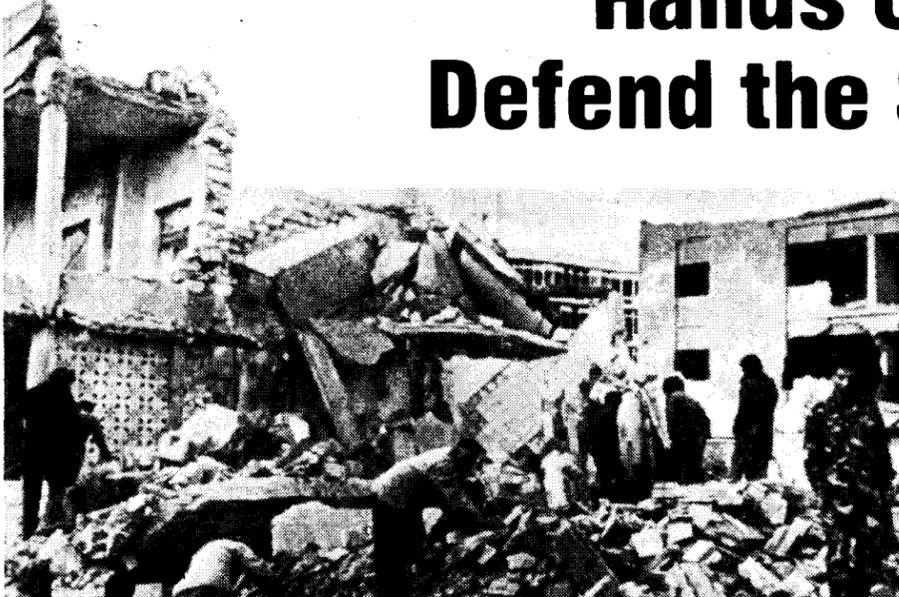


Hands Off Libya! Defend the Soviet Union!

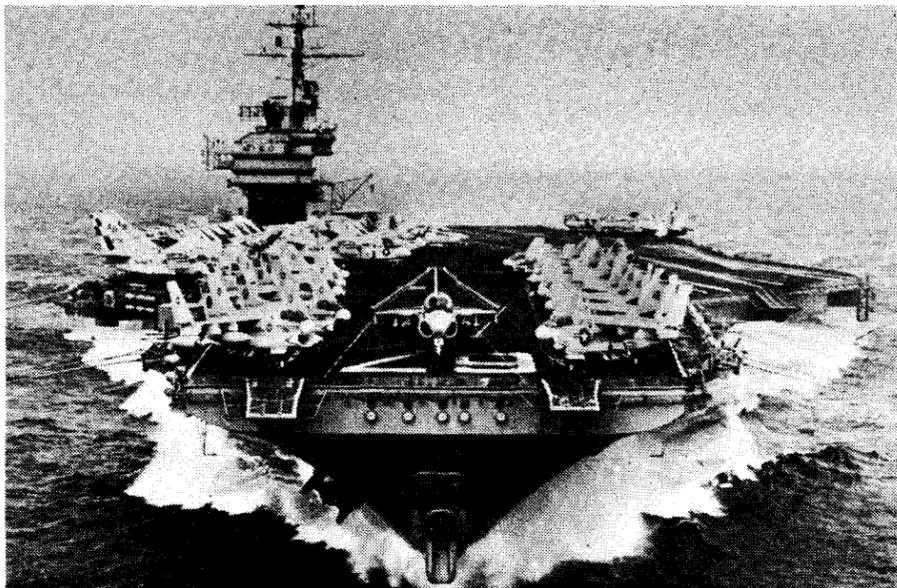


Carnage in wake of U.S. terror bombing of Libya, April 1986 (left); CIA blows up oil depots in Corinto, Nicaragua, October 1983.

Bloody U.S. Cops of the World

SEPTEMBER 8—Once again the White House and Pentagon are acting like global policemen running roughshod over the peoples of the world, literally "from the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli." And they're not just sending in the Marines: the U.S. Sixth Fleet holds provocative "exercises" off the coast of Libya, getting ready for a repeat of last spring's mass terror/murder raid on Tripoli; in the guise of "drug-busters," U.S. special forces are sent to Bolivia and Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) narcs maraud around Mexico; Congress votes \$100 million to support the CIA's Nicaraguan contra terrorists. Now a murky hijacking of innocent airline passengers in Karachi and a botched "rescue" by Washington's ally General Zia has Reagan spokesmen licking their chops and promising new military attacks on Tripoli. From Libya to Nicaragua, from the Gulf of Sidra to the Sea of Okhotsk, U.S. rulers claim a god-given right to strike anywhere on the planet in the crusade against what Reagan calls the Soviet "Evil Empire."

