

South Africa: Forge a Bolshevik Party!

Black Labor Can Break Apartheid Chains

On June 12 the white-supremacist regime clamped a nationwide "state of emergency" on the seething black rebellion in South Africa. This totalitarian repression aimed above all to prevent the general strike called for June 16, the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising. However, that day millions of black workers defied police-state terror and shut down the apartheid economy.

Due to Pretoria's draconian black-out on news and the cowardly self-censorship of the U.S. media, very little is known about what is now happening in South Africa. It is clear, however, that the organized black proletariat stands as the main force of resistance. Word has leaked out of sit-down strikes by retail workers at white-owned supermarkets and other stores, and of factory occupations by auto and metal workers in the Transvaal. The largest black union federation has now warned of impending "widespread and spontaneous worker action around the country" to protest the detention of top labor leaders.

On June 19, a week after the South African "emergency" was decreed, a talk titled "Avenge Soweto—Workers to Power!" was given in New York by Reuben Shiffman, co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee and a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100. We print below sections of his talk, edited for publication.

In the last seven weeks there have been two of the most massive general strikes in the history of South Africa,



South African Metal Worker

May Day 1986—Black workers shut down apartheid economy in biggest political strike in South African history.

which have shaken the apartheid police state. They are the culmination of a mounting revolt that has sustained itself now for almost two years, since the fall of 1984. These events, as any major

social struggle on this scale, pose the question of power: who shall rule in South Africa?

The racist, white-supremacist regime has responded with mounting repres-

sion, mixed with the pretense of reform. The present revolt was set off by a proposal for a new constitution which would grant a sham parliament to the Indian and coloured (mixed-race) minorities while underlining and reinforcing the disenfranchisement of the black African majority of 23 million. It was an attempt to divide the oppressed peoples of South Africa against one another. However, the constitution had completely the opposite effect. It served to unite the Indians and the coloureds with the blacks and launched the present revolt, which has swept through all sections of society, including strata of the privileged whites.

In another apartheid "reform" in 1979 the regime sought to legalize black unions after a strike wave which had lasted for six years. They hoped by legalizing the unions that they would be able to control them and subordinate them to the state. Instead the black unions have become a mighty fortress of workers power against the white-supremacist police state.

This spring, while Botha abolished the pass laws, he strengthened his bonapartist police powers and certain laws to evict black people from the so-called "white homeland." This constitutes 87 percent of South Africa, including all the ports, major cities, the industrial and mining heartland, the arable land, etc. Blacks are relegated to the 13 percent of the land that is not productive, that contains no industry or mineral wealth.

continued on page 6

Front Line of Anti-Soviet War Drive

Contra Congress Declares War on Nicaragua

The June 25 vote by the U.S. House of Representatives for \$100 million in "contra aid" amounts to a *declaration of war* on Sandinista Nicaragua. It's not the amount: during 1982-83, Congress secretly voted \$100-200 million for Reagan's counterrevolutionary mercenaries; even during the 18-month period of official aid cutoff to the contras, the guns and dollars kept arriving. And it's not that anyone thinks these dregs left over from dictator Somoza's National Guard

could ever topple or even seriously shake popular support for the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime. But now Congress, including the Democratic-controlled House, is officially on record for war to overthrow the Sandinistas, thus opening the door for a U.S. invasion. And while Reagan loves his contras, the American people don't want their sons and brothers to die for these cutthroat murderers, rapists and drug traffickers.

A soldier of the Sandinista army's

Simón Bolívar Irregular Warfare Battalion, on patrol against the contras in northern Nicaragua, commented:

"We don't want open war, but with the steps they are taking, well, that's the way it happened in Vietnam.... With the approval of \$100 million, all that would be left is for the gringos to come directly to fight."

—*Los Angeles Times*, 26 June

When the administration bill was debated by Congress in March, it was recognized as a "Tonkin Gulf

continued on page 8

Obscene Nostalgia for the Slave South

"Gone With
the Wind"—
50 Years
of Racist
Trash

Page Three

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Ruchell Magee!

The Partisan Defense Committee has added Ruchell Magee to our list of class-war prisoners to receive monthly stipends. For more than 15 years Magee has been left to rot in a California prison hellhole, a forgotten victim of the government conspiracy to murder Black Panther George Jackson. Ruchell, self-educated in prison, has continuously fought for his freedom and for the rights of other inmates. Since 1978 Folsom Prison officials have iced him away in solitary!

As governor of California, Ronald



Black Panther

Ruchell Magee

summer of 1970 George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers were fighting frame-up charges of murdering a prison guard. On August 7, Jackson's 17-year-old brother Jonathan, set up by police provocateurs, led a raid on the Marin County Courthouse demanding the Soledad Brothers' freedom. The judge and others were killed when an army of San Quentin guards, who "happened" to be in the area, opened fire on the getaway van. Magee, a San Quentin inmate who had been testifying in defense of fellow inmate James McClain, joined Jonathan Jackson and was charged with the murders. Angela Davis, a prominent Communist Party member, was accused of supplying the guns.

In the course of the CP's widely publicized defense campaign for Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee was a forgotten man. After Davis was acquitted the Spartacist League continued to demand Ruchell's freedom. Ruchell Magee, like Geronimo Pratt, Ramona Africa and other victims of capitalist injustice, must not be forgotten. Free Ruchell Magee!

* * *

The government's vindictive incarceration of MOVE survivor Ramona Africa, itself a travesty, is compounded by her continued detention in solitary confinement (see *WV* No. 405, 6 June). After we sent a letter of protest, a committee of three prison officials verbally informed Ramona she would be permitted to attend her July parole board hearing. This conflicts with prior written and verbal notice by prison

Reagan and his henchman Edwin Meese, as part of the FBI's COINTEL-PRO (Counterintelligence Program) campaign, unleashed a reign of cop terror which left a legacy of caskets and jail cells filled with black activists. In the

July 4th: Racist Hypocrisy

Writing in the 1850s, the great black abolitionist and ex-slave Frederick Douglass exposed the hypocrisy of July 4th as a celebration of national greatness and human freedom. The American republic was founded on black chattel slavery, which was enshrined in its very Constitution. It took a bloody civil war to root out this abomination.



TROTSKY

What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him,

more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of the United States, at this very hour.

—Frederick Douglass, "The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro" (July 1852)



LENIN

officials that quarantine in the hole precludes her attendance. The PDC has written to prison officials requesting clarification of Ramona's status and renewing our demand that she attend this hearing. The PDC encourages *Workers Vanguard* readers to add their voices to this protest and to raise this urgent issue in their unions, community organizations and campuses. Protests should be sent to: Ann Goolsby, Superintendent, State Correctional Institution, P.O. Box 180, Muncy, Pennsylvania 17756. Free Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners!

* * *

Last week charges were finally dismissed against black subway clerk James Grimes. On June 23 the PDC sent telegrams to Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman and Criminal Court Judge Seymour Gerschwer condemning the prosecution of Grimes as a "criminal offense

against New York's working people." Charges have also been dropped against Michael Spraggins, the black restaurant worker who defended his friend's home and family from a KKK-infested lynch mob in Cleveland (see *WV* No. 406, 20 June).

* * *

The PDC has just published the first issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, a regular newsletter to publicize and build support for the work of the PDC. The first issue summarizes causes we've supported since February's sustainer appeals, and contains biographies of class-war prisoners and reprints PDC telegrams. We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Sustaining contributions, donations and requests for the PDC newsletter can be sent to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Asylum for Alejandro Gómez! INS Tries to Deport Salvador Unionist

Plainclothes police kidnapped Salvadoran unionist Alejandro Gómez on May 23, a Friday afternoon; the agents walked up to him in front of his home, slapped handcuffs on him and, without identifying their purpose, forced him into their car and drove off. Gómez had been arrested in 1983 for his work with El Salvador's building trades union,



Alejandro Gómez

in an effort to squelch internal opposition to the U.S.' dirty war in Central America, which has already produced over a million Salvadoran refugees. But just as the sanctuary trial in Tucson resulted in greater support for the church activists, the decent people of Rochester stood by Gómez. More than 200 individuals and organizations mobilized to raise \$47,000 for bail within 24 hours, and 60 supporters traveled in a cavalcade to the Erie County Holding Center in Buffalo to secure his release just before midnight on the day after his arrest. At a June 4 INS hearing in Buffalo, 60 people turned out to support Gómez.

Now the *migra* is at it again. On June 16, INS agents rounded up 46 Salvadoran workers at two factories on Long Island, and without informing their families or lawyers flew them all off to a new concentration camp for "illegal aliens" in Louisiana. The previous week New York State had declared itself a sanctuary to refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala. And in Texas, the feds staged "Operation Buckshot," seizing more than 700 Hispanics, hauling people from city buses and yanking them from pickup trucks.

We urge our readers to send protest telegrams demanding asylum for Alejandro Gómez and his family to: Benedict Farrell, District Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 68 Court St., Buffalo, NY 14202. Contributions can be sent to: Downtown United Presbyterian Church Sanctuary Fund, 121 North Fitzhugh St., Rochester, NY 14614. Freedom and asylum for all refugees from death squad terror! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers! Defend the sanctuary movement! ■

then tortured by the police for 23 days. But last month he was "disappeared" in Rochester, New York—not in the death squad "democracy" of Napoleón Duarte. Gómez is a refugee who had taken sanctuary with his wife, mother and four children at the Downtown United Presbyterian Church. His arrest is part of a campaign by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the hated *migra*, to dismantle the nationwide sanctuary movement (see "Defend the Sanctuary Movement!" *WV* No. 400, 28 March).

Fresh from securing felony convictions against six sanctuary workers in Tucson, Arizona, the INS went after Gómez, having him arrested just two weeks before his deportation hearing, whisked off to jail in Buffalo and held on \$50,000 bail as a "national security" risk. They wanted Gómez because he had courageously testified about union conditions in El Salvador at the Tucson trial. In addition local INS director Benedict Farrell wanted to threaten the Rochester city council, which shortly after Gómez' arrest voted to declare itself a "sanctuary city." For Gómez the stakes are life and death. As the Partisan Defense Committee stated in a telegram of protest, "Deportation of this victim of police torture at hands of death squad regime is premeditated act of murder." A deportation hearing has been postponed to August 4.

The Reagan administration is going after the religious sanctuary movement

WORKERS VANGUARD

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"Gone With the Wind"— 50 Years of Racist Trash

Obscene Nostalgia for the Slave South

ATLANTA—The signature of the Reagan years is the bombing and murder of black babies in the Philadelphia MOVE commune. The cultural equivalent is the "golden commemoration" of *Gone With the Wind*—the so-called "epic novel of our time." This lying racist rewrite of history glamorizes the pre-Civil War slave South, and praises the Ku Klux Klan terror that accompanied the end of Reconstruction. On June 30, the U.S. Postal Service will issue a commemorative stamp honoring its author, Margaret Mitchell. Macmillan House has published some 60,000 copies of a facsimile of the first edition of *Gone With the Wind*. And in Atlanta, the self-proclaimed capital of the "New South," there is an obscene celebration of this racist nostalgia for the Old South that was swept away in blood and fire in the Civil War, the Second American Revolution.

