

Smash KKK/Nazi Terror Drive!

Now the racists are burning crosses on prime time TV. Across the country fascists are waging a widespread offensive, from the sinister "Aryan Nations" cabal in their remote Idaho lair to a fiery KKK display of race-terror outside Uniontown, Pennsylvania. In Reagan's America, where John Birch Society ultrarightists are appointed federal appeals court judges, the Meese Police are witchhunting sex "deviants," and the cops bomb black babies in the Philly MOVE commune, the fascist killers are acting like it's open season. In recent weeks, racist

For Labor/Black Action!

provocations have been staged from the Virginia Tidewater area to the Mexican border, where hooded commandos round up immigrants at gunpoint. It is important to resist the extension of the crystallization of fascist nuclei. When they overreach and in circumstances favorable to the anti-fascist forces, the fascist scum must be confronted and defeated.

The city of Chicago has been targeted for a major fascist drive, spearheaded by the June 28 Klan rally in Marquette Park. Now white bigots are whipping up a racist frenzy following a proposal by black city alderman Marlene Carter for an integrated "unity picnic" in this ethnic enclave. The race-terrorists are deadly dangerous, but *they can be smashed!*

In Atlanta, the integrated Five Points community recently drove out the KKK when they tried to disrupt an anti-fascist theater performance. In Southern California, some 500 students at Cal State/Fullerton mobilized and forced the university to stop filming KKK leader Tom Metzger's racist filth for cable TV. What's urgently needed is organized mass labor/black mobilization, the way 5,000 predominantly black workers and youth stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in
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Detroit, Philly Workers Fight City Hall

Labor Showdown in Motown

Black Mayors Front for Reagan

JULY 29—Striking Detroit city workers told Mayor Coleman Young to shove it. By a three-to-one margin, they rejected the giveback deal served up by Young and union negotiators. With all garbage collection halted—with 5,000 Teamster sanitation drivers and Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) bus drivers solidly respecting the picket lines of the striking water and sewage plant workers, bus mechanics, technicians and clerks—it's hardening into a showdown.

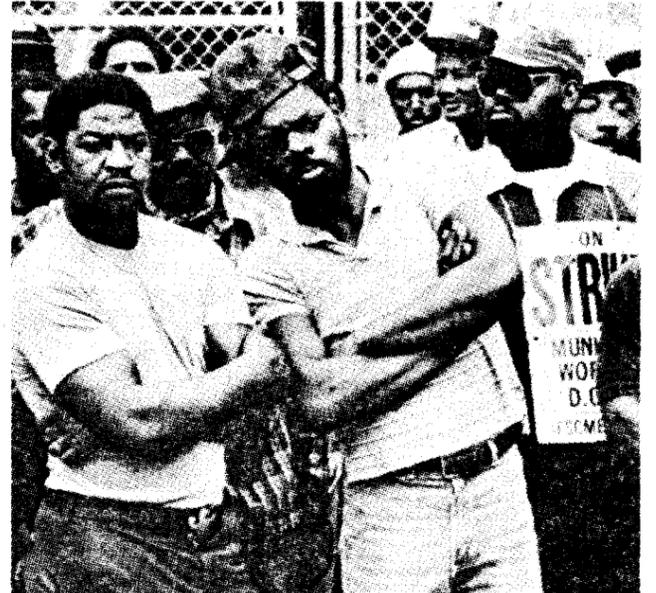
The city bosses are playing hardball. Coleman Young says he won't negotiate, that the strike is illegal. Militant British miners have a saying: the only illegal strike is a strike that loses. As the bosses gear up their union-busting machinery—the courts, scabberding cops, National Guard—every union in this town must answer the strikebreaking mayor with one solid fist. Nothing moves—shut down Detroit!

For years the workers in the Motor City have made one sacrifice after another to bail out the profits of the bosses: dozens of plants have been closed, auto workers have swallowed one concessions contract after another, the wages of city workers have been frozen. Throughout the country unions have scabbed on one another, picket lines have been busted up and unions destroyed. But if the unions fight together they can smash the bosses' takebacks, laying the basis for a workers' offensive to win jobs and reverse the cutbacks.

With Reagan pumping billions into his anti-Soviet war buildup, American industry is going down the tubes, and there's no money for jobs, decent education and housing. For the black workers and poor in the inner cities, the American dream is a nightmare. And it's



UPI



Winters/Philadelphia Daily News

Philadelphia sanitation workers form mass picket line (right), Detroit city workers defy the bosses' state. For a workers party to fight for a workers government and freedom for all the oppressed!

the black front men for Reagan racism who do the dirty work. From the butcher of MOVE, Wilson Goode in Philadelphia, to ex-CIO organizer Coleman Young and ex-SNCC leader Marion Barry in Washington, D.C., the black Democratic Party mayors have slashed social services, busted strikes and unleashed killer cops against the ghetto masses.

After eating it for years, workers in Philadelphia and Detroit—black and white—struck back. On July 1, some 13,000 Philly municipal workers hit the bricks. Strikers carried picket signs that drove home the message: "Goode or Reagan—What's the Difference!" Trash collection was brought to a complete halt, four-foot-high mountains of garbage lined the streets, and the city verged on a municipal crisis. Two weeks later the battle was on in Detroit, with Teamster and ATU drivers solidly backing the AFSCME strikers. "Picket lines mean don't cross" has been the order of the day for Detroit city unionists.

But the pro-Democratic Party union leaders believed and acted like Goode and Young were "their" mayors, that

they would make a deal. Instead they got the PATCO treatment. Goode got a back-to-work order directed at the key 2,500 striking sanitationmen; when the workers balked, he threatened to fire them, and the AFSCME tops caved in. Young unleashed the cops against Detroit strikers and threatened to bring in the National Guard. But when the union leaders collapsed, the ranks said "Hell no!" They were enraged to find that the contract contained a potential wage cut in the third year.

Now the issue is squarely posed in Detroit. AFSCME workers have told Young: if the contract stinks, the streets will stink. The Teamsters contract expires on Thursday. Playing by the bosses' rules means sure defeat, as in Philly. Screw the bosses' law! No surrender! No arbitration! For mass pickets to smash scabberding! Mobilize labor to shut down Detroit! Forge a workers party!

Coleman Young: Union Organizer to Union Buster

Coleman Young is now the highest paid mayor in the United States, having

just raised his own salary by 44 percent to \$115,000. The city books show a surplus of \$52 million. Blue-collar Detroit municipal workers, however, earn less than in any other major city in the U.S., including open shop towns like Dallas and Houston. So AFSCME workers, whose wages have been frozen for the past three years, were particularly incensed when the city offered a ridiculous 2 percent first-year increase when the union initially demanded 40 percent! Adding insult to injury, Mayor Young wants to bust union seniority and take away city workers' accumulated sick time. So as the Philadelphia battle strike was reaching its climax, Detroit city workers hit the bricks.

A former auto worker, CIO organizer and civil rights activist, Coleman Young was once a fellow traveler of the Stalinist Communist Party. He took office as mayor in 1973 after a bitter election in which he campaigned with "community control" rhetoric. For more than a decade, Young has run the Motor City for Ford, GM and Chrysler, presiding over the slashing of tens of thousands of auto jobs, ramming
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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Amador Betancourt Out of Jail

After eight months in jail for defending his union picket line, Amador Betancourt was finally released on June 6. Betancourt is a militant member of Teamsters Local 912—on strike for nearly a year against Watsonville Canning in California. Courageously, this union made up largely of Hispanic and Filipina women has gone up against scabberding courts, cop violence and the treachery of the Teamster union bureaucrats.

Betancourt was arrested last September after picketers routed a contingent of scabs; he was charged on patently trumped-up charges of throwing a Molotov cocktail. During a recent interview with Amador and his wife Gloria—president of the elected Strikers Committee—Amador described his arrest (the cops surrounded him, pistols drawn) and the conditions of the five year probation that still shackles him. Supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee conducted the interview at the Betancourts' home in Watsonville, California. "When they arrested me they put the handcuffs on and the handcuffs cut my wrists. I arrived at the jail with blood all over my hands from those cuts," Amador explained, noting that he was particularly unpopular with the police as a well-known strike militant.

"I'd be out there with my sign yelling 'Viva la huelga, viva la huelga.' I used to yell at them that they were bought-and-sold police and things like that."

The judge—a crony of the cannery company's owner Mort Console, a regular visitor to the Reagan ranch—set and kept bail for Amador at an incredible \$250,000. Although individual strikers contributed generously to the bail cost, the union bureaucracy did nothing. It refused to provide a lawyer and even stopped Betancourt's strike benefits following the conviction, forcing Gloria to support the family on her \$55 weekly strike benefits. (The bureaucrats did not stiff one Jesse Jackson, Democratic Party shill, to whom they paid a cool \$3,000 to address a union rally in June.)

Abandoned by the union officials, Amador was stuck with counsel unwilling to tackle the company's courts. "We had witnesses, there was no proof against me. I think the lawyer sold out to the company. He said, 'The jury will believe the police more than it will believe you.' So I got scared and accepted the deal they offered me," Betancourt told us. For eight months Amador languished behind bars—just where the company wanted him: "Everybody knows this, that the company



MV Photo

Watsonville cannery militants Gloria and Amador Betancourt with three of the children.

didn't want me to get out of jail, even though I didn't do anything. They wanted to keep me a prisoner so that others would be afraid and would do nothing." The PDC has expressed our solidarity with monthly stipends during Amador's imprisonment and for three months following his release.

The conditions of Betancourt's probation are draconian: "They don't want me to be able to talk with a friend in the street. I'm not allowed to go closer than 100 feet near the cannery. I can't even go to the union hall to pick up the food distributed by the union. I need food for my children. I have to report once a month. If I make one mistake they can send me to prison, and they won't hesitate." The Betancourts have six children to feed and clothe—two sons, five and seven years old, three teenage daughters and a year-old granddaughter.

The children have also faced murderous scab attack; during the interview Gloria pointed to a bullet hole in their window: "They shot at the window. The

baby was sleeping right there in her crib. We brought the police in here and showed them, but they didn't do anything." Such is "justice" for workers and their families in a company town. The Watsonville cannery workers have their backs to the wall. Labor must mobilize its strength in support of the strikers, to smash the union-busting probation slapped on Betancourt and to demand all outstanding charges against all strikers be dropped!

To obtain more information about the PDC program of stipends to class-war prisoners and copies of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, regular newsletter of the PDC, or to send sustaining contributions or donations, write to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

* * *

The American Federation of Nurses, SEIU Local 535, Oakland, California sent us the following letter of endorsement:



social services union
american federation of nurses
SEIU local 535

July 10, 1986

Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99 - Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013

At its meeting of June 21-22 the Civil and Human Rights Committee of our union reviewed your publication, "Class-Struggle Defense Notes" and introductory letter. Subsequently our full statewide executive board endorsed your efforts.

Please consider this letter an endorsement of your organization's work in defending political prisoners; you have our support and encouragement.

In solidarity,

Kerry Newkirk
Kerry Newkirk
Executive Assistant
kn:seiu535af1-cio

cc: Civil and Human Rights Committee, Local 535

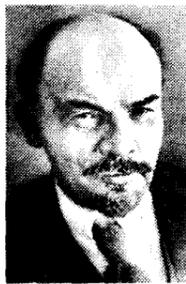
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TROTSKY

Labor Must Crush Fascist Terror

The present climate of Reagan reaction and anti-Soviet hysteria has fueled the growth of the Ku Klux Klan and other fascist terror groups in the U.S., targeting especially black people and other oppressed minorities. In February 1939 the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party organized a protest against the Hitlerite German-American Bund rally at Madison Square Garden. 50,000 people battled police protecting the fascists. The SWP's



LENIN

program of mobilizing the racially integrated labor movement to crush the fascist vermin in the egg was laid out at its convention the same year.

The long-term defense against fascism can be only the achievement of the social revolution. Meanwhile, however, there is the immediate and direct problem of the physical defense of the organization, lives, and liberties of the workers, which the fascists aim first to weaken and then to destroy, from the physical assaults of the fascist gangs. The experience of all countries, including the United States, proves beyond any doubt whatever that the agencies of the bourgeois-democratic state will not and cannot carry out this defense; but that on the contrary, reliance upon these agencies guarantees the smashing of the workers and the victory of the fascists. Only the workers themselves, relying on their own means and strength, can defend their own organizations and life and liberties. The only possible form of defense against the fascists is the *workers' defense guard*...