The Cold Warriors have targeted Moscow with nuclear first-strike plans, repeated incursions into Soviet waters and airspace, and arming of cutthroat mullahs fighting the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. But the Russians are



Pentagon "aircraft carrier diplomacy" targets the Soviet Union.

getting tired of being played for patsies. Not long after the FBI picked up a low-level Soviet UN employee for spying in a sting operation, Nicholas Daniloff, a correspondent for *U.S. News & World Report*, was arrested in Moscow, caught *in flagrante* accepting a package with top secret photographs and maps from an alleged Soviet "dissident." When Reagan tried to stick it to Gorbachev,

demanding Daniloff be handed over unconditionally, the Kremlin leader said "nyet," and the Soviets are trying Daniloff on espionage charges. Now the entire American establishment is treating Daniloff as if he were a kidnap victim: a *New York Times* (9 September) editorial compared the Soviet government to "outlaw hijackers and hostage-takers," demanding retaliation

"even at a significant cost to diplomacy."

Reagan & Co. want blood, but instead of going after the Russians directly there are "softer" military options—like Libya. Since the U.S. attempt to assassinate Qaddafi in April failed, now they're threatening to invade the country in order to bring down the Arab nationalist strongman who has been a bugbear for the Reagan administration since it came to office. On August 24, some 25,000 U.S. and Egyptian air and naval personnel commenced military maneuvers a stone's throw from Libyan territorial waters. By the time Operation Sea Wind concluded, the U.S. had a naval armada in the southern Mediterranean including three aircraft carrier groups, with hundreds of fighter jets, while 18 F-118 Air Force bombers flew into Britain. Last spring, after American warships in the Med blasted Libyan anti-aircraft sites, a squadron of Britain-based U.S. F-118s rained terror on Tripoli, murdering Qaddafi's adopted baby daughter and more than 100 civilians. Now, at the height of the Karachi hijacking, the Pentagon ordered the *Forrestal* to stand by off the Libyan coast for "reconnaissance missions."

Washington officials started the latest round of Qaddafi-bashing saying this time they might launch a pre-emptive strike; "conclusive evidence that the Libyans have hatched new terrorist plots could be enough to trigger a new U.S. raid" (*Wall Street Journal*, 25 August). Reagan's special envoy, superspy Vernon Walters, made the rounds of NATO governments to convince them to tighten the screws of the economic blockade decreed by Washington to strangle Tripoli. So Washington officials were practically salivating when the Karachi Pan Am hijacking came in right on cue, with initial reports that some "Libyan Revolutionary Cells" claimed responsibility. And then the hideous mass murder of Jewish worshippers in an Istanbul synagogue Saturday provided the excuse for the Israelis to stage a reprisal raid against "the Arabs."

With U.S. warmasters poised to strike again, Libya has once more become a focal point of the anti-Soviet war drive aimed at restoring U.S. imperialist

continued on page 10

The Contra Connection

It's "Ronald Reagan's war on drugs," proclaim the media, from the jungles of South America to the streets of New York. In April, the president signed a secret directive declaring narcotics a threat to national security. In Operation Blast Furnace, in July he ordered U.S. troops into Bolivia allegedly to crack down on cocaine traffickers. And Reagan's top cop Meese vows this is only the first step: the United States will act as gendarme of the world, in hot pursuit of "narco-terrorists" everywhere. At the same time, by mid-August both the Senate and the House of Repre-

sentatives had approved the administration's \$100 million "aid" package to the CIA's counterrevolutionary Nicaraguan mercenaries. Yet these "freedom fighters" on the American dole are up to their noses in big-time drug smuggling.

Reagan calls them "brothers." The Nicaraguan people call the gang of cutthroat ex-Somozaist National Guardsmen that the U.S. has unleashed "contras." Their specialty is murderous attacks on unarmed civilians, schools and medical centers. Lately, they've been planting U.S.-issue Claymore mines along the iso-

lated rural roads traveled by peasants, and reaping the grisly harvest of death. Ronald ("I'm a contra too") Reagan says they're the "moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers." (More like the moral equivalent of the Mafia.) Democrats and Republicans join hands to vote them military and "humanitarian" aid. But from Central America to Afghanistan to Indochina, the key to the guns-for-drugs trafficking is... the Contra Connection.

General John Singlaub, cashiered from the U.S. Army for trying to be a second MacArthur in Korea and

continued on page 8

PDC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

For International Class-Struggle Defense!

The need for international class-struggle defense has been increasingly posed as U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive has inspired its butchers to intensify attacks on workers and oppressed minorities throughout the world.

In a July 22 telegram to President Napoleón Duarte, the PDC protested the brutal repression of the combative workers of El Salvador, stating: "Continued imprisonment and disappearance of more than 500 Salvadoran trade unionists puts the lie to democratic pretensions of your regime of death squad terror."

