (later president) who together with the CIA's Colonel Lansdale defeated the postwar Hukbalahap rebellion led by the old Philippine Communist Party (PCP). In the meantime, a Georgetown University think tank played out a war game last October called "The Fall of the Philippines." The \$100,000 "game," observed

the Huk rebellion (see *Australasian Spartacist* No. 107, July/August 1984). The Aquinos spent 1980 to 1983 in exile in the United States, cultivating contacts among both major capitalist parties, and no doubt renewing Benigno's cordial relationship with "The Company."

Salvador Laurel is an old-line wheeler-dealer machine politician of the Marcos stripe. As a senator in 1972 he supported the declaration of martial law, and won a seat in the rubber-stamp national assembly as a candidate of the president's KBL party. He did not actively go into opposition until 1982, and this Yale-educated lawyer is a firm supporter of American interests. Marcos' recent election announcement found him on a conveniently timed trip to the U.S. Upon his return to the Philippines, Laurel immediately met with Cory Aquino and reportedly informed her that "Washington politi-

cy. Should the crisis reach the point of no return, or should Marcos succumb to the degenerative disease which periodically incapacitates him, Washington will have an alternative set of lackeys waiting in the wings.

For a Philippines Trotskyist Party!

Since the massive outpouring of popular anger over the Aquino assassination, the situation in the Philippines has been explosive. The Marcos dictatorship is declining. The military is divided, demoralized and unable to deal with the NPA. The IMF/World Bank financiers only reluctantly bailed out the massively indebted regime. And the masses are being ground down by an unprecedented economic collapse. The economic crisis and rampant repression have opened up a certain leeway for the growth of legal and semi-legal mass opposition organizations. Of particular significance is the growing combativity of the working class.

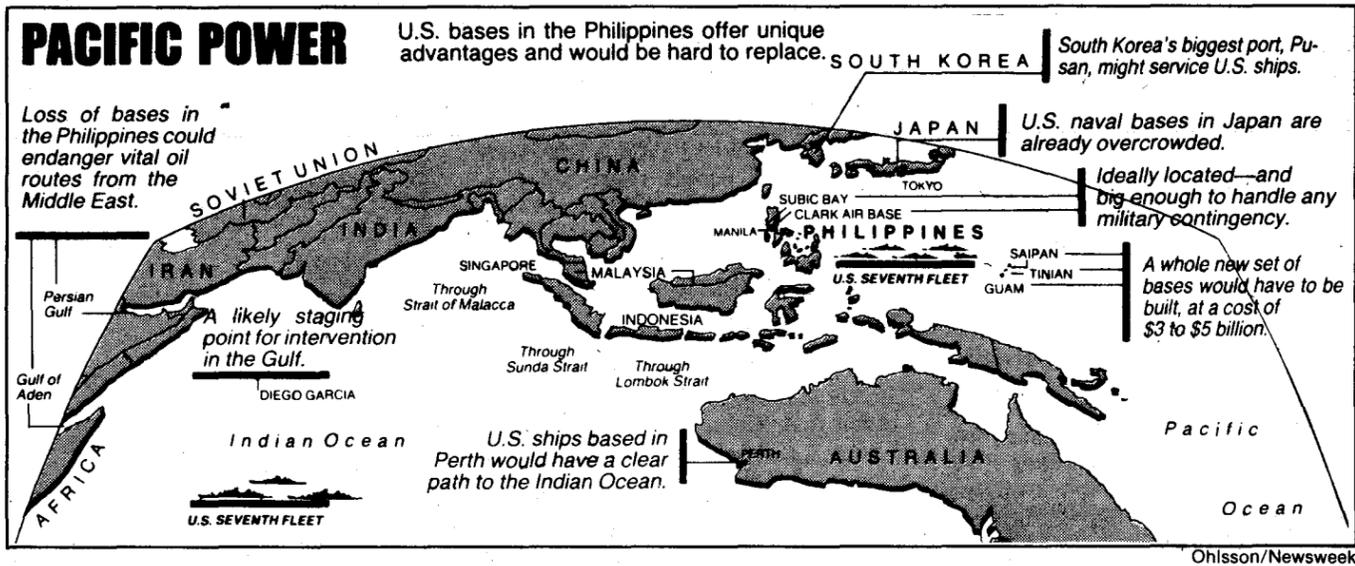
All the elements for a revolutionary situation are beginning to materialize, save one: revolutionary leadership. The main opposition to the U.S./Marcos dictatorship is the Communist Party of the Philippines. Despite its considerable political weight, the Stalinist CPP is wedded to the dogma of "two-stage" revolution, in which the first stage is an alliance with bourgeois forces and "later for socialism." Its illusions in the "progressive" character of sections of the bourgeoisie threaten to ensnare it—along with the workers and peasants it leads—in the electoral machinations by which Washington hopes to strangle the Philippine revolution. The CPP is thus the major obstacle to forging a genuinely communist leadership of the Filipino working people.