This book and the hugely successful movie based on it sprinkle "moonlight and magnolias" on one of the most brutal slave systems the world has ever known. The life of a slave meant back-breaking work from dawn to dusk; a slave's child or spouse could be sold at any time; hunger was ever-present. The antebellum South was a totalitarian police state ever in fear of slave uprisings. This is the society Margaret Mitchell referred to as "glamorous," writing at length about the happiness of the "childlike" slave and his devotion to his master. At one point, the novel's heroine, Scarlett O'Hara, muses that "Negroes were provoking sometimes and stupid and lazy, but there was loyalty in them that money couldn't buy, a feeling of oneness with their white folks."

This piece of racist trash by Atlanta native Mitchell was published in 1936. It was the number one bestseller for 21 consecutive months and won the 1937 Pulitzer Prize for fiction. The film, which premiered in Atlanta in December 1939, is one of the biggest money-makers ever. Network TV broadcasting has heralded the 50th anniversary of the book, and major American newspapers have run glowing stories displaying the same smug attitude toward slavery.

Jonesboro, Georgia, some 25 miles



Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind*: Hollywood's super-successful film finds romance in the luxury of a ruling class that lived by the sweat of slaves.

southeast of Atlanta, is the site of many *Gone With the Wind* commemorative activities, including "Tara balls, plantation barbeques and yes, even cotton picking" (*USA Today*, 19 June). There will be "Confederate army camps" with "skirmishes" (guess who wins?). There are plans for "a *Gone With the Wind* historical center" with a *working plantation!* Will they have facsimile slaves, too?

Atlanta is hailing the Old South of *Gone With the Wind*, but in a more subdued fashion. The main public library is already named after Mitchell. A park in her name is being rushed to completion. The movie is showing daily. But in contrast to the gala celebration of the 1939 premier, when the Klan's offer to march was politely turned down, the response of official Atlanta, with its black mayor and city administration, to the 50th anniversary has been muted, if somewhat cynical and self-serving. In 1939 Atlanta was mainly white. Today blacks in the city proper outnumber

whites two to one, and nostalgia for the Confederacy doesn't really cut it.

Atlanta mayor Andy Young and his wife were the *only blacks* to attend a Tara ball in nearby College Park, where Confederate army officer uniforms were worn in abundance. (Confederate officers were drawn from the plantation elite and these "fine cultured gentlemen" after the war formed the core of the KKK.) Dressed in a tux and looking out of sorts, Young stated that *Gone With the Wind* was really about "the triumph of people over war, and I think I can celebrate because the nation is united. Atlanta can celebrate because it is united racially." Try and tell that to the poor Atlanta blacks who live in the hellhole of the Perry Homes "township." Not for nothing did Martin Luther King nickname Andy Young "Tom" for his proclivity to bow before white supremacists. And it is the Andrew Youngs, Harold Washingtons and Jesse Jacksons who tie black people to the Democrats, the his-



Library of Congress

toric party of white supremacists and segregationists.

Hail William Tecumseh Sherman!

This national celebration of Mitchell's celebration of the Confederacy is being played against the backdrop of Reagan's America. The Reagan regime is backing South African apartheid slavery and the Klan-like contra terrorists in Nicaragua—all in the name of hatred of the Soviet Union. Since the daylight murders of five leftists by the Klan/Nazis in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979, racist terror has been resurgent across the country. On June 14, a dozen KKKers were driven out of the integrated Five Points neighborhood in Atlanta, but two weeks later the lynchers were spewing their calls for racist terror in Chicago. The gains of the civil rights movement have been eroded or reversed. In a sense the Civil War is still being fought out. And a prime target of the slavery-lovers' ire is Union General William Tecumseh Sherman.

Sherman's great march through Georgia, the final blow that broke the back of the Confederacy, a march that gathered an army of 25,000 former slaves in its wake, is portrayed in *Gone With the Wind* as a barbaric conquest of a rebellious and heroic people (the white Confederates). The destruction wrought by Sherman's army is portrayed as an orgy of wanton burning and looting, the explanation for it being that the Yankees were not "gentlemen"—unlike the largely illiterate slaveowners—and thus had no moral standards! Atlanta, an important Confederate communications and supply center, was largely razed to the ground. Sherman *destroyed* the social base of the slavocracy, leaving nothing to defend. From Atlanta to Savannah, he burned the cotton and freed the slaves.

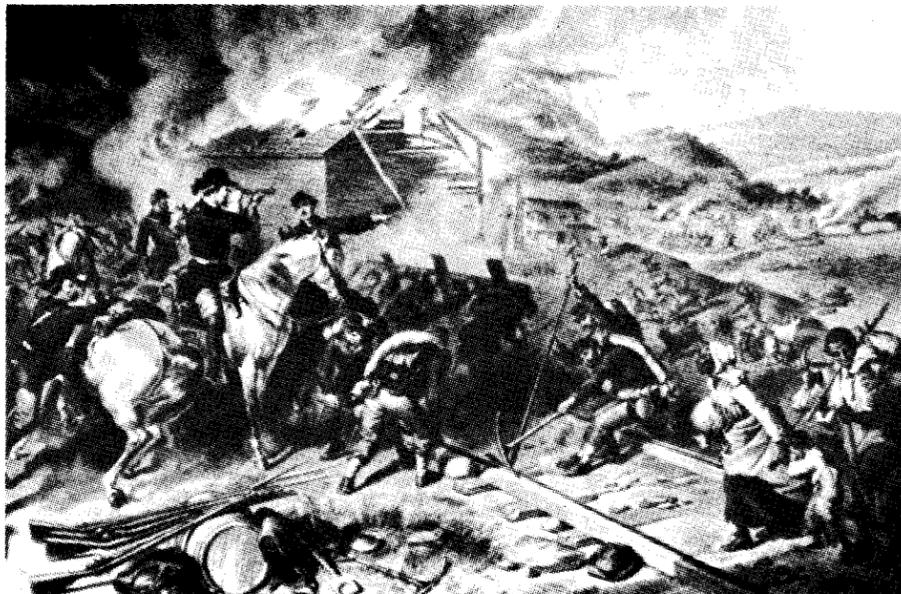
The era of Reconstruction as portrayed in *Gone With the Wind* is of a piece with the other racist lies in the novel. Reconstruction, the book says, was "half a nation attempting, at the point of a bayonet, to force upon the other half the rule of negroes," many

continued on page 9

Hail General William Tecumseh Sherman's Liberation of Georgia!



Library of Congress



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Union General Sherman (left) broke back of Confederacy in his march from Atlanta to Savannah in late 1864.

San Salvador Phone Workers Appeal for International Solidarity

We have reported in the last two issues of *WV* on the courageous struggle by the 1,200 technicians of the Salvadoran Telecommunications Workers Association (ASTTEL). On June 16, Bay Area phone workers taped an appeal by strike leader Carlos Bernal, head of the technical section of ASTTEL, for international solidarity. We print below excerpts from Bernal's message:

I am a member of ASTTEL, the phone workers' union at the telephone company in El Salvador. Right now we are confronting a difficult situation in our country, because of the economic measures that the government is trying to implement this year.

We know that your union is currently on strike, and is demanding better salaries and working conditions. We give you our solidarity. Our organization gives you all our support, for you to get a satisfactory solution to your strike. And whatever we can do to help you, communicate it to us and we will do whatever we can.

Today we had a successful three-hour strike, which received the participation of about 3,800 workers. We would like to announce to you that today Ricardo Lazo, who is in charge of the union's publicity, was threatened. Men in plainclothes went to his house, manhandled his wife, and left him a message that he was going to be assassinated.

Last Wednesday, four women union members were threatened, among them the compañera in charge of union finances. I am being threatened with death constantly; they beat up my wife after threatening me with death, and they attacked my children (ages four and six). At this time there are 26 of us who have been threatened with death.

All of these things have made it so that we do not have stable residences. We're sleeping in motels, in friends' houses, to try to hang on a little longer. But this has not stopped us, and today we gave an answer. Despite this type of threats, the work action was extremely positive and encouraging for the coordination of future activities.



San Salvador telephone workers stand up to Duarte's "death squad democracy," May Day 1986.

Bernal explained that Monday's work stoppage came after a 51-day strike that began April 15, in response to the company's refusal to respond to union demands for payment of wage raises won in a previous strike.

On April 19, four days after we decided on the strike, the Ministry of Labor declared the strike "illegal." We first had a 48-hour strike. The day after the strike, when people were returning to work, the phone buildings were surrounded by troops. So all the technical area decided not to go in; we stayed out of the building but in front of it.

The next day they made us move a few meters away from the building; we stayed there about two weeks. Then they told us to get away from there, to go about two blocks from the building, so people couldn't see us. They tried to carry out psychological repression against the employees.

We took our demands to the press, and we got the support of other labor

organizations in the country. While we were trying to get a solution to this conflict, six of our technical delegates were fired. Then we went to the Legislative Assembly, we went to the church, we went to the American embassy and talked to the man in charge of negotiations at the embassy, Francis Callan.

We went to the general staff of the armed forces. They said they had to consult with the president [José Napoleón Duarte]. But at that time the president was on a tour of Latin America proclaiming democracy in El Salvador, something which does not exist. The man at the American embassy told us to make contact with members of a union here which only represents the government party.

On May 30, we made an offer to the company administration. They said they didn't want to "negotiate under pressure." So we said, "OK, we'll suspend the strike and enter into real negotiations." But their answer to this

offer was to fire 12 more technicians. On June 5, we decided to go back, because we didn't want more people to be sacrificed. We went in, we said we wanted a dialogue. They said the return of the fired compañeros was not negotiable, it was decreed by the government.

I will explain some of the repression against us during this strike. There is a compañera who works as an international operator, she's about five months pregnant. One of the commandants of the building accused her of threatening people to make them participate in the strike, something which is not true. She was forced to leave the building with another compañera. They decided to support the strike, and they didn't go inside, because the only way to go in was to sign a paper promising the company that they wouldn't participate in this kind of activities.

Speaking of other recent strikes, Bernal noted: We analyzed that we are a skilled workforce, and that's why we didn't have the same direct aggression against us. We have built a big union in the technical area of the phone company, something that is not going to be destroyed very easily. We're going to continue fighting until we get what we're demanding. We want to emphasize that we fought for 51 days, and we're still fighting inside the buildings, because people are only working at about 10 percent of usual capacity.

During the strike, 20 of us were fired by the company; eight have been suspended for 30 days. Practically anyone who demands better living conditions and benefits is being repressed. We have 20 people fired, so we need money for them. We are collecting money in all the company buildings. This is a millionaire company, we don't know why they won't solve our problem. We want to let you know that the management helps the army. The head of the company is an army officer. They support the costs of the war.