Moreover, the tasks of the guard must be conceived, from the start, not in narrow terms of the given single union which may be first involved, but of the labor movement as a whole, and indeed of all groups, individuals, organizations, racial minorities, etc. threatened or attacked by the fascists, vigilantes, or other reactionaries. The duty of the guard is to defend all who need defense from the assaults of the fascists.

—"Resolution on Workers' Defense Guard,"
SWP Second National Convention (July 1939)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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1 August 1986

The comrades of the Spartacist League extend our deepest condolences to Charles Brover and Kay Brover on the tragic death of their daughter, Molly, killed at age 17 when she was struck by a car on 26 July 1986. Charlie Brover was a central contributor to the work of the party for many years. Throughout their work with us, including Kay's membership on the editorial board of *Women and Revolution*, and Charlie's continuing work as co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee, many of us were privileged to get to know Molly and her sister Alice as they were growing up. Those of us who knew her feel keenly her tragic death.



The Brover Family

CP Joins Meese's Anti-Sex Witchhunt

Supreme Court Justice Stewart once said of hard-core pornography that maybe he couldn't define it, but he knew it when he saw it. Well, we know a weapon of state repression when we see it; obviously the Communist Party, USA doesn't. The Meese "porn commission" report released July 9 is an obscene call for right-wing state and vigilante censorship and repression. It has been rightly attacked by the American Civil Liberties Union and most of the left—indeed, even the editor of *Women's Day*, a commission member, dissociated herself from the final product, noting "efforts to tease the current data into proof of a causal relationship" between pornography and sex crimes "cannot be accepted." Yet the CP has accepted this report enthusiastically.

In its *People's Daily World* (16 July) editorial, titled "Sex and violence... A divisive force," the CP, without once mentioning the name "Ed Meese," hails the "Attorney General's Commis-

sion on Pornography" propaganda about how "dirty pictures" supposedly lead to violence, stating: "In our view these results are undeniable." It goes on: "the banning of violence-related pornography is not censorship," and then proposes a way to ban the stuff: "Our view is that it can be done by establishing government regulatory commissions at the national, state and local levels that are empowered to take the profit out of violence-related pornography through a variety of penalties, ranging from warnings to prison sentences." So are Angela Davis and Gus Hall now going to volunteer for those citizen vigilante squads Meese wants to hit your corner drugstore, or to sit on federal agencies to figure out how to throw people they don't like into jail?

In part, of course, the CP's eagerness to join Meese's book-burners and Moral Majorityite lynch mobs trying to censor sex reflects their Stalinist puritanism, going back to the

days of Joseph Stalin and his glorification of the oppressive nuclear family as an instrument of social conservatism. No doubt they agree with Meese's commission that pornography is "any sexually explicit material that does not foster traditional family values." Further, the CP, to counter charges it is "unpatriotic" because of its ties to Russia, bends over backwards to identify with the Moral Majority and "true-blue Americanism" when their politics converge—e.g., against porn, for trade protectionism.

The Communist Party is thoroughly reformist, which means that deep down they really believe the American imperialist government can be pressured into carrying out the CP's program, whether it is banning the Klan or banning pornography. And as "their" government moves ever further to the right under Reagan, the CP's reformism drags it down the road of political reaction. As Nan Hunter of the ACLU noted about the Supreme

Court decision upholding reactionary sodomy laws, "in the McCarthyism of the '80s sexuality is the primary form of deviancy... just as the Supreme Court virtually suspended the First Amendment in order to silence Communists 35 years ago, it has now rendered homosexuals, as a class, outlaws in the eyes of America" (*Village Voice*, 15 July).

In 1940 the CP applauded the prosecution of the Trotskyists under the anti-communist Smith Act for their opposition to the second imperialist world war. A few years later these same laws were used against the CP itself during the McCarthyite witchhunt. The present campaign against sexual "deviants," like the hysteria over drugs, is designed to create a climate to wipe out political "deviants" too. And the CP won't be the last of Attorney General Meese's victims—though perhaps if they're really slavish enough they can apply for the job of movie censor in the federal pen.

Letter

Workers Control of AIDS?

Newburg, Ontario
June 5, 1986

Workers Vanguard

Dear Editor:

I read with surprise your polemic against ILWU militant and Bolshevik Tendency supporter, Howard Keylor (*WV* #402, 25 April 1986). I could not imagine a BT supporter calling, in your words, for "union narcs." I took the trouble to get a copy of the *Militant Longshoreman* which you cited as the source of this "deviation" (No. 14, 3 January 1986). What I read there was exactly the opposite of what was conveyed in your article, where you lifted quotations out of context and ignored the actual content of the newsletter.

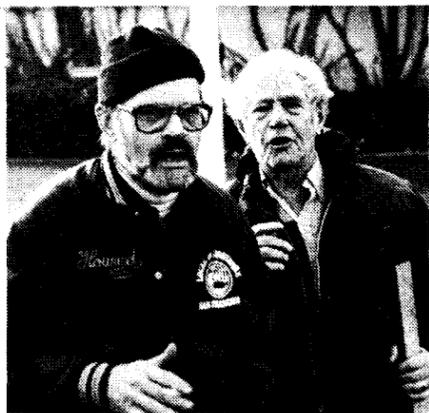
Keylor's article was an expose of the collusion between the PMA maritime bosses and the ILWU labor fakers in a proposed drug and alcohol screening scheme.... The *Militant Longshoreman* item concluded with the demand for the reestablishment of union power and control over its own internal affairs—things which the labor bureaucracy has traded for its cosy relationship with the bosses:

"There is a traditional union solution to the problem of brothers who use substances that affect their functioning. In the earlier history of the union, before Harry Bridges and his buddies surrendered so much union power and control back to the PMA, the union handled such problems internally. But when our local tries to exercise union discipline as part of the effort to help our brothers overcome their problem, PMA has rushed in to stop us. Our union must reassert this right and exercise internal union discipline, and control."

Your argument against Keylor seems to hinge on the proposition that reliance on the traditional mechanisms of internal union discipline to control the odd member who might engage in dangerous or abusive behaviour toward his brothers or sisters could potentially be misused by the bureaucrats. To be consistent you should also then come out against the hiring hall—for what is that but an example of "union power and control" over individual members? In neither case is it possible to offer any absolute guarantee that union discipline might not be utilized improperly—whether in allocating work unfairly or in regulating the behaviour of a particular member.... Union discipline is simply the best of all conceivable methods

(from the point of view of the working class) for dealing with the kind of problems which inevitably arise in the real world.

As for the rest of your polemic—it is hard to take it seriously. What if Keylor did hold the wrong political position on World War II years ago when he was a supporter of the Communist Party?



WV Photo

BTer Howard Keylor (left): would-be union narc.

Where was Jim Robertson on Soviet defensism in the early 1950s? That kind of argumentation is contemptible.

Your article "ET Wants Unions to Police Workers: Ed Meese Unionism," stinks and anyone with access to the documents knows it. It is indeed evidence of profound degeneration when those who claim to uphold the mantle of Trotskyism are convicted in the pages of their own press of this kind of cynical manipulation. Small wonder that students at Berkeley now reportedly greet the SL with the jeer "The Main Enemy is the BT!"

Yours for militant truth,
Bryan P.

P.S. I now consider myself a supporter of the Bolshevik Tendency.

WV replies: Your long letter [excerpted for space] in defense of the indefensible Howard Keylor and his policy of "proletarian Meeseism" is a quintessential expression of Canadian social democracy—i.e., it's "our" job to keep the slovenly, drunken lowlifes of the working class in line, to keep them clean, moral, hard-working and disciplined in the name of temperance, god, the queen and especially the Cold War. Your views reek of all the hypocritical

moralism of the New Democratic Party, which is currently campaigning to stop the Ontario Liberal government from allowing beer and wine to be sold in grocery stores. Issues of *Playboy* have been banned in Canada. For years Swedish social democracy has made the price of hard liquor, cigarettes and even cigarette papers too expensive for workers to afford, because "it's not good for them." Britain of course is notorious for its restrictive licensing hours of pubs.

In our article "Down with Meese's Drug Witchhunt!" (*WV* No. 400, 28 March) we stated: "The anti-drug hysteria is part of the Reagan administration's effort to regiment American society, the domestic side of the anti-Soviet war drive." This is the context of the compulsory "screening" for drug and alcohol use of new-hires initiated by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) with the support of the ILWU union tops.

There was no drug or alcohol "problem" on the waterfront until the PMA said there was! But Keylor (and you) accept, and therefore legitimize, the premise of the PMA witchhunt. He refers sanctimoniously to "the problem of brothers who use substances that affect their functioning." You echo Keylor with your condescending reference to "the odd member who might engage in dangerous or abusive behaviour toward his brothers or sisters...." Keylor merely objects to the instrumentality of an employer-administered anti-drug program ("No employer drug or alcohol screening," is all he states under the heading of "Safety"), and instead argues that the union should have its own program to deal with "the problem." Keylor's concern about employer drug testing seems mainly to be that the

innocent could be caught up with the "guilty." Citing the "notorious unreliability" of the employer tests, Keylor complains, "A person who never uses marijuana but happens to be in a room or enclosed space where someone else is smoking a joint will test out as a user for up to 30 days afterwards." The man even talks like a narc! Presumably he wants a union anti-drug campaign using more "reliable" methods, like maybe eyewitness informants.

Only a reformist-minded cynic and dilettante, comfortably remote from the struggles of the working class would attempt as you do to equate union control of the hiring hall with your own despicable call that "union power and control" be used "in regulating the behaviour of a particular member." The 1934 San Francisco general strike was a historic victory for the North American working class. In fierce and bloody battles the longshoremen and their allies wrested union recognition and the union hiring hall from the maritime bosses, thereby ending the infamous "shape up" system of hiring on the West Coast waterfront. Now you and the self-proclaimed "Bolshevik Tendency" of Cold War quitters would have that same union put its hiring hall in the service of the maritime bosses by denying work to members victimized by the Reagan/Meese-inspired anti-drug witchhunt!

Your blithe generalization of Keylor's position, "Union discipline is simply the best of all conceivable methods... for dealing with the kind of problems which inevitably arise in the real world," is a proposal that the existing trade-union leadership take charge of and repress real or alleged social evils within the working class. How nice for the

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The Dispatcher

1934: SF general strike won ILWU union hiring hall. BT grotesquely equates this historic gain to the union's enforcing Meese's drug witchhunt.

Big Chill at Berkeley Rad-Lib Confab

CAA Rejects "Anti-Imperialism"

The revolt of South Africa's oppressed black masses commands the support of everyone who believes in social justice and democratic rights. In the U.S., opposition to apartheid has produced the biggest campus protests since the Vietnam War. However, the just outrage against racist terror has in the main been channeled into the liberal moralistic program of divestment—demanding the universities sell off their securities of multinational firms operating in South Africa. The only economic effect of such portfolio shuffling is to increase business for stockbrokers. Far worse, the entire divestment strategy fosters the dangerous illusion that American capitalism—the most rapacious and ruthless exploiter of workers and peasants around the world—can be pressured into helping combat social oppression in South Africa (and presumably elsewhere).

Now, for their own reasons, the bulk of the American ruling class has decided to jump on the divestment bandwagon. Reagan's in the minority on this one. California's *right-wing* Republican governor, George Deukmejian, has instructed the state university system to divest itself of \$3.1 billion in South Africa-related stocks. This unexpected, total "victory" has in no way benefited South African blacks (see article on page 12). It has thrown the Berkeley divestment milieu into disarray. What can you do when Deukmejian co-opts your program?

An article titled "UC Students Say Divestment Isn't Enough," in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (22 July), cites an officer of the Berkeley Graduate Assembly, Roger Myers, calling for the university to cancel service and supply contracts with firms that do business with South Africa. Why not then demand that students break all such ties, like not working for these companies when they graduate? All major banks trade rands in their foreign exchange operations and deal in South African-mined gold. So why not demand that students withdraw all their money from banks, send back their credit cards and refuse to take out loans?

We are, of course, using *reductio ad absurdum* arguments against pro-divestment liberals and radicals. But there is a fundamental truth revealed here: the American ruling class is

inextricably bound politically, economically and militarily to the apartheid state. Thus a *real struggle* against U.S. support to white racist rule in South Africa necessarily means a fight for socialist revolution in this country.

