

Look Who's Calling Qaddafi a "Flake"!

Reagan's Libyan Frenzy

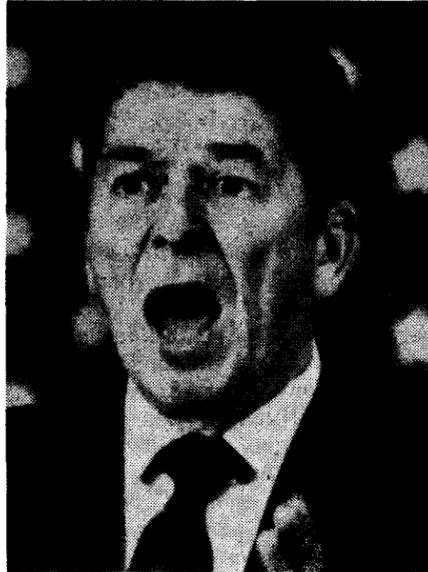
"This crisis is in Ronald Reagan's brain," said an American in Libya working for Mobil Oil. Indeed it is. Reagan's brain is so warped by anti-Soviet prejudice he believes the megalomaniac leader of tiny Libya, Muammar el-Qaddafi, is a key agent in a plot to destroy the "free world." Qaddafi is "not only a barbarian but he's flaky," Reagan ranted at his January 7 press conference. Well, as they say, it takes one to know one.

Reagan's Libyan frenzy has backfired totally. The "flaky" despot Qaddafi, who is currently threatening to "go Communist," has momentarily become a hero in the Arab and Islamic world as a "Third World" David facing the American Goliath. The West European allies conspicuously refused to break their profitable economic ties with Libya for the sake of Ronald Reagan's anti-Soviet fantasy life. The arch-apostle of capitalist greed in the White House denounced his European allies for putting "material gain and self-interest" above his vendetta against Qaddafi. In perhaps the unkindest cut of all, even Israel publicly refused to "retaliate" against Libya. As one West German official put it, "The Soviets win a cheap propaganda victory." If Reagan looks stupid and weak over this one, he is still commander in chief of U.S. imperialism with his finger on the nuclear button. A frustrated Reagan is dangerous, so watch out world!

The pretext for Reagan's latest Libyan crisis was the attack by Palestinian nationalists in late December on airports in Rome and Vienna, killing 19 people and wounding over a hundred. This was one of the most bloody and senseless acts of nationalist terrorism in recent years. Even the Irish Republican Army has learned to blow up police stations, killing only those innocent civilians unfortunate enough to be in



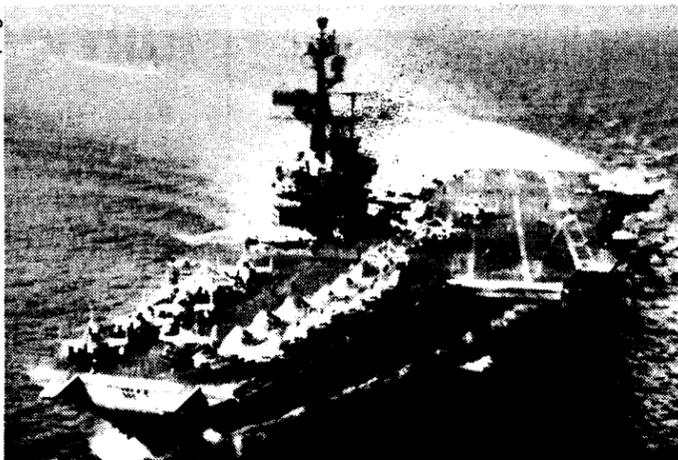
Biscotti



Time

Rambo Reagan obsessed by tinpot despot Qaddafi. Now it's brinkmanship with the Russians as U.S. carrier Coral Sea provokes Soviet-backed Libya.

Der Spiegel



them at the time. But these Palestinians have been driven into blind murderous rage and suicidal despair by the great crimes committed against their people by U.S. imperialism and its ally Zionist Israel.

Reagan used the Palestinian actions in Rome and Vienna to play Rambo in

the southern Mediterranean in the name of "fighting terrorism." The Pentagon leaked word that the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* was heading toward Libya, while the carrier *America* and the battleship *Iowa*, stationed at Norfolk, were put on notice to be ready for deployment. The real target of Reagan's

warmongering, however, was the Soviet Union, which arms and trains the Libyan military. The Soviet Union warned Washington about "the military hysteria that has grown around Libya." And Qaddafi was not just indulging in his usual delusions of grandeur when he claimed that a U.S. attack on his country could trigger World War III.

The recently delivered SAM-5 anti-aircraft missiles protecting Libyan airspace are not only supplied by the Russians but in all probability Soviet advisers and technicians are involved in deploying them. Arch-right-winger and hardline Zionist William Safire explained:

"If U.S. aircraft striking at terrorist camps are shot down, the world would know they had been destroyed by Soviet missiles fired by Russian soldiers; those missile sites would then have to be wiped out."

—New York Times, 9 January

No wonder Washington's West European allies took fright when it looked like the anti-Soviet nut in the White House might actually be about to do this. So Reagan pulled back *this time*, and limited himself to economic sanctions which hurt *only* the several hundred Americans whom he dictatorially ordered to give up the good life in Libya. But the Reaganites are saying that the next time around, they're going in with guns blazing.

The "International Pariah" in the White House

In the meantime, Reagan comes off looking like a blowhard, a wimp and an "international pariah." To begin with, what's the evidence Qaddafi had anything to do with the Palestinian attacks? A *New York Times* (9 January) editorial comments: "Claiming 'irrefutable evidence' of Colonel Qaddafi's role in the airport killings, Mr. Reagan was unwilling to produce it.... Such diffidence leaves Mr. Reagan looking like a chronic blusterer."

Reagan calls Libya an "international outlaw." But it is Zionist Israel which revels in being an international outlaw, from bombing a nuclear reactor in Iraq to bombing the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization in

continued on page 10

Down with "Baby Doc" Duvalier—Workers to Power!

Upsurge Rocks Black Haiti

For the last six weeks, the black Caribbean nation of Haiti has been rocked by a continuous wave of unrest. During a demonstration of 700-800 against the U.S.-backed Duvalier dictatorship in Gonaïves November 27, four high school students were ruthlessly shot down by the army. The protests soon spread to towns in the south, and twice in December to the capital of Port-au-Prince. The regime has tried to stamp out the spark of revolt by ferrying elite military units around the country by helicopter. But last week demon-

strations erupted again, and a student boycott closed the schools after the Christmas recess. Eyewitnesses report that all roads to the north were cut off by the masses in the streets, and now a general strike has been called. Even Washington is taking its distance from the government. The days of the brutal regime of President-for-Life Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier appear to be numbered.

On Saturday, January 11, over 3,000 demonstrators marched through Brooklyn to protest the repression in Haiti. The enthusiastic

crowd responded to every militant flourish from the podium. In addition to chants like "U.S.A., stop supporting Duvalier!" one militant railed against the hated butcher chanting over and over, "Off with his head, burn down his house!" And while former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark was speaking, one woman kept shouting, "We need Russian guns!" Demonstrators enthusiastically picked up and chanted the slogan carried on the banner of the Spartacist League contingent, "A bas Duvalier,"

continued on page 9

For a Bolshevik Party
in South Africa!

**Smash
Apartheid!
For Workers
Revolution!**

SEE PAGE SIX

Let Them Read Playboy!

Reaganite Bigots vs. the Blind

Is there any low to which the gratuitous viciousness of the anti-sex bigots will not sink? They've tried to scare teenagers away from birth control clinics with the "Squeal Rule." They got rid of black Miss America Vanessa Williams for posing for pictures in the nude with a white woman. And now the petty ayatollahs want to take away *Playboy* from blind people!

It started last July, when the House of Representatives passed an amendment intended to halt the publication of a Braille edition of *Playboy* by the Library of Congress. The sponsor of this incredible measure ranted on the floor of Congress against *Playboy's* purported "talk about wanton idleness, of wanton and illicit sex" (*New York Times*, 5 December 1985). Can this be for real? All over the country political comedians pricked up their ears: "Bland for the Blind," headlined Russell Baker, while TV satirist Mark Russell commented, "They actually want to take away *Playboy* from the only people who read the articles." Indeed, as *Playboy* itself pointed out, "the pictures don't translate well into small bumps" (*Playboy*, January 1986).

Blind people evidently do not appreciate these guardians of their morality. Complaining of "blatant, paternalistic censorship" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 December 1985), several organizations of the blind joined with the American Library Association and Playboy Enterprises, Inc. in a lawsuit seeking to overturn the Congressional ban.

As anyone knows whose mind has not been hopelessly deranged by fundamentalist rubbish, as "pornography" goes, *Playboy* is pretty tame stuff. The magazine has nonetheless become a special target of the New Right, who seem to view it as the granddaddy of them all. Undoubtedly the contents of the magazine, which champion First Amendment rights and the right to privacy in one's sex life, please them no more than do the erotic photographs and dirty jokes. In San Antonio there's a nut group called the Coalition to Stop *Playboy*, which advertises in local newspapers. A TV program about pornography showed a demonstrator with a placard that read "Playboy Promotes Incest!"

These born-again basket cases have powerful friends not only in Congress, but right at the top in the White House. Edwin Meese, the nation's No. 1 sex cop, has granted some \$734,000 to one Dr. Judith A. Reisman to conduct an official Justice Department "content analysis" of *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler*. This mad doctor, a former songwriter for *Captain Kangaroo*, has declared that Hugh M. Hefner is "every bit as dangerous as Hitler" (*Film Comment*, October 1985).

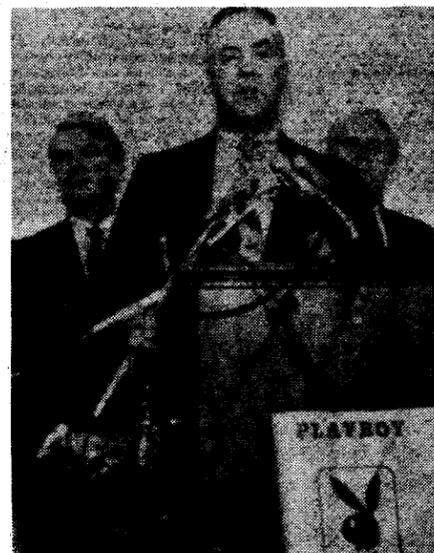
The "content analysis" is part of Meese's special Commission on Pornography, which was mandated by the 1984 Child Protection Act. A commission with a mission? You bet. Its stated purpose is to invalidate the findings of the 1970 President's Commission on

Obscenity and Pornography, which Meese finds very inconvenient: namely, that there is no connection between pornography and "anti-social" or violent behavior. The Meese Commission is headed by Henry Hudson, chief prosecutor of Arlington County, Virginia and Reagan's honored guest a couple of years ago when he closed every adult bookstore and massage parlor in Arlington. The witnesses are pre-screened and primed. One, a born-again former Playboy Bunny, in her testimony prayed that the commission would see "the connection between sexual promiscuity, venereal disease, abortion, divorce, homosexuality, sexual abuse of children, suicide, drug abuse, rape and prostitution to pornography.... Come back to God, America, before it's too late" (*Playboy*, January 1986).

What about warts, baldness and hemorrhoids? These New Right Mrs. Grundys sure do get themselves into some ridiculous positions in their campaign to stamp out sex. That's the future these censors have in mind: no *Playboy* or anything else for anybody, blind or sighted.

Now they're even going after "X-rated" video cassettes: FBI agents have raided "mom and pop" video stores

across the country, handcuffing the proprietors and seizing customer lists. According to *Video* magazine (January 1986), the only conviction so far from all these busts was a poor clerk at the World News Stand in Abilene, Texas, given a 30-day suspended sentence for renting an X-rated tape. The feds may find they've got no mandate for this one: as *Video* noted, in 1984 an estimated 55



AP
Spokesman for the blind announces lawsuit against state bigotry.

million "adult" videotape transactions took place—3 million more than the number of votes that re-elected Reagan. Government snoops out of the bedroom—and the living room! ■



TROTSKY

Labor Lieutenants of the Capitalist Class

James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, insisted that the struggle for revolutionary leadership of the working class was above all a struggle against the reactionary labor bureaucracy. In the Reagan years of giveback unionism and war mobilization against the Soviet Union, the battle lines have been sharply drawn.