The CPP was founded in 1968 as a pro-Peking split-off from the old Moscow-loyal PCP, but soon had to confront the fact that its ideological mentor, Mao Tse-tung, was casting amorous glances in the direction of the archenemy, U.S. imperialism. When Mao embraced Nixon in Peking in 1972, and particularly after the Chinese bureaucracy began saying that U.S. bases in the Philippines were a bulwark against Soviet "hegemonism," the CPP was forced to take its distance from its patron saint of Third World guerrillas. The Kremlin bureaucracy, for its part, last October underscored its cordial relations with the Marcos clan by offering a pledge of non-interference to Imelda on her seventh trip to Moscow. Thus the CPP presently fights alone, Stalinists without a country, though not by choice.

The CPP-led New People's Army now reportedly operates in 67 of the 73 provinces, with an armed strength estimated by the Pentagon at 16,500. While Marxists side with the NPA militarily against Marcos' army and police, we insist that peasant guerrillism is not the road to workers revolution. Parallel to NPA growth has been the expansion of a large political umbrella organization in the cities, the National Democratic Front (NDF). The NDF appears to command the loyalty of sizable sections of Manila's poor slum dwellers. During the mass demonstrations over the Aquino assassination, its red banners and anti-U.S. slogans were beginning to displace the yellow banners of Laurel's UNIDO party. But fundamentally the NDF is the CPP's vehicle for the formation of a "popular front" with the anti-Marcos bourgeoisie.

Despite its undisputed leadership of the most militant sectors of the workers and peasants, the CPP is firmly wedded to a program of class collaboration. The party's imprisoned leader Jose Maria Sison outlined his program for a "national democratic revolution":

"We have to break up the feudalism so that the local forces of capitalism can be liberated, that is, the national entrepreneurs and smaller businessmen. The property owned by the multinationals and traitor elements will be taken over by the state. Our economy would be a



jungles of Asia could produce a social explosion at home, especially if they are losing.

For the Americans, the strategic importance of the Philippines was laid out by General Douglas MacArthur following World War II, when he remarked: "Now the Pacific has become an Anglo-Saxon lake and our line of defense runs through a chain of islands fringing the coast of Asia" (quoted in Nautilus Research, *Pacific Command: The Structure and Strategy of the US Military in the Pacific* [July 1983]). As MacArthur told Congress in April 1951, "From this island chain we can dominate with sea and air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore and prevent any hostile movement into the Pacific." If the Philippines should be "lost to Communism," as liberal Democrat Stephen Solarz warns, the Pacific would cease to be "an Anglo-Saxon lake"—a strategic shift with enormous consequences.

Today, the Philippine bases are the hub of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, with 90 ships, 550 aircraft and 70,000 military personnel; the headquarters of the 13th Air Force, whose operative range stretches from Taiwan to East Africa; and a vital communications link for U.S. spy satellites. Navy ships based in Subic Bay are equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles, and the U.S. has plans to move anti-submarine nuclear depth bombs there in an "emergency." But not only are they key to U.S. anti-Soviet war plans in the Pacific, the

by several administration officials, featured the death of Marcos, a military coup involving Ramos and the dispatch of U.S. troops to stave off Communist victory (*San Francisco Examiner*, 26 November 1985).

Philippine Bourgeois Opposition "Made in U.S.A."