CAA Conference: Hot Air and the Cold War

For more than a year, the UC Berkeley campus has been rocked by large-scale student anti-apartheid actions and police riots against the protesters. South Africa-style "bannings," mass arrests and bloody beatings by the cops have spurred some students to gut-level militant defiance against the university and the state. Among the three divestment-centered groups at Berkeley, the Campaign Against Apartheid (CAA) has been generally seen as more radical than either the UC Divestment Coalition or the United People of Color. CAA led last April's anti-apartheid shantytown action, a symbolic protest so viciously smashed by the police that it made headlines throughout the country. In the aftermath, CAA found itself the victim of obscene "violence"-baiting by liberals as well as the campus administration, and tactically at odds with more "mainstream" divestment groups.

On July 12-13 the CAA convened a conference to discuss why and how it should exist and whether or not to declare itself an explicitly "anti-imperialist" organization. Replicating some of the worst aspects of the New Left—"participatory democracy" masking bureaucratic procedural wrangling and rampant political confusion—the conference attracted a whole host of New Leftovers and fake-leftists. Lending their services as "best builders" of a reborn, spanking new CAA were the Socialist Workers Party, Revolutionary Workers League, Marxist-Leninist Party, Freedom Rising, Revolutionary Communist Party... and the embittered clot of quitters from the Spartacist League now calling themselves the "Bolshevik Tendency" (BT), who in a McCarthyite witchhunting denunciation of other left groups at the conference managed to alienate CAA members from the right. United in their tacit or overt support to both divestment and anti-Sovietism, the pro-Democratic Party reformists offered no alternative to the impasse in which the CAA has, predictably, found itself.

The anticipated "anti-imperialist" unveiling of the CAA at this confab didn't happen; the event was frankly a dud. A motion to "oppose capitalism, patriarchy and imperialism as exploitative and oppressive systems" was amended with the intentionally anti-Soviet statement against attempts by "powerful nations" to "interfere in any way with the striving of people to control their own lives." Both were finally dropped altogether. That a gathering of ostensible opponents of U.S. imperialism barely touched on the question of Central America—where Reagan and the Democrats are poised for war in the name of anti-Communist "rollback"—speaks volumes about the impotence of single-issue "pressure" politics. As comrade Stefan from the Berkeley Spartacus Youth League put it:

"There are a lot of people here who are trying to understand what is going on in the world today. Why, for example, U.S. imperialism recently ferried troops to the Honduran border, why the attacks against Libya, why the 'contra Congress' voted, as Daniel Ortega said, a declaration of war against Nicaragua.

What ties this all together, what unites this 'contra Congress' is the anti-Soviet war drive. That is the dominant fact of politics today."

Were it not for the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal, the U.S. would long ago have reduced Vietnam and Cuba to piles of radioactive rubble. We Spartacists hail the "interference" of the Soviet-backed Cuban troops in their heroic defense of black Angola from CIA-backed Savimbi and the apartheid army. The red flag of the Soviet Union is unfurled by black youth in South Africa not least because the Soviets are known for providing arms to the ANC, and

event, Keylor, this self-appointed defender of youth against the "red menace," was forced to flee the conference. Left behind was the one hapless black envoy for the BT, trying to explain "what the comrade meant to say...."

Howard Keylor said what he meant to say. Anti-communism is the handmaiden of hostility to black liberation. Keylor and his BT cohorts quit the Spartacist League precisely because we defend Russia, we have a strategic orientation to the black proletariat, we advocate a class-struggle fight against racist oppression—because "black and



Berkeley, April 1985—At mass student protest Spartacus Youth League banner says "Smash Apartheid! Workers to Power!" in contrast to liberal moralist call for divestment.

because "anti-communism" is the code word Reagan/Botha employ to "justify" racist, police-state terror against the black masses.

Then there are the not-so-powerful nations, like tiny El Salvador, whose troops have massacred 60,000 leftist guerrillas and civilians in six years of civil war. One can't understand the world—let alone *change* it—with a classless vision of "progressive" "little" peoples and nations against "big" and "strong" ones. The eclectic self-styled radicals of the CAA (abetted by their reformist cheerleaders) operate within the confines of capitalist Democratic Party politics. Thus their "anti-imperialism" is so much empty rhetoric. As one CAA member stated baldly, "nobody thinks we're going to lead a working-class revolution"—so why pretend?

Howard the Coward as Redbaiting Renegade

During a break in the tedious sessions, Spartacist comrades and CAA members engaged in heated debate over burning questions of the day: Nicaragua, Libya, the fight against fascism in this country. This infusion of communist politics not only irritated certain CAA luminaries, but evidently unhinged the pipe-smoking, pompous grey eminence of the BT, one Howard Keylor. To virtually everyone's disgust, Keylor took the floor to deliver an icy blast from the past (circa 1950) against "hard left groups" who "have a tactic of splitting the CAA," ripping off the better pieces, or trying to take the group over wholesale in order "to adopt their own" commie program.

Pointing to the small delegation from the "critical" pro-Albania Marxist-Leninist Party, Keylor demanded that such leftists "justify themselves" at the conference. Keylor's tirade was swiftly challenged by a South African exile and supporter of the CAA, sickened by this attempt to "shield" the conference from the "spectre of communism." In any

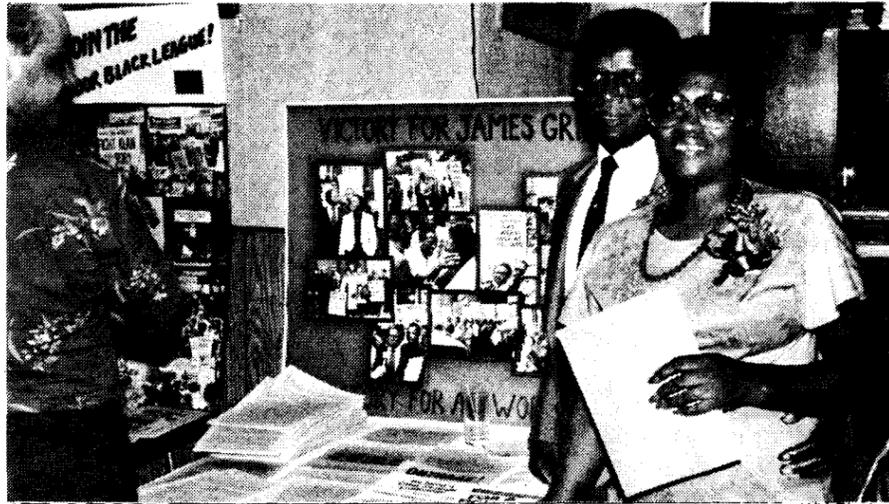
red" means trouble in Reagan's America. Meanwhile, the BT's idea of "class struggle" was demonstrated last spring when Keylor & Co. led some CAAers down the garden path to a really dumb, and dangerous, *anti-working-class* stunt at Pier 80 in San Francisco. Trying to give a "labor face" to divestment liberalism—but unwilling to fight within the longshore union for genuine anti-apartheid action lest he run afoul of his union tops—Keylor along with assorted rad-libs and Democrats set up a student "picket line" in front of a ship carrying South African cargo. This action was designed to menace the *workers* and accomplished precisely nothing, except to anger some ILWU workers who can and should be vital allies of their class brothers and sisters in South Africa.

During a break in the meetings, one CAA member asked our comrades why, when so many left organizations were participating, only the SL said it was not trying to build a better CAA and insisted we already have an organization with a program to overthrow apartheid in South Africa and imperialism worldwide. Because we are not interested in pressuring this group of confused petty-bourgeois radicals to the left. Certainly activists in the CAA, as in other anti-apartheid groups, can be won to revolutionary politics. But to do so they must break from liberal moralism and understand that *class struggle* is the key to social progress.

Internationally, this means above all defending the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution, which despite subsequent bureaucratic degeneration represents the greatest victory for the international working class in history. Here in the U.S. it means breaking with the "liberal" imperialists in the Democratic Party and building a revolutionary workers party to fight for power in this very powerful country. Only then will the enormous wealth and technical resources of the United States be used to liberate, not oppress and exploit, the mass of humanity. ■



SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez: anti-imperialist fighter up against UC repression.



James and Elizabeth Grimes at July 18 victory party celebrating dismissal of all charges stemming from this transit worker's act of armed self-defense. Labor Black League for Social Defense was formed at the Brooklyn event.

Labor Black League Founded in NYC

A victory celebration for New York City transit worker James Grimes was held in downtown Brooklyn July 18. Grimes was facing a gun rap for defending himself on the job against an assault by three muggers last January, but on June 25 all charges were dismissed.

The celebration was organized by the Committee for a Fighting TWU (Transport Workers Union), whose members and supporters mobilized repeatedly along with other concerned members of TWU Local 100 on Grimes' behalf during his six-month ordeal. The culmination of the evening's events, attended by some 60 people, was the formation of the Labor Black League for Social Defense. The League's ten-point program includes demands for "Labor/black mobilizations to stop the racist terrorists, in and out of uniform," and "For the right of armed self-defense! No to gun control! Down with the death penalty!"

A flyer distributed at the party stated: "The Labor Black League for Social Defense stands for mobilizing the masses of black working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black League for Social Defense is part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism."

The League program also calls for full union and citizenship rights for foreign-born workers, free abortion on demand, full democratic rights for homosexuals and for a fighting labor movement—sit-down strikes against mass layoffs. The League opposes the anti-Soviet war drive and calls for support to revolutionary struggles of working people abroad. Calling on labor and blacks to break from the Democratic and Republican parties, the League's program demands a workers party to fight for a workers government.

The evening's events included a video tape of television news coverage of the Grimes case and a tape of the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. David Brewer of the Committee for a Fighting TWU stated, "From the beginning of this case we said that gun control kills blacks. We remembered Willie Turks, our brother who was

beaten to death by a racist lynch mob in the Gravesend area of Coney Island, and we said that if Turks had had a gun that night, he would be alive today and if James Grimes had not had a gun, he might not be alive today with us." This

Cuban troops to crush Savimbi in Angola."

Dismissing both the pro-capitalist misleaders and the phony leftist organizations which lead workers and minorities into the arms of the Democrats,



James Grimes and his attorney Harry Lipsig (right). Transit workers' support was key to Grimes' victory.

case was an important victory for the right of armed self-defense.

Reuben Shiffman, also a member of the Committee, presented Grimes with a copy of the video tape and a framed photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Grimes, surrounded by their supporters, as they emerged victorious from the Brooklyn courthouse. Later in the evening, Elizabeth Grimes introduced the many family members, friends and supporters present including Roy Innis of CORE. The presence of Innis, who supports CIA stooge Savimbi in Angola, prompted critical remarks from the speakers. Shiffman noted that "Fundamental rights are under attack in America as Reagan tries to regiment this country for war—as he runs guns for the contras in Nicaragua and South Africa's contras in Angola."

Ed Kartsen, the Spartacist candidate for Manhattan Borough President in 1985 and a former candidate for TWU Local 100 president, recalled the American Civil War, pointing out that militant abolitionists, inspired by John Brown, "took the position that slavery could not be abolished unless the slaveowners themselves were suppressed by armed force." Today, Kartsen said, "wage slavery in South Africa has to be also suppressed by armed force. And one of the fronts is the struggle on the part of union workers in South Africa to smash the apartheid regime. The other is the

Kartsen said that without a workers party of professional revolutionaries, the cause of the working class and all the oppressed could not succeed. A Labor Black League, he said, "will represent all of you who commit yourselves to mobilizing to protest the racist terror, like the bombing [of the black MOVE commune] in Philadelphia, and against the Ku Klux Klan provocations which are emerging at a tremendous rate throughout this country... I hope all of you will join the Labor Black League tonight and organize for the final victory of the working class."

The response to Kartsen's call to join the League was enthusiastic. Thirty-nine people, including a number of transit workers and James and Elizabeth Grimes, proudly received their League cards which carry a quote from Karl Marx: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." Those interested in participating in the Labor Black League for Social Defense are urged to call (212) 925-4387.

The defense of James Grimes continues. After the victory celebration, the Grimes family found their home had been robbed. And the next day, the Transit Authority sentenced him to report for work at 6 a.m. at a station in the Bronx two hours from his home, although Grimes is still in poor health due to the January assault and subsequent victimization by the TA and Brooklyn D.A. Moreover, so far neither the union health plan nor workmen's compensation has covered one penny of the resulting medical bills, totaling more than \$8,000, and doctors are threatening to cut off vital health services to Grimes.