LENIN

The fight for a class movement of the American workers is in the first place a fight against the capitalist ideology which dominates them. The labor bureaucrats of the AFL and the unaffiliated unions of the same type are the direct bearers of this ideology in the working class and must be fought as such. The labor bureaucracy is a part of the capitalist rationalization and war machine—its "labor" wing. De Leon's classic definition of the reactionary labor leaders as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" holds doubly good today: The distinctive features of these labor leaders in comparison to the social-reformist leaders of Europe consists in the fact that they are outspoken defenders of the whole capitalist regime and all of its institutions, without "socialistic" pretense or class-struggle phraseology. Their program is a program of stark reaction. They repudiate the class struggle in words as well as deeds. They oppose any kind of independent political action. They support the whole military program of American imperialism and will indubitably be a powerful ally of the capitalists in lining up the workers for the coming war and demoralizing the struggle against it.

—James P. Cannon, "Platform of the Communist Left" (1929)

Don't Let Them Put Hurricane Carter Back in Jail!

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter is in a desperate struggle to maintain his freedom. On November 8, the black former middleweight boxing contender was freed from prison on his own recognizance. In ordering Carter's immediate release, U.S. federal district judge H. Lee Sarokin cited the outrageous racism of the Passaic County prosecutor's office which had kept Carter locked in the hellhole of New Jersey's Rahway State Prison on a racist frame-up for 18 bitter years. But on December 18 the prosecutor's office filed a motion demanding Carter be sent back to jail, pending a court decision on the appeal of Judge Sarokin's decision.

Carter, a popular sports figure, was targeted by the cops and FBI for his public statements advocating black self-defense against cop terror following the 1964 Harlem police rampage. In retribution, the government framed him for the triple-

murder of three white patrons of the Lafayette Bar in Paterson, New Jersey in 1966. The prosecutors argued to the carefully screened jury that Carter was guilty because he was black. Their "evidence" was the bought testimony of Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley, petty crooks who recanted between trials. Carter was robbed of 18 years of the prime of his life, and at the height of his boxing career. Now 48, if Hurricane is railroaded back to prison, he will not be eligible for parole until 1997.

The Passaic County prosecutors urged Carter's reimprisonment, calling him a "substantial threat" to society. The threat to his freedom is an ominous threat to blacks, workers and all decent people, and must be met with mass protest, including mobilizing the power of labor. Hurricane's freedom must be labor's cause—for mass class-struggle legal defense! Hurricane Carter must not go back to jail!

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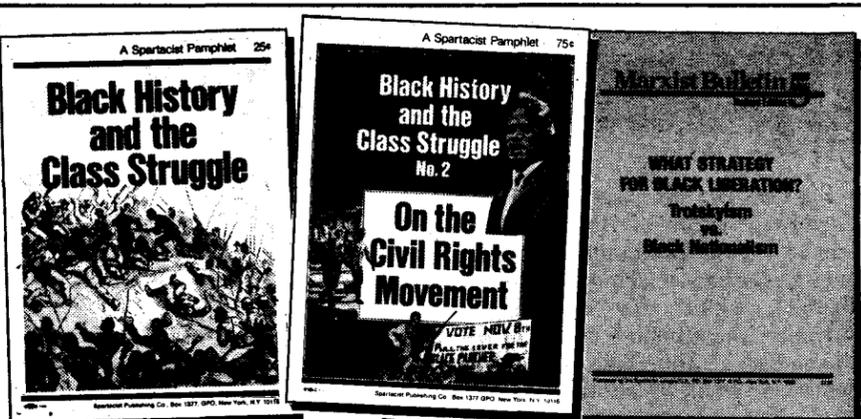
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SL Protest: "Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go!"

JANUARY 9—Chanting "Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go!" and "Avenge Michael Stewart!" the Spartacist League demonstrated today outside state hearings "reviewing" the dismissal of charges against NYC's chief medical examiner Elliot Gross. Protesters denounced the ongoing racist cover-up in the killing of Michael Stewart, the 25-year-old black artist who was hog-tied, choke-holded, and beaten to death by the cops in September 1983. Gross refused to rule the death homicide, stopping at nothing to protect the cops, actually gouging out Stewart's eyes to hide evidence of strangulation. It was Gross's lying testimony—changing his story *three times* on the witness stand—which laid the "legal" basis for the cops' acquittal November 14, and the white-wash of the cold-blooded murder.

The all-sided government conspiracy to protect the ghoulish coroner has come to symbolize the whole system of racist police terror in New York City. Up for re-election last fall along with his boss, NYC mayor Koch, District Attorney Robert Morgenthau made sure the cops' sham "trial" was strung out past the November vote. One sign at today's picket read, "Koch's Kops Kill—D.A. Morgy and Gross Cover It Up!" Other signs included, "Elliot Gross—Koch's Dr. Mengele," and "Vengeance for Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs, Edmund Perry!", other victims of the racist NYC cops.

The case of the cadaver switching, eyeball gouging coroner has become a political football between Koch and New York governor Cuomo. When Koch's Liman Commission let Gross off the hook last spring, Cuomo's State Health Department lodged charges of "gross incompetence" and "negligence" against him. Campaigning in last fall's NYC elections, the Spartacist League

Vengeance for Michael Stewart!



Spartacists protest continuing cover-up of crimes of NYC medical examiner Elliot Gross outside state hearing, January 9.

raised the demand for labor and the oppressed to mobilize against racist cop terror. As part of that campaign we called a demonstration outside the scheduled state hearing at the World Trade Center last October 3, which was called off (for the second time) at the last moment. However, after Koch reinstated Gross in December, the State Board of Regents announced it would "review" dismissal of charges.

Needless to say, this "hearing" was another charade. While Gross's lawyer Howard Squadron (the bigoted loud-mouth who also represents Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post*) obscenely flapped off about "lynch mobs" going after his client, government lawyer

Dietrich wanted the hearing limited to the ridiculous debate over whether autopsies by the medical examiner constitute the "practice of medicine" and are thus subject to review by the State Board of Health! No witnesses were called, and the committee adjourned that same afternoon, stating it might come up with a recommendation late next month. Meanwhile the cover-up continues. As the SL release at the demonstration said, Elliot Gross is guilty of far worse crimes than "professional misconduct": "Gross is a criminal who belongs behind bars no less than the T.A. cops who beat Michael Stewart to death!"

The Liman Commission used the

Eichmann defense to clear Gross: the coroner was just following "standard operating procedure" in the death of Michael Stewart, they said. In other words, cops are never found guilty of anything. Likewise, Koch said cop Sullivan "followed departmental guidelines" when he blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs. At the picket outside the hearing, SL spokesman and candidate for mayor in last fall's elections, Marjorie Stenberg said, "It is no accident that Mayor Koch reinstates his Dr. Mengele while the racist cops who murdered Michael Stewart go free. That outrageous acquittal was a license for the New York cops to shoot down black people with impunity. Meanwhile, a transit brother James Grimes, who defends himself from attack, faces a year in jail and possible loss of his job."

The media predictably blacked-out today's protest as they have almost every action against the ongoing racist conspiracy. From the broadcast studios to the governor's mansion, the capitalist politicians and media are wary that outrage against Koch's murder machine could explode. The struggle against police brutality must be forged *against* all the Democratic Party pols, white and black, who are necessarily complicit in the cover-up. As the SL spokesman summed up at the demonstration, "There is no justice for the black man and the poor in the capitalist courts. We stand for the mobilization of the victims of racist terror—minorities, working people, based on the power of our own organizations to smash the racist terrorists. We say: Break with the Democrats and the Republicans, partner parties of capitalism, racism and war. We say: Vengeance for Michael Stewart! Smash racist cop terror! Blue uniforms, white sheets—Racist terrorists off the streets!" ■

NYC Transit: All Out for James Grimes!

Up on Gun Rap for Self-Defense

On January 6, James Grimes, a 55-year-old black token clerk on the "GG" subway line in Brooklyn was mugged by three men while carrying \$1,490 in Transit Authority (TA) cash after his booth closed for the night. The robbers grabbed Grimes, knocked him down and shouted, "Shoot him, shoot him, shoot the bastard." Fearing for his life

by transit police, including nine hours handcuffed to a bench. He was charged with possession of an unlicensed gun and the TA suspended him without pay (later changed to "sick leave" as they pursue their "investigation" of Grimes). An Authority spokesman declared: "The only people allowed to carry guns here are transit police." This is an outrage! The knee-jerk response of Transport Workers Union Local 100 president Sonny Hall was to demand more cop "protection" for clerks. In contrast, the Committee for a Fighting TWU, a group of class-struggle militants in the union, issued a leaflet calling on members to mobilize in support of their union brother James Grimes at the Brooklyn Criminal Court on January 23.

The Committee leaflet recalled that black TWUer Willie Turks, beaten to death by a racist mob in 1982, would be alive today if he had a gun. As James Grimes said, "If I didn't have what I had on me, who's to say? I might be in the ground" (*Daily News*, 9 January). In Koch's New York, the transit cops who killed Michael Stewart (son of a transit worker) walk the streets, while decent citizens like Grimes face jail for the "crime" of defending themselves.

After Grimes was in custody for hours, Hall finally offered to provide him with an attorney, but by that time Roy Innis and his Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) jumped into the void and took over Grimes's defense. Workers and blacks—beware of Innis, who is

notorious for backing the CIA/South African-supported forces of Savimbi's UNITA against the Cuban troops defending black Angola.

Token clerks work alone in glass cages, sitting on thousands of dollars in tokens and cash, which they frequently must carry out at the end of their shift. The union should fight for the *abolition* of the outrageous \$1 subway fare; clerks could then serve the riders providing directions and aid instead of being sitting ducks.

The TA and Brooklyn District At-

torney Liz Holtzman know they are sitting on a powder keg of support for James Grimes among a population subjected daily to the crime-ridden trains and NYC's deteriorating subway system. But they are out to enforce the disarming of the citizenry in order to assert the racist capitalist state's legal monopoly on armed force. And they will try to "make an example" of Grimes unless transit workers mobilize to stop them.

We reprint below the leaflet of the Committee for a Fighting TWU.

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet:

The groundswell of support from NYC labor for union brother Grimes' act of armed self defense has caused Brooklyn DA Holtzman to hit him with "only" the fourth degree misdemeanor charge of illegal weapons possession. But if convicted Grimes faces a sentence of one year in prison! James Grimes, a 55 year old black transit worker with 16 years service, who has raised 17 children, has been the victim of three robberies and two attempts in the past. While on duty he successfully defended himself from this latest attempt, he was grabbed by TA cops and kept chained to a bench for *nine hours*! If Grimes gets convicted and/or disciplined we must all go out—shutting transit and New York City down!

Gun control leaves decent citizens defenseless. Black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist lynch mob in front of his work place in Coney Island. If he had a gun he would be alive today!

James Grimes is free on his own

recognizance right now with a return court appearance scheduled for January 23. On that day every transit worker should be at the Brooklyn Criminal Court building to give brother Grimes a hero's welcome and demand that all charges and disciplinary actions be dropped! Sonny Hall and the TWU leadership have offered legal aid for Grimes, which is well and good, *but* the union should officially endorse this mobilization of the whole TWU Local 100 membership on January 23. Whether it's officially endorsed or not *all TWU workers should be there!*

Drop all charges against James Grimes! No TA discipline! For the right of armed self defense! Remember Willie Turks! All out on January the 23rd!

Be there:

Brooklyn Criminal Court
120 Schermerhorn

9 a.m. sharp! (Thursday, Jan. 23rd)

Committee for a Fighting TWU
9 January 1986



WV Photo

Courageous NYC transit worker James Grimes.

Grimes pulled a .22 from his eyeglass case and fired a warning shot. When they still kept coming Grimes fired again, wounding one attacker and forcing the others to flee.

For this act of elementary self-defense, Grimes was held for 24 hours

Bay Area Labor—Smash Fascist Attacks!