Confronted with the growing military strength of the NPA, the military arm of the outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), and mass demonstrations calling for an end to the U.S./Marcos dictatorship, Washington cannot simply stand by its butchers. Instead, Reagan & Co. perceive in the ever-louder rumblings of discontent from disenfranchised Filipino bourgeois sectors the opportunity to put together a "clean," Washington-loyal opposition that will provide a parliamentary channel for popular outrage, and lend a veneer (however thin) of democracy to the discredited Marcos regime.

Reagan has certainly found the right people for the job. The opposition candidates have impeccable anti-Communist credentials and have shown themselves more than willing to cooperate in orchestrating this charade. Presidential candidate Corazon ("Cory") Aquino's murdered husband Ninoy was a millionaire and graduate of the CIA's special school in Quantico, Virginia. He was also special assistant to Magsaysay and played a prominent role in crushing

cians were enthusiastic for a ticket that would include both their names."

Both Aquino and Laurel have been anxious to get on with this phony election (which even they don't think they can win) although it flagrantly violates the Philippine constitution's requirement that the president step down when he calls an early vote. This is, in fact, a joint U.S./Marcos/opposition exercise in democratic showmanship, aimed fundamentally at taking the wind out of the sails of leftist opposition and insurgency. The immediate object of the exercise is not to dislodge Marcos. He has been Washington's man in Manila for too long, and has demonstrated with the murder of Ninoy Aquino the lengths he is prepared to go to prevent anyone from replacing him. Marcos is still too formidable and encrusted in privilege to allow himself to be voted out of office.

There is, of course, the "Diem option." After proclaiming for years the policy of "sink or swim with Ngo Dinh Diem," when the U.S.-installed South Vietnamese Catholic dictator lost his grip in 1963, John Kennedy finally decided to dispatch him to that night of used-up henchmen with less than diplomatic means. But for now, Washington hopes to use its imported electoral machinery (including a CIA-linked team of "impartial election monitors") to stop the rot of the Marcos regime, while introducing into the political arena a set of untarnished faces that will be useful in a future contingen-

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

perspective of permanent revolution applied to South Africa. This theory holds that in countries whose bourgeois development has been belated, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, genuine democracy and national emancipation can only be achieved by the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation.

Some younger comrades maintained that permanent revolution did not apply, since South Africa is relatively developed industrially and a regional imperialist power in its own right. In reality, South Africa is an extreme and unique case of combined and uneven belated capitalist development. An advanced industrial infrastructure is entirely dependent on a rigidly totalitarian, internal colonial subjugation of its toiling masses, who are deprived of every elementary democratic and human right, as well as their national birthright. The apartheid state as it exists today is the product of European imperialist subjugation and superexploitation of the non-white peoples of southern Africa.

It was precisely to underline the unique character of the social revolution in South Africa that we adopted the slogan "Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!" It reflected the reality that resentment and revolt against barbaric apartheid will be a driving force for proletarian revolution in South Africa. As Al Greene knows perfectly well, the international Spartacist tendency has consistently opposed every variant of the Stalinist/Menshevik "two-stage revolution" scheme in South Africa or elsewhere.

It is not a question of smashing apartheid so that some sort of semi-colonial black bourgeois regime (e.g., Zimbabwe) can come to power, and the socialist revolution is postponed indefinitely. Rather, the struggle for a black-centered workers government is the struggle to place the proletariat in the leadership of the anti-apartheid revolt. Not accidentally, comrade Greene, who wants to apply the theory of permanent revolution to advanced capitalist countries, liquidates the special character of the national and democratic questions within a colonial structure. This is a symmetrical error to those who deny its application to South Africa.

A key task for a Leninist party in South Africa is to politically combat and displace the petty-bourgeois nationalists in the course of the struggle for democratic rights and for national and social emancipation. It is precisely the failure of the workers movement, in the absence of a communist vanguard party, to lead the struggle against apartheid which accounts for the domi-

nance of nationalism.

In the aftermath of the Soweto revolt we projected the emergence of black trade unions breaking through the apartheid system at its weakest link, that is, its dependence upon superexploited black labor. However, the rapid growth of a potentially powerful black and "coloured" (mixed-race) labor movement in the past decade has not shattered the hegemony of petty-bourgeois nationalism in the anti-apartheid struggle. As we noted in our article "South Africa: Razor's Edge" (WV No. 376, 5 April 1985):

"By its very bulk, this five-million-strong working class has forced the petty-bourgeois black leadership to take it into account, but not programmatically. The black proletariat is still being used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism."