What we want from you is for you to give us your solidarity with our struggle. What we were trying to implement was a labor boycott of communications through El Salvador, because this is a good way of pressuring the government. We have already talked with union representatives in Italy and Guatemala. What we really need is economic aid, because dollars are very important here. We're trying to make up the salaries of the people who were fired. ■

Bay Area Phone Strikers Stand With Salvadoran Class Brothers

On June 17, the Oakland, California local of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), on strike against AT&T, passed the following motion backing phone workers in El Salvador who have heroically struck against U.S.-imposed "death squad democracy":

"CWA Local 9415 supports the struggle of the Salvadoran phone workers' union, ASTTEL. Braving death threats, mass firings and military repression, these courageous workers recently carried out a 51-day strike, and on June 16th staged a 3-hour strike. We demand that ASTTEL's just demands be met, and that the 20 fired and 8 suspended ASTTEL members be reinstated immediately. Stop the reign of terror against ASTTEL! We hereby donate \$100 to ASTTEL. Copies of this motion will be sent by telegram to the president and manager of the Salvadoran phone company."

The motion, presented by Militant Action Caucus member Steven John, was passed overwhelmingly by this largely black and Hispanic local. In addition, \$315 has been raised in contributions from Bay Area phone workers for their embattled Salvadoran brothers and sisters.

In a taped message of solidarity to the Oakland union, Carlos Bernal, head of the ASTTEL technicians division, told of the savage conditions they are facing at the hands of the U.S.-installed Duarte regime and the American-financed military. Bernal stressed the urgency of international aid for the fired strikers. Earlier on the 17th, workers at a Pacific Bell central office stopped work to listen to Bernal's message.

The Oakland CWA has more than once demonstrated militant solidarity with Salvadoran workers. In 1981, the local passed a MAC motion to oppose Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive and march in an El Salvador protest under slogans including: "U.S.—Hands off El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba!" and "No negotiations—Military victory to Salvadoran leftists!" The resolution also called for labor action to stop U.S. intervention, hot-cargoing military goods to El Salvador and other Central American dictatorships, and a break with both the Democrats and Republicans.

In 1982, militant phone workers joined a Spartacist League protest

against a San Francisco conference by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), brainchild of CWA founder Joe Beirne. The Militant



American phone workers support Salvadoran leftist insurgents, Oakland, 1982.

Action Caucus has carried out a 15-year struggle against this notorious CIA "labor" front, and in May of this year Local 9415 voted that "under no circumstances will this Local ever donate a cent of its funds to Operation South America," as the CWA calls its AIFLD program.

For "progressive" union bureaucrats, who zealously enforced the "two-gate" scabberding policy during the recent strike, such motions are intended as face-saving gestures. The class-struggle militants of MAC, however, are fighting to oust the whole pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy, which has shackled the unions at home and instead of international solidarity pushes chauvinist protectionism, union-busting and anti-communist coups abroad.

American labor must act now to defend their fellow Salvadoran unionists who are fighting for their livelihoods and their very lives. Brother Bernal has asked that telegrams be sent to Coronel e Ingeniero Julio César Gómez and Coronel y Dr. Mauricio Daniel Vides Casanova, president and manager of ANTEL, the Salvadoran phone company, Telex 20014; and to the Switching Department of ANTEL, Telex 2011, El Salvador. We urge readers of *Workers Vanguard* to send contributions and telegrams of support to: Carlos Bernal, c/o FENASTRAS, Avenida 29 de Agosto, Plaza Barrios, San Salvador, El Salvador. ■

Guerrillas Take Army Base, Workers Battle Duarte

El Salvador: For a Workers and Peasants Government!

On June 19, some 500 guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) overran the headquarters of the Salvadoran army's Third Infantry Brigade in the city of San Miguel, the third largest in the country. The attack was carried out by four battalions of the Rafael Arce Zablah Brigade of the FMLN. The guerrillas reported at least 253 army casualties—dead and wounded—while the army admitted that 57 soldiers were killed. Five U.S. "military advisers" on the base were reportedly unharmed (presumably they hid under their beds during the attack).

The guerrilla assault in the middle of a city of 150,000 was a sharp blow to the army, giving the lie to their claims that they are mopping up the insurgents. The FMLN units held the base for more than four hours, capturing hundreds of arms and reportedly damaging three helicopters. In addition they knocked out the main power station, blacking out the city. The next day the leftist rebels followed up their successful attack by ordering a transport stoppage which effectively shut down eastern El Salvador. Prior to the San Miguel attack, UPI (17 June) reported that the Salvadoran leftist rebels had reestablished themselves on the strategic Guazapa volcano 12 miles north of the capital, representing a "major victory" for the FMLN.

This was the largest guerrilla attack since the October 1985 assault on the



Barricada

Salvadoran leftist guerrillas humiliate U.S. puppet army.

Salvadoran military training base in La Unión, with more than 200 government casualties. The FMLN also struck an effective blow at the government forces in May by shooting down a transport plane carrying a large number of the military's aircraft maintenance mechanics. Meanwhile, in the fighting in the hills, the army has been taking heavy losses. The government itself reports 477 dead and 2,488 injured during the last 12 months, while the independent SALPRESS news agency lists 6,243 army losses in 1985 (*Boletín Semanal Centroamericano*, 16 December 1985). That is a casualty rate of a staggering 15 percent per year.

And that was before the San Miguel attack. In a military balance sheet published by the FMLN's *Venceremos* (March-April 1986), the guerrillas note that a large part of the government injuries were due to mines. Since the American advisers insist on keeping the army in the field, marching up and



Venceremos

May Day in San Salvador: A massive display of workers' combativity. Salvadoran proletariat must fight for power if it is not to be crushed by right-wing terror.

down unfamiliar backwoods paths, "the FMLN has transformed the army's strategy into its best ally in defeating it."

Duarte's "Dialogue"

President José Napoleón Duarte ended his June 2 "state of the nation" speech marking two years in office by calling for renewal of "dialogue" with the FMLN guerrillas and their liberal allies of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). This reflected the growing pressure of the stalemate on the battlefield and the rising wave of labor protests in the streets of the capital (see "El Salvador Workers Face Showdown," *WV* No. 405, 6 June). In repeated mobilizations, tens of thousands of workers have raised the call for "dialogue," in addition to demanding the end of the U.S.-ordered austerity program, a key component of the war economy.

Militant labor struggles are continuing in the face of savage repression. After one month of a sit-down strike, workers at the Confitaría Americana candy factory won their demands, including removal of a phantom company union affiliated to the "American Institute for Free Labor Development." Another factory occupation, at the IUSA textile plant, was brutally smashed by the National Guard, causing a pregnant striker to suffer a miscarriage (*Proceso* [San Salvador], 11 June). Also, several postal union leaders were recently arrested. But when the police captured Roberto Antonio Prieto, general secretary of the water workers union, SETA, on June 17 the entire workforce walked out, demanding as well the rehiring of 230 workers fired for striking last year.

The FDR and FMLN accepted Duarte's proposed "dialogue," asking that the palaver be held in San Salvador and calling on "all sectors of the nation" to turn the talks into a "real advance toward peace with justice and dignity." With the unions already on battle footing and a deep yearning for peace in this war-ravaged land, there could indeed be mass mobilizations for "real dialogue." The last time around, the talks at La Palma in October 1984 were

a propaganda victory for Duarte, allowing this overseer of death squad terror to claim he stands for peace. But Duarte has lost virtually his entire social base. Already the pro-government UNOC labor federation and the right-wing National Conciliation Party have agreed to the FMLN's call to broaden the "dialogue."

Today any mobilizations will be overwhelmingly anti-government. But what then? The White House, alarmed generals and ultrarightist oligarchs will put the squeeze on Duarte to call off the talks, threatening a coup to keep the charade from getting out of hand. The question of power is posed. And what's to negotiate, after all? The professional assassins of the Salvadoran security forces and U.S. puppet Duarte will not and cannot share power with the guerrillas any more than their counterparts in Saigon did during the Vietnam War. Those who seek to deliver El Salvador from the rule of the landowner-capitalist oligarchy and their military guard dogs must fight for *military victory to the leftist rebels*.

For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America!

We are approaching a showdown when the treachery of the FDR/

FMLN's call for a "negotiated solution" to the civil war will be sharply revealed. The government has said the FMLN's dramatic military actions are only a show of strength aimed at the upcoming "peace" talks. Lamentably, that is true. The rebels' Radio Venceremos vows, "We will never lay down our arms, either before a political solution or as the result of one." But last December, the FDR/FMLN called for a "political solution" that pointedly did *not* include ousting Duarte. And now rumors are circulating of a guerrilla offer of a long-term truce while negotiations continue and proposals for a legal FDR political party. So when the task of the hour is to bring out the masses to sweep away the U.S. puppet regime, the guerrilla *comandantes* will urge Duarte to join them in an "anti-coup" front!

Yet a revolutionary opportunity is opening up throughout Central America. El Salvador has historically had the most class-conscious proletariat north of Bolivia and Chile. Half a century ago, this tiny country was the site of the first Communist-led insurrection in Latin America, led by Farabundo Martí. More recently, only six years ago, San Salvador was repeatedly shaken by general strikes and demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of workers. Today the FMLN guerrillas have shown military capacity and enduring popular support, and the urban workers movement has recovered from the massacres of 1980-81 which forced the unions underground. A revolutionary working-class offensive against IMF-style austerity and in defense of Sandinista Nicaragua could set the entire isthmus aflame.

This moment will not last. If the workers do not fight for power, the repression will escalate and there will be new bloodbaths. The Salvadoran proletariat can become the leader of the oppressed nation, fighting for a workers and peasants government. But for the workers to seize San Salvador, supported by bold guerrilla actions such as the seizure of the San Miguel army base, requires a sharp *political* struggle against the petty-bourgeois guerrillaists (who settle internal disputes by "liquidating" their rivals) and simple trade unionists, who are "united" in pushing suicidal illusions in a "negotiated solution" with the death squads, their capitalist masters and Yankee godfathers. A Bolshevik vanguard, forged on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, is the key to a victorious *proletarian* solution to the bloody civil war.

A socialist revolution beginning in Central America and spreading through Mexico, presently in deep crisis, would quickly affect the United States itself—as everyone in Washington is well aware. American revolutionaries have a special responsibility to provide effective solidarity by fighting a *class* struggle against their "own" rapacious bourgeoisie, the main enemy of all mankind. If this opportunity is lost, if union struggles in El Salvador are limited to raising hell in the cities as the guerrillas are doing in the countryside, the tragic results will be felt throughout the Americas. ■ *forwv*

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

In the streets of Crossroads, a squatter settlement of 100,000-200,000 on the outskirts of Cape Town, the Botha regime has incited black vigilante squads to attack the homes of militant leaders. With the complicity of the police and with police-supplied arms and Molotov cocktails, systematically the residents were burned out, and today bulldozers plow through what remains of the homes that had been established by these people, to drive them out of Cape Town.

Nevertheless, one gets the picture of a regime that is striking out in different directions, pursuing contradictory policies, unsure of itself, a regime that has lost its nerve. And this is not belied by the present draconian police powers, which are almost absurd in their authoritarian measures. Now there is no judicial review of anything the police do, whether they shoot down youth on the streets, or detain, torture and kill. This is a license to torture, a license to kill, that has been enshrined now in the official register of the South African government.

It is even considered "subversive" to comment on these measures, or on anything that the government is doing in the present crackdown. On TV news today they showed a picture of the *Sowetan*, which is the major black newspaper in South Africa. It's actually quite conservative. The front page had big blank spaces where it would normal-

would like to carry out a racist holocaust to silence the present level of black revolt.