Racist Punks Beat Gays for Defending Blacks

SAN FRANCISCO—On December 21, in broad daylight, a gang of “skinhead” punks attacked David Johnson and Matthew Holloway, breaking Johnson’s jaw and three of his ribs. The assault on the gay couple took place in the parking lot near the entrance to busy Petrini’s supermarket on the edge of the largely black Western Addition district. According to the *Bay Area Reporter* (2 January), a local gay newspaper, Johnson and Holloway tried to ignore taunts by punks shouting, “You faggots are killing us all with AIDS.” But when the bigots went after two elderly black women leaving the store, yelling “niggers,” Johnson courageously went to the women’s defense.

There was some pushing and then, as Holloway told the *Bay Area Reporter*, “a third guy came out of the store with chains on his jacket that very conveniently snapped off. He came at David and hit him on the back of the head with a chain wrapped around his hand.” Johnson fell to the ground, he said, and “the other punk hit him on the side of the head with his skateboard.” Johnson’s jaw was broken, but when they went into the store for help, the assistant manager said the police weren’t needed. Then as they tried to drive away, Johnson was pulled from the car and beaten again. Finally, two cashiers closed their registers and came out to protect Johnson, while store workers called the cops and an ambulance.

The perpetrators appear to be the sort of consciously fascist scum spun off by the punk rock milieu. These lumpenized white thugs, self-styled “superpatriots” sporting swastika tattoos, have marched through the Haight-Ashbury chanting “Sieg Heil.” They threatened in a leaflet last March: “Punks, Communists, Anarchists, Hippys [sic] and Homosexuals”: “We the SKINHEADS will not tolerate your spreading of unwanted

diseases both mental and physical” (San Francisco *Examiner*, 11 April 1985). Three months later a gang of them assaulted a black couple on a busy downtown corner with spike-studded wrist and shoulder bands.

David Johnson deserves a medal for his courageous stand against these racist hoodlums. But he and his companion have been given nothing but a hard time. The Bay Area media have downplayed the incident, ignoring the racist attack

cally diverse city, a union town run by liberal Democrats and long seen as the gay mecca of the U.S., is Sodom and Gomorrah rolled into one. But Reagan’s terrorist shock troops are also emboldened by Democratic mayor Feinstein, who is again playing on AIDS hysteria to try to shut down SF’s gay bathhouses entirely. This gross appeal to the anti-gay AIDS bigots can only encourage more terror against homosexuals. And Feinstein’s cops are themselves rid-

and Congregation Beth Shalom were bombed. The White Armed Resistance of Klansman Tom Metzger has its largest California chapter in SF, while the KKK terrorists nightride in the white suburbs like eastern Contra Costa, where a young black man was lynched last November and two other black men were brutally stabbed by white-robed Klansmen.

Johnson and Holloway were attacked not only for being gay but because they came to the defense of blacks. Anti-gay bigotry and racism go hand in hand. Fascists see homosexuals as particularly vulnerable; black people are the special target of homegrown American fascism, which aims to whip up a frenzy of race-hate that will serve as a battering ram against the working class. The SL led a 3,000-strong demonstration that by mobilizing Chicago-area unionists and blacks stopped a Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day on 27 June 1982. This was one of a number of anti-fascist mobilizations initiated by the SL which effectively interdicted the would-be stormtroopers and lynchers from northern cities, culminating in the 27 November 1982 demonstration that chased the KKK out of Washington, D.C.

Labor/black mobilizations with a class-struggle program can and must crush the fascist terror gangs in the egg! In San Francisco, while Feinstein insisted on the Hitlerites’ “right” to march, the SL-initiated ANCAN mobilization in 1980 stopped the Nazis from “celebrating” Hitler’s birthday at the Civic Center. The scum who attacked Johnson and Holloway should be thrown in jail—and throw away the key! As for their skinhead buddies and other racist thugs and killers, integrated, labor-centered defense guards drawing on longshore and other powerful area unions would soon send them scurrying back to their rat holes. ■

Spartacist League mobilized Chicago-area unionists and blacks to stop Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day in 1982.



and whitewashing the cops. The police did not assign an investigator to the case until December 30, *nine days* after the attack—even though witnesses immediately provided descriptions and even pointed out the house from which some of the attackers had come. Needless to say, no arrests have been made. The SF cops have repeatedly turned a blind eye to “gay bashing.”

For the Reaganite “Moral Majority,” San Francisco, a culturally and ethni-

dled with pro-Nazi/KKK elements—remember the Nazi swastika poster cops put up in a police van last August, at a Spartacist demonstration against the hanging of South African anti-apartheid martyr Benjamin Moloise.

Reactionary terror is on the rise in the San Francisco Bay Area. In 1984 John Dennis O’Connell was brutally murdered by white toughs from Vallejo who came to town to “do a little fag bashing.” Last fall the Humanist Party

Victory to Oakland Teachers Strike!

OAKLAND, January 12—Teachers here have been on strike for a week, after voting January 6 to reject the Oakland Unified School District’s “final” offer of minuscule pay increases that would leave Oakland teachers among the lowest paid in California. This was the last straw for the 3,500 teachers, nurses, psychologists and counselors here, al-

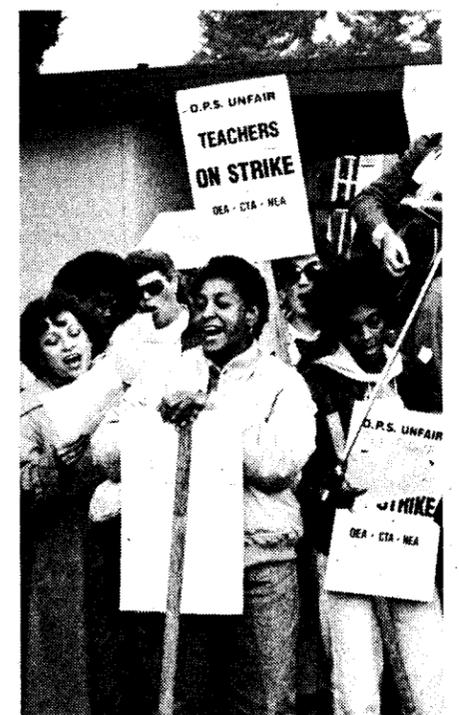
ready angry about the stalling of the union misleaders of the Oakland Education Association (OEA), who had kept them working without a contract since July 1.

The District claims it has no money yet it managed to give its top-heavy, highly paid administrative staff a hefty 14 percent raise last summer. Mean-

while, Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson has offered a \$15 million emergency loan to the Oakland A’s—but nothing for the teachers! Oakland parents in this working-class, 47 percent black and Hispanic community have shown their support for the teachers by keeping their children out of school: by January 10 over 95 percent of the teachers and over 90 percent of the students were out.

Teachers in the Oakland public school system face overcrowded classrooms, severe lack of support personnel, textbooks and supplies, and substandard salaries. The student body in Oakland’s public schools is over 80 percent black and Hispanic: in Reagan’s America education for minority youth, trapped in inner-city hellholes, has been cut below minimal subsistence to help finance the anti-Soviet war drive. Just as Oakland’s Highland Hospital “butcher shop” (run by the Democratic County Board of Supervisors) is a dumping ground for the poorest people in the county, so too Oakland’s public schools are treated simply as a dumping ground for its children.

The OEA leadership has called in an administrative law judge to “dialogue” with the District officials, with no results (predictably) thus far. On January 10 the District came up with virtually the same insulting “offer”: a 1 percent increase in the first year’s salary—in return for a cap on benefits! The OEA bargaining committee rejected this slap-



Oakland teachers at strike rally, January 8.

in-the-face “offer.”

What’s needed to win this strike is to shut the schools down tight! At this point the schools are still officially “open,” with members of most of the other unions that work in the District scandalously crossing picket lines, including Teamsters. This must be stopped! Militants call on all the affected unions to go out in joint strike action and effectively close the schools. For mass picket lines! Victory to the Oakland teachers strike! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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Zionist Terrorists Target Arab Americans

A sinister and deadly wave of terror is being directed against the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), a respected civil liberties organization that combats discrimination, harassment and racist stereotyping of Arab Americans. On 11 October 1985, Alex Odeh, West Coast regional director for the group, was murdered by a bomb blast as he opened the booby-trapped door of his Santa Ana, California office. Two months earlier in Boston a 12-inch pipe bomb planted in the building housing ADC offices went off, seriously injuring two bomb squad cops who were trying to dismantle it. And on the night of November 29, a fierce two-alarm fire swept through the Committee's Washington, D.C. headquarters, which it took 80 firefighters nearly an hour to put out.

At first the FBI belittled the significance of these murderous attacks on the



Der Spiegel

Alex Odeh, murdered by Zionist terrorists.

ADC. But on December 10 FBI director William H. Webster, speaking before the National Press Club, issued the ominous warning "that Arab individuals or those supporting of Arab points of view have come within the zone of danger" (*New York Times*, 11 December 1985). The FBI says it knows who was the "possible responsible group" for the murder of Alex Odeh: the Zionist fascistic Jewish Defense League (JDL).

The JDL's present *Führer*, Irv Rubin, while disclaiming responsibility, hailed the deadly Santa Ana bombing: "I have no tears for Mr. Odeh. He got exactly what he deserved." While stating that the ADC has been subjected to constant threats and harassment from the JDL, ADC chairman and former Democratic Senator from South Dakota James Abourezk has turned over to the FBI evidence that the perpetrator of the Boston and Santa Ana bombings may well be an anti-Arab fanatic acting independently. In any case, neither the FBI nor local police have pressed charges or made arrests for any of the terrorist attacks against the ADC.

The murderous assaults against Arab Americans certainly bear the hallmark of the JDL, founded in the U.S. in the 1960s by Meir Kahane to terrorize Arabs, blacks, leftists, Soviet diplomats and anyone else on their "enemies of Israel" list. But Kahane's aspiration to be a Zionist Hitler ran into the social reality of the U.S. where mass fascist movements target Jews as readily as blacks, Arabs and other minorities. So in 1972 Kahane migrated to Israel where

Zionist terrorism is state sanctioned. There he built a bona fide fascist cult, the Kach party, whose armed thugs, often American Jews, terrorize Palestinian Arab communities in the Israeli-occupied territories as well as within Israel itself. Campaigning for the expulsion and genocide of the Arabs in the occupied territories and of the 600,000 Arab Israeli citizens, Kahane won a seat in the Knesset (parliament) in the last elections.

The murder of Alex Odeh and the arson against the ADC's Washington headquarters coincided with Kahane's 12-city fundraising tour in the U.S. Kahane's American supporters and other kill-crazy Zionist fanatics act like this is the West Bank where every Arab is branded a "terrorist" to be blown away under the slogan of "Terror Against Terror" (TNT) like the Palestinian mayors of Ramallah and Nablus. In San Francisco, where liberal Zionist and Arab student groups held *separate* anti-Kahane rallies, the Spartacus Youth League called for militant mass mobilizations to "Smash the Fascist Kahane!" (*WV* No. 391, 15 November 1985).

Among the hate-filled threats the ADC Washington headquarters received prior to the November 29 arson was a telegram stating: "We have Bassam Shaka's legs," referring to the former mayor of Nablus whose legs were blown off by a car bomb planted by Israeli terrorists. A *Village Voice* (12 November 1985) article titled "In the Realm of Perfect Faith" portrayed the deadly U.S.-Israeli terrorist exchange program in which thousands of American Jews emigrate to the "Promised Land" to join Kach and the even more significant clerical-fascist Gush Emunim and return as experienced and hardened Zionist murderers. In fact, the article reveals that at least one of the Nablus bombers is living safely in New York City.

Alex Odeh was a 41-year-old poet, professor of Arab studies, a father of three young daughters. Like his colleagues in the ADC, Odeh was a respected and prominent Arab American citizen, a member of the Santa Ana Human Rights Commission, a champion of Arab-Jewish coexistence and dialogue. Precisely because they so belie the racist Zionist stereotype of the Arab "terrorist," the liberal ADC and the moderate Palestinian mayors of the West Bank have been targeted by the Zionist terrorists.