The validity of this analysis is underscored by the formation last month of the new black "super union," the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Its half million workers—from the docks of Durban and Cape Town to the auto plants of the Eastern Cape, to the gold mines of the Witwatersrand—make COSATU the strongest industrial organization of the black proletariat in South Africa's history. At the same time, the new union federation's top leadership is demonstrably close to the liberal nationalist African National Congress.

This situation points to a weakness of the slogan "Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!" It might imply that mass struggle against apartheid will in itself open the road to workers revolution regardless of leadership and the way in which this struggle is conducted. Yet under nationalist hegemony the present revolt against white police-state rule threatens a historic catastrophe for the black masses, a pointless bloodbath on a massive scale. The answer is not workers struggle in the narrow (economistic) sense. Rather, as Trotsky wrote in "On the South African Theses": "...the proletarian party should in words and in deeds openly and boldly take the solution of the national (racial) problem in its hands" (Writings [1934-1935]).

The slogan "Smash Apartheid Through Workers Revolution!" might imply workers revolution coming before and independently of the living struggle for democratic rights and emancipation. On the other hand, the formula "Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!" could suggest that the struggle against apartheid leads organically to workers revolution irrespective of the leadership. The more algebraic slogan "Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!" better expresses the program of permanent revolution—that national emancipation and democracy in South Africa can only be achieved through proletarian class rule. ■

Alabama...

(continued from page 3)

down on the South in defense of "states' rights," and restoration of Jim Crow.

In the mid-'60s, the aspirations of the black masses to go beyond tokenistic legal reforms and pacifism clashed with the liberal SCLC preachers and generated a left wing, located mainly in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC was profoundly radicalized when it tried to take the civil rights movement to the desperately impoverished rural black masses of the "Black Belt," where its organizing brought it into conflict not just with the Dixiecrats but with the entire capitalist state. Twenty years ago in the western Alabama county of Lowndes, SNCC helped launch the Black Panther Party.

Based on sharecroppers and tenant farmers in a single rural county the program of this party was limited to reforms like improved roads and schools. But it advocated the right of armed self-defense for blacks, an urgent need in the South. And it was organized in conscious opposition to the racist Democratic Party. Its symbol, the snarling black panther, and its name would a year later be adopted nationwide by the best of a generation of black militants.

Many civil rights militants realized that the struggle for black equality must break with the racist Democratic Party in the direction of independent political action. From its very inception, the Spartacist tendency intervened in the civil rights movement to link that struggle to the power of organized labor and the integrated working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation. That perspective was embodied in our call for a "Freedom-Labor Party" (see "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," Spartacist No. 10, May-June 1967).

The Reagan administration's campaign to disenfranchise Alabama voters must be opposed by militant protest uniting black community and civil rights organizations with the integrated labor movement. The powerful Mobile longshore and ship-building unions, for instance, could play a key role in this struggle. Drop the charges against Spiver Gordon! Stop the racist witch-hunt of Alabama's black political officials and activists! Reagan and Meese: Hands off the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments!

The civil rights movement tried to confront the unfinished business of the Civil War. Black chattel slaves had been emancipated only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated. Today blacks, while integrated into the industrial proletariat, remain forcibly segregated at the very bottom of this racist capitalist society. It will take a

third American revolution—a socialist revolution—to emancipate black people. The forging of a multiracial revolutionary party to lead united struggle of black and white workers is the key. Break with the Democrats! Black liberation through socialist revolution!

Funds urgently needed for the Alabama Black Belt Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5, Gainesville, Alabama 35464. Telephone: (205) 652-6298 or 652-9676. ■

KAL 007...

(continued from page 6)

violations of nuclear treaties." After "more than three months of high-level vacillation," they added, it was decided that "Reagan should risk going to the mat with the Russians." Of particular concern was the "new Siberian radar station," and Reagan was not worried about "putting confrontation back in vogue": "Clark will accept neither a 'nyet' nor an undue delay from Moscow."