Union chief Sonny Hall declared he would do nothing about the TA's vindictive treatment of Grimes, but a leaflet by the Committee for a Fighting TWU vowed, "We beat the DA, we can beat the TA." Among the first tasks of the Labor Black League will be to raise money to replace the cash and personal effects totaling more than \$2,000 stolen from the Grimes' home. It will also campaign for James Grimes to receive a full medical pension and compensation for the mugging and official victimization. ■

<p>A Spartacist Pamphlet 25¢</p> <p>Black History and the Class Struggle</p>	<p>A Spartacist Pamphlet 75¢</p> <p>Black History and the Class Struggle No. 2</p> <p>On the Civil Rights Movement</p>	<p>A Spartacist Pamphlet 75¢</p> <p>Black History and the Class Struggle No. 3</p> <p>Massacre of Philly MOVE</p>
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U.S. Troops Out of Bolivia!

Declaring a "war on drugs," Yankee imperialist soldiers have invaded Bolivia. On April 8, Reagan signed a directive designating drug traffic into the U.S. a national security risk, and authorizing the use of military force to stop it. So "Operation Blast Furnace" was launched and in mid-July a giant C-5A transport plane loaded with six Black Hawk helicopters was dispatched to Bolivia along with 160 U.S. soldiers to wipe out "narco-terrorism." This time however, the gendarmes of the world looked like the Keystone Cops. It seems that the C-5A (which measures only 53 feet less than a football field) was noticed by local media and others when it landed in Santa Cruz. By the time the raid got off the ground, most of the drug traffickers had flown the coop.

Coca production is a big deal in Bolivia, occupying tens of thousands of peasant growers and armies of transporters. More dollars come into the country each year through illegal exports of coca paste than from oil, tin and all other exports combined. (One drug kingpin offered a \$2 billion loan to pay off the debt to New York banks in exchange for legal protection from extradition.) In 1980, in what became



Gentile/Newsweek

Reagan's "narco-terrorists" invade Bolivia.

known as the "cocaine coup," a colonels cabal seized power in order to control the drug trade. In 1984, the army's elite "anti-drug" Leopards brigades seized popular-front president Siles Zuazo, vowing to "root out communism," and held him hostage until freed by the U.S. ambassador. Now there is a mass outcry against President Paz Estenssoro (whose "election" by the Bolivian Con-

gress was ordered by Washington) over the presence of Yankee soldiers.

The whole operation reeks of imperialist hypocrisy. Obviously, there would be no massive exports from Bolivia without the multibillion dollar U.S. market for cocaine. And coca leaves are not cocaine. The slightly narcotic leaf is a traditional and necessary product in this country "on the roof of the world." Tourists visiting the Inca ruins at Macchu Pichu in Peru are given coca tea in order to adjust to the high altitude. And for malnourished Bolivian tin miners on the barren altiplano, chewing coca leaves suppresses hunger. The U.S. tries to buy off growers by offering them \$350 per acre of land withdrawn from coca production for other crops. Yet this pittance is less than one-thirtieth what they earn by growing the tiny green leaf. So when bribery doesn't work, Washington dispatches its hit squads. We denounce this arrogant Yankee attack, and stand with Bolivian peasants in defending their livelihood.

The mission of the American troops in Bolivia is not to stop the drug trade: from Cuban gusanos and Nicaraguan contras to Afghan mujaheddin, from

General Ky to Somoza and Duvalier, the U.S.' own puppets are the biggest drug traffickers of all. The real purpose of the strike force dispatched from the Pentagon's Southern Command in Panama is to deploy U.S. military forces in Latin America, preparing the way for imperialist aggression against Sandinista Nicaragua. And they promise to repeat this operation in Peru and Colombia. Whether it's Drug Enforcement Administration agents running amok in Guadalajara, Mexico or Special Forces in Black Hawk choppers cruising at 184 mph at treetop level across northern Bolivia, this display of imperial arrogance is a deadly threat to the peoples of the continent.

The armed bands, in and out of uniform, who act as the drug traffickers' enforcers are certainly a menace to the Bolivian workers movement. Among the organizers of such groups like the "Fiancés of Death" was Klaus Barbie, the notorious Nazi SS butcher of Lyon (France) who helped organize and finance the 1980 coup. The American government, which arranged Barbie's escape down the "rat line" from occupied postwar Europe and protected him in South America for 35 years, is the godfather of these murderous thugs. The real "narco-terrorists" operate out of Langley, Virginia, and they and their fascist gangs will only be eliminated by the red guards of workers revolution. U.S. troops out of Bolivia! ■

Free Leftist Prisoners in Sri Lanka!

On June 26 the Sri Lankan police broke up a public meeting convened by the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL) in Chilaw, 50 miles north of Colombo. Seven people were arrested. Three of them—Wije Dias, Brutan Perera and R. Perera—are still being held under the J.R. Jayewardene regime's draconian "Emergency" decree. We demand their immediate release and that of the thousands of Tamil youth and other opponents of Jayewardene's bloody rule now facing torture and murder in Sri Lanka's prisons and detention camps. These arrests are part and parcel of the repression directed primarily against the struggle for Tamil self-determination.

The RCL is part of the Healyite tendency (which now, after the ouster of Healy, is evidently headed by David North of the American Workers League). According to North's *Bulletin*, the RCL meeting had been called to protest the victimization of students and teachers in Chilaw. The RCL is a very small group. But Chilaw is located in the "border" area between Sinhalese-majority and Tamil-majority areas. And Chilaw happens to be the site of the largest "Voice of America" radio transmitter outside the United States, capable of beaming its counterrevolutionary lies to the whole of the Indian subcontinent, to East Africa, China and Soviet Central Asia.

Over the past two years, thousands of Tamil youth have been seized under the "Emergency" provisions, which include detention of "suspects" for up to 18 months, often without any formal charges being laid against them. One such case brought to the attention of the Spartacist tendency is Sinniah Kumar, seized at his family home in Nawalapitiya on 3 December 1984; one year later, his mother was still unable to find out why her son had been arrested. At last report Kumar was still being held at Bogambara prison in Kandy. In the case of Ram Manikkalingam, a graduate of MIT in Boston and the son of a former ambassador to Indonesia, the government claims he was arrested on April 19 of this year, although his family maintains they reported him missing April 1.

The Sri Lankan armed forces are continuing their terror campaign against Tamils in the north and east.

And this year, scores of Sinhalese youth have been detained under the "Prevention of Terrorism" Act. They are accused of belonging to split-offs from the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (the formation that led the radical Sinhalese youth uprising in 1971 and which now espouses a rabidly anti-Tamil line) and of having links to the Tamil militant groups. Among the Sinhalese leftists previously grabbed by the government

he had named names of five British "ex"-SAS mercenaries employed by the Sri Lankan Ministry of Defense. One of these had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment in Zimbabwe as a spy for South Africa. Muttetuwegama also named the "Keeni Meeni Corporation," reportedly an international agency supplying mercenaries to governments. According to the London *Tamil Times* (May 1986), "Sarath Muttetuwegama



WV Photo

Demonstration against Sri Lankan prime minister Premadasa in Boston, July 28. Spartacist supporters participated, demanding release of Tamil detainees and leftist prisoners.

is Indika Gunawardena, whose brother is an ultra-communalist Member of Parliament.

In June, a massive dragnet operation of 600 Colombo police arrested 350 Tamils who were "unable to give a satisfactory explanation of their presence in Colombo" ([Ceylon] *Daily News*, 7 June). Now the vicious regime is denying Tamils the right to appear in the capital city of their own country without a South Africa-style "pass." But while Jayewardene's state terror centrally targets the Tamil people, it has been unleashed also against every kind of class and social struggle. Even Buddhist monks who were supporting the recent nurses strike were abducted, allegedly by plainclothes cops.

Shortly after he had named foreign mercenaries operating in Sri Lanka, the Communist Party's lone Member of Parliament, Sarath Muttetuwegama, was killed, reportedly in an auto accident. In a speech to Parliament (reprinted in *Lanka Guardian*, 1 May)

said that he had a list of other names which he was checking." The possibility of further exposés was cut short by his death.

The day before the RCL arrests, the government opened the new round of its All Party Conference to discuss Jayewardene's latest fraudulent "peace" proposals. Though Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sinhalese-communalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the bourgeois Tamil United Liberation Front declined to attend, the Communist Party, along with the Lanka Samasamaja Party and its left split, the NSSP ("New" LSSP), were all present, eager to demonstrate their loyalty to the Sri Lankan bourgeoisie.

The class-collaborationist "left parties" have been in bloc with Sinhalese chauvinism since the mid-1950s. As a consequence, "Marxist" currents were discredited among the Tamils, and increasingly the younger generation of militants turned toward anti-working-class nationalism. Now, over the past

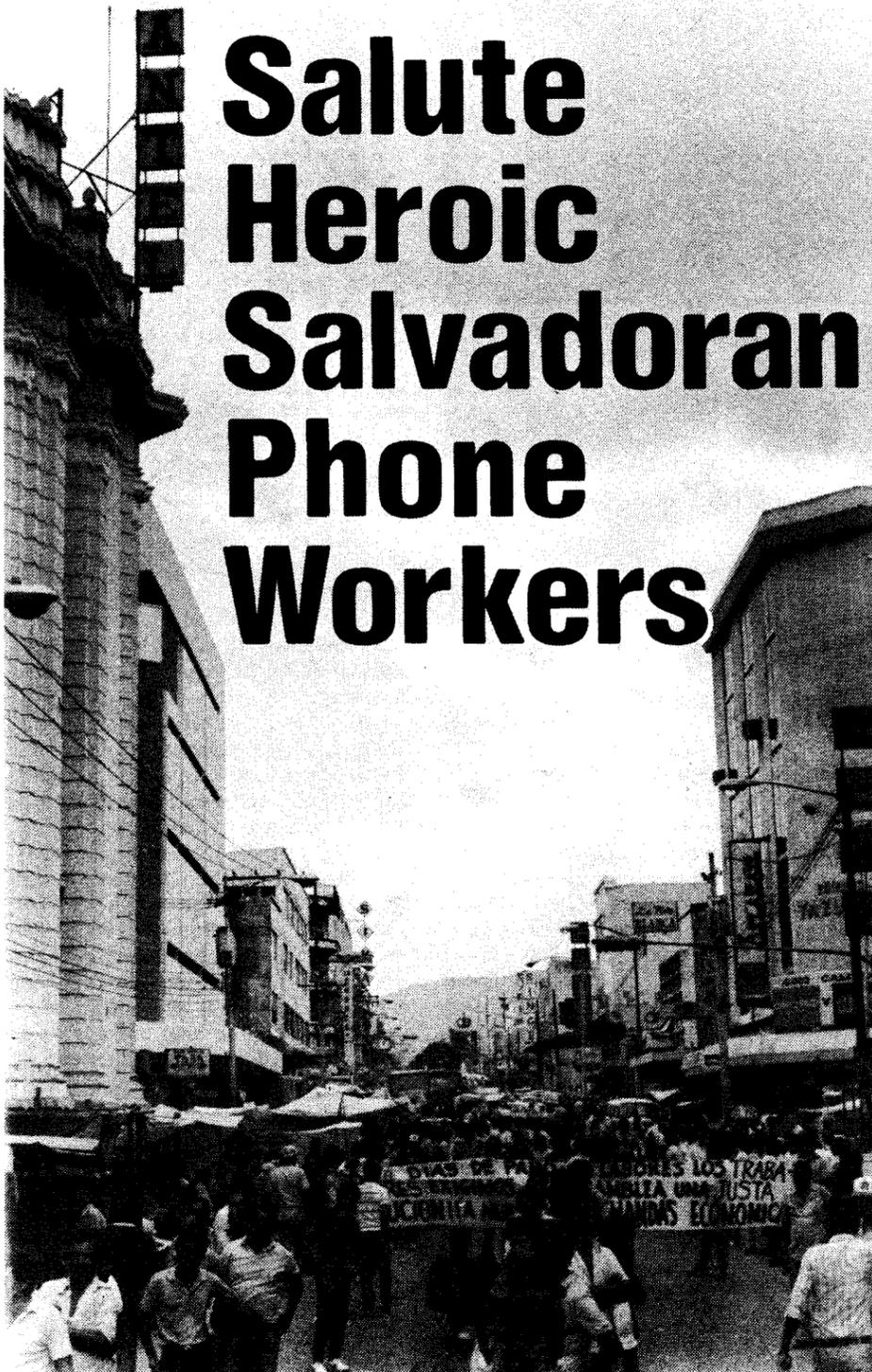
year or so, the Tamil nationalist movement—which increasingly looks in desperation to capitalist India for its salvation—has degenerated sharply into indefensible killing of innocent Sinhalese civilians and murderous turf warfare between the competing Tamil militant groups. Unable to conceive of class struggle uniting the island's peoples against racist capitalism, the Tamil nationalist groups place their hopes on Rajiv Gandhi, pressured by the 50 million Tamils in India. Meanwhile, atrocities against Sinhalese fishermen, poor settlers, Buddhist pilgrims and tourists are a great gift to Jayewardene as he seeks to bind the Sinhalese masses to his vicious capitalist regime.