But the present situation very much resembles what Lenin said in "Left-Wing" Communism:

"The fundamental law of revolution, which has been confirmed by all revolutions and especially by all three Russian revolutions in the twentieth century, is as follows: for a revolution to take place it is not enough for the exploited and oppressed masses to realise the impossibility of living in the old way, and demand changes; for a revolution to take place it is essential that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way."

And that seems to be the case in South Africa today—a prerevolutionary situation. The masses—as demonstrated by this picture of a black youth standing before the red flag of the October Revolution—desire not only revolution but communism insofar as they understand it (which is not much) and solidarize, insofar as they know about it, with the Russian Revolution of 1917, which freed the Russian "prison house of peoples" from tsarist absolutism and capitalist exploitation.

For Permanent Revolution in South Africa!

But for such a revolution to triumph it needs a Bolshevik party such as Lenin and Trotsky built, and this does *not* now exist in South Africa. What are the program and prospects for South African Bolshevism?

One of the crucial lessons of the Russian October Revolution is the genuine solution to the national and



Gubb/JB Pictures

Black militants defiantly raise red flag of communism at funeral of anti-apartheid fighter Peter Nchabeleng, killed in police detention.

deserve all the rights of full citizenship. In South Africa every black worker is treated as a foreign worker, stripped of every democratic, civil and human right.

But this is particularly the case for the migrant workers from the bantustans and from countries like Lesotho, Botswana and Mozambique. The demand of full citizenship for foreign workers necessarily cuts through nationalism because it addresses the question of the relationship of South Africa to the rest of the continent, and the fact that the South African black proletariat and

pressure the more "liberal" sections of the English-speaking capitalists represented by Gavin Relly. We're talking about a man who controls one half the Johannesburg stock exchange and is the principal benefactor of apartheid super-exploitation, for which thousands of blacks give their lives and thousands are permanently maimed yearly. The strategy of the ANC in this regard was laid out quite clearly by its publicity director, Thabo Mbeki, earlier this year:

"If we can mobilize them and form some kind of alliance with them [that is, South African businessmen and other white liberals], then we are talking not of overthrowing the government but of turning so many people against it that it would be forced to do what Ian Smith had to do."

Namely, in Rhodesia, culminating in the Lancaster Agreement of 1979 when Zimbabwe became simply another neocolonial member of the British Commonwealth with black faces in high places. White capitalists actually saw their investments made more secure by a black-run regime that suppressed workers with more savage labor legislation than is seen even in the apartheid police state itself, and a regime that has conducted a tribalist war against the minority peoples of Zimbabwe.

The point is that we need today in South Africa a party like the Bolsheviks built. We need such a party because it is only through a revolution like occurred in Russia in which those who labor rule, in which those who produce the wealth own the wealth, that the social surplus can be devoted to the socialist reconstruction of society. South Africa does not have to go the way of Zimbabwe and the other African neocolonial regimes. I just read in Saturday's *New York Times* about the Sudan, a country wracked by famine, by racial war between the Islamic north and black south in which over a million people died a decade ago. The result was that the Sudan is now an "Islamic republic." This article described the situation of amputated beggars who go about reviled by society because they tried to steal, or were accused of stealing, a loaf of bread. This does not have to be the future of South Africa, which has the industrial power, the mineral resources, the wealth created by many of the peoples of southern Africa, to build a just society that can emancipate all of southern Africa.

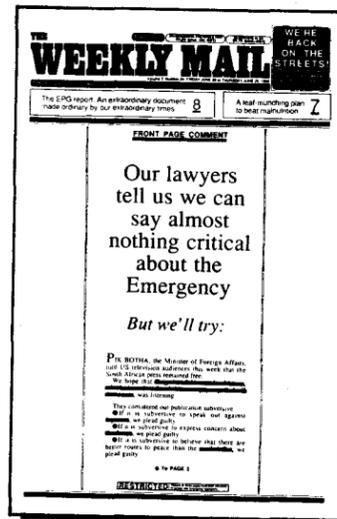
So what needs to be done? Trotsky stated: "...in the conditions [in South Africa] of an approaching political crisis, there must be created special illegal nuclei of the party apparatus.... The most important form of the illegal or semilegal work of revolutionaries is the work in mass organizations, particularly in the trade unions." This was said 50 years ago and these tasks are long overdue.

The black African trade unions began in the aftermath of the [Russian] October Revolution, inspired by that revolution and by the Industrial Workers of the World in the United States. It was initiated by people like S.P. Bunting,



Peters/Newsweek

"State of emergency" gives South African police license to kill and torture. It is criminally "subversive" even to report on "emergency" measures.



ly report what's actually going on. Then Pretoria's "Minister of Information," as in Orwell's *1984*, gets on TV and says, "Maybe we'll have to declare these white spaces subversive too!"

Nevertheless, all of these measures—the killing of over 1,900, mainly black youth, the endless detentions and torture of thousands more, including now major trade-union, nationalist and community leaders—have not quelled the revolt at all. There has been a breakdown in the coherence of the apartheid regime, which does *not* mean that this regime has lost its bloodlust. There are plenty of would-be Hitlers in the racist apartheid police state. More than one third of the white electorate supports parties to the right of the ultrarightist Nationalist Party that is governing the country. There are plenty of people who

democratic tasks in countries that represent uneven and combined development, that combine, for example, the tribalism and forced retribalization of the bantustan with the advanced industry and modern technology of an imperialist power that you see in South Africa. To solve these questions requires the conquest of power by the proletariat leading and reconstructing the oppressed nation.

Let us take just one elementary democratic demand that you will see no nationalist or other group on the left raise in the context of South Africa. In the United States, in Europe, in Sri Lanka, wherever the question arises, the Spartacist tendency demands full citizenship rights for foreign workers. If you work there and contribute to the wealth of the country, certainly you

particularly the strategically placed miners are the powerhouse for the emancipation of all sub-Saharan Africa.

And this is why Trotsky's program of the dictatorship of the proletariat to reconstruct the oppressed nation is so very powerful in the South African framework. But the problem is, as we wrote in an article last year ["South Africa: Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985]: "The black proletariat is still being used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism." Mainly the ANC (African National Congress). This was clearly seen in the formation last December of the half-million-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions, whose president, Elijah Barayi, is an old ANC militant.

The ANC came up with a strategy of making the townships "ungovernable," after they were already ungovernable, and of making apartheid unworkable after it had already been shown to be unworkable. It also conducts a campaign of guerrilla warfare, which requires tremendous heroism and shows that they have a very powerful degree of support within the country. Insofar as this guerrillism is aimed at military targets, we hail it. But the guerrillism has taken a sinister turn, with so-called "soft" targets, including civilian white populations, such as in the Durban bombings on Christmas and recently. And this is to be condemned. It does not serve the oppressed, it serves the oppressor, to harden the white population and disorganize the masses.

But this guerrillism is only incidental to the strategy of the ANC, which is to

South Africa: Razor's Edge

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who later became a Communist, who would talk often in halls like this in Johannesburg, to multiracial but largely black audiences. And he would ask them, "What do you want?" Their answer would be: "Sifuna zonke"—everything. It is time to begin the construction of the party so that those who have toiled so long can have what is rightfully theirs: everything.

Divestment and Imperialist Hypocrisy

In his talk, "Avenge Soweto—Workers to Power!", Reuben Shiffman exposed and denounced the hypocrisy of American imperialist politicians and spokesmen who call for divestment and economic sanctions against South Africa. During the discussion period this provoked a young black activist to question whether on the issue of divestment we did not end up on the same side as Reagan, Thatcher and the other right-wing friends of the apartheid state. Following are portions of the talk and summary remarks which address this question.

* * * * *

They had a big march for sanctions on June 14th. Here's a demonstration that takes off from Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza, a plaza named after one of the people who was principally responsible for the assassination of one of Africa's most eminent black nationalists, Patrice Lumumba. I propose that after a socialist revolution in this country, we rename that square Patrice Lumumba Plaza. And they marched around for five miles in the hot sun to hear Ed Koch talk about fighting apartheid!

Yesterday Congress passed a bill calling for economic sanctions against South Africa as part of a campaign of pressure on Botha to behave himself. What's going on here is Congress is trying to save South African capitalism from a regime that seems to be losing control. It's that simple. "Get it under control!" That's the message. Whether it comes from Reagan (remember "constructive engagement"?) or from the sanctimonious sanctions people in Congress, the message is the same, to save South Africa from the civil war it so desperately needs.

This is what we call the contra Congress. This Congress recently lifted the Clark Amendment, which is just kicking over a stone so you know what's actually happening in Angola. So now we know the CIA's been sending millions all along to UNITA—South Africa's contras in Angola—who are held at bay only by the Soviet-backed Cuban troops. It's all in pursuit of the anti-Soviet war drive. In Angola the not-so-Cold War is the struggle between apartheid enslavement and national independence.

This is the same Congress that, after the United States bombed and raped and pillaged and murdered two million people in Vietnam, voted to continue this country's economic boycott of Vietnam. If sanctions are such a powerful demand, then why didn't the antiwar movement in the '60s and '70s—which included many of the anti-apartheid liberals running around today—say: "This is genocidal what the United States is doing in Vietnam—let us have a boycott of America!" But you didn't hear anybody say that. Then they might not be able to buy a color TV or something, right? It's a ridiculous demand if you think about it.

When this country was formed, when the white man came to this country, they killed the native population through genocide, unlike in South Africa where the white population exploited the native population. The United States has been able to export its colonialism and to ravage and exploit South Africa, the Philippines and other countries around the world, so you don't have to



Campbell/Sygnma

Strategically placed gold miners, the key value producers for apartheid capitalism.

see it up close. With one exception: it imported black slaves from Africa. The black question in this country—that is the link with South Africa and the rest of the African continent. What racist hypocrisy for people in this country to appeal to, of all people, Ronald Reagan!

But let's take some of the alternatives to Ronald Reagan running around out there. How about Wilson Goode? He didn't need emergency regulations to bomb black Philadelphia and to hold the victims of that bombing in prison to this day. Koch's killer cops do not need emergency regulations to kill black youth on the streets of New York and torture them in the stun-gun precincts out in Queens. In the United States the killing still goes on, it's just not written into the law...yet. Although with Rehnquist as chief of the Supreme Court, I wouldn't place any bets. The kind of society that Ronald Reagan is trying to create is not all that unlike South Africa. To take black society, to push it into the townships, into the ghettos of hopelessness and despair, where it can easily be sealed off and given the Philadelphia treatment.

blacks. We were determined to see that the Klan was not going to march. We got behind that proposition major labor unions throughout the mid-Atlantic area. And we were able to build a demonstration, with substantial assistance from them and from the black community in Washington, of more than 5,000 people, who stopped the Klan from marching. That was a big victory.

We organized that demonstration against not only the forces behind Reagan but the forces of the Democrats, especially the black Democrats, the Walter Fauntroy of the Free South Africa Movement, who told blacks to stay away from this demonstration and organized alternative soup kitchens. But black people in Washington, many of them recently from the South, knew all too well what the Klan meant and they turned out to stop them. And that demonstration then took the purported Klan route and turned it into an anti-racist victory march. They marched up to Lafayette Park in front of the White House, where Reagan had hoped to stage this Klan march while he was chatting with—guess who?—South

For workers struggle against racist terror from South Africa to the U.S.: Bay Area longshore union militants picket ship carrying South African cargo, November 1984 (right).