Barely two weeks later, KAL 007 penetrated Soviet airspace proceeding from Alaska. But not everything went according to plan, as the airliner refused to identify itself and, after repeated warnings, the Soviets shot down the intruder over Sakhalin Island. It was Clark who interrupted Reagan's California vacation to tell him the news. Barely six weeks later, William P. Clark was suddenly and inexplicably transferred to the dreary post of the Secretary of the Interior. A little over a year later he dropped out of the government altogether.

Clark's protégé ex-Marine Robert McFarlane took over the post of national security adviser in October 1983. Soon came 200-plus dead Marines in Beirut, and to recoup after that foreign policy disaster the gung-ho Reaganites followed up with the rape of black Grenada. This last fall, in another exploit of imperialist "daring," McFarlane and his aide Admiral Poindexter responded to the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro* by skyjacking an Egyptian civilian airliner with U.S. Navy jets. But when they tried to follow up this macho feat with a Reaganite "rescue" (by Egyptian commandos) of a hijacked plane at Malta, the toll was 60 innocent passengers dead. Now McFarlane has been replaced by Poindexter. The personnel changes but the anti-Soviet beat goes on.

Where did the KAL 007 spy plane incident, the Grenada invasion, the skyjacking over the Mediterranean, the massacre at Malta come from? You have only to open the cipher locks of the windowless, air-conditioned 20 by 25 foot wooden box called the Situation Room, deep in the White House basement, to find out. ■

combined one—of state and Filipino private ownership."

—*International Viewpoint*,
28 January 1984

The 1985 NDF program, in turn, calls for "the proper representation of the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie in the government." The NDF's program for "land reform" is limited to lowering rents and eliminating usury, and offers "due consideration" to sympathetic landlords. This is no abstract question: Cory Aquino comes from one of the largest landowning families on the island of Luzon.

The popular front is a vehicle for a section of the bourgeoisie to ride to power on the backs of the oppressed. Philippine revolutionaries should consider the fate of the Indonesian Communists 20 years ago, half a million of whom were slaughtered due to the PKI's suicidal subordination to the bourgeois-nationalist Sukarno. The potentially fatal consequences of CPP class collaboration are coming to the fore during the current election campaign. NDF

ranks are reportedly divided over whether to participate in Marcos' snap election, and the NDF-led Bayan ("Nation") coalition has tried to paper over these differences by offering to



Tom Fawthrop

Sugar workers union celebrates May Day 1984.

support the Aquino/Laurel slate on certain conditions: release of political prisoners, removal of U.S. bases, land reform, renunciation of IMF debt (Washington Post, 22 December 1985).

Yet everyone, including Marcos, knows that the bourgeois opposition is "Made in U.S.A." Laurel brags about taking orders from Washington, and Cory Aquino recently vowed to keep American bases until the treaty expires in 1991, to the cheers of base workers. The irony is that Reagan and Marcos could succeed in getting the masses off the streets and into the polling booths because the CPP, with its popular-front program, cannot resist the lure of lining up behind the "popular" bourgeois opposition. The Stalinist program could serve to stabilize a post-Marcos, pro-U.S. capitalist regime, binding the Philippine masses to a new set of exploiters, derailing the revolutionary upsurge and paving the way to a bloody defeat on the order of Indonesia 1965.

The leadership of a revolutionary working-class vanguard is ever more urgently needed in this pivotal South-

east Asian country. As we wrote:

"The strategic Philippine proletariat is the natural leader of the peasants and the urban and rural poor against the landlords and capitalists. Armed with the program of permanent revolution, i.e., Trotskyism, it has the power to bring down the hated Marcos regime and establish a workers and peasants government."

—*Australasian Spartacist*
No. 107, July/August 1984
(reprinted in *Young Spartacus*
No. 120, September 1984)

A Philippine revolution must be profoundly internationalist or it will not be. Driving out the U.S. war bases, from which B-52s were launched throughout the Indochinese war, will be a powerful blow in defense of the Vietnamese and Soviet workers states. Key to victory is a program for the extension of socialist revolution to Indonesia, the rest of Southeast Asia and, above all, to the imperialist centers of Japan, Australia and the United States. This is the perspective of the Trotskyists, who fight for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S. Out! For a Workers and Peasants Government!