Under the notorious Sixth Amendment, it is illegal to advocate or publicly support separation from the present unitary state of Sri Lanka. This measure is directed not just at the Tamil groups who are struggling to establish Tamil Eelam, or groups like the RCL who extend political support to Tamil nationalism, but at anyone who defends the right of Tamil self-determination. The RCL arrests are an attack on all critics of the regime's brutal suppression of the Tamil minority. They are directed at all actual or potential opponents of Jayewardene's bonapartist, pro-American government.

As if to underline the connection, Prime Minister Premadasa sent fulsome greetings to Reagan's obscene July 4th pageant, pledging support to "democracy" and a common struggle against "terrorism." What this means is whipping up communalist frenzy against the Tamil people, wholesale detention of Tamil youth, intimidation of strikers, the use of police-state measures against leftists. It means endorsing Reagan's provocations against Libya and Nicaragua and making Sri Lanka a staging area for U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive.

We demand: Release the RCL members! Free all the leftist and Tamil nationalist political prisoners! Down with the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the "Emergency"! The VOA transmitter is an obscenity—shut it down! Trincomalee harbor must not fall into the bloody hands of U.S. imperialism! Army out of the Tamil areas! For the right of Tamil Eelam! For the federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! ■

Salute Heroic Salvadoran Phone Workers



Strikers march past phone company (ANTEL) offices in downtown San Salvador.

Workers Vanguard has reported in recent weeks on defense efforts for the combative phone workers of the Association of Salvadoran Telecommunications Workers (ASTTEL) against a vicious union-busting campaign by the military administrators of the phone company (ANTEL). On July 5, 265 workers of the technical division successfully held a conference braving harassment by the National Guard, National Police and Treasury Police stationed in ANTEL offices. A letter to *WV* by the Salvadoran phone workers describes the repression:

"1- On Friday the 4th, the workplaces were invaded by more forces of the repressive army, who immediately proceeded to list our compañeros.

"2- ANTEL management threatened to fire the workers who went to the conference.

"3- They almost completely cut off public transportation so that our compañeros could not get there.

"4- They set up military roadblocks with plainclothesmen on the highway leading to the meeting site.

"5- They sent five policemen in plainclothes into the conference.

"6- From Thursday the 3rd on, they set up a photo surveillance squad to take photographs of our activity. This was denounced by neighbors of the house where the military was filming.

"7- On Monday the 7th, police were placed in all the offices and our workplaces were turned into veritable military barracks.

"But even with all the military presence, we reaffirmed our readiness to continue with the just struggle we have undertaken, for it is a historic commitment to our people and the world working class."

A committee of Technical Workers on Battle Footing—ASTTEL was established and plans laid for future action by the entire ASTTEL union to win jobs back for 20 fired workers. While the CIA "labor" front AIFLD has tried to set up a rival company union, it has only attracted nine members. For more on this gang of union-busters, see "Workers: Smash AIFLD!" (*WV* No. 405, 6 June). In the face of death threats, firings and forced transfers, ASTTEL workers are continuing to fight.

In this country, class-struggle

unionists in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) have taken up the cause of their Salvadoran fellow workers. Phone workers in Bay Area CWA Local 9415, in the midst of their own strike against AT&T, passed a solidarity resolution put forward by the Militant Action Caucus, and between an official donation and membership collections donated \$445 to the ASTTEL workers. On July 23 the executive board of CWA Local 4309 in Cleveland also passed a motion backing the Salvadoran phone workers. Meanwhile, on July 14, CWA Region 1 vice president Jan Pierce spoke to a Congressional/labor meet-



no credit

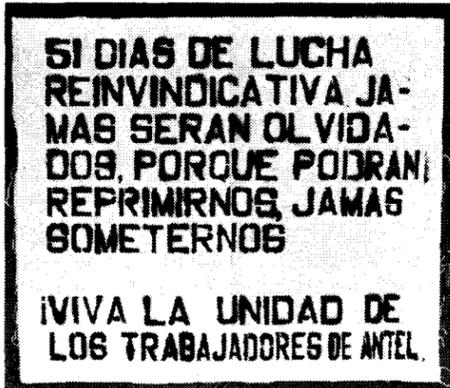
Phone workers have faced constant military repression on strike and in workplace.

ing calling for support to ASTTEL and the fired workers and union officials.

The Salvadoran phone workers have sent a message of "fraternal greetings to all the telephone worker compañeros who have sent us their valuable financial contribution," adding that their struggle will continue, "even if they jail us or kill us, because we are fighting for liberty, justice and peace." Under the most difficult conditions of civil war, these brothers and sisters are courageously waging an important class battle. 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. ■



Women workers (left) played important role in strike, braving death threats and repression by military management. Banner (right) says: "51 Days of Struggle For Our Demands Will Never Be Forgotten, Because They Can Repress Us But Never Make Us Submit. Long Live the Unity of ANTEL Workers!"



Photos: no credit



Workers Free Salvadoran Unionist

MEXICO CITY—Union militant Febe Elizabeth Velásquez, a member of the executive council of the leftist National Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS), was freed in San Salvador July 11, after five days in the hands of the ruthless Treasury Police. In an all-too-familiar scenario, on the morning of July 7 Velásquez was forced into a minibus by men in civilian clothes in downtown San Salvador. Were it not for the vigorous reaction by her fellow workers, as well as labor nationally and in the U.S., she might have joined the 500 trade unionists languishing in prison;

or, worse still, ended up among the 60,000 civilians killed by the U.S.-backed regime in six years of civil war.

FENASTRAS officials here told *WV* that Velásquez' 350 co-workers at the CIRCA textile plant (makers of Levi jeans), where she is union general secretary, immediately called a strike. They bravely sent a delegation to police headquarters to force the cops to acknowledge that Velásquez was in their custody and to demand her release. Three days later FENASTRAS organized a march of more than 1,000 unionists. An international publicity campaign was launched, and



Guardian

Salvadoran unionist Febe Elizabeth Velásquez.

an ad was published in San Salvador newspapers signed by over 120 American union officials. U.S. puppet president José Napoleón Duarte was forced to relent—in a hypocritical show of benevolence, he then personally escorted Velásquez back to the FENASTRAS office.

Velásquez later described how she

had been beaten, deprived of food, sleep and use of bathroom facilities during her captivity. Anti-labor repression in El Salvador is escalating as strikes, massive demonstrations and battlefield victories by the FMLN guerrillas belie U.S. claims of a "success story." A FENASTRAS spokesman said on the day of Velásquez' seizure, "The kidnapping forms part of a plan of the government and the North American embassy to behead the workers movement through massive repression against the workers" (*El Día*, 8 July). That same day, three unionists in the western city of Santa Ana were seized.

For international class solidarity with beleaguered Salvadoran unionists! Military victory to Salvadoran leftist rebels! For workers revolution throughout Central America!

Smash KKK/Nazi Terror Drive...

(continued from page 1)

November 1982.

It is no accident that the Klan is now targeting places like Chicago, Uniontown, or Virginia Beach near Norfolk, where burning crosses have been erected on Navy housing. In recent years the Tidewater area has been the focus of resistance to efforts by Congress and the courts to turn back busing, resistance led by black workers in the strategic shipyard and longshore industries. The mobilization of Tidewater black labor was critical to stopping the fascists in Washington, and now must take the lead in the fight to smash the cross-burners and get the school buses rolling again!

KKK's President Reagan

Loudspeakers blared "Dixie" and Nazi marching songs over the "Aryan Nations" white-supremacist enclave at Hayden Lake, Idaho, for the national fascist gathering July 13-14. Differences between nativist white-sheeters and Hitler-lovers were pretty much obliterated as hundreds of Klansmen, Nazis, racist survivalists, Posse Comitatus and TV evangelists burned crosses, gave stiff-arm salutes, brandished AR-15 automatic rifles and swapped hit lists for their personal computer networks. Among those present was Metzger, the former California KKK "grand dragon" and now head of "White American Resistance" (WAR). But the focus was on Chicago, as Klansmen proudly displayed video tapes of their recent provocations in Lincoln and Marquette parks.

In 1984 the poisonous "Aryan Nations" crowd spawned The Order, the racist band which murdered Denver Jewish broadcaster Alan Berg, robbed banks and armored cars and declared war on the "Zionist Occupation Government," vowing to establish a white-supremacist "homeland" in the Northwest. The Order ran afoul of the government when they blew away a Missouri state trooper—they didn't understand that the fascists are held in reserve to do the dirty work for the bourgeoisie, and are not supposed to start shooting up cops. A massive FBI manhunt was launched and the feds now claim all known Order members are either dead, in prison... or have federal protection as witnesses. But the white-supremacist killers are still on the loose: last December a racist drifter murdered a Seattle lawyer, Charles Goldman, saying he was trying to kill a commie for Christ; and in May a bomb-wielding couple took a Wyoming school hostage demanding \$2 million in ransom to



Fascist killers meet at remote Aryan Nations camp in Idaho (above). KKK cross-burners outside Uniontown, Pennsylvania.



finance a "white homeland."

In fact, the fascists are coming together again to try to exploit the prevailing social climate. As yesterday's "lunatic fringe" increasingly overlaps with today's mainstream rulers, the Kluxers and Birchers are marching in lock step with the White House. The "Aryan Nations" Nazis seek the repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment, which extended the Bill of Rights to the states and extended citizenship to American blacks. These killers aim to send all blacks "back" to Africa and deport all other non-Aryans to their supposed countries of origin. So guess who else claims "states' rights" supersede the post-Civil War Amendments: "Justice" Department boss Ed Meese. "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson explained the KKK's support for their favorite Klansman, Ronald Reagan:

"They said we're opposed to affirmative action, we're opposed to forced busing and we're for states' rights. For those reasons we supported President Reagan [in 1980] and for those reasons we're going to support President Reagan this year."

—Washington Post, 23 April 1984

The Reagan years really began in November 1979 under Democrat Jimmy Carter when the KKK/Nazis murdered five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina. The Greensboro massacre was a green light for racist murder, planned and carried out with the full participation of the cops and federal government. At the subsequent white-wash trial, the fascists' "legal defense" was that it was okay to gun down communists. The lawyer for the KKK/Nazis argued explicitly: "These defendants are patriotic citizens like the

German citizens" in World War II. "That's why they went to Greensboro, to stop Communists." This defense worked—all-white juries twice let the fascists go free.

For the current rulers of this very sick, decaying society, crime is in—but only some people's "crime." The soon-to-be Supreme Court Chief Justice William Rehnquist makes his own law: he looks for who he wants to hurt and then writes a law to get them (e.g., the recent anti-



"We stopped the Klan!" chanted 5,000 at Labor/Black Mobilization in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982.

sodomy ruling). Meanwhile, Rehnquist has a picture on his office wall, a friendly picture of a felon named Richard Nixon who escaped prosecution only through the pardon of his successor Gerald Ford. So for the Nazis, the Klan, the "right-to-life" terrorists: it's open season, backed by the courts.

The anti-Soviet war drive means racist terror at home. The clearest link between the Reagan administration and the fascists is the Civilian Matériel Assistance. This group gained notoriety in 1984 as the CIA's conduit supplier to the Nicaraguan contras during the Congressional aid ban, especially when two of them came back in a box after their helicopter was shot down by the Sandinistas. Today, equipped with the most sophisticated assault rifles and night-vision scanners, the CMA polices both sides of the Mexican border and ambushes Latinos. These are not a bunch of kooks, but murderous enforcers of government policy.