But the hostility and hysteria which has placed Arab Americans in the "zone of danger" is not restricted to or principally generated by Zionist fanatics. It is deeply rooted in the racist character of American society compounded by Washington's support for Israel as its gendarme in the Near East. The Zionist lobby in this country spends millions of dollars mobilizing U.S. support for Israel and excoriating those who oppose it. But when the National Association of Arab Americans paid for an advertisement criticizing Republican Senator Arlen Specter for his support of Israel, Specter accused the association of using "terrorist tactics." Another Republican Senator, Rudy Boschwitz, called the advertisement "broadcast terrorism!"

The most odious and sinister source of anti-Arab racism in the U.S. emanates from NYC's city hall. In 1983 racist pig mayor Koch went to occupied southern Lebanon via Israel to solidar-

ize with the Zionist genocidal blitzkrieg. The following year Koch "celebrated" Purim, a Jewish holiday of deliverance from extermination, by parading through the streets of Queens, New York with Israeli general and would-be *Führer*, Ariel Sharon, the butcher of the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps outside Beirut.

"Zone of Danger"

Odeh was murdered within hours of his appearance on two television news broadcasts in which he was interviewed about the hijacking of the cruise ship *Achille Lauro*. The broadcast included Odeh's dissociation of the Palestine Liberation Organization from the hijacking and his praise for PLO leader Yasir Arafat as a "man of peace." Edited out of the broadcast were Odeh's denunciation of terrorism in general and in particular the stupid "shipjacking" with its wanton and senseless murder of Leon Klinghoffer. No matter, Odeh was already in the "zone of danger."

The shipjacking played right into Reagan's hands, who exploited it to obscure the U.S.-backed Israeli mass murder bombing raid on PLO headquarters in Tunisia in which 70 Palestinians and Tunisians were killed and another hundred wounded. And it was exploited to whip up anti-Arab hysteria and American jingoism, a mood that found its fulfillment in the American skyjacking of an Egyptian passenger plane containing the alleged perpetrators of the *Achille Lauro* hijacking. ADC national chairman James Abourezk linked Reagan's bloodlust over the *Achille Lauro* to the murder of Alex Odeh: "There is this sense of kind of lynch mob, from President Reagan on down, it's cowboy time, on the part of the President, on the part of the media, on the part of the Congress." This atmosphere has created a mood, he said, that "to go ahead and to kill some Arabs, it's OK" (*Los Angeles Times*, 12 October 1985).

The ADC's response to this campaign of murderous terrorism has been to call for police protection and to pressure the FBI to take a more aggressive role. Reliance on Reagan's spies, however, must leave even many ADC members uneasy. The FBI *has* in the past taken a quite active role in "investigating" Arab American groups—not to protect their "civil liberties," but to harass and intimidate them. James Zogby, co-founder of the ADC, admitted as much when he stated, "We've been calling for investigations of this sort for the last five years. My office here in Washington was first firebombed in 1980. The FBI investigated more Arab Americans than anybody at that time, used the investigation almost as an opportunity to find out more about Arab American activists in Washington" (*WBAI News*, 2 December 1985).

The Nixon administration's "Operation Boulder" in 1972 brought together the FBI, CIA, INS, IRS, State Department and U.S. Customs Service to "monitor" Arab Americans and students, leading to the deportation of hundreds. Detroit attorney Abdeen Jabara was the target of intense FBI harassment and wiretappings from 1967 to 1975 (he brought a lawsuit which was eventually settled out of court). When the Israeli authorities arrested Palestinian-born U.S. citizen Sami Esmail in Israel in 1977, the FBI sent material to Israel to use in its frame-up



Lipski/Washington Post

Arson strikes offices of American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, in Washington, D.C.

prosecution.

Such official surveillance and victimization continues, including denial of visas and residency rights, while the U.S. government keeps up well-established connections with the Mossad and domestic Zionist groups to spy on Arab Americans. According to the *Journal of Palestinian Studies* (Spring 1985), the ADC's "Washington office alone receives ten new discrimination or harassment cases per week, half of which involve the INS." As the article concludes, "However, with the Reagan administration firmly on the course to combat 'terrorism' both within the US and abroad, the prospects faced by those of Arab descent in the US are anything but good."

As ADC spokesman David Habib stated: "Alex was killed as an American, in America, because we dare to speak for what is for some people an unpopular truth: That Arabs are people, that Arab-Americans are people too... [and] are entitled to all the rights and privileges of being an American" (*Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, 15 October 1985). It is outrageous that David Habib is compelled to state the obvious. There are between two and three million Arab Americans in the U.S. Most are third generation, their families having come to this country after the Civil War and before racist immigration quotas were established with World War I.

From Reagan's White House and Meese's "Justice" Department down to the dark shadows where the KKK and JDL firebombers do their murderous dirty work, "terrorist" has become a label by which a perceived political opponent is stripped of his rights, declared a non-person and rendered a target for *state* terrorism and its fascist auxiliaries. Every decent person, every defender of labor and democratic rights had better defend the rights of Arab Americans, for in Reagan's America we are all in the "zone of danger." ■

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For a Bolshevik Party in South Africa!

Smash Apartheid!

For Workers Revolution!

South Africa. Apartheid. The very words evoke images of the most hideous racist oppression, degradation and exploitation. An entire people are treated as foreigners in the land of their birth, stripped of every democratic right and human decency. Millions are driven from their homes at gunpoint and dumped into the bantustan wastelands. Hundreds of thousands of black men are forced to live in all-male hostels as they toil as "migrant" laborers in the white-owned factories and mines. If they're lucky, their wives and children, eking out an existence on the barren "tribal homelands," get to see them perhaps one month during the year, around Christmas. What other people are forced to live like this?

Today South African blacks aren't taking it anymore. Often armed only with sticks and stones, they have defied and confronted the massively armed white police state. They have driven black policemen and police informers out of the segregated "townships," and killed scores of the apartheid regime's collaborators. Every class-conscious worker, everyone who stands for social justice, indeed, every decent human being instinctively solidarizes with the revolt of South Africa's black masses against the *wit baaskap* (white domination). The impact of the struggle against apartheid is especially powerful in the United States, where more than 20 million descendants of black African slaves see in South Africa a horrible mirror image of their own oppression.

However, many of those who solidarize with South Africa's defiant blacks believe that they are, in fact, bringing the system down, that the days of white-supremacist rule are numbered. It is one thing for Americans or Europeans who hate racism but know little of South African realities to think that the apartheid state is crumbling in the face of black rage and protest. But this same view is propagated by South Africa's principal black nationalist organization, the African National Congress (ANC). The communiqué issued by the ANC's "council of war" held in Zambia last June stated that "It ... agreed that the possibility of victory was greater now than at any other time in our history."

Last spring we warned:

"So long as the national principle predominates, in a military confronta-



Black and white mourners at funeral of white anti-apartheid activist Molly Blackburn.

tion, now and for the next period the whites will win hands down. The danger is of a pointless bloodbath... in which the vast majority of the victims will be from the oppressed black, Indian and coloured majority.

"Yet the class principle can prevail."
—"South Africa: Razor's Edge,"
WV No. 376, 5 April 1985

Since then, events have only confirmed our analysis. Over a thousand blacks have been killed in the period of black unrest since September 1984, while casualties among the white police force and army have been all but nil. "The

worst tribalist violence in a decade—was fierce competition for jobs and for water rights and other scarce resources. The death toll of 59 was significantly higher than in any single day in the more than year-long period of black unrest. The following week, 20 more people were killed when Ndebeles moved into a Pedi district near Pretoria after the regime had officially incorporated this area into the KwaNdebele "homeland" (bantustan).

Along with a resurgence of tribalist bloodletting has been the violence

the white areas of Port Elizabeth to attend her funeral January 2.

Fearing monstrous repression by the white police state and looking at the mounting tribalist and factional violence among the black oppressed, Black Sash leader Sheena Duncan exclaimed that the country was heading into "an endless destructive hopelessness in a Beirut-type conflict in which there is no justice, no truth, no peace and no freedom from fear" (*Washington Post*, 24 December 1985). There is, however, an alternative in South Africa to false

Formation of Congress of South African Trade Unions in early December created the strongest organization of black proletariat in South Africa's history. Black workers must break with petty-bourgeois nationalism.



power of the people is very strong, but we lack the means of confronting the regime. The regime is the one that does the shooting and the people do the dying." These are the words of "Comrade Lucas" in Crossroads, a bleak squatter community outside Cape Town which has been the scene of violent clashes with the police for the past year.

A perceptive article in the *Washington Post* (30 December 1985) summed up the situation in this way:

"... while blacks have succeeded for the first time in a generation in seriously damaging white South Africa, they remain far from their goal of toppling white rule. The dream that many youths believe is around the corner remains elusive. And because white military power remains intact, there is no clear path to get there. Blacks have created an enduring crisis, not a revolution."

Yet there is no such thing as an enduring crisis of massive social unrest. The present impasse between the black oppressed, who are battling to overthrow apartheid, and the still powerful white police state cannot last long. And, ominously, in recent weeks black rage fueled by economic desperation has turned in upon itself in a wave of tribalist, factional and racial violence.

Black Rage, White Terror

In the desolate shantytowns south of Durban, some 5,000 Zulus and Pondos (a Xhosa-speaking people) armed with spears, clubs, knives and shotguns battled for two days over the Christmas holiday. Behind this bloody clash—the

arising from black nationalist politics in the townships. Take, for example, "black Christmas," a misguided campaign endorsed by the ANC to force blacks to cancel holiday celebrations. Young activists calling themselves "black Christmas marshals" tried to impose this ban on migrant workers in the hostels. They raided *shebeens* (illegal speakeasies), breaking up Christmas parties and destroying liquor. In Soweto five people were killed (it's surprising there weren't more) in clashes between the "marshals" and migrant workers trying to enjoy their hard-earned holiday. At the same time fighting between supporters of the ANC and its narrowly black nationalist rival, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), took still more lives.

Desperate black rage has also turned to indiscriminate terror against the privileged white population. The worst incident was a bomb set off in the racially exclusive beach resort of Amanzimtoti near Durban killing six whites, three of them young children. Such acts are not only criminal and indefensible, but they will rebound against the black masses. The Durban beach resort bombing plays into the hands of hard-line white supremacists who in order to restore apartheid "law and order" are prepared to kill, in truly Hitlerite fashion, hundreds of thousands of blacks. But when Molly Blackburn, a leader of Black Sash, a white women's anti-apartheid group, was killed in a car crash, some 20,000 blacks flooded into

and fatuous "revolutionary" triumphalism and liberal despair. That is the road of workers revolution against apartheid capitalism.

Unlike neocolonial black Africa, there exists in South Africa a potentially powerful black proletariat which in the past decade has entered into the struggle, from the gold mines and industrial heartland of the Witwatersrand to the auto plants of the Eastern Cape. Early last month, independent black and coloured (mixed-race) unions united to form the half-million-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the strongest organization of the black proletariat in the country's history. However, the top leadership of the new "super-union" stands politically close to the liberal nationalist ANC.

Key to unlocking the South African situation is a racially integrated Leninist party, centered on the black and coloured working class together with Indian and white revolutionaries, which can break that proletariat from petty-bourgeois nationalism in the course of the struggle against apartheid. As we wrote in "South Africa: Razor's Edge":

"Instead of the mass starvation and internecine tribal strife which have marked the 'independent' neocolonial states of black Africa, proletarian class rule in South Africa will open the way to socialist construction, based on the higher levels of industry and culture, in which whites will also have a necessary place. Only such a perspective of a black-centered workers government, through forging a multiracial working-

class vanguard which struggles for class power, can break down the iron white-vs.-black line."

Tribalism, Migrant Labor and Apartheid

Consider concretely the question of tribalism in South Africa. The recent fighting between Zulus and Pondos, and between Ndebeles and Pedis, is *not* simply a recurrence of ancient tribal enmities. It is the result of deliberate apartheid policy. The white supremacist regime has artificially maintained and fostered tribalism by funneling millions of rands to its puppet bantustan chieftains like the Zulus' Gatsha Buthelezi. Buthelezi's private army of thugs (*impis*) has for a decade sought to terrorize anti-apartheid militants, especially supporters of the ANC. He has also incited the Zulus against the large Indian community in Durban, as during the pogroms last August.

Resurgent tribalist strife is rooted in the very structure of South African capitalism. Key to brutal apartheid racism is the migratory labor system, the reduction of South African blacks to dispossessed foreigners within their own country and the reduction of surrounding black states to labor colonies for South Africa's mines, factories and farms. The bantustans with their forced evictions and tribalization, the contract labor system, the onerous pass laws, all exist to turn southern Africa into a vast reservoir of superexploited black labor.