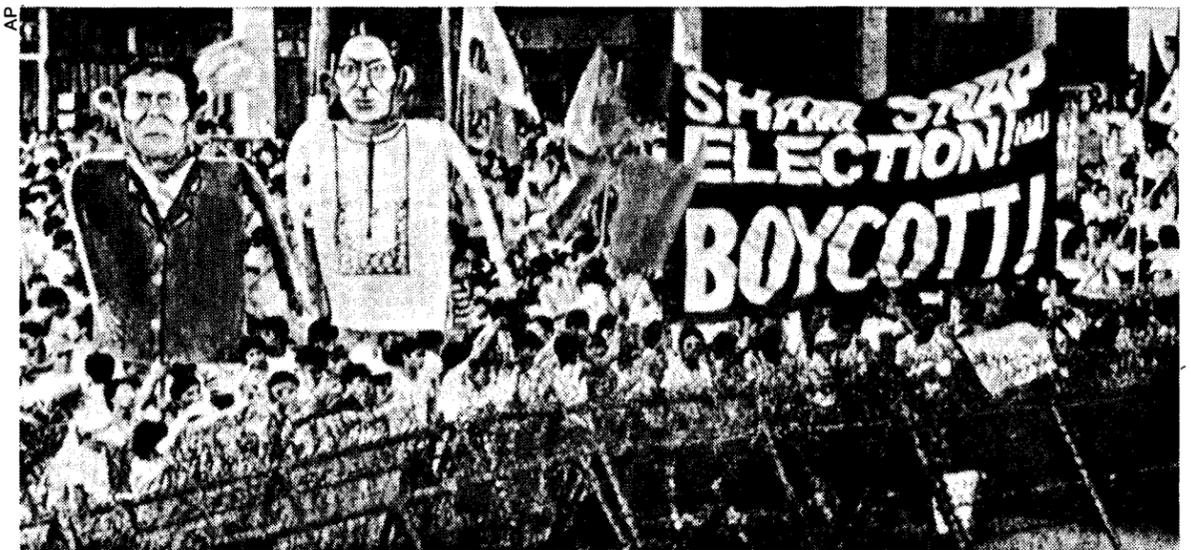
Philippines Election Hoax

The Philippines have set off a red alert in Washington. National Security Council, CIA and Pentagon "crisis planners" are anxiously working out scenarios for "restabilization." Not only is the Philippines the prototype American neocolony, its strategic position is pivotal for exercising U.S. military power from the Western Pacific through to the Indian Ocean and the Near East. The explosion brewing in this social volcano is a direct threat to the imperialist war buildup against the Soviet Union and its allies.

A deepening economic crisis and a leftist guerrilla insurgency which has grown dramatically in the last two years have made the Reagan administration skeptical about the ability of its ailing strongman in Manila, Ferdinand Marcos, to keep the lid on. Two months ago, Reagan dispatched his "personal envoy," Senator Paul Laxalt, to the islands with an urgent message to Marcos: beef up your democratic credentials or get out of the way. At first the Philippine dictator balked, but as Democrats and Republicans began talking openly of his removal, Marcos came forth with the announcement of a snap presidential election, now scheduled to take place February 7.

The bourgeois press is billing this plebiscite as evidence that Reagan has "learned the lessons" of Nicaragua and Iran. For the Reaganites that lesson is:

Effigies of Reagan and Marcos at demonstration in Manila.



Theft" Imelda rival the Pahlavi and Somoza dynasties. Through a system of "crony capitalism," Marcos and his clique have accumulated vast fortunes through kickbacks from bank loans and construction projects, and siphoning off the profits from the export trade through state coconut and sugar marketing agencies. Meanwhile, between brutal union-busting, runaway inflation and collapse of the main export industries, Filipino workers have been driven to the wall. With "official" unemployment over 15 percent nationwide (double that in Manila) and real wages

Messiah, "And He shall reign for ever and ever." The nepotism and capricious brutality increased as Marcos continued to rule by decree under Amendment Six to the constitution.