WV Photos



Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by SL, stopped Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982.

What is lacking here in the United States, and also lacking in South Africa, is a Bolshevik party, the general staff of the social revolution that this country so desperately needs. The demonstration—at least in embryo—of the capacity of such a party was November 27, 1982. The Ku Klux Klan announced, since their candidate was in the White House, they were going to celebrate in the streets of Washington. This is the nation's capital and a largely black city. The declared aim of the Klan march was to kick out the immigrants, a key question in this country as well as in South Africa. But everyone knew, it's the Klan, they're really targeting the

African foreign minister Pik Botha! It was a triumphal march in which, as comrade Al Nelson said, we did not see white sheets, only the red flag of revolution.

The Divestment Hoax

We often hear from militants: "Reagan's against sanctions, Thatcher's against sanctions, Botha's against sanctions, apartheid's paid tribal chief Buthelezi is against sanctions, and you're against sanctions. So that's strange company to keep." What's really going on here in terms of this sanctions debate?

First of all, divestment is taking place

massively in South Africa, and Reagan does not object one bit. Last year alone 38 U.S. businesses pulled out of South Africa. Every bank now refuses to make loans to South Africa, and this is not because of the great appeal of the Free South Africa Movement to the moral conscience of the American imperialist ruling class. They know a shaky investment when they see one. If the regime is able to impose a silence upon this revolt as it did in the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, all of this investment will be rushing back into the country.

After Sharpeville you had this same hand-wringing. World opinion was horrified. They all went to the UN and expressed their moral indignation by passing a total sanction on military goods to South Africa. There has been a total ban imposed by members of the UN on shipping military goods to South Africa since 1963. In that period South Africa has become not only the strongest military power on the African continent but has become a major exporter of arms. How has this happened? Instead of shipping South Africa guns and planes, they were shipped the means to make guns and planes. The capitalists went on doing business with South Africa just as they always had. And South Africa went on defending imperialism throughout the African continent just as it always had.

You notice what was excluded from the recent Congressional ban—the only thing that really matters to America, which is strategic minerals. Because that's for the war drive! That's to make the world "free," like South Africa. The major thing the "free world" gets out of South Africa—80 percent of its exports—are minerals. And that's excluded from this whole ban.

The point is, you have this mammoth hypocrisy here, the attempt to give a democratic façade to American imperialism. Some people just feel a greater pressure to fool the masses and other people feel a greater pressure simply to use the whip and the bullet to suppress the masses. And this is the debate that is going on now in South Africa and the United States. We say the proletariat has no interest in enhancing the image of this imperialist ruling class. For us, progressive divestment is when the oppressed South African toilers, who have created this wealth, "divest" their own ruling class and the imperialists of Britain, Germany and especially this country of that wealth.

You have a situation in South Africa now which is prerevolutionary, and which is centered on black labor. Well, there are as many blacks in the United States as there are in South Africa, and they're overwhelmingly linked to or concentrated in the industrial working class. They are a powerhouse for social revolution in this country. So what happens in South Africa has tremendous impact on what happens in the United States.

The United States was defeated and humiliated in Vietnam. That was a tremendous victory for the Vietnamese people, but it was a shot heard throughout the world. That victory inspired and spurred on the movement for independence in Angola and Mozambique, which in turn sparked a revolution within the metropolitan country, Portugal. This laid the basis for the courageous Soweto uprising. The conditions for that uprising already existed, but the inspiration came through the heroic struggle of the Angolans and Cubans and their humiliation of what had appeared up to then to be an invincible power, South Africa.

The greatest support we can give to the black struggle for freedom in South Africa is to struggle for black freedom and socialist revolution here in the United States. We need more victories like November 27, 1982. But to do that we need to build the party that brought that victory, an internationalist party dedicated to building sections of the revolutionary vanguard in every country, to carry out their duty to the world proletariat. ■

Contra Congress...

(continued from page 1)

resolution"—the open-ended motion used by Johnson and Nixon as the "legal" basis for the U.S.' dirty war on Vietnam. Ever since World War II, American imperialism has had trouble getting popular support for its Third World military adventures. The Korean War was ordered by Truman as a "police action." As we predicted, the White House got its "Green Light to Invade Nicaragua" (*WV* No. 400, 28 March). But while Reagan may win in Congress, his mercenaries are losing on the battlefield in Nicaragua where they face an armed people determined to defend their revolution.

Meanwhile, two days after the House vote, the World Court in The Hague, Netherlands voted by 12-to-3 to condemn the United States for the CIA's mining of Nicaraguan harbors and U.S. financing of "covert" aggression by the contras. After all of Reagan's lying bluster condemning Libya and Nicaragua as "terrorists," this verdict that the number one imperialist power is the real "outlaw government" naturally got short shrift in the American media. And then, amid all the Reaganite cheering in Washington over Congressional approval of war on Nicaragua, it was revealed (*Newsweek*, 7 July) that the Central Intelligence Agency is preparing to rush \$400 million in "covert" military aid to its Somozaist puppets.

"To war you respond with war," Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega told a crowd of 20,000 in Managua. He added: "He who loves Nicaragua... let him stay. Those who love the contras and Reagan... let them go to Miami, let them go to Reagan." The crowd responded with chants of "*Aquí, allá, el yanqui morirá*" (Here, there, everywhere, Yankees will die). Over the last year, the Sandinista army has creamed the contras repeatedly. At the end of March, they penetrated to the center of a mercenary base in the Honduran border area, killing hundreds of contras. But wiping out the contras' "fifth column" will take more than military action. Within Nicaragua, several capitalist parties, powerful businessmen's associations, the Catholic hierarchy under "contra cardinal" Obando y Bravo, and media outlets for counter-revolutionary propaganda have operated with impunity.

The day after the House vote for contra aid, the Sandinista government ordered the indefinite closure of *La Prensa*, mouthpiece of the contras' internal front. "If the government of the United States rushes openly to attack us, what is left for us," he asked, but to put a stop to the actions of "those who

are no more than tools of the U.S. government's terrorist policy." White House spokesmen predictably condemned this long-overdue action as an attack on "freedom of the press." They did not mention that *La Prensa* has called for approval of the arms aid to the CIA mercenaries who wage a terrorist war on the Nicaraguan people, nor that this enemy organ has been financed with \$100,000 from the U.S. government's "National Endowment for Democracy."

"To war you respond with war"... and to counterrevolution with revolution. The closure of *La Prensa* must be the signal for revolutionary action to expropriate the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. It makes little sense to silence the voice of the internal contras while leaving their tremendous economic power intact. But it is no less absurd to talk of a socialist revolution solely within the confines of Nicaragua, a largely peasant country of barely three million people. Not only must the contras be driven from their lairs in Honduras and Costa Rica; Nicaragua must link up with the Salvadoran workers and peasants in their civil war against the U.S.-imposed regime, and with the powerful Mexican proletariat. Not Sandinista nationalism, but the Trotskyist internationalist program of permanent revolution is key to victory in Central America.

Nicaragua: Target of the Anti-Soviet War Drive

The approval of contra military aid was "the crossing-the-Rubicon vote," "a turning point," "a policy that will become irretrievable and irreversible for many years to come," commented Congressmen on both sides of the aisle. This "giant bipartisan effort," as Reagan called it, is based on more than just Democratic capitulation. Liberals and conservatives are united by their commitment to a war drive aimed at restoring U.S. imperialist power after its humiliating defeat in Vietnam. They may have tactical differences, but their common enemy is the Soviet Union—Reagan's "evil empire"—the homeland of the October Revolution, and the military and industrial powerhouse of the third of the globe where capitalist rule has been abolished.

Last March, Republican leader Robert Michel declared, "Yes, it is a dog-gone confrontation between East and West, and don't you ever forget it." Democrat Claude Pepper agreed: "We will not tolerate communism to be the dominant character of the state in any part of the Western Hemisphere.... We are saying we still believe in the principles of the Monroe Doctrine"—that is, the U.S.' arrogant imperial claim to run Latin America as its "backyard." As Brooklyn Democrat Stephen Solarz put the liberals' case during the contra aid debate, the issue was "how best to



Franklin/Magnum

U.S. military bases in Honduras, staging area for Reagan's war on Nicaragua.

deal with the Communist threat in Central America, and whether we have a better chance of resolving it on the battlefield or at the negotiating table."

When the Great Communicator mouses phrases off his teleprompter about Nicaragua turning into "a second Libya" or a "Soviet military beachhead on the mainland of North America," you know that the fevered imagination of Pat Buchanan, the Goebbels of the White House, has been working overtime. But when Reagan talks of fears of "a second Cuba," of a "red tide" lapping the shores of Central America, he is speaking for the entire American bourgeoisie. And this fear has been growing as Washington and Wall Street watch Mexico going down the tubes. Richard Nixon urged Congress to vote for contra aid because "Mexico is a country that is waiting for a revolution," and the same rationale was put forward by several Democrats who switched their vote between March and June. The spectre of communism on the U.S. southern border drives the American ruling class into a frenzy.

But for American revolutionaries, for workers and blacks who are the main domestic targets of the anti-Soviet war drive, militant anti-imperialist solidarity with the tumultuous struggles beyond the Rio Grande can play a powerful role in sparking class struggle in Reagan's America. Not pressuring the Mexican bourgeoisie or imperialist liberals but building Trotskyist parties, from Central America to the U.S., is key to stopping the bipartisan war machine. Bay Area phone workers' support for their Salvadoran brothers and sisters in the face of death squad terror, described on page four of this issue, should point the way for all American labor.

Anti-Imperialism Abroad, Class Struggle at Home

As Yankee imperialism, with bipartisan support, moves ever closer to a direct military assault on Nicaragua, the Central American "solidarity" milieu becomes ever more invisible. Who ever hears about CISPES these days, for example? Only a few years ago tens of thousands marched in opposition to Reagan's policies in Central America. But not now. Why? Because the rad-libs and reformists are nothing but the "left" tail on the Democratic donkey, and the Democrats are increasingly marching to the drumbeat of Reagan's war against the "Soviet menace" in Central America. So the popular front has shifted over to South Africa, where they are demanding that the U.S. pressure the white-supremacist regime to dismantle apartheid. This is much more acceptable in the eyes of American rulers these days as even the Reagan administration talks of high-level meetings with the African National Congress. The Sandinistas, in contrast, have been targeted for annihilation by the White House and Congress.

To defend themselves, the Sandinis-

tas are now moving against Washington's agents in Nicaragua. Many American liberals, social democrats and self-styled radicals will denounce the closing of *La Prensa* as a violation of democratic freedoms. On the contrary, ever since they took power in 1979, the petty-bourgeois Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has been far too tolerant toward the counterrevolution. If the FSLN had kept Somoza's cutthroats behind bars instead of letting hundreds go, there would be no contras today and thousands of Nicaraguan peasants and soldiers would not have died. One only has to look at the United States' own history to put the Sandinistas' wartime repressive measures in perspective. Compared to the way Lincoln governed the Union during the American Civil War, the FSLN has governed Nicaragua like the ACLU.