Stop the Klan in Chicago!

The KKK has targeted Chicago for deadly terror. In the explosive combination of a black mayor seeking to govern "Segregation City," the fascists smell an opportunity to whip up race war. Screaming mobs in Marquette Park take their cue from the white ethnic Democratic Party pols' war against the

Harold Washington administration. Emboldened by their Marquette Park provocation to race-terror, a week later the fascists firebombed the home of Shirley and Aleem Waheed, a black family in Gage Park, and attacked a Hispanic family just blocks away. When the latter defended themselves against a baseball-bat wielding racist, they were arrested.

Since then, race-hate attacks have multiplied. A black teenager riding home through Marquette Park from his job at McDonalds was attacked by a rock-throwing white mob. Racists tried to torch the headquarters of Jesse Jackson's PUSH organization with a gasoline-soaked telephone book. In the town of Zion, 60 miles north of Chicago, black Muslim teenager Fahim Ahmad was attending a "Liberty Weekend" carnival when he was shot and killed by a white racist shouting "Klan, Klan, Klan." Activists with Zion's "Citizens Against the Klan" say the shooting was spawned by months of Klan terror in the city, including their tolerated appearances in full KKK regalia at city council meetings.

At a June 8 meeting, members of Chicago's Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308 put forward a motion calling for the union to demand the charges be dropped against eleven courageous supporters of Progressive Labor Party, arrested June 28 when they tried to stop the fascists at their staging point. This was then tabled by the bureaucrats, but union action is the key. At the bus barns, black and white workers were following events closely, and were outraged to hear of the firebombing in Gage Park. The integrated, organized Chicago la-

bor movement—bus drivers, meatpackers, steel workers—has the social power to smash the fascists! Labor must take the lead and mobilize all enemies of racist terror with mass labor/black action.

Chicago is a city of unionists, blacks, Latins, Jews, Catholics and many others who all know they're in the fascists' crosshairs. In October 1980, when the Nazis marched on the heavily Jewish suburb of Evanston for a race-hate rally, a counterdemonstration of 2,500 protesters, many of them concentration camp survivors (and including a 70-plus Spartacist contingent), drove the Hitler-loving punks out. The Evanston action was a welcome sight, particularly coming after years of Nazi threats in Marquette Park and nearby Skokie, where the American Civil Liberties Union came out for the fascists' supposed "right" to goose-step in this community of Holocaust survivors. Democrat Jimmy Carter's White House decided that the Nazis' "human rights" to terrorize were to be secured at bayonet point, if necessary.

But as momentum built for the biggest anti-fascist rally in decades, the Carter government engineered an obscene "trade-off," in which the Nazis would call off their march in Skokie, in exchange for which they were given cop-protected access to terrorize blacks in the streets and parks of Chicago. This

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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

was the decision which opened up Marquette Park as a staging area for the Nazis. Anti-Nazi demonstrations of a couple thousand people were headed off by the cops. But when a few years later, on 27 June 1982, the Nazis attempted to stage an anti-homosexual provocation in Lincoln Park on Gay Pride Day, a 3,000-strong labor/black mobilization spiked the fascist threat. Organized by the Spartacist League, the action mobilized Chicago unionists and blacks in defense of gays.

Ever since the 1960s, when Martin Luther King, Jr. was stoned in Marquette Park while leading an "open housing" march, the fascists have been firebombing and stoning to enforce a reign of racist terror. In the face of the June 28 KKK rally, Mayor Harold Washington told Chicago blacks to stay home and give the Klan the "silent treatment." His reaction was consistent with other black mayors such as D.C.'s Marion Barry and Detroit's Coleman Young. Also dangerously diverting black people from the struggle against the Klan is the sinister Louis ("Hitler was a great man") Farrakhan. The same day as the KKK's hate fest in Marquette Park, Farrakhan was preaching "black capitalism" at Chicago's Conrad Hilton. This apostle of racial separatism and anti-Semitism is actually supported by white fascists like Metzger, who attended a Farrakhan rally in L.A.

Mass labor/black mobilizations built by the Spartacist League were in every case forged in struggle *against* the Democratic Party mayors who consistently tried to get the actions called off, engineered "alternate" gabfests, threw up lines of cops to protect the racists from the demonstrators' wrath. Installed by the ruling class to cool out the ghetto explosions of the '60s, these black front men for Reagan reaction are delivering black people to racist terrorism. The struggle to smash the fascists means the independent mobilization of labor and minorities, and a political struggle to break with the Democrats and forge a revolutionary workers party.

There is every reason for revolutionary optimism in the struggle against burgeoning fascist/racist movements in this country. The alliance of ultraright, paramilitary groupings is very unstable—including "right to life" Catholics, super-WASP fascists (like the Klan whose claims to have abandoned anti-Catholic hatred have not convinced anyone) and Zionist fanatics who are not likely to get on well with Hitler-loving Nazi scum. Such a lash-up is not going to last for long. But the basis for unity between the organized labor movement, ghetto and barrio masses, Jewish people, youth and other minorities is both urgent and palpable. Organizing these diverse forces into action against the fascists is the task of a Bolshevik party which has assimilated the lessons of the workers' victory in Russia and the workers' horrible defeat in Germany.

In Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Washington, mass labor/black mobilizations kept the fascists off the streets. Now the cross burners and lynchers are raising their heads again. They must be crushed, now. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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Detroit Workers...

(continued from page 1)

budget cuts and wage freezes down Detroiters' throats, and unleashing racist police terror on blacks. When city workers struck in 1980, on the eve of the Republican convention at Cobo Hall which nominated Ronald Reagan, Young and the union tops (who have continued to support the mayor up to the present) blackjacked the ranks into taking down their picket lines. Young's obscene strikebreaking slogan was, "Detroit Loves a Good Party."

It certainly hasn't been party time in Motown lately. Within two days after the onset of the current strike, Young was in court seeking a back-to-work order. When a municipal judge nixed that, the city threatened to bring in the Guard (using a primary election as the pretext). Detroit's club-happy cops went to work on pickets: at least four strikers were seriously injured by police or management scabs barreling through picket lines in their cars. City bosses were able to get a federal court order banning pickets at the truck entrance of the sewage plant. Daily deliveries of chemicals essential to the plant's functioning had stopped when Teamsters honored the picket lines, but the AFSCME tops obeyed the order and deliveries resumed. If the waste water treatment plants are crippled, Young & Co. will be forced to their knees *real* fast.

Shortly before midnight on July 25 a tentative agreement was arrived at in shotgun bargaining ordered by the courts. While the union tops boasted that they won on the non-economic takeaways, they settled for a 5 percent first-year wage increase, plus whatever the city decides it can "afford" to pay. Detroit officials put the squeeze on to get the Teamster sanitation workers and ATU bus drivers back to work, in order to stampede the strikers. But the picket lines stayed up, unions continued to honor them, the garbage continued to pile up. And at a meeting last night, when it was revealed that the "financial solvency" clause included a provision for a 2 percent wage cut in the third year, the AFSCME ranks' anger boiled over.

Wilson Goode: MOVE Butcher, Strikebreaker

In Philadelphia the horrendous firebombing massacre of six adults and five children of the black MOVE commune was the ultimate proof that black Democratic mayors are the front men for Reagan's war on black America. Wilson Goode declared that he'd "do it again"; Reagan's top cop Meese, whose FBI supplied the powerful C-4 explosives for the bombs, praised it to the skies. The Osage Avenue massacre was supposed to be a message to anybody—blacks, labor, leftists—who gets "out of line" in Reagan's America.

The unions, next on Wilson Goode's hit list, should have shut down Philly over this racist atrocity. But the labor bureaucrats were tied to Goode, and the ghetto masses were initially disoriented by the fact that the entire black establishment rallied behind one of their own. However, as ever more revelations about the MOVE massacre came out, black anger steadily built up against the "mayor of murder." This was definitely a factor behind the militancy of the city workers strike. One black picket bitterly told *WW*: "Nobody wants to work for that child killer. He killed 11 people. To hell with him."

When 13,000 predominantly black city workers organized by AFSCME walked out on July 1, Goode's capitalist masters put him on notice that his job as overseer of Philly was on the line. On July 17 Goode's courts issued a back-to-work order directed at the 2,500 sanitation workers. Union leaders tried to duck the squarely posed issue,

Coleman Young
(center) runs
Detroit for banker
David Rockefeller
(left) and
auto boss
Henry Ford II.



refusing to defy the order. They put the onus on individual members to "make their own decisions." But the ranks stayed solid. At large sanitation facilities scattered throughout the city it was "no contract, no work."

As hundreds of municipal workers demonstrated their defiance, union stewards were also telling them that the strike would end if the mayor got a contempt of court citation. Two days later Goode did exactly that. The mayor claimed he would fire every sanitation worker who didn't go back; the judge threatened the union with \$40,000 in daily fines. Faced with this obscene attempt to blame the strikers for "endangering health and safety," the union should have boldly met the challenge by saying who the real terrorists, murderers and enemies of the people are. They should have demanded real solidarity by appealing to Philly unions to take strike action alongside the sanitationmen.

But the AFSCME leaders buckled. (The white-collar DC 47 union had already gone back to work, scabbing on the predominantly black blue-collar workers.) And the cowardly city AFL-CIO tops refused to back the embattled sanitation workers with strike action. The capitalists' law, made to order to protect Reaganite baby butchers and union-busters, was allowed to prevail. A powerful strike collapsed. The top levels of the American ruling class, who understood the explosive potential in Philadelphia after the MOVE massacre, breathed a sigh of relief. The *Wall Street Journal* (23 July) headlined its article: "Mayor Goode's Handling of Strike in

years, the grinding squeeze on the American population to finance the anti-Soviet war buildup has long since put an end to those token pacifying social programs dubbed "the war on poverty." Thus the black Democrats have become the local enforcers for war regimentation and cutbacks. And now they have become the focus of angry workers' resistance to givebacks and to racist Reagan reaction.

When heavily black unions wield their social power by striking against the Democratic black mayors, what does the "socialist left" say? Sam Marcy's *Workers World* (24 July) runs an article on the Philly strike where they "neglect" to mention Wilson Goode's name. The Communist Party's *People's Daily World* (26 July) doesn't mention Coleman Young. These strikes might as well have been in Oshkosh. The reformist left has long backed "progressive" black Democrats, in Congress and in City Hall. So when the unions strike against black Democrats, the reformists can only lie.

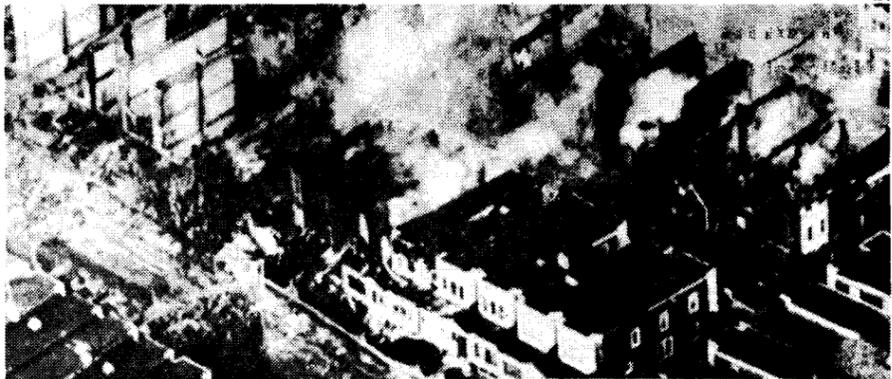
The two-party capitalist stranglehold can be broken: significant sections of black workers have demonstrated in action that they don't buy the liberal lie that a few "black faces in high places" means liberation. But the labor movement remains chained to the Democratic Party through the trade-union bureaucracy. At the same time, black Democratic pols like Jesse Jackson and Coleman Young retain their hold on the ghetto masses in good part because the racist AFL-CIO tops are openly contemptuous of black people.

To avenge the MOVE martyrs, to

Philadelphia's
Wilson Goode
ordered
firebombing
of black
MOVE group,
killing eleven,
including
babies, and
burning out an
entire black
neighborhood.



Murray/Philadelphia Inquirer



UPI

Philadelphia Partly Restores Confidence in His Ability to Lead."