Thus the fighting between the Zulus and Pondos is directly tied to the economics of apartheid capitalism. Since the early 1980s, South Africa has been in the throes of the deepest depression in half a century, now worsened by massive capital flight. Driven out of the Transkei bantustan by starvation, thousands of Xhosas migrated to the Durban area, largely inhabited by Zulus, desperately looking for work. The prominent white South African sociologist Lawrence Schlemmer explained:

"The resident Zulus regard the Xhosas who have moved in there as interlopers. As the pressure has increased on the district's scarce resources of water and land, and as unemployment has risen to about 45 percent, it was more or less inevitable that tribal conflict would erupt."

—Washington Post,
27 December 1985

To effectively combat tribalism and the divide-and-rule policies which are at the heart of apartheid capitalism requires united proletarian struggle. The ANC nationalists' illusion of a "non-racial, democratic" capitalism will founder on the rocks of brutal competition for scarce economic resources. It will take a workers revolution, laying the basis for a socialist planned economy, to provide the framework for the overcoming of tribalism. This requires a program to relocate the millions trapped on the bantustans and provide them with productive work. It also demands full employment throughout South Africa, something absolutely incompatible with capitalism which always needs a reserve army of the unemployed to hold down wages.

From the discovery of diamonds in 1869, and especially gold in 1886, the



Mendel/AFP

Afrikaner fascist Terre'blanche at white power rally.

17 JANUARY 1986



Pendi/UN

Segregated townships like Soweto (above) are designed so that white police state can seal off and massacre rebellious black masses.



Peter Magubane

development of the mining industry shaped the institutions of apartheid slavery. Black miners are regimented in work gangs under white foremen armed with whips and guns and plunged thousands of feet into the ground, to toil in suffocating heat and dust around the clock, 100 hours a week. The minerals they extract account for 20 percent of the national income, and gold alone for more than half of its foreign exchange.

By law, 97 percent of the black miners must be "migrant," recruited either from the bantustans or from the equally impoverished, nominally independent black states like Lesotho, Mozambique, Botswana, Malawi and Swaziland. More than 45 percent of the labor force comes from outside the borders of

and Persia. And one might contrast the mass misery of neocolonial black Africa with Soviet Central Asia today.

All the "independent" black African states, including those labeling themselves "African socialist" or even "Marxist-Leninist," are subject to the economic dictates of imperialism. A fall of 5 or 10 percent in the world market price of oil, copper or cocoa brings near-total economic collapse and massive dislocation, such as the expulsion of a million Ghanaian workers from Nigeria a few years ago. Vast sections of the continent are ravaged by famine, as African peasant villagers cannot compete with the mechanized and subsidized agriculture of North America. The imperialist immiseration of black Africa

between the Turkic-speaking peoples of Soviet Central Asia and European Russia has been practically overcome. Such a development would be *impossible* under capitalism.

South Africa, like tsarist Russia, is an extreme case of combined and uneven capitalist development. Not far from the modern automotive plants of Port Elizabeth, Xhosa youth are initiated by their tribal elders into the secret rites leading to circumcision and manhood. An advanced industrial infrastructure is entirely dependent on a rigidly totalitarian, colonial subjugation of the non-white toiling masses.

And because South Africa represents an extreme case of combined and uneven capitalist development, it also represents an extreme application of Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution summarizing the experience of the Russian Revolution. This holds that in countries whose bourgeois development has been belated, especially colonial and semi-colonial countries, genuine democracy and national emancipation can be achieved only under the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation. Writing of tsarist Russia, Trotsky described the permanent revolution 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."

—The Permanent Revolution
(1930)

This holds true for South Africa today.

ANC Class Collaboration and the "Strategy of Chaos"

Yet what the African National Congress nationalists are offering South Africa's black oppressed and exploited is a "democratic, nonracial" (capitalist) state, which would be "non-aligned" between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union. Many Western observers see the ANC as having two contradictory sides—one side "moderate" and seeking a peaceful solution; the other side militant and advocating civil war.

According to this view, the "moder-

continued on page 8



WV Photo

ANC leader Oliver Tambo (left) seeks deal with "progressive" South African capitalist Gavin Relly (right).



Reuters

South Africa. The mine bosses are careful to recruit a tribally and ethnically mixed labor force in order to exploit these divisions. There are frequent clashes between South African urban blacks and these migrants, and within the migrant workforce between the various tribes.

Nevertheless these workers, driven by the concentrated brutality of their condition, have shown tremendous courage and combativity. They have forged South Africa's largest and most powerful black union, the National Union of Mineworkers. However, the leadership of this union is narrowly legalistic, shackling the tremendous social power of the black miners within South Africa's extremely restrictive and corporatist labor codes. In the mines, the question of an integrated, internationalist communist party, armed with the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, is an urgent necessity. For the proletariat to successfully pursue the class struggle, it must forge a class unity that cuts across tribal and national lines. It must pose itself as the vanguard of workers revolution, not only within South Africa, but also as the motor force for the socialist reconstruction of all southern Africa.

For Permanent Revolution in Southern Africa!

In this regard the black miners of South Africa resemble the oil workers of Baku in tsarist Russia. Recruited from the many peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia, they were not only the vanguard of the Bolshevik Revolution in the region but became a transmission belt for communism to the toiling masses and oppressed peoples of Turkey

goes hand in hand with endemic, massive tribalist bloodletting. The genocidal slaughter of the Ibos in Nigeria in the late 1960s, for example, was directly linked to conflict over oil revenues.

Soviet Central Asia at the time of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution was largely inhabited by illiterate, mullah-ridden Turkic-speaking nomads. Today their social progress is measurable in centuries, and in some respects (e.g., literacy) compares favorably even with the United States. An urban worker in the Uzbek or Tadzhik Soviet republics receives wages and benefits on the same scale as those in European Russia and the Ukraine—thanks to central economic planning. Every year a disproportionate share of the government budget for health, education and other social programs is allocated to these still relatively backward regions. Thus, despite Stalinist bureaucratic mismanagement, the once vast economic gulf

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Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 7)

ate" face is what the ANC presents to South Africa's white business and liberal communities and to the Western world. After talking with Oliver Tambo and other ANC leaders last fall, South African capitalist Tony Bloom reported, "They used the example of Sweden as an ideal, rather than the USSR or Eastern Bloc states" (*International Viewpoint*, 25 November 1985). Tambo has also assured American imperialism that it has nothing to fear economically from an ANC-ruled South Africa. The ANC's "militant" side is presented to South Africa's black masses. Thus, speaking on Radio Freedom broadcasting from Ethiopia, Tambo closed his "Address to the Nation" last July with the slogan, "Make South Africa ungovernable!"

There is, in reality, *no contradiction* between what Tambo tells Tony Bloom or Gavin Relly, head of the giant Anglo American mining and manufacturing empire, and what he broadcasts over Radio Freedom. The ANC's policy of "making the townships ungovernable" is designed to *pressure*, not overthrow, the white ruling class. Tambo & Co. are saying to the masters of apartheid capitalism that only by coming to terms with us can you restore social peace in South Africa. Whether the ANC leader-



Laurie Bloomfield

Impl thugs of Zulu chieftain Buthelezi terrorize Indian community in Durban. Only a Bolshevik party can combat tribalist and communal violence.

ship can actually control the rebellious black masses and young militants ("the comrades") in the townships is very much another matter. Nonetheless, the ANC has offered to call a truce and begin negotiations with the Botha regime if it releases Nelson Mandela, the organization's long-imprisoned and universally revered leader, as well as other anti-apartheid prisoners, legalizes the ANC, lifts the state of emergency and begins dismantling apartheid.

Today the ANC insists vehemently that it stands for one man, one vote, and this is non-negotiable. The leaders of the white bourgeois "liberal" opposition, such as Anglo American's Relly and Progressive Federal Party head van Zyl Slabbert, refuse to accept one man, one vote, and call instead for "power sharing with acknowledged black leaders." Indeed, the South African bourgeoisie *cannot* accept the democratic rule of the black majority and still maintain its social dominance. Yet the ANC's 1955 Freedom Charter is deliberately ambiguous on this central point, calling for "equal status in the bodies of the state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races."

This formula opens the door to a racially federated state and "power sharing" with a section of the white capitalist class. Significantly, last fall the ANC issued a *joint* statement with the Progressive Federal Party, the political arm of Anglo American, proclaiming "the urgent need to dismantle apartheid and establish a nonracial democratic society" (*New York Times*, 14 October 1985). A government which includes Nelson Mandela and Gavin Relly, the biggest superexploiter of

Black demonstrators demand freedom for Nelson Mandela, revered leader of the ANC who has been imprisoned for 25 years.



Campbell/Sygnma

black labor on the African continent, will *never* come about. But this utopian program of class collaboration dangerously diverts the black toilers from revolutionary struggle against apartheid capitalism.

Even more dangerous in an immediate sense is the ANC's policy of "making the townships ungovernable." At bottom, this "strategy of chaos" aims at stepping up the action in order to get South African business interests and white liberals and the U.S. imperialists to move against the Afrikaner nationalist regime. Two American liberals reported that when Botha proclaimed the state of emergency last July, ANC second-in-command Alfred Nzo told them he "expected that the crackdown

sciousness rivals of AZAPO are calling for the final battle, here and now. AZAPO's outgoing president, Ishmael Makhabele, proclaimed recently: "The gun-shy Azanians have, in struggle, learnt the lesson 'an eye for an eye.' Enemy fire is answered by revolutionary fire. The law of the jungle, the survival of the fittest, is the order of the day" (*Weekly Mail* [Johannesburg], 20-26 December 1985). But it is the whites, not the "Azanians," who have the guns; and if the law of the jungle is the order of the day, it is the blacks who will be the victims.

As the black unrest continues, an Afrikaner Hitler can emerge, winning over a decisive section of the white populace. The black townships are already set up for civil war, surrounded by an empty "free fire" zone. A South African Hitler could seal them off, blow up the sewer lines, demolish the hospitals, cut off electricity, food and water... and wait. After about 18 months the resulting hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of dead would secure "social peace" for a generation. True, Anglo American and the rest might have to operate in the red for some time, but that is a price they are prepared to pay.

Despite the radically different historical context, the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 holds a lesson for South Africa today. As the Prussian army approached the French capital and the working class became increasingly restive, the bourgeoisie fled Paris. The workers then took power in the city. However, the Paris Commune was isolated and surrounded by the Prussian army on the one side and the French bourgeois forces on the other. Working-class Paris was starved, forced to eat rats, horses, and slaughter the animals in the zoo. When the people were demoralized and weakened by starvation, the French bourgeoisie moved in for the kill. Twenty thousand Communards were massacred outright, over 70,000 taken as prisoners to Devil's Island and New Caledonia. Marx paid tribute to the great heroism of the Paris Commune as the first workers government. But he insisted that the workers could not maintain power in a single isolated city. They had to seize the basic elements of the national economy from the bourgeoisie.

would divide the white population by driving the moderates and English-speaking capitalists away from the *verkrampies*, the reactionaries" (*Nation*, 26 October 1985).

For the moment, the rulers of South Africa are in some disarray and confusion. They lack a commanding leadership and are polarized between hard-line Afrikaners, soft-line (*verligtes*) Afrikaners and those generally referred to as English (including many Rhodesian and Portuguese ex-colonialists). But it is dangerously shortsighted to count on continuing paralysis among South African rulers, and even more so on the "moral" sensibilities of the Anglo American board of directors and their friends on Wall Street and in the City of London.

Meanwhile, the ANC's Black Con-

Spartacists, militant transit workers in NYC anti-apartheid protest, August 1985.



WV Photo

What is to be done to prevent a Paris Commune-type bloodbath in South Africa? The breaking down of residential segregation—the township/bantustan system—is a key aspect of the struggle for a black-centered workers government. It has become commonplace for South African black nationalists to disparage any weakening of apartheid laws which does not directly affect political power. "I'm not interested in going to swimming pools with blondes in bikinis," expresses the attitude of many a black activist. But that is not the question. It's very important for the revolution that the white supremacist rulers *not* be able to unleash their bombs and cordon off areas without affecting *any whites*.