The trigger which set off the current cycle of protests was the August 1983 assassination of opposition politician Benigno ("Ninoy") Aquino by a military escort as he stepped off a plane at Manila airport. Now not only impoverished peasants and workers but middle-class professionals and even capitalists felt they could be the next victims of "salvaging," the Filipino expression for death squad "disappearances." Tens of thousands marched, from the Manila slums to the Makati financial district, in a "parliament of the streets" that was met by police batons. But on December 1, the Marcos courts, as expected, whitewashed Marcos crony General Fabian Ver and his soldiers of any responsibility for this murder. Ver was immediately reinstated as army chief of staff.

Particularly following the acquittal of Aquino's assassins, Washington desperately needs "free and credible elections" which, as Assistant Secretary of State Paul Wolfowitz told a U.S. Congressional committee November 12, "can serve as the cornerstone of an effective counterinsurgency program" (*Guardian* [New York], 18 December 1985). But while administration officials are sounding cries of alarm over advances by the Communist-led New People's Army (NPA), saying the guerrillas could reach "strategic parity" with the army in "three to five years," general strikes and mass demonstrations continue throughout the Philippines. On December 9, several thousand workers and students marched through Manila with red flags, calling for revolution and a boycott of the snap elections.

If things are hot in the capital, they're at the flash point in many of the provinces. On September 20 in the town of Escalante on the central Philippine island of Negros, 10,000 unemployed sugar workers demonstrated against military terrorism and for relief. When they refused to disperse on the order of a local landowner, the constabulary unleashed a barrage of machine gun fire that left 21 dead, 30 wounded and 159

"missing" (*Philippine Report*, October 1985). That same day, in a *welgang bayan* ("people's strike") in Cebu City 167 strikers were arrested. And on December 10, a reported 25,000 workers and peasants participated in a *welga* in Bacalod City, Negros.

Linchpin for U.S. "Pacific Strategy"

For American imperialism, the Pacific Rim, like the Caribbean Basin, is a "strategic frontier." The huge naval and air bases at Subic Bay and Clark Field—the Pentagon's largest overseas outposts—are simply irreplaceable as a base for striking at the Asian mainland and dominating the "choke points" between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Their importance has increased since the 1975 imperialist defeat in Vietnam, which not only liberated the Indochinese masses but also gave the Soviet navy access to former American bases at Da Nang and Cam Ranh Bay. This enabled the Soviets for the first time to challenge U.S. military supremacy throughout the region. But while the Philippines is the linchpin for the U.S.' post-Vietnam "Pacific strategy," this key link in the chain of American military strongpoints off the coast of Asia suffers from a strategic weakness: it rests on the subjugation of the Filipino people.

The Reaganites are fond of bragging of the Western Pacific Rim (Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the ASEAN states) as the cutting edge of "dynamic capitalism," replacing what they deride as an exhausted and soft West Europe as central U.S. trading partners. The Australian junior imperialist ruling class is also gearing up to grab a piece of the action. But increasingly the Philippines (which this year had 25 percent inflation and a 5 percent decline in the GNP) has become the "sick man of Southeast Asia." And behind the imperialist fantasy of the Pacific as the "highway into the 21st century" lurks the reality of intensifying inter-imperialist rivalries between resurgent Japan and Reagan's de-industrializing America.

A victorious popular revolution in the Philippines would have a massive

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Ulial/Stern

Marcos erects monument to himself on highway named for himself.

don't give your running dogs too long a leash. Somoza and the Shah amassed such great monopolies of wealth and power that other native bourgeois sectors were cut out of the action. This caused divisions within the ruling classes that left the tyrants isolated in the face of popular upheavals that swept them from power. The outcomes were very different—a radical nationalist regime in Sandinista Nicaragua, a clerical-feudalist dictatorship in Khomeini's Iran—but in both cases the U.S. had lost a client state.

As far as greed, corruption, brutality and insularity are concerned, the 20-year reign of Marcos and his "Queen of

falling drastically, insurgency has been escalating in both city and countryside.

Marcos ruled by decree under martial law for a decade, from 1972 until 1981, during which time the military and the Marcos clique made life hell for the Philippine working people. But with the arrival of the Reagan administration in Washington, the despot in the Malacañang Palace (seat of the Spanish and American colonial rulers) felt his hour had come. Vice President George Bush attended Marcos' 1981 inaugural, where he proclaimed, "We stand with you, sir. We love your adherence to democratic principles." A chorus of 1,000 voices boomed out the words from Handel's