Blacks in Front Line of Class Struggle

In the late '60s when the Northern ghettos exploded in rage over the failure of the civil rights movement to change the conditions of life of the black masses, the U.S. ruling class brought in black Democratic mayors to cool things out. Particularly during the Reagan

create a society where hundreds of thousands of auto workers are not thrown on the scrap heap for the greater profits of the Iacoccas and Fords—this will take a socialist revolution. To unlock the enormous social power of the American proletariat, black workers must take the lead in breaking with the Democrats and forging a multiracial, class-struggle workers party that will fight for a workers government to liberate all the oppressed. ■

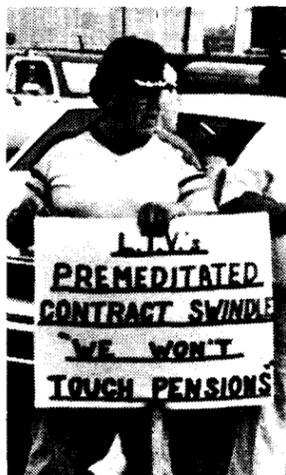
Steel Workers Up Against Rust Bowl Capitalism

CHICAGO, July 28—Just four months after the giveback contract which robbed steel workers of more than \$3 per hour in wages and benefits, LTV Steel filed for bankruptcy on July 17. Over 55,000 retirees and their spouses have lost medical benefits and their pensions are threatened. Active LTV workers have had their accident insurance canceled and banks are refusing to cash LTV paychecks.

Angry retirees, who have already been turned away from area hospitals demanding prepayment, picketed LTV's Indiana Harbor Works in East Chicago last week, demanding the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) strike LTV in defense of the meager benefits they slaved in the mills for decades to get. But USWA Local 1011 bureaucrats, openly siding with the steel bosses, broke up the retirees' picket line, even as the East Chicago cops arrested five of the pickets. Massive outrage forced the union leaders to authorize strike action. LTV has thrown the retirees and thousands of steel workers on the slag heap, and their hatchetmen in the USWA bureaucracy are working overtime to make sure the workers stay there.

LTV's Chapter 11 bankruptcy, like that at Wheeling-Pittsburgh which provoked a 98-day strike last October, is intended to rip up the latest giveback contract before the ink 'on it is dry, using the bosses' courts to slash steel workers' paychecks yet again. Meanwhile, USX (formerly U.S. Steel) has pushed the union to the wall, demanding cuts of \$3.39 per hour, coupled with job classification changes that would immediately wipe out *one-third* of the

Pensioners Spark LTV Strike



Pensioners picket LTV steel in East Chicago (left); strikers stop locomotive from entering mill.

company's 22,000 remaining jobs, with deadly speedup for the rest of the workforce.

In response to an overwhelming 10,051-to-66 authorization vote to strike on August 1, the company is shutting down its Gary Works—essentially locking out 7,500 union members, many of whose jobs may be wiped out. And last Thursday, USWA Local 1014 in Gary uncovered a company order for \$17,000 in tear gas grenades and "small arms ammunition" to be brought into the plant. A retired LTV worker picketing the LTV East Chicago plant told *WV*: "It'll be 1937 all

over again if we don't watch out. They killed my father." It was in front of the Republic Steel plant (now LTV's South Chicago Works) that ten steel workers were shot down in the 1937 Memorial Day Massacre.

This spring, union president Lynn Williams tore up the industrywide contract, whipping steel workers at National Steel, Bethlehem, LTV and Inland into givebacks. In the midst of this giveback "bargaining," Williams & Co. staged obscene flag-waving rallies on June 21, the joint USWA and steel bosses' "Save American Industry and Jobs Day." A featured speaker was Minnesota Democratic governor Rudy Perpich, who last January sent in the National Guard to break the strike of the Hormel meatpackers!

USWA members are being battered, but it's not by their class brothers and sisters in Japan, who are in fact *better* paid than American steel workers. The USWA tops push racist protectionism and givebacks to "save" the steel barons' profits. For years steel has been among the *most* protected of American industries, while the steel bosses have let the mills deteriorate and invested elsewhere, turning the Midwest into a rust bowl. USX (dropping "U.S. Steel" in recognition of its demise as a steel company)

spent billions on Marathon Oil and Texas Oil and Gas, while scrapping 70,000 out of 90,000 steel workers. And while LTV Steel, created through the purchase of Jones and Laughlin, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and Republic, is awash in debt, its parent company rakes in millions as a major war industry contractor. As the steel mills close, scrapping *half* the USWA membership—700,000 workers thrown out of work in the last 12 years—the capitalists take the money and run.

The bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, first under Carter and now Reagan, has sucked billions of dollars out of productive investment and into the massive war buildup. But the labor traitors in the USWA bureaucracy, like their masters in the Democratic Party, back Reagan's "crusade against Communism" to the hilt. In addition they whip up racist "yellow peril" hatred for Asian workers, in the hope of saving red, white and blue profits and their shrinking dues base. While they try to save the profits of a rotting American steel industry and a decaying war-drive economy, the Williams gang sentences USWA retirees to die because they are unable to pay the thousands of dollars demanded for medical care.

The money is there, but not for the LTV retirees, the desperately impoverished black population of Gary, the thousands of steel workers with their backs to the wall who are determined to strike USX in defense of their livelihoods. Some hard class struggle—like seizing the plants—is the way to force the bosses and government to give something real for the years steel workers sweated in the mills.

But as long as the ranks of the USWA remain chained to the labor bureaucracy's program for "saving jobs"—givebacks, protectionism and support for the racist, capitalist Democratic Party—steel workers will pay in blood for the rotting of American steel. The future of the black and working people lies in the construction of a class-struggle workers party. The rust bowl of the Midwest will not be rebuilt by decaying American capitalism. Only a planned, centralized economy producing in the interests of working people can revitalize basic industry. And that can only be achieved through victorious American socialist revolution. ■

Steel Worker Sandy Thomas Victimized

Honor Bay Area Iron Workers' Picket Lines!

OAKLAND, July 28—Iron Workers Local 790 struck Bay Area steel fabricating plants and construction sites last Tuesday in the face of a vicious "giveback" offensive by the bosses in the Western Steel Council. The Building Trades Council is honoring Iron Workers' picket lines at construction sites. However, Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1441 officials refused to pull their members out—though their own contract expires August 31. At Judson Steel at Emeryville, where some 70 iron workers are on strike, more than 200 Local 1441 members have been told by their union officials to cross the picket lines and to continue working.

One militant steel worker at Judson, Sandy Thomas, a Spartacist supporter, has refused to scab and is honoring the iron workers' picket line. The Judson bosses immediately retaliated with a five-day disciplinary suspension and then fired Thomas. At a special meeting on the strike last week, Local 1441 unanimously passed a motion pledging to do everything in its power to restore her job. The most effective way to do that is to honor the picket lines and pull Local 1441 out. Thomas' courageous stand is widely respected on the picket lines, and an Iron Workers official has said they will demand that there be no reprisals against workers honoring picket lines.

In contemptible contrast to Thomas, three supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP—publishers of the misnamed *Militant*) in Local



Young Spartacus
Sandy Thomas, who is supporting three children, faces loss of her job because she refused to cross picket line.

1441 have been daily slithering across the lines at Judson; they have the gall to tell picketers they are "supporting" the strike "on the inside," where they are helping produce the steel which continues to come out of the plant. These scab "socialists" are also echoing Steelworkers bureaucrats who are hiding behind a vicious "no-strike" clause in the union's contract at Judson.

If you play by the bosses' rules, you lose. Strike together and shut it down—that's the only way to win! Defend Sandy Thomas! No reprisals! Picket lines mean don't cross!

BT Letter...

(continued from page 3)

bourgeoisie! Even the old labor lieutenants of capital with their "business unionism" outlook didn't want that role. How about "union control" of AIDS testing? With this rationale you could have found some people to transport the Jews to the death camps.

But why has this issue come up at all? Because there has been a substantial move to the right in this country, and the BT's idea of meeting this shift is an obscene collaboration. You people have got it exactly wrong. Instead of opposing it, you have simply joined the pack, only with a nuance.

What you refer to so offhandedly as Keylor's "wrong position on World War II" was support to his own bourgeoisie in an inter-imperialist war. And it wasn't "years ago." He maintained this position while a member of the Spartacist League. Attempts to discuss this question of class principle with Keylor were interrupted by disputes over his unwillingness to raise the SL program in the popular-frontist Central American trade-union solidarity milieu. These disputes ultimately concluded with his resignation from the SL in late 1981 over our condemnation of the betrayal of the PATCO strike by the U.S. labor

bureaucracy.

Interestingly, Keylor—who joined the Communist Party because of its support in 1948 to Henry Wallace, the "third party" candidate of the capitalist Progressive Party—left the CP only in 1961, and then over the relatively smaller issue of a trade-union question. With your common outlook of white, reformist, anti-communist laborism, you and the other Canadian BTers and the aspiring labor bureaucrat Keylor are fit company. By your efforts to legitimize Meese's reactionary anti-drug crusade you serve the interests of your own bourgeoisie, attempting to put a "labor face" on the domestic side of the anti-Soviet war drive.

P.S. The BTs bombed out badly at Berkeley recently when your pal Keylor disgusted a roomful of anti-apartheid students when he launched into a real 1950s-style redbaiting attack against the pro-Albania Marxist-Leninist Party. ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August. Our next issue will be dated August 29.

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

racist Afrikaner nationalist regime to cut a deal with the black opposition, or at least its "moderate" elements, in order to save South Africa for the "free world."

Thus in his recent speech Reagan emphasized the vital importance of South Africa to that "free world" of imperialist exploitation and colonial domination. Its superexploited black miners produce half the gold which underlies the world financial system. It is the major source of strategic minerals like chromium, manganese and platinum. Without these there would be no steel, auto or chemical industry, and of overriding importance to the American ruling class, no war industry.

In other ways as well the racist police state is a strategic member of the U.S.-headed global alliance against the Soviet Union. South African troops police southern Africa for the imperialist powers. Together with the contra forces of Jonas Savimbi they rain terror on Angola, whose hard-won independence is defended by 30,000 Soviet-backed Cuban soldiers. Pretoria monitors Soviet shipping and submarine activity around the Cape of Good Hope for American and British intelligence. And as was recently revealed in the *New York Times*, they in turn spy for Pretoria on the African National Congress, the main political organization of black resistance to apartheid terror.



AP

Nobel "Peace" Prize winner Bishop Tutu pleads with No. 1 apartheid butcher Botha, July 21.

It was in this same speech that Reagan called upon his racist allies in Pretoria to "begin a dialogue about constructing a political system that rests on the consent of the governed." He exhorted personally his junior partner P.W. Botha "not to retreat into the locker." The "Gipper" apparently thought the *laager*—the circle of ox wagons which nineteenth-century Afrikaners formed to fight black tribesmen—was where South African whites hang their soccer shorts.

The Democratic response to Reagan's speech was made by black Congressman



Campbell/Sygma

South African black miners: powerhouse for workers revolution.

William Grey, a leading advocate of sanctions. He accused Reagan of being shortsighted and thus driving South African blacks into the arms of the Russians:

"The President says our strategic interests would be jeopardized if violent elements assume power in South Africa, but the President's own policies put our strategic interests at risk. He condemns apartheid but he refuses to back it with meaningful action. In doing so he gives black South Africans no choice but to accept support from other nations who offer it. That does not serve our long-term strategic interests."

The "Sanctions" Debate

Despite the exaggerated claims on both sides, divestment and the sanctions proposed *will not seriously damage* the South African economy nor are they intended to. Reagan himself pointed out

slapping measures—canceling landing rights for South African Airways, barring new investment in that country (at a time of massive capital flight!). Even the "tough" House bill *exempts* imports of South African gold, manganese, chromium, etc., that is, 75 percent of all South African exports. No way is Congress going to do anything to disrupt the Pentagon war machine and the industries on which it is based.

But despite the minimal nature of the proposed Congressional sanctions, Reagan is having none of them. At the same time, he did move to try to undercut his liberal opponents on South Africa. White House spokesmen announced that a black was being considered as the new ambassador to Pretoria, North Carolina businessman Robert J. Brown. At first it seemed like an inspired ploy. Everyone from ultrarightist Jesse Helms—who would surely feel more comfortable in South Africa than in the U.S.—to NAACP head Benjamin Hooks approved the choice.