The enforced ghettoization of the black majority must be fought as an important part of the struggle for workers power. Thus, repealing laws against interracial sex and marriage is not for revolutionaries a trivial matter, since this points to repealing the laws against residential segregation. Furthermore, it is important for the organization of a racially integrated communist party that black and white men and women activists can drive in a car together and visit each other's homes at any time of the day or night. In South Africa, as nowhere else, the struggle for the most elementary democratic rights is inextricably bound up with the struggle for socialist revolution.

The Road to Power

The ANC's class collaborationism and its current "strategy of chaos" are directly combined in its campaign for international economic sanctions against South Africa and for corporate divestment. The African National Congress has historically looked to U.S.-British imperialism as a protector of black Africans against the Afrikaner nationalists.

South Africa is the largest "free world" producer of gold and various strategically important minerals (manganese, platinum). It is also a strategically important ally of Western imperialism against the Soviet Union, a relationship highlighted and strengthened under Reagan and Thatcher. The South African naval base at Simonstown is a key installation dominating the routes for supertankers carrying much of the West's vital oil supplies from the Near East. The idea that Washington and London can be pressured into sabotaging the South African economy in order to liberate the black oppressed is as absurd as it is reactionary.

The ANC has also campaigned for the international labor movement to boycott South Africa. Thus the South African Conference of Trade Unions (SACTU) last summer issued a call for a standing labor boycott of all cargo to and from South Africa. And they have had some success. For example, the social-democratic-led International Federation of Transport Workers has called upon its member unions to boycott all South African trade, and the Swedish transport workers are already doing so. Many anti-racist and class-conscious workers support such action, believing they will in this way help to bring down apartheid.

International labor boycotts can *at times* be a powerful weapon against reactionary governments. Thus in 1935 Leon Trotsky called for "workers' sanctions" against fascist Italy when Mussolini invaded Ethiopia. Such action can be effective during a civil war or general strike, or as part of a specific mass campaign for immediate demands upon the apartheid regime. But what the ANC and its reformist friends in the West are advocating is a *permanent* trade boycott intended to bring about the collapse of the South African economy. And that is *not* in the interest of South Africa's workers.

Look at what has happened to the South African economy over the last

year. Over \$2 billion in capital (both domestic and foreign-owned) fled the country. The South African rand plunged to historic lows in world currency markets. Western banks refused to roll over the country's \$14 billion in short-term foreign debt, forcing Pretoria to declare a moratorium on debt service. As "progressive" South African capitalist Tony Bloom observed: "The banks accomplished in just two weeks what the entire international divestment movement couldn't do in five years."

The South African economy is mired in its worst depression since the 1930s. Has this benefited the black masses or strengthened their resistance to apartheid? As we have seen, starvation on the bantustans and massive unemployment in the townships was directly responsible for the recent outbreak of tribal violence. Mass unemployment has also weakened the black union movement, making it easier for the apartheid bosses to fire their entire striking workforce and replace thousands of workers from the vast pool of desperate jobless.

If black Africans will suffer more than privileged whites from economic sanctions and disinvestment, how can this weaken, much less bring down, the apartheid system? An answer of sort is given by the American liberals Calabrese and Kendall, who had extensive discussions with the ANC leadership about their strategy:

"Strengthened by their numbers and, strangely enough, fortified by the sheer hopelessness of their present life, blacks can absorb more violence and economic hardship than whites. Like Rocky Marciano, they expect to win the fight by taking more punches than the opposition, not throwing them."
—Nation, 26 October 1985

So black African children are supposed to die from starvation or disease in order to bring "economic hardship" to white executives and professionals, who perhaps cannot meet the payments on their BMW or continue to employ two full-time black maids, and may even think about emigrating to Australia?! And Rocky Marciano did not win his 49 fights by being a human punching bag.

The black masses of South Africa have the power to knock out the apartheid bosses. That power lies centrally in the six-million-strong black proletariat whose labor drives the South African economy. But this power must be organized and directed by a Bolshevik vanguard party. The Bolsheviks' program in 1917 was the *exact opposite* of a strategy of chaos. Amid the terrible devastation growing out of the first imperialist world war, threatening a nationwide famine, Lenin wrote his famous pamphlet, *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*—namely by the proletariat seizing power, which it did a month later.

Communism is today a very positive word among the South African black masses, but one only barely understood. Certainly as the political police control of the massive townships weakens, there is an unprecedented opportunity to build small communist cells, in and oriented toward the workers movement. Among the Cape's coloured proletariat there may be particular openings: because they represent an intermediate layer which is oppressed by apartheid, they can most easily transcend nationalism. It was among coloured teachers that in the 1930s and '40s Trotskyism had a base in South Africa. And among black, coloured and also white organizers of the mushrooming black trade unions there are many who are fighting apartheid not in order to turn South Africa into a Zimbabwe writ large.

Out of this present ferment there can emerge in South Africa a Bolshevik party, preparing itself at the next crisis of the apartheid state to take power in what is, economically, a reasonably advanced industrial country which can provide a decent life for its citizens—and liberate the rest of black Africa from the chains of neocolonialism. ■

Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

Pouvoir ouvrier!—"Down with Duvalier, workers to power!" Protesters also hit the racist treatment of Haitian refugees in the U.S. One demonstrator asked for an SL sign calling to "Free Haitians from Reagan's Concentration Camps!" and took it up to the head of the march.

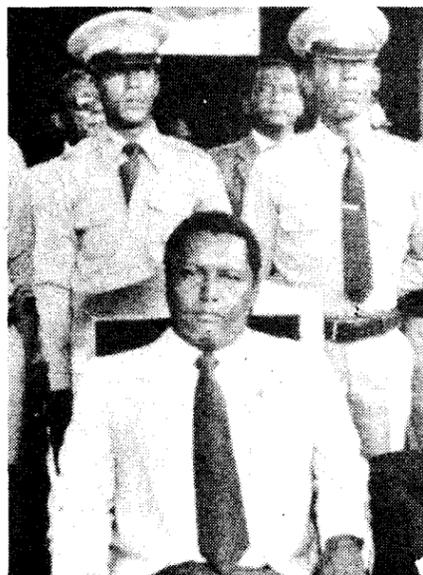
The current revolt is the first time since François ("Papa Doc") Duvalier came to power in 1957 that the regime's existence appears to be at stake. In 1984 there were widespread food riots, which soon died down when faced with army bayonets. This time they are organized rather than spontaneous, and repression has only provoked new protests. It is being widely predicted that the Duvalier government will be overthrown by a U.S.-backed military coup in the near future. According to *Haiti Progrès* (4 December 1985) demonstrators in Gonaïves, reflecting dangerous illusions, chanted, "Vive Lame Dayiti!" (Long live the Haitian army!). Even the Reagan administration, which is willing to give a "human rights" stamp of approval for almost any anti-Communist "moderately authoritarian" tyranny, is reportedly having "trouble" finding any "progress" in Haiti.

Last summer, there was much talk about a "liberalization" of the Duvalier regime. However, a plebiscite aimed at consecrating his reign was "approved" by a 99.98 percent "yes" vote. Duvalier's "liberalization" meant the murder of one priest and the expulsion of three others connected with the Catholic opposition radio station, Radio Soleil. The priests' "crime" was denouncing the referendum as a fraud. Following the November demonstrations, a Protestant minister died "in custody." A number of opposition leaders were also arrested, including Grégoire Eugène, who recently registered his Social Christian Party under the election law requiring that parties list their members with the police and acknowledge Duvalier's "supreme authority" in all government matters.

While repression of prominent bourgeois figures makes the news, the main victims of the regime's infamous "Tontons Macoutes" secret police are the Haitian masses. The Macoutes also have free reign next door in the Dominican Republic, where they terrorize Haitian exiles (*El Diario*, 27 December 1985): nine of their intended victims recently sought asylum in Italian and Venezuelan embassies. These official hitmen in reflector glasses also carry out their dirty work in the U.S. in cooperation with the FBI. Thus, the struggle against the Duvalier dictatorship must be directed as well against their Dominican allies and U.S. patrons.

Haiti: First Black Republic

When the French colony of Saint-Domingue declared its freedom 180



Baby Doc ("I'm in control") Duvalier. Don't count on it.

years ago in Gonaïves, Haiti became the first independent black republic in the world, acting as a beacon to Latin American independence movements. Inspired by the principles of the French Revolution, Toussaint L'Ouverture's abolition of slavery provoked slave unrest throughout the Caribbean and in the American South, including the revolts led by Gabriel Prosser (1800) and Denmark Vesey (1822). The United States refused to recognize Haiti until the Civil War. But internally Haiti sank into stagnation. Following a ruinous civil war, a mulatto elite replaced the rule of the revolutionary black generals. As the plantation economy declined, Haiti fell under the economic domination of the United States. Finally, U.S.

workers? As opposition politicians angle for a U.S.-backed military takeover, class-conscious militants should recall that a similar "human rights coup" has led to more than half a decade of civil war in El Salvador. But the overthrow of the Duvalier dynasty will unleash forces which have been pent up for nearly 30 years, and there is no predicting where it will end. Authentic communists insist that only workers revolution will liberate the Haitian masses.

Today hundreds of thousands of Haitian workers are to be found in the "diaspora," with major concentrations in Montreal, Boston, New York and Miami. A revolution in Haiti could have a dramatic impact on American blacks,



January 11: Over 3,000 march in Brooklyn against bloody Duvalier dictatorship.

Marines occupied Haiti from 1915 to 1934, justifying their rule with the need to impose order and collect debts owed the National City Bank of New York.

François Duvalier came to power in 1957 with demagogic appeals to the black masses against the mulatto oligarchy. He soon erected a despotic "papadocracy" based on arbitrary terror spread by the Tontons Macoutes, sadistic torturers trained by a U.S. military mission. As opposition politicians "disappeared," the state machinery was "macoutized." Later, under John F. Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress," the organs of repression were "professionalized" by a massive infusion of arms and police cars. Now, after almost three decades of Duvalier rule, opposition leaders are reportedly looking for a military coup. But for the Haitian masses, the army, with its elite "Leopard" battalions, is no alternative to the Tontons Macoutes: these are the murderers who shot down the students in Gonaïves. They are all instruments of U.S. neocolonial rule.

Today Haiti is sunk in an economic morass mirroring that of the entire Caribbean region (except Cuba). The vicious austerity of the International Monetary Fund seeks to slash the miserable wages of Haitian workers who "survive" on wages of \$1 a day. There is an extreme shortage of gasoline and electricity, as the government is unable to pay its oil tanker bills. While Haiti has built up some light industry (textiles) and an ALCOA aluminum refinery, its classic products have been coffee collected bean-by-bean by impoverished peasants, the export of slave labor to the sugar harvest in the Dominican Republic, the manufacture of baseballs and brassieres, and the export of blood. In the midst of it all, Madame Duvalier last month took 16 of her entourage to Paris on the Concorde, spending a rumored \$2 million on haute couture.

Today everyone from Third World Stalinists to Christian Democratic politicians and Catholic priests calls for a "front of the entire people" (Father Jean-Juste at the Brooklyn demonstration) and chants, "Only one solution: revolution"—a vague slogan inherited from the French May '68. A revolution is brewing—the question is: which class shall rule, the bourgeoisie or the

just as the "black Jacobin" L'Ouverture transmitted the program of "liberty, fraternity and equality" to the slave South. In the United States, the Spartacist League has uniquely fought for full rights for Haitians and all "illegal aliens." At the time of INS roundups a decade ago, trade-union supporters of the SL at the Mahwah, New Jersey auto plant campaigned for union action against deportations. And in last year's New York City election campaign, Spartacist candidates fought for "no deportations" and "full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers." In the Dominican Republic, where 20,000 Haitian blacks were massacred by the Trujillo dictatorship in 1937, unity with the Haitian working masses is key to proletarian revolution on the island.