In *Terrorism and Communism* (1920), written while he was leading the Red Army during the Russian Civil War, Leon Trotsky justified the Bolsheviks' suppression of counterrevolutionary opposition by noting that Lincoln placed Northern cities like Baltimore under martial law, interned without trial thousands of "copperheads" (both open Southern sympathizers and those who called for a "negotiated solution" to the war over slavery), and closed down dozens of pro-Confederate and conciliatory newspapers. Trotsky pointed out that revolutionary repressive measures are necessary not only to win a civil war, but also to buy time for the mobilization of the working class within the imperialist countries:

"If the White Terror can only retard the historical rise of the proletariat, the Red Terror hastens the destruction of the bourgeoisie. This hastening—a pure question of acceleration—is at certain periods of decisive importance. Without the Red Terror, the Russian bourgeoisie, together with the world bourgeoisie, would throttle us long before the coming of the revolution in Europe."

Washington's contra war against Nicaragua is in a very real sense a continuation of Western imperialism's intervention (including a U.S. expeditionary force) into the Russian Civil War of 1918-21. Clearly the U.S. has the military capacity to invade and occupy Nicaragua, although every piece of Soviet military aid can raise the cost to the Yankee imperialists. The decisive factor will be the class struggle within this country. Central America is today the focal point of the explosive contradiction between the war drive of America's rulers and the antiwar sentiments still strong among the American people. Ronald Reagan, with Democratic Party backing, seeks to overthrow the Sandinistas as the first step in "rolling back" Soviet power globally. Yet for four straight years, the polls have shown a solid majority in the U.S. opposed to contra aid, not to speak of American combat troops. Fear of another Vietnam—a long, bloody, dirty colonial war—is very much alive in Reagan's America.

As the rad-libs and reformists abandon Nicaragua in the hour of need, it's up to the communists to organize a powerful class struggle against the main enemy at home. Only the Trotskyist program of international socialist revolution can give direction to the workers movement, black and Hispanic poor and radical student-youth in opposing the U.S. war machine. Last year, while CISPES & Co. were busy lobbying Democratic Congressmen, the Spartacus Youth League raised \$25,000 for embattled Nicaragua in the face of imperialist economic and military aggression; "hot-cargoing" military goods bound for U.S. puppet regimes and mercenaries; labor political strikes against escalation of American intervention in Central America; militant mass mobilization against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive—these are urgent tasks for the American working class. ■

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South African Treason Trial

Black Unionists Acquitted

To shouts of "Amandla!" (Power!) four black South African trade-union leaders were acquitted June 23 of trumped-up charges of treason, which carries the death penalty, in Pietermaritzburg. After a 13-month trial the apartheid police state abandoned its attempt to convict Thozamile Gqweta, Sisa Njikelana, Sam Kikine and Isaac Ngcobo of the 30,000-member South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU). They were the last of 16 originally accused. The other 12 defendants, black and Indian leaders of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF), were acquitted in December after the prosecution's star witness, an Afrikaner political "science" professor, was demolished on the stand by defense lawyers.

Amid its "emergency" reign of terror, the apartheid regime still occasionally holds up a fig leaf of legal due process. That Pretoria did not rig the proceedings to secure hanging of the four union leaders is a sign of its wariness about throwing down the gauntlet before South Africa's burgeoning and highly combative black union movement—especially since millions of workers participated in political general strikes on both May

Day and the June 16 commemoration of the Soweto uprising.

As they have done in the past, the apartheid bosses used the trial to tie up anti-apartheid fighters for an extended period. But that won't discourage heroic militants like Gqweta and Njikelana. SAAWU is based in the Eastern Cape port of East London. Its huge black township, Mdantsane, falls within the Ciskei bantustan headed by the notorious apartheid puppet and tyrant, "President for Life" Lennox Sebe. SAAWU has throughout its existence had to organize against not only the South African security police but Sebe's barbaric vigilante/cop repression.

Over a three-year period in the early eighties, Gqweta was detained eight times without trial. During one spell of detention, he was dangled by his handcuffs from the bars on a window with his face to the wall and beaten almost daily for three months. Gqweta narrowly escaped being burned to death when his home was burned down by arsonists. His mother and uncle died when their house was set on fire. At the funeral Gqweta's girlfriend was killed by a "stray" police bullet. After his next, six-month detention

Leaders of South African Allied Workers Union after being acquitted in treason trial in late June.



Gqweta suffered blinding migraines at the sound of an ordinary human voice.

In the face of all this, SAAWU has endured. It originated in a split from the Black Consciousness Movement, rejecting its opposition to multiracialism. SAAWU did not limit itself to narrow trade unionism, but also organized the unemployed and supported community campaigns like bus boycotts and rent strikes. In places like Mdantsane, where the black proletariat lives under tribalist bantustan despotism, the contradictions of apartheid are most acute and the imperative to working-class political action most urgent.

Yet while the SAAWU leadership sees the need to tackle some of the key tasks posed by apartheid repression, their perspective is limited to nationalist populism. Thus SAAWU was the first important union affiliate of the UDF, which subordinates the black unions to petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership, seeking through mass pressure to get Pretoria to dismantle apartheid. The burning necessity in South Africa today is to recruit black union militants to a Trotskyist party which will be what Lenin called the "tribune of the people" and fight for workers revolution to emancipate all the oppressed.

Gone With the Wind...

(continued from page 3)

of them scarcely one generation out of the African jungles." Reconstruction governments were in the main revolutionary-democratic governments trying to forge a new anti-racist society and stamp out the old. In fact, Reconstruction was the most democratic period in the history of the South right down to the present day. For the first time blacks (and many poor whites) voted and held office. According to Margaret Mitchell: "These negroes sat in the legislature where they spent most of their time eating Goobers and easing their unaccustomed feet into and out of new shoes." The truth is that these revolutionary state legislatures built roads, instituted tax reforms, established the first public school system in the South and abolished literacy and property qualifications for the vote.

Similarly, Mitchell claims that the primary reason for the growth of the KKK was "the peril of white women... that drove Southern men to cold and trembling fury and caused the Ku Klux Klan to spring up overnight." In actuality, the Klan was a terrorist group



New York Historical Society

200,000 black Union soldiers turned tide of Civil War. Anti-Klan marchers say: Finish the Civil War! It will take socialist revolution to liberate black people.

of ex-Confederates that committed acts of murderous violence intended to keep blacks and white Republicans from voting. This racist armed terror was finally triumphant. Reconstruction ended when an increasingly conservative Northern bourgeoisie cut a deal with the Southern planters and withdrew the brave black and white troops that had guarded the voting booths and had stood between the black population and

the old slavocracy.

So many brave men fought and died for a non-racist society and were betrayed in the sequel. Instead of their goal, Reconstruction was followed by the era of the robber barons, who exploited a huge wave of immigration while the blacks of America were frozen in place at the bottom. A new bourgeois order was consolidated in the South and imposed Jim Crow segregation law until it was broken by the civil rights movement three-quarters of a century later.

Gone With the Wind, the novel, appeared in the mid-1930s in a period of unremittent lynch terror in the South, symbolized by the prolonged struggle to save the Scottsboro Boys from the hangman's noose—while "liberals" like Franklin D. Roosevelt and the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* opposed the anti-lynching law in Congress. The movie came out on the eve of World War II. The heritage of slavery and police-state oppression of blacks in the Jim Crow South belied American imperialism's fraudulent claim to be fighting for "democracy" against Nazi racism. *Gone With the Wind* shined up the tarnished image of racist America and in this way furthered Washington's

mobilization for war. Attacks on the struggle for black rights have always accompanied the U.S. rulers' preparations for war.

Margaret Mitchell worshipped slave society. She grew up in a period that saw the rebirth of the Klan with the hanging of the innocent Jewish businessman Leo Frank, framed for the murder of a white girl, a period when the Klan off and on ran the Georgia state government for years. Mitchell was a reporter for the *Atlanta Constitution* in an era when Georgia was trying to crush the life out of courageous black Communist Angelo Herndon. It says a lot about Mitchell that she was ten years old by the time her family broke the news to her that the South had lost the war!

Gone With the Wind is not just another trashy Harlequin romance, a piece of escapist fluff. It is about as politically innocent as D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation*, which openly glorified the Klan. It will take a third American revolution to truly finish the Civil War, set the record straight and relegate *Gone With the Wind* to the scrap heap of history. The cultural record of human emancipation will record this debunking with great relish. ■



Washington Post

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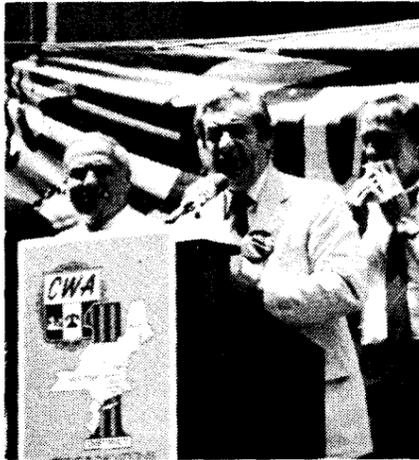
CWA Sellout

OAKLAND—Ma Bell and its kept union bureaucracy of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) just handed phone workers a royal screwing. In enforcing the scabherding "two-gate" policy, setting "local operating company" workers against their brothers and sisters at AT&T, it was frequently the CWA bureaucrats rather than the company who were the hard cops. Strikes are won and lost on the picket line. And by making a mockery of union solidarity, the CWA misleaders let AT&T clean up against the phone strikers.

Despite the union tops' empty pledges that "CWA won't consider takebacks... CWA is serious about breaking the concessionary cycle" (*CWA News*, June 1986), the settlement is a litany of takebacks ranging from elimination of COLA (cost of living adjustments) for the duration of the contract to a vicious "two-tier" system that will slash business phone installers' wages and establish a new job category of "cable pullers" earning a starting rate of *six dollars* an hour. That's even less than installers at many of AT&T's non-union competitors and counter clerks at many McDonalds burger joints! Installers in particular were outraged when the national settlement was announced; but after nine days of "local bargaining" the CWA executive board settled on the company's terms.

The *Wall Street Journal* (18 June) crowed that "AT&T basically got exactly what it wanted." *Business Week* (30 June) headlined "Score One for AT&T," noting that "AT&T's settlement—essentially the same deal it

offered before the strike—virtually assures cheaper contracts at the Baby Bells than officials there had expected." Emboldened by the union bureaucracy's scabherding and givebacks, the bosses are sharpening their ax to go after the 300,000 CWA members at the "Baby Bells"—the regional operating compa-



CWA president Morton Bahr (left) engineered strategy of defeat: "two-gate" union-busting opened door for massive scabbing.

nies spun off by AT&T in its 1983 "divestment"—where contracts expire on August 9.

Phone workers should scrap the settlement and strike together. But they're shackled by the CWA bureaucrats who have *always* been labor police for the companies and the bosses' state. A creature of the first Cold War, the CWA bureaucracy worked with the CIA to establish the notorious American Institute for Free Labor Development, the "labor" front used by imperi-

alism's killer spies to bust unions in Latin America.