But Brown was soon exposed as a professional union-buster and all-round shady operator. Formerly the highest-ranking black official in the Nixon administration, after leaving Washington Brown wangled a loan from the Small Business Administration as a "disadvantaged minority" capitalist. Carolina labor leaders revealed that his public relations outfit specializes in helping textile mills bust unionization drives among black workers. Under a barrage of bad publicity, Brown withdrew from consideration as the new ambassador to Pretoria.

It is testimony to the power of South Africa's black workers movement that being a union-buster is viewed as a disqualification for U.S. imperialism's top agent in that country. After all, probably half the American ambassadors around the world are drawn from the ranks of union-busting capitalists. At the same time, the "free world" yellow trade-union bureaucracy sent to South Africa a delegation from Britain,

that foreign banks have stopped lending to South Africa, and many Western businessmen have already pulled out. We might add that these divestors *continue to superexploit* South Africa's black labor. They've sold their operations to South African or other foreign capitalists, mainly in exchange for interest-bearing notes. So instead of getting profits out of South Africa, they're collecting interest payments, which in the present crisis of apartheid rule is a far safer means of investment.

As for sanctions, Congress is not going to pass anything but wrist-

fighters in the capital, "We don't want to kill North American youth. But if they send them to kill us, whether they come as advisers or with invading Yankee troops, they will die here." As the contras are once again openly run by the CIA, and now trained by Green Beret "advisers," the contra aid is an integral part of U.S. plans for a direct attack. Even recently fired U.S. ambassador to Honduras John Ferch said that "it's really just the first step," adding, "it's a military goal" the Reagan administration is after, namely crushing the Sandinista regime. A Pentagon report leaked to the press in May said that an invasion attempt would involve 100,000 U.S. Army troops, plus substantial naval and air power, for a cost of \$9 billion in the first year.

Yet even today, as Washington's Central American puppets and regional powers such as Mexico try to use "Contadora" to disarm the Nicaraguan Revolution, and strangle leftist rebels in El Salvador and Guatemala, Daniel Ortega renewed his support for this treacherous "arms limitation" trap. The fates of the workers and peasants throughout the isthmus are inextricably linked. In Nicaragua today, the need is

more urgent than ever for a Leninist-Trotskyist party with a program to defend, complete and extend the revolution. And in the U.S. as well, where the Democrats are dancing to Reagan's tune, revolutionaries must fight for workers action against Yankee aggression. "Reagan's war" will not be popular

West Germany and the U.S. headed by none other than AFL-CIO (better known abroad as the "AFL-CIA") chief Lane Kirkland. Kirkland no doubt wants to leash black union leaders in South Africa to the same kind of sellout treachery that is destroying the organization and living standards of labor, particularly black and migrant workers, in the U.S. and West Europe.

Smash Apartheid— For Workers Revolution!

Closely bound up with the debate over sanctions within the imperialist ruling circles are differences over the nature and goals of the African National Congress (ANC). For much of the Reagan gang, the ANC consists of little more than KGB agents in blackface. Defending spying on the ANC for Pretoria, an intelligence officer in the Reagan administration stated, "we target the A.N.C. We've always considered them to be the bad guys, to be Soviet pawns, stalking horses for the Soviets" (*New York Times*, 23 June).

While the ANC gets most of its arms from the Soviet bloc, these petty-bourgeois nationalists are *not* fighting for red revolution. On the contrary, their goal is a "power-sharing" deal with "progressive" white capitalists like Anglo American's Gavin Rely, the biggest exploiter of black labor on the African continent. This utopian program of class collaboration dangerously diverts the black toilers from revolutionary struggle against apartheid capitalism.

However, the imperialists' fear of socialist revolution in South Africa, shared by both Reagan and Teddy Kennedy, has a basis in reality. The red flags with hammers and sickles displayed at black funerals demonstrate a widespread sympathy for communism, such as it is understood, among the oppressed masses. The young, combative black workers movement, especially since the "state of emergency" was declared on June 12, has moved into the forefront of resistance to apartheid terror.

Today in South Africa all of the elements of a prerevolutionary situation are there, and yet there is one absolutely vital element missing: a Leninist vanguard party. Without revolutionary proletarian leadership the rebellious black masses can be played off against one another (e.g., along tribal lines), isolated in the segregated townships and crushed in a bloodbath of historic dimensions. What is desperately needed to prevent this outcome is a racially integrated Bolshevik party fighting for a society based on the principle that he who labors must rule. Forward to a black-centered workers government in South Africa! ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 12)

spoke of the land reform which has sharply accelerated this year, handing over to the peasants almost five million acres.

The largest applause came when Ortega spoke of the shutting down of the CIA organ *La Prensa*, and the exile of two counterrevolutionary bishops. Earlier, at the June 27 reenactment of the march from Managua to Masaya, when the Sandinista leader referred to the "indefinite suspension" of *La Prensa*, the crowd responded demanding, "Burn it!" But Ortega stressed that these measures were not meant as a political change in direction. "The state of emergency has been put into effect to preserve political pluralism and the mixed economy, within constitutional limits," he said in Esteli. The FSLN's attempts to ally with a fictitious "patriotic" bourgeoisie is a mortal threat to the revolution, as capitalist economic power represents one of the contras' most strategic weapons.

On June 27, Ortega told the crowd of

on the home front—it won't just be three million Nicaraguans against a U.S. invasion.

Tens of millions of Americans, who haven't forgotten Vietnam, can be mobilized against such a bloody imperialist adventure, through revolutionary struggle in the belly of the beast. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Under Reagan's Guns

Nicaragua Masses Vow to Defend Revolution

Seven years after the Sandinista revolution which toppled U.S.-backed tyrant Anastasio Somoza, the Nicaraguan masses are preparing to meet escalating contra attacks, the "advance guard" of direct U.S. aggression. Last month's House vote in favor of \$100 million in aid for the Somozaist counterrevolutionaries is widely seen here as a green light for launching B-52 bombing raids and sending in the Marines.

Report from Estelí

Even the bourgeois parliamentary opposition parties complain that the approval of contra aid "presages more violence and pain for Nicaraguans." But while the CIA's mercenary scum will increase their murderous attacks on non-military targets, no one gives them a chance of shaking the radical-nationalist Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN) regime.

Everyone in Nicaragua is well aware of the huge weapons arsenal that the U.S. has "pre-positioned" in Honduras, the twice-daily reconnaissance flights by U-2 and RC-135 spy planes, the constant patrolling of U.S. war ships off their coastline. As Sandinista Army chief of intelligence, Ricardo Wheelock,

explained, "They [the contras] will continue to attack the economy and the civilian population, but it is obvious that U.S. war efforts in the region since 1983 have been devised within the overall strategy of direct U.S. intervention" (*Barricada Internacional*, 24 July). And Nicaraguans vow to meet that threat with a war of the people. Some 400,000 guns have been distributed to a population of three million, and at the anniversary celebration here of the FSLN-led popular insurrection there were defiant chants of "We are 3 million defeating your \$100 million."

The July 19 festivities this year were held in Estelí, just 21 miles from Honduras and the contra camps which are scattered along the border. Holding the celebration in a war zone was a statement of the Sandinistas' military and political strength. Estelí is known as "three times heroic," for the three insurrections its people launched against Somoza's powerful National Guard during 1978-79. The town was virtually destroyed by bombardment of Somoza's air force and rebuilt from rubble and ashes by its citizens. The *esteleños* continue to actively support the revolution, surpassing production quotas and enthusiastically registering for military service. Also in the crowd

Defend, complete, extend the revolution! Managua, July 1985: masses rally for sixth anniversary of Sandinista victory.



WV Photo

that swelled to 50,000 in the stadium nestled in the green hills on the outskirts of Estelí were peasants from Las Segovias province where Sandino fought the Marines in the 1920s.

As a bus caravan of U.S. and other foreign guests headed north from Managua, hundreds of soldiers and militia along the route safeguarded their passage. With AKs flung over their shoulders, they scanned the hills for a promised contra attack which never came. The Sandinista Army's very effective Irregular Warfare Battalions (BLI) had secured the countryside around Estelí in the weeks before the anniversary. After passing La Trinidad, briefly overrun by contras a year ago, the caravan passed through a valley flanked by steep hills, a favorite ambush zone. When two Soviet MI-24 helicopters passed overhead, combing the hills

for contra troops, one young American woman remarked how strange it felt to be protected by Russian guns from the U.S.-armed mercenaries.

The crowd itself was somewhat subdued, reflecting the more socially conservative peasants of the northern provinces. The main spark was provided by a group of July 19 Sandinista Youth from Managua, who danced and vigorously chanted, "*¡No pasarán!*" (They shall not pass) and "*poder popular*" (people's power). Sandinista president Daniel Ortega spoke for an hour and a half, recounting the horrors that five years of U.S. aggression had visited upon the Nicaraguan people: 31,290 Nicaraguan casualties on both sides of the U.S.' proxy war, \$1.5 billion in economic losses, the destruction of health centers, schools and homes. He

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Imperialists Squabble Over South Africa "Sanctions"

Black Workers Must Bury Apartheid!

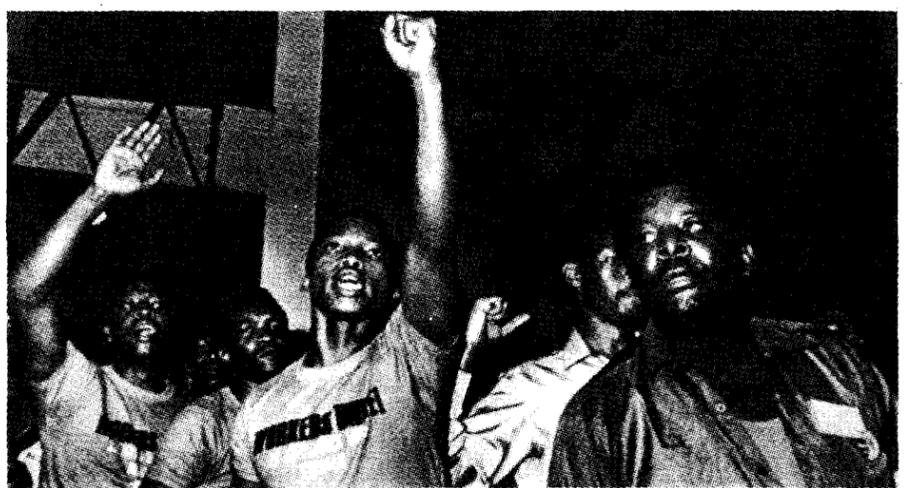
The "state of emergency" imposed by the racist South African regime was intended to put a halt to the last two years of continual revolt by the brutally oppressed black masses. The young and combative black workers movement demonstrated its strength on May Day and again on June 16—the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising—when the economy was paralyzed by the two biggest general strikes in the country's history. But in spite of an estimated 8,000 detentions, including hundreds of union leaders, the draconian repression has failed to crush the revolt. The apartheid police state is fast heading toward civil war.

Then, while all the world is watching South Africa, Ronald Reagan goes on television and gives a speech universally regarded as blanket support of the white-supremacist regime, and a big "screw you" to blacks in both Africa and the United States. The eminently peace-loving, red-baiting Bishop Tutu captured their reaction when he said: "Your President is the pits as far as blacks are concerned." (Of course, the good bishop

was feeling some heat from black militants when his recent powwow with his own president P. W. Botha produced nothing.)

Now there is a lot of talk about Congress declaring "sanctions" on South Africa, supposedly as an alternative to the administration's policy of "constructive engagement." Yet the liberal and reformist advocates of sanctions share the same fundamental goals as Reagan. They, too, want to head off civil war in South Africa. They, too, seek to give a global "democratic mission" to U.S. imperialism, the greatest enemy of the oppressed toilers the world over.

No one seriously doubts that the white-supremacist regime in Pretoria has the military capacity to drown in blood a black upheaval at this time. But the men who run Wall Street, the City of London and the Common Market are deeply pessimistic about the future of apartheid capitalism. Even they question how much longer a privileged caste of 4.5 million whites can totally subjugate and hideously superexploit 26



Mendel/AFP

Powerful, 500,000-strong black labor federation COSATU founded last November. Forge a Bolshevik party in South Africa!

million black Africans, coloureds (people of mixed race) and Indians. They fear the white-ruled police state is going to crack sooner rather than later.

What then is the sanctions debate within the American and European imperialist circles about? Why all the

sound and fury? Even the queen of England is reported to have pressed the "sanctions" issue with her prime minister (and Reagan's closest ally) "Iron Lady" Thatcher. This debate is about the degree of pressure to put on the

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