The fight for the Haitian revolution comes directly up against the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive. Black Haitian refugees who escape the U.S. Coast Guard cutters ramming overcrowded rickety boats on the high seas are thrown into concentration camps in the United States, from Miami's sweltering Krome Avenue to the Olympic Village in frozen upstate New York, while supporters of Polish Solidarność are welcomed with open arms. And the U.S. Navy is reportedly attracted by Môle St. Nicolas, a natural harbor on Haiti's northwestern tip, just 50 miles across the strategic Windward Passage from Guantánamo, where Washington maintains an imperialist foothold in Cuba. It's all part of Reagan's program of turning the screws on Nicaragua, Cuba and the Soviet Union until they cry "uncle," a strategy of global counterrevolution that points directly to World War III.

Now Reagan plans to visit Grenada, to return to the scene of the U.S. rape of this tiny black Caribbean island. If things get "out of hand" in Haiti, he will not hesitate to send in the Marines, just as the Democrats did in Santo Domingo in 1965. From L'Ouverture to Lenin, only the program of social revolution offers a future to the working masses, whether colonial slaves or neocolonial wage slaves. A Haitian Trotskyist party, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, must fight for permanent revolution throughout the Caribbean. *A bas Duvalier—Pouvoir ouvrier!* ■

Libyan Frenzy...

(continued from page 1)

Tunis, 1,500 miles from its borders. And the main base for international terrorism is right here in the US of A. The CIA bankrolls, arms and trains whole armies of "contra" terrorists to be sent against governments from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan.

Washington's allies have not only opposed Reagan throughout the Libyan "crisis" but have done so with obvious relish. Like schoolmasters dealing with a dimwitted student, West European governments are lecturing the U.S. president on the ineffectiveness of economic sanctions. Not even Reagan's favorite reactionary in Europe, Britain's Margaret Thatcher—who broke off diplomatic relations with Libya in 1984 after a London policewoman was killed by gunmen hiding in the Libyan embassy—has gone along with Reagan on this one. And the Israelis, whom everyone expected would be the main hitmen against the anti-Zionist fanatic in Tripoli, told Washington, in effect, that Libya is your *shlick*, not ours. Israeli prime minister Peres explained: "We have too many other things to deal with closer to home" (like their terror raid on Tunis?!).

There is something about Muammar el-Qaddafi which drives the American rulers bananas. Reagan's latest sanctions have practically no effect. He already cut off most trade with Libya beginning in 1981, claiming that a Libyan "hit squad" was coming for him! And it's not just Reagan. Liberal Democratic Senator Howard Metzenbaum has stated that maybe "Qaddafi has to be eliminated," in other words, assassinated.

Colonel Qaddafi is a typical "Third World" despot, if somewhat more irrational and outrageous than most. Qaddafi's Libya is certainly byzantine. The recent death of Colonel Hassan Ishkal, number three in the regime and spokesman for the officer corps, was officially explained as an auto accident and semi-officially as suicide, while a

post mortem revealed he had been shot at least six times. For all his bluster, the main victims of Qaddafi's hit squads are Libyan dissidents. He claims to be the most fervent champion of the Palestinian cause in the Arab world. Yet when the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion besieged the Palestinian forces in Beirut in 1982, Qaddafi did absolutely nothing to help them. On the contrary, he called on the Palestinian commandos to commit "revolutionary suicide."

Like many a Third World nationalist regime, Qaddafi's Libya plays off the Soviet Union and Western imperialism. A chorus of West European and also American officials and diplomats contend that if anything happens to Qaddafi, more pro-Soviet elements might take over in Tripoli:

"For the West, however, Khadafy serves to hold back Soviet influence in North Africa and may be a better alternative than one of his close aides, one diplomat argued."

—Philadelphia Inquirer, 5 January

We'd rather see all the advanced weaponry which the Russians are supplying to the flaky colonel in Tripoli sent instead to Nicaragua, where a bona fide revolution has taken place and is under armed attack by U.S. imperialism.

Near East Cauldron Bubbles

Reagan's obsession with Qaddafi and Libya certainly makes for good political farce. But the current situation in the Near East is a deadly serious business. There is certainly nothing funny about the incident which triggered the latest Libyan "crisis." The bloody attack by Palestinian terrorists on the Rome and Vienna airports was criminal and utterly indefensible. But these Palestinian youth are also the victims of far greater criminals—the rulers of imperialist America, and Zionist Israel—and of betrayal by the Arafat leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The only Palestinian survivor of the Rome/Vienna actions is a 19-year-old born in the Shatila refugee camp in Beirut. When the Israeli army besieged Beirut in 1982, Arafat invited in the U.S. Marines who disarmed the Palestinian commandos and took them into exile,



Brogioni

Senseless, bloody act of nationalist terrorism at the Rome airport in December.

leaving their families behind. Once these camps were left defenseless, the Israelis organized the massacre of Palestinians at Shatila/Sabra by their Lebanese Maronite henchmen. Early last year Shatila/Sabra was once again the scene of genocidal slaughter, this time carried out by the Shi'ites. Decades of terrorist atrocities against the Palestinian people have created a pool of desperate youth ready to commit suicidal terrorist missions just to get even.

The 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, billed as an attempt to improve Israeli "security," has only set the stage for another war. Not only did it create more "radical" Palestinian nationalists, but it has led to an increased Syrian influence in Lebanon. Now, the Zionists dare to complain that they can't fly their military planes wherever they please in the region because the Syrians have deployed Soviet anti-aircraft missiles on Syrian soil! The Israelis even shot down two Syrian MIG-23s in Syrian airspace for tailing after Israeli planes flying over Lebanon. The Syrians have in fact pulled back their anti-aircraft missiles from Lebanon, yet the Israelis continue to voice threats. And now Reagan is talking about imposing sanctions on Syria... for its alleged role in the Rome/Vienna airport attacks!

As a seething cauldron of all-sided nationalist conflict the Near East today

resembles the Balkans before World War I. The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire at the dawn of the 20th century left behind a legacy of savage national, ethnic and religious blood feuds which were exploited by the rival European imperialist powers. At the Western end of that empire, the Balkans, this created the combustible conditions such that a senseless act of nationalist terrorism, the assassination of the heir to the Hapsburg throne by a Bosnian student, set off the horrendous imperialist bloodletting of the First World War.

But out of World War I came not only carnage and destruction. From the backward Russia of the tsars came the first successful workers revolution which emancipated what Lenin had called the "prison house of peoples," inspiring the toiling masses throughout the world, not least in the Balkans and Near East. Despite the subsequent Stalinist political counterrevolution, the social gains of the Russian October remain intact, the foundation for the construction of a society free of national and social oppression.

Against the background of World War II, in the Balkans, where nationalist rivalries and enmities are older and far bloodier than those between Arab and Jew in the Levant today, came a historical lesson equally valid for the Near East. A largely Serbian and Montenegrin Communist Party led by the Croat Tito carried through a social revolution. As an expression of a proletarian state power, albeit bureaucratically deformed, Yugoslavia laid the basis for the unity of the Serbian and Croatian peoples.

The experience of Yugoslavia proves that the forging of a multinational Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab communist vanguard party is not a utopian pipe dream. It is the only road to genuine national justice for the deeply oppressed Palestinians, for the right to self-determination for both Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking nations in a Socialist Federation of the Near East. Otherwise, and especially with that flaky warmongering terrorist in the White House, the Near East can easily be the trip wire for a nuclear World War III. ■

Meatcutters...

(continued from page 12)

contract. Tell it to the Teamsters of Local 592 in Fullerton, who were locked out of the Alpha Beta warehouse as soon as the contract was signed! The bosses there aren't satisfied with their pound of flesh and are refusing to agree to the "progression" wage fraud of the master contract. The Teamster tops have left Local 592's 185 members to rot, while Alpha Beta threatens to move their facilities to Arizona. Some Teamsters burned their union jackets in anger at this stinking sellout.

From the start, the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) bureau-

crats sabotaged the strike. L.A. labor reporter Harry Bernstein reported that "Some top officers of the international union, including, reportedly, UFCW President William Winn, had indicated to management early in the dispute that they might not oppose some form of a two-tiered wage structure..." (Los Angeles Times, 1 January). When the sellout came down the bureaucrats wore down the angry ranks with two votes and the threat of a mail referendum. The solid rejection of the contract in the first vote was dismissed as a "misunderstanding." Three out of six locals were forced to vote again on December 29, and in the absence of a class-struggle leadership to oppose the bureaucracy, the contract was finally approved. Members at one UFCW local responded to

the betrayal by flattening the tires and spray painting "SCAB" on the car of the regional vice president of the UFCW (Long Beach Press-Telegram, 30 December 1985).

This strike *could have been won*. But battles in the class struggle are won on the picket lines, not by bowing to the bosses' courts. The cowardly, legalistic union tops submitted to a court injunction limiting pickets to five per entrance. And this in the face of several organized goon attacks on strikers! One Teamster told *WV* that while alone on the picket line one morning, he was beaten up by two scabs who punched him in the stomach and face, shouting, "This is what you Teamsters do to us scabs; so we're paying you back." There was plenty of support for the strike from workers who knew what the grocery strike meant in "open shop" Southern California, but it takes a class-struggle leadership to build mass picket lines and turn those injunctions into worthless scraps of paper.

During the strike the Spartacist League called for mass picketing in defiance of the injunction, appealed to bring out the clerks (who are members of the UFCW!) and to mobilize labor on behalf of full citizenship rights for immigrant workers. On December 7, at a rally of 1,000 strikers in MacArthur Park, Los Angeles, *Workers Vanguard* salesmen sold 114 copies of *WV* on the strike and distributed several hundred copies of the *WV* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," and got an attentive hearing.

In the aftermath of the strike, the bourgeois press is counseling strikers

that "it could have been worse." They are echoed by those waterboys for the labor bureaucracy, the Stalinist Communist Party, who can't even call a sellout by its right name: "Only small concessions were granted..." lies the *People's World* (4 January). And they parrot uncritically the Teamster tops' lies about "job protection," after reporting the lockout of the Teamster workers in Fullerton!

The UFCW tops have also been working overtime in the Midwest, where they have openly sabotaged the six-month-long strike of UFCW Local P-9 workers against the giant Hormel meat processing plant in Austin, Minnesota. These labor lieutenants of capital—who one UFCW member told *WV* the union ranks call "Union For Company Welfare"—refused to sanction the strike, and then threw out a Local P-9 vote rejecting the contract and demanded a mail referendum run by the International. Now strikers have a real battle on their hands, as Hormel is trying to reopen the Austin plant with scabs, while the strikers are dispatching roving pickets to other company plants in the Midwest.

From L.A. to Hormel to the Watsonville cannery workers, labor must play hardball to win: For mass picket lines that no scab even thinks about crossing! Not a truck or a rail car moves—Hot-cargo scab products! The resistance to the capitalists' giveback/union-busting drive must be a political fight to oust the labor bureaucracy and forge a workers party that can lead workers and minorities to root out capitalist oppression at its source. ■

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Chicago Tribune...

(continued from page 12)

For daily mass picketing bolstered by union contingents from throughout Chicago!

Ready to Play Hardball

The workers who turned out Saturday were ready to do just that. They came ready for action: many wore heavy work shoes, some wore helmets; firemen, recalling their own bitter 1980 strike, came protected in their heavy black raincoats. Their spontaneous chants were "Shut Down the Trib!" and "Teamsters suck!" The *Workers Vanguard* supplement which was distributed at the picket line caught the mood with its headline, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" Pickets grabbed 1,000 of these supplements: one *WV* distributor had to go back for more—a group of workers wanted enough for their friends and relatives. Over 120 copies of the current *WV* were also sold to strikers and their supporters.

The *Tribune's* union-busting attorney condemned the strikers' defense of their picket line as mob violence reminiscent of Libya(!), but from the moment they arrived, pickets were subjected to real "state-supported terrorism" made in the USA. Even beforehand, a delegation of cops "paid a visit" to Firefighters president Martin Holland after he put a message on the union "Hot Line" calling for shutting down the Trib. On Saturday, police superintendent Fred Rice, Mayor Washington's hand-picked top cop, was out there well before dawn to personally supervise the arrest and beating of picketers.