This year the bureaucrats split the contract expiration dates for AT&T and the "Baby Bells," undoing the "national bargaining" established in 1974. Some strikers told *WV* that this sweetheart deal was the bureaucrats' response to a demand from the Pentagon that AT&T (which reportedly recently won a huge contract for a new telecommunications network linking up U.S. military bases throughout the world) separate its contract date from that of the regional companies. The anti-Soviet war drive abroad means union-busting and racist terror at home!

The CWA tops in enforcing the



WV Photos

company's vicious "two-gate" policy, literally herded tens of thousands of "Baby Bell" workers into buildings picketed by *their own union*. When on the first day of the strike 80 percent of New York Tel workers respected picket lines of AT&T strikers, CWA national president Morton Bahr rushed out a scab *diktat* that "Bell Operating Companies should NOT be picketed during the AT&T strike." Preaching that picket lines mean *do cross*, the CWA tops bred thousands of *AT&T* scabs as well; at one

large AT&T installation in Pleasanton, California, for example, strikers reported that *85 percent* of the regular workforce was scabbing.

Meanwhile AT&T hired more than 5,000 scab operators and boasted of its recruitment of scabs in all job titles across the country, on top of the huge pool of managers (one manager for every 1.8 workers), with whom the CWA tops have *never* interfered during a strike. It will take class-struggle tactics like militant occupation of phone buildings, backed up by mobilizing the power of other unions, to beat the phone bosses.

The class-struggle Militant Action Caucus fought against the bureaucracy's "two-gate" scabherding. In contrast, fake-oppositionists like the San Francisco "Members United for Workers Rights," who hold six seats on the SF local's executive board, sauntered into work at picketed buildings, showing themselves to be nothing more than *scabs*. While such opportunists seek only to refurbish the CWA bureaucracy, the old paternalism through which the company/bureaucrat "partnership" maintained its stranglehold on the workers is being undermined by the companies' ruthless attacks.

A June 12 MAC leaflet warned of the consequences of the CWA tops' scabherding and drew the lessons in advance of this sellout:

"If 'two-gate' strike-breaking and union-busting continue, who's to say there will even be a strike in August? Pac Bell may just get the same kind of concessions package that AT&T is demanding. It could be signed, sealed and delivered by the same union sellouts who are scab-herding today. On the other hand, seeing how weak the union is now, Pac Bell may go for even bigger concessions than AT&T. Bleating 'we picket companies, not buildings,' 'report to work as usual,' 'play by the bosses' rules,' the Judas-goats of the CWA bureaucracy are leading the way towards the destruction of the union. Throw out the labor traitors! Build a class-struggle leadership!" ■

James Grimes...

(continued from page 12)

Reaganite policies, Innis wanted some publicity for his projected Congressional campaign. He went into a frenzy when a *WV* reporter asked about his fundraising for the CIA-financed, pro-South Africa Jonas Savimbi in Angola.

We salute the courage of James Grimes and the tenacity of his supporters. Mobilizing the forces of labor and blacks—the strategy of the class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU (whose statement is printed below)—was key to victory here and is key to rebuilding the TWU. For the militants that spearheaded victory in the Grimes case, there is a way forward: the forging of an authoritative Leninist party with a strong black leadership component. Such a party will fight for proletarian revolution that will disarm the bourgeoisie and their race-terrorist thugs once and for all.

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet:

"Charges Against James Grimes Dismissed!"

A rare and important victory for all working people and other decent citizens was won yesterday when Judge Gerschwer dismissed weapon possession charges against railroad clerk James Grimes. This was a victory won through the *political mobilization* of transit workers, staunch defenders of the rights of labor, who came out month after grinding month to demonstrate their support for Brother Grimes. We

can all celebrate this victory; we must learn and re-learn the lessons of this class-struggle defense; and we must remain on our guard against further DA legal attacks through appeal, or threatened Transit Authority disciplinary charges. There should be a big cash bonus for his troubles and full reinstatement, or a full pension immediately available if he chooses!

For the Right of Armed Self-Defense! Judge Gerschwer said his "greatest fear" was that others would arm themselves as a result of his ruling. It has always been the "greatest fear" of the racist rulers of this country that blacks would arm for the purpose of self-defense. The "gun-control" laws in this city were written after Malcolm X urged blacks to arm themselves against racist attacks and in fact armed himself against deadly threats on his own life. The lynch mob that killed Brother Willie Turks four years ago in Gravesend was really whipped into a bloodthirsty frenzy when one hysterical racist screamed out that Turks had a gun. We say that gun control kills blacks in this deeply racist society; if Turks had a gun that night he would be alive today; if Grimes did not, he would be dead.

Mobilize the Power of Labor! In the face of the attempted legal lynching of Brother Grimes, we fought for a massive display of our union's power in the streets at the scene of the real crime: the Brooklyn Criminal Court House of Elizabeth Holtzman. A union leadership based on class-struggle, not class-collaboration, would have mobilized thousands of transit workers, battalions from every section of our union, to make the corporate power structure an offer they could not refuse: either drop all DA/TA charges against our brother, or we strike the trains and buses. Against the racist gangs in Coney Island/Gravesend, we must dispatch integrated union defense squads, a massive force of anti-racist union

power, to sweep those punks off the streets.

Sonny Hall: Backstabber, Ass-Coverer, Friend of the Democrats. This labor "leader," Sonny Hall, fought *against* mobilizing the power of this union all the way through this case. He had all kinds of other schemes. Like calling for more cops! The same racist cops who beat Michael Stewart to death; the same cops who daily harass and arrest transit workers for anything from using their pass to defending themselves; the same cops who chained Brother Grimes to a bench for nine hours. No thanks, Sonny Hall!

Another scheme of his: get the Arbitrator to get the Transit Authority to get escorts to get the money to Jay St. To publicize this scheme Hall got the TA to get the buses to get his shrinking base of supporters from the mostly white, mostly male bus barns down to the Arbitration site to "pressure." Escorts?! No thanks! James Grimes had an "escort" who ducked out right before the attack that night and even today many clerks never see or have to wait hours for this "escort." To this we say: Rip Out the Turnstiles! Free Subways and Buses! So many clerks have been wounded and even killed, so many have lost their jobs because of that damned turnstile money; the booths should remain as information and passenger-aid stations.

Despite these schemes of Hall, the pressure kept building for a union show of force. So Sonny Hall turned to another dirty scheme: backstabbing James Grimes and red-baiting those who were fighting for a class-struggle defense of the brother. In union meetings and in a fink leaflet, Hall blamed Grimes for going to an "outside" lawyer and claimed that Grimes did not want a union demonstration. Most brothers and sisters saw through this dirty little scheme of Hall's but some got suckered in by it. We know the union leadership

always blames the membership for its own inactivity and sell-out deals.

Only after it was clear to Sonny Hall that no felony charges would be brought in this case, and only after it was clear that his other dirty schemes to sabotage the defense of Brother Grimes would not work did Hall call an official union rally at the courthouse. Not to trouble his friends in the Democratic Party (embarrassed enough with corruption and scandal, stun-gun precincts, and lynch mobs in the streets) Hall only "mobilized" two dozen payrollrollers to plead for "justice with mercy." Nowhere to be seen were the powerful battalions of this most powerful union. "Have-Mercy" Sonny was covering his ass. Up to the very end of this case an official at union headquarters was telling people the wrong date for this last important hearing. Sonny Hall and his type, the labor-fakers, will do everything they can to sabotage the mobilization of labor to fight for its class interests.

Month after month, DA Holtzman and her courts, the TA and the Democrats tried to grind us down and break our resolve. In this they had plenty of help from their man, Sonny Hall. They tried to break Brother Grimes, destroy his health, make him beg. For this we are deeply bitter. But this brave and beautiful man stood his ground and so did the brothers and sisters who stood with him and his family and for this we can be proud. The importance of this victory looms even larger in Reagan's war-drive America where victories for labor and blacks are hard to come by. With Koch and his Democrats carrying out Reagan's program in New York with the labor-fakers in their pocket, it took the political mobilization of transit workers to win this very real victory in the struggle for the right of armed self-defense.

COMMITTEE FOR A FIGHTING TWU 26 June 1986

WORKERS VANGUARD

KKK Threat in Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

"gentrified" petty-bourgeois area. The leftists had gathered to paint over racist graffiti scrawled on the walls of the neighborhood. The cops arrested the anti-Klan protesters, and five now face charges.

Fascist Spearhead in "Segregation City"

The Marquette Park rally was the spearhead of an ominous and escalating fascist conspiracy targeting Chicago. The KKK and other paramilitary ultrarightist groups have chosen this city as the focus of a national campaign. They smell an opportunity for race war in the explosive combination of a black mayor seeking to govern "Segregation City." The white ethnic pols around city councilman Vrdolyak have challenged every appointment by black mayor Harold Washington, seeking to block him from control of the police force, patronage perks, and generally from exercising the normal prerogatives of office. These poisonous "Council Wars" encourage armed racist terrorism. And in Reagan's America the fascists feel the wind in their sails. The *Washington Post* (26 June) exposed the apparent existence of a KKK Klavern meeting openly inside CIA headquarters in Langley.

As Harold Washington consolidates his majority on the city council, the fascists have taken the offensive, posing themselves as a lightning rod for the racist opposition. Klansman Ed Novak, speaking in Michigan last April, reportedly said, "We're still going to have our rally at Marquette Park. And if the mayor comes and decides he is going to have a rib barbecue alongside our Klan rally—that's fine with us. We're sure



ABC-TV

Supporters of PL/InCAR march into Marquette Park, site of race-terrorist Klan rally.

that the people of Marquette Park will give him a very warm reception." Feeding on the racist "backlash" against Washington, the Klan and Nazis seek to terrorize the entire population of the city. *Chicago labor and blacks must mobilize to crush the fascists before they are able to lead more would-be lynch mobs like that at Marquette Park.*

Chicago has long been notorious as the most segregated city in the United States, and on the South Side blacks are still in danger if they cross Western Avenue. But times are changing even in Marquette Park—as reflected in the recent election of black alderman Marlene Carter. Significantly, some 7,000 residents of the Marquette Park area signed a petition disavowing the Klan rally: "We abhor and detest what the KKK espouses and stands for," said Rev. Peter Paurazas, pastor at St. Adrian's Catholic Church, at a press conference on Saturday. The Klan's anti-Catholic tradition doesn't help it among East European ethnics. But above all the power to stop the fascists lies with Chicago's integrated labor movement. A sizable contingent of combative black workers from Chicago transit, for instance, could hold an anti-racist "baseball game" that would send

the Klan-hooded creatures back into the sewers from which they sprang.

For Mass Labor/Black Action to Smash Klan Terror!

On June 27, the liberal *Chicago Reader* came out with a front-page article by civil libertarian Chip Berlet entitled, "White, Right, and Looking for a Fight—Has Chicago Been Targeted by a New Alliance of White Supremacists?" The article documents the protracted, coordinated fascist conspiracy to target Chicago, the year-long drive to incite and carry out racist terror which culminated in Marquette Park. As Berlet exposed:

"The rallies are being built by a coalition with direct ties to the militant and racist Aryan Nations network, based in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Coalition members meet regularly around Chicago and several times a year at regional white-supremacist gatherings in Cohoctah, Michigan, where tactics are discussed....