Two Chicago Transit Authority workers told *WV* they witnessed the cops beat a unionist repeatedly with blackjacks before tossing him into a paddy wagon. As the morning pro-

gressed, the cops gave a valuable lesson on their true role as the capitalists' armed thugs and sworn enemies of all working people. Earlier some pickets had expressed illusions in the "union brothers" of the Fraternal Order of Police. By 10 a.m.—after several hours spent ducking billy clubs—pickets were shouting "FOP—Fuck Off Pigs!" and "Cops Go Home!" Many craft workers were victims of the kind of police violence that black working-class youth experience every day. The myth of the "alliance of uniformed services" was

Side plant. ITU International vice president Allan Heritage orchestrated a series of moves to make sure the trucks got out. When more than a dozen trucks were lined up at the exit, pickets were lured across the street for a "rally" and Heritage read the scab injunction! Union marshals were organized to help the cops clear a pathway for the vans.

While the decisive battle to stop the deliveries was going on, thousands of members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) gathered a half-mile away at the



Chicago, 19 August 1985—Angry transit workers demonstrate outside police headquarters against racist frame-up of union brother.

exploded by the cops clubbing Chicago firefighters on the picket line. Cops out of the labor movement—no police or prison guard "unions" in the AFL-CIO!

The CFL bureaucrats never intended for the "Solidarity Rally" to deal a blow to the Trib's union-busting. The mass rally was scheduled for 8 a.m., after the trucks would have left, but hundreds of workers surprised the union tops by coming out early. Between 5 and 6 a.m. the picketers waged a battle to stop the delivery trucks leaving the near North

Merchandise Mart. A member of IBEW Local 134 later told *WV* that by 6 a.m. there were 2,000 workers ready to go. Yet the IBEW tops kept them there, watching *Tribune* trucks roll up Wells Street, until after 7:30. By that time, they were 3,500. "We could have shut the Trib down all day in a blink," she said. But the IBEW officials didn't want to shut down the paper; particularly they didn't want to confront Local 134 members whom they had ordered to cross the picket lines every day since the strike began!

At the rally, after the cops had attacked the picket line, and arrested several strikers for allegedly damaging the trucks, Heritage incredibly denounced the victims as company agents! "Bullshit!" responded workers in the crowd. The real company agents were at the microphone.

Later that morning, firefighters leaving O'Sullivan's bar a few blocks from the picket line spotted a *Tribune* van coming down Grand Avenue. Within seconds their bright red antique fire truck was stalled on the road, blocking the scab truck's path. Strike supporters inside the bar were quickly alerted and poured into the street. The pickets proceeded to patiently explain to the driver why scabbing was a hazardous and unhealthy activity. The truck was allegedly damaged during this lesson. Chicago cops responded by attacking the picketers and singling out the firefighters for especially brutal treatment. At least one fireman was beaten and dragged from atop the fire truck by the bloodthirsty cops. The striking unions must defend all those arrested, including workers from other unions who defended the picket line on Saturday.

Build a Workers Party!

Mass picketing must snuff down production and delivery of the paper, or the strikers will likely lose their jobs as the strike fades into another of the AFL-CIO's eternal, useless consumer boycotts. Even facing the destruction of three union locals, the CFL tops try to sabotage any real picket line fight for fear that even a small victory will unleash class struggle beyond their control. And for capitalism's labor lieutenants, the name of the game is controlling the workers to ensure the bosses' profits. These swivel-chair bureaucrats are the profit system's political

police, keeping the working class tied to the bosses' Republican and Democratic parties. They offer the *Tribune* strikers lip service and a stab in the back.

The printing trades unions have allowed the newspaper bosses to use the application of new production technology to break the old craft unions, and drive down wages and working conditions for all printing industry workers. A fight for an industrial union encompassing all workers, from pressmen to drivers, could effectively combat the *Tribune's* pitting skilled against unskilled, union against union. It would also open up the industry for an aggressive union-run minority recruitment and upgrading/training program for skilled jobs.

The key to winning the strike is the mobilization of the big battalions of Chicago's industrial unions—steel, auto, transit—in mass picket lines that nobody even thinks about crossing. But the CFL, dominated by white craft unions, didn't lift a finger to mobilize these heavily black unions hit hard by givebacks and layoffs. Where were the transit workers, under heavy attack by Chicago mayor Harold Washington? Last August, 700 CTA workers occupied State Street in front of police headquarters and beat back the racist, anti-labor frame-up of David Johnson, a black bus driver who had been involved in a tragic and unavoidable accident. And what about the South Works steel workers, thrown on U.S. Steel's scrap heap by the thousands? Or the Danly strikers, who fought for nine long months in defense of their union?

Saturday's militancy showed that a strike victory is well within reach if union militants organize mass picketing as part of a broader fight against the bureaucrats' betrayals. To combat the *Tribune's* use of desperately unemployed, mostly black and Latin workers as scabs, what's needed is a class-struggle program to unite unions with the unemployed and minorities in a fight for jobs for all. The labor fakers fear the powerful, integrated mobilization of Chicago labor and the unemployed that's necessary to win the battle at the Trib, because it points the way forward for labor and blacks to break the stranglehold of the labor lieutenants and their "lesser evil" Democrats.

The fake socialists of David North's Workers League "demand the Chicago Federation of Labor follow Saturday's action be [sic] calling a Congress of Labor to build [a] Labor Party in 1986" (*Bulletin*, 3 January). Saturday's action amply demonstrated that a WL-style "Labor Party" organized by the CFL tops would be anti-picket line, anti-black, one only North and his former godfather Gerry Healy could love. And will this "Labor Party" include the cops? The WL is notorious for hailing the "militant" bonapartist New York police "strike" in 1971. What is needed is the forging of a workers party, built in the struggle against the bosses' war on unions, on blacks, on the Soviet Union. And that means an all-out fight against the treacherous labor bureaucrats who sabotage the defense of their own members' jobs in order to protect their position as "mediators" between the working class and their exploiters. ■

Is Workers League Bulletin a Scab Paper?

Workers Vanguard reporters and salesmen at the January 4 union rally in solidarity with the *Chicago Tribune* strike found the militant Trib workers to be quite interested in socialist literature. We also noticed that supporters of the recently Healyite Workers League were skulking about, curiously unaggressive in pushing their raison d'être, the twice-weekly *Bulletin*. Meanwhile, a *WV* salesman was approached by several strikers who, misinformed, protested that he was distributing a publication printed by non-union labor. The *WV* salesman immediate-

ly showed the union "bug" prominently displayed in our masthead and, reassured, each of the striking workers bought a copy of the paper. We concluded that this misunderstanding arose because some fake-left outfit was, grotesquely, handing out literature without a union label at the rally—an intolerable insult to the strikers whose struggle is one for the survival of unionism in the printing industry. Recalling the WL's furtive behavior at this rally, we checked out the *Bulletin* and, sure enough, found no union bug. Is the *Bulletin* a scab newspaper?

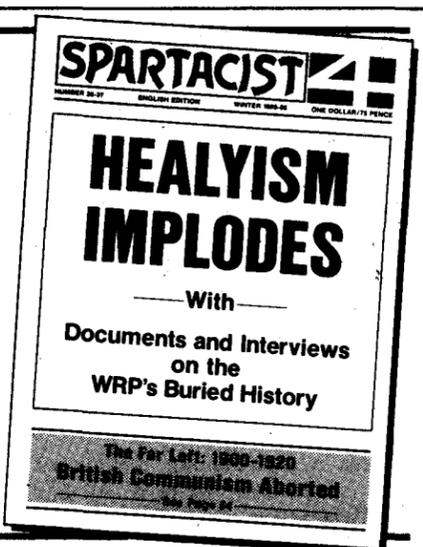
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WORKERS VANGUARD

17,000 Unionists Rally in Bitter Six-Month Strike

Shut Down the Chicago Tribune!

CHICAGO—Early Saturday morning, January 4, some 17,000 workers turned out at the *Chicago Tribune's* sprawling production plant to support three unions that have been on strike for nearly half a year. The conservative Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) officials who called the action wanted a tame labor festival at the company gates, but the union ranks had ideas of their own. They came to *stop the scabbing and shut it down!*

For several hours starting at 5 a.m., hundreds of angry pickets led by the strikers themselves fought tooth-and-nail to stop the scabs and Teamster delivery trucks from entering and leaving the ultra-modern facility. They went up against the cops and their own union officials, who worked together to enforce a court-mandated agreement to let the scabs go through. By noon more than 40 unionists had been arrested, some brutally beaten, including 32 strikers and several firefighters.

Around the country, the bosses are continuing their "takeback" offensive with a vengeance. But wherever there has been any attempt to marshal labor's forces, from auto workers in Toledo to cannery workers in California—and transit workers in Chicago, last August—union ranks have tried to use that power to turn back the attacks. On Saturday, the Trib strikers unambiguously demonstrated their will to fight: what was missing was a class-struggle leadership.

Drop the Charges! Victory to the Tribune Strike!

Three unions walked out of the *Tribune's* "Freedom Center" (the company's near North Side production facility) July 18: International Typographical Union (ITU) Local 16, Mailers Unión Local 2 and Local 7 of the Web Pressmen's Union. In order to "remain competitive," the wealthy *Tribune* Company was demanding takeaways that would have gutted the unions: a three-tier wage system with up

Militant workers try to stop scabbing at Trib strike, January 9. Cops bust over 40.



Erwin H. Frank

to a 37 percent pay cut, arbitrary job assignments, gutting the grievance procedure and pension plans, unlimited hiring of low-paid trainees and part-timers, and elimination in practice of the "lifetime job guarantees" negotiated in 1975. The *Tribune* signaled its union-busting intentions ten days before the strike began. Ignoring the postponement of a midnight strike deadline, security guards waving guns and accompanied by vicious dogs roamed through the "Freedom Center" rounding up pressmen and mailers. The workers were kept captive in the cafeteria and then expelled from the plant!

From day one the central task of this

strike has been to *stop production and stop newspaper deliveries*. But this has never happened. The company imported professional strikebreakers from around the country; housed them in a posh hotel and bused them across the picket lines every day. And the 1,000 strikers were stabbed in the back by other unions representing workers at the *Tribune*, like the Machinists, the IBEW and most importantly, the Teamsters (IBT). IBT Local 706, representing the delivery drivers, issued a hypocritical leaflet "supporting" the strike while oh-so-legally explaining that a no-strike clause in their contracts tied their hands. Incredibly, the same cowardly Teamster

bureaucrats were at that time trying to woo the ITU into a merger! A couple of weeks later, FBI fink and Teamster president Jackie Presser denounced the Trib strike as "a crass tactical move calculated to arouse anti-Teamster sentiment!"

As we go to press, the strikers face a restraining order that threatens to become a permanent injunction against mass picketing. The strike has languished because of the union tops' obedience to the bosses' legality. Screw injunctions and no-strike clauses: if the Trib strikers don't mobilize their allies on the picket lines and stop the scabbing, they will lose! Instead, the strike leadership has concentrated on a no-win consumer boycott, which has not prevented the company from printing and selling tens of millions of newspapers. Meanwhile the *Tribune* bosses arrogantly proclaim that many strikers won't get their jobs back. *Shut it down now! Stop the Teamster-driven trucks!*

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L.A. Meatcutters Strike Sold Out

LOS ANGELES—After putting their bodies on the line for a bitter eight-week strike, L.A. Teamsters and meatcutters have returned to work. It took outright betrayal to defeat the thousands of courageous workers who braved the combined attacks of strikebreaking cops, scabs and the sabotage of their own misleaders. Learning the lessons of this defeat is vital for striking Hormel meatpackers facing the same treacherous bureaucracy in the Midwest.

The 12,000 Teamster drivers and

warehousemen and 10,000 meatcutters had struck seven Southern California supermarket chains on November 5. The arrogant Food Employers Council was out to bust the unions by preventing automatic Teamster recognition at new warehouses and to impose the vicious "two-tier" wage system. They won the two tier, cutting starting pay for meat wrappers to \$5.53 an hour, less than half current wages. There is no cost-of-living increase for Teamsters or meatcutters, and the hours per day that a market

L.A. unionists picket supermarkets in hard-fought, two-month strike.



must have a journeyman meatcutter on duty is cut from 16 to 8. As one local official remarked: "The agreement is nothing but a rape of the American breadwinner" (*People's World*, 4 January).

On December 26 the Teamsters ratified first. The Teamster bureaucrats have attempted to cover their sellout by claiming that new-hires will "aggressively" catch up during the last year of the

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