"These new racist ideologues think Chicago is a good place to organize the white revolution. They have said as much in their regional meetings, where they have discussed their plans in detail. The public campaign to win the hearts and minds of white Chicagoans starts Saturday in Marquette Park. The racists have been laying the groundwork for over a year. Almost no one has paid any attention."

Racist murder has indeed been on the rise, by the cops as well as the fascist gangs. In 1985, a series of racist attacks on black families moving into formerly all-white neighborhoods like Bridgeport, Marquette Park and the Northwest Side were followed up by public Klan mobilizations in September: a pro-apartheid rally at the South African consulate, a demonstration outside a memorial to victims of the Nazi Holocaust, and a daylight tire-iron assault on the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, which had gathered to paint out racist graffiti in the liberal De Paul University area.

This past February, the Klan staged a racist provocation against a John Brown public forum, and picketed the "black history month" exhibit at the Museum of Science and Industry, located in integrated Hyde Park. In May, the cops arrested Udell Baker in New Town and beat him to death. Baker, a black man, had been visiting his white girlfriend, and had gone out to pick up some groceries. And later that month, the cops shot another black man, Calvin Parks, in the back and killed him.

The administration of black Democrat Harold Washington, however, itself a target of the fascist mobilizations, has no intention of lifting a finger to stop the marauding racist scum. Both Washington and his ally Marlene Carter are on the KKK hit list. Carter told people to stay home on Saturday, while Mayor Washington recommended giving the Klan the "silent treatment." Most did. A black bus driver who participated in the PL/InCAR march commented that the participants felt that, although they had underestimated the massive cop presence in Marquette Park and the big racist turnout, their anti-Klan action was a success in countering the Democrats' line of ignoring the Klan. Earlier in the week, PL held a sit-in at City Hall protesting Mayor Washington's granting the Klan a permit for their racist rally. Chicago police, of course, did not "ignore," but aided and abetted the Klan.

It was 20 years ago, on 5 August 1966, that Martin Luther King Jr. was stoned to the ground by racists who had mobilized in Marquette Park. Weeks later in the lily-white suburb of Cicero, King's attempt to bring the civil rights movement North went down to defeat. The liberal preachers and Democrats had no way forward when the mass movement against Jim Crow segregation moved North and ran up against the bedrock of racial oppression in capitalist America. The missing element then and now was a communist vanguard to mobilize the power of organ-

October 1980: Angry anti-fascist protesters, many of them survivors of Nazi concentration camps, drive Hitler-lovers out of Evanston, Illinois.



WV Photos



June 1982: When Nazis staged provocation against "Gay Pride Day" in Chicago, Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization drowned them out.

ized labor in the fight for black freedom.

With Harold Washington's election in 1983, the reformists proclaimed the era of "people power" in Segregation City. But as has been graphically and dangerously demonstrated, the black capitalist Democratic city administrations cannot defend "the people" from fascism, racist cop attacks, union-busting austerity drives, etc. On the contrary, they are the black front men of Reagan racism. In Detroit, Coleman Young busts the strikes of municipal workers; in Washington, D.C., ex-SNCC leader Marion Barry threatens to evict 40,000 poor blacks from the projects, creating a giant army of homeless; Philadelphia's Wilson Goode carries out Reagan/Meese's "anti-terrorism" by a terrorist bombing of the black MOVE commune. "Black faces in high places" is no answer to the racists. The way to defeat the racist terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms is through integrated working-class action.

Last August, Chicago transit workers mobilized in defense of a black union brother framed up for manslaughter after his bus had unavoidably hit a car that swerved in front of him, tragically killing seven white youth. Despite the do-nothing policy of the union tops, hundreds of black and white workers marched on police headquarters to demand the charges be dropped—and victimized transit worker David Johnson is free today for that reason. In 1975, integrated union defense guards from UAW Local 6 (International Harvester) set up 24-hour integrated patrols to



AP

Bill Epton (sunglasses), former vice-chairman of Progressive Labor and leader of Harlem Defense Council, links arms with civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn (right) moments before being arrested for attempting to lead banned march against cop riot, Harlem, July 1964.

protect the home of black unionist C.B. Dennis in the Chicago suburb of Broadview, after his home was repeatedly firebombed and stoned by the racists.

In the fascists' crosshairs are not only blacks, unionists and leftists but indeed everyone who is "out of line" in Reagan's America by reason of race, religion, nationality or you name it. Immigrant workers, interracial couples, women seeking abortions, gays and even *Penthouse* readers are at deadly risk if the fascists are not stopped.

Historically and recently, in Chicago the fascists' intended victims have shown their willingness to fight back against the union-hating race-terrorist Klan/Nazi filth. In Evanston in October 1980 some 2,500 anti-Nazi demonstrators, many of them concentration camp survivors, drove the goose-stepping Hitler-lovers out of town. On Gay Pride Day in 1982, a substantial labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League spiked an anti-homosexual provocation by the Marquette Park-based Nazis in Lincoln Park. The "June 27 Committee Against the Nazis" brought out 3,000 people to occupy the site of the intended fascist provocation. When the Nazis showed up, they were drowned out and driven off by blacks, workers, gays and leftists, chanting "Smash the Nazis, this is the hour—Labor and blacks have got the power!"

Beginning under Democrat Jimmy Carter, with the government-abetted fascist massacre of leftist union organizers and civil rights workers in Greensboro, North Carolina in November 1979, racist terror against blacks, labor and leftists has been the domestic side of the anti-Soviet war drive. The 1982 Chicago anti-fascist action—along with mobilizations in Detroit, Ann Arbor, San Francisco and Boston, and culminating in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982—was one of a series of mass labor/black mobilizations that kept the KKK/Nazi vermin off the streets of the major cities. Now, by targeting Chicago, the fascists are out to reverse this—don't let them succeed! Blacks, Latins, Catholics, Jews, gays, unionists, leftists—we're all targets of the fascists.

It is desperately necessary to crush the growing fascist threat in Chicago with powerful working-class action, championing the rights of every oppressed and exploited sector of the population! It is ever more urgent to forge a genuine communist party, rooted in the workers movement and leading the ghetto masses in the fight for socialist revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Drop Charges Against Anti-Racist Militants!

KKK: Deadly Threat in Chicago

The fascist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan are riding in Chicago—and they had better be stopped! On Saturday, June 28, the KKK staged an obscene “white supremacy” rally in Marquette Park on Chicago’s Southwest Side. Fifty of these killers in white sheets and combat uniforms screamed racist epithets, egging on a mob of up to 3,000 white bigots. When an integrated group of several dozen outraged protesters led by Progressive Labor Party and its International Committee Against Racism (PL/InCAR) approached the rally site, hundreds of screaming racist punks hurled rocks and bottles. With help from the mounted cops, the racists forced the anti-Klan demonstrators back east into the black neighborhood across Western Avenue. Then the racist mob surged north to attack another 50 black protesters who were led by Rev. C.H. Turner of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement. Twice Turner’s group was driven back as the racists lined the streets, throwing anything they could get their hands on, chanting “KKK—All the way!” and “Get out of our park!”

Laudably, PL/InCAR tried to stop the Klan scum before they ever got to Marquette Park. An anti-racist contingent “greeted” the KKK as they boarded their flatbed trucks at 55th and Western, the staging area for the motorcade to

June 28—Racist terrorists target Chicago (right). Cops move in to aid KKK killers against anti-racist militants (below).

Photo by Marek Goodson



WNYW-TV



Marquette Park, and may have landed some blows before the cops moved in. The Chicago *Sun-Times* reported, “Suddenly, a racially mixed group



playing softball ran from the field toward the trucks, wielding bats. Police officers got between the factions and arrested 11 people.” Rocks and bricks

flew as the truck sped away. Reportedly, a plainclothes cop pulled a gun on the leftists while the cops were wrestling them to the ground; six cops claimed injury.

We salute the anti-racist militants who fought the fascists in the streets, courageously confronting the Klan terrorists and their backers. Unfortunately, when *Workers Vanguard* called PL/InCAR asking for more information so we could tell our readers, they slammed down the phone. Anti-sectarian defense has never been PL’s strong suit. But eleven of these militants now face criminal charges; two of their comrades are up on felony charges of “assaulting a cop.” We demand all charges be dropped against the anti-fascist fighters. They deserve a medal instead!

The very next day, the Klan was out again in full regalia to menace the thousands of homosexual-rights marchers at Lincoln Park on “Gay Pride Day.” Here, the fascists were met by about 70 protesters organized by the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee; but the cops kept them at a distance. A week earlier, on June 21, eight KKKers dressed in camouflage fatigues and swastika armbands mobilized against a John Brown protest in New Town, an integrated

continued on page 11

Charges Dropped Against Victimized Black Subway Worker

Victory for James Grimes

On June 25 the New York courts dismissed weapon possession charges against black subway clerk James Grimes, who courageously defended himself against assault by three thugs while he was transporting Transit Authority money last January. This victory was won through the hard struggle of transit workers in the face of sabotage by the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 bureaucracy. The vindication of James Grimes strikes an important blow against New York’s gun control laws, under which racist thugs, both in and out of uniform, think they can rampage through the city streets with impunity. This victory is particularly important in the Reagan years when racist, union-busting terror is official government policy.

The Brooklyn D.A.’s office knew from the beginning that James Grimes was no “criminal.” A 55-year-old veteran NYC transit worker, Grimes is a model family man who, along with his wife Elizabeth, raised 15 foster and adopted children along with three of their own. The city tried to victimize Grimes for defending himself, but soon found itself on the hot seat. D.A. Liz Holtzman, a liberal Democrat, and Judge Gerschwer knew they were being watched from day one. Transit workers, particularly Grimes’s fellow subway



clerks, repeatedly mobilized for the court hearings, along with the militants in the Committee for a Fighting TWU.

The case of James Grimes, centering on the intersection of race, guns and class, was a litmus test. Sonny Hall’s Local 100 bureaucracy sought to derail the defense, while the liberal fake oppositionists in the union tried to ignore it altogether. The *New York Times*, a prime backer of gun control laws, buried news of the court



Transit union brothers rally in support of James Grimes (left) at Brooklyn courthouse. His victory is a victory for the right of self-defense and a blow against racist gun control.

decision. The liberals didn’t want to touch this case with a ten-foot pole. It was transit workers, Spartacist League supporters and other militants and friends who stood solidly by this embattled railway clerk. They were the ones who were there to congratulate James Grimes at the Brooklyn courthouse June 25.

The black Democrats don’t want to be identified with “blacks with guns.” They have hired out as accessories to the

racist capitalist state, whose job is to keep workers and blacks *under the bosses’ guns*. Wilson Goode played the role to the hilt when he presided over the hideous massacre of MOVE in Philadelphia. It is striking testimony to the bankruptcy of the “established” black leadership that the only politician to show up at the courthouse on June 25 was the sinister Roy Innis. Once a left-winger in CORE, now a supporter of

continued on page 10