The Association of Salvadoran Telecommunications Workers (ASTTEL) has waged a courageous struggle against the vicious union-busting of the phone company (ANTEL) and its government henchmen. We translate below the following letter we received from a union delegate of the ASTTEL technical workers:

San Salvador, 18 July 1986

Miss Deborah Mackson
Partisan Defense Committee

Dear Compañera Deborah:

To begin, I want to convey fraternal and combative greetings to the committed women of the U.S. from our

combative compañeras who fought for 51 days, and especially from María Julia Aguirre, in charge of finances and six months pregnant, who in spite of the repression and death threats has continued to be active in our struggle. For our part, we salute the North American people who raise their voice to put a stop to the sending of arms to our country by Reagan's government of destruction.

I want to thank you also for your combative message of solidarity sent July 1 and your financial aid, contributions which have raised the morale and will to struggle of our compañeros, who have reaffirmed that they will continue the fight until we obtain a favorable solution to our just demands.

As well, fraternal greetings from all the workers of ANTEL.

For a peaceful outcome to the labor problems,

Technical Workers of ANTEL on
Battle Footing—ASTTEL

— Carlos Bernal
Technical Delegate

* * *

Sri Lanka's Tamil minority continues to be plagued by state terror and government-inspired Sinhalese pogromist attacks. In a telegram to the Sri Lankan embassy sent August 7, the



TROTSKY

Marxism and Culture

Decaying American capitalism has spawned a resurgence of religious bigotry, from attacks on teaching evolution in the schools to demands for regimenting everyone's sex life. Thus today it is the communists who most vigilantly defend the historic gains of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In defining the attitude of the victorious Bolshevik Revolution toward education and culture,



LENIN

Lenin insisted that Marxism rests upon the progressive attainments—political, scientific, artistic—of the past.

1) All educational work in the Soviet Republic of workers and peasants, in the field of political education in general and in the field of art in particular, should be imbued with the spirit of the class struggle being waged by the proletariat for the successful achievement of the aims of its dictatorship, i.e., the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of classes, and the elimination of all forms of exploitation of man by man....

4) Marxism has won its historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat because, far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, it has, on the contrary, assimilated and refashioned everything of value in the more than two thousand years of the development of human thought and culture. Only further work on this basis and in this direction, inspired by the practical experience of the proletarian dictatorship as the final stage in the struggle against every form of exploitation, can be recognized as the development of a genuine proletarian culture.

—V.I. Lenin, "On Proletarian Culture" (October 1920)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD: Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamborg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 411

12 September 1986

During heroic Salvadoran phone strike, women workers brave death threats and military repression.



PDC demanded the immediate release of three members of the small Revolutionary Communist League (formerly part of Gerry Healy's tendency, and now evidently politically associated with the Workers League in the U.S.) and all leftist and Tamil nationalist political prisoners.

* * *

Chris Tazey, one of the five British miners to whom the PDC has been sending monthly stipends, was finally released in July after spending 18 months in prison for defending his picket line during Britain's bitter year-long miners strike. The PDC continues to provide stipends to the remaining four class-war prisoners framed up by Thatcher's union-busting courts.

* * *

In a truly medieval ruling highlighting the fundamental necessity of separating church and state, the High Court of Dublin denied the validity of a Muslim marriage ceremony due to Islamic law's sanction of polygamous marriage. The court's endorsement of the Pope as the sole authority constitutes a bludgeon to be used against Ireland's Protestant and other minorities, whose laws and customs do not prohibit divorce and are therefore also in conflict with Ireland's clerical laws. The PDC protested this additional and potentially bloody wedge between Ireland's bitterly divided Catholic and Protestant peoples in a letter to the court: "How do you ever expect to have a united Ireland if you do not respect the religions of all peo-

ples?... The separation of church and state, as part of a profound social as well as political transformation, is a necessary condition for a truly united Ireland."

* * *

The PDC is proud to have joined the SL in filing an *amicus curiae* brief in the U.S. Supreme Court opposing Louisiana's "Balanced-Treatment Act" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 410, 29 August). Defending the separation of church and state from the viewpoint of a Marxist defense organization, the brief places the Moral Majorityite legislation in the context of the tidal wave of enforced intolerance sweeping America, which can only fuel increased racist terror. To give fullest exposure to our unique contribution to the defense of scientific evolution, which definitively destroys the myth of racial superiority, the PDC has distributed copies of the brief to the Nobel laureate scientists, scientific, educational, religious and civil rights organizations who have also submitted *amicus* briefs, as well as to numerous individuals noted for their defense of First Amendment rights.

* * *

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

Letters

Hitler's Children

August 18, 1986

Workers Vanguard

Dear Editor:

As a father, I am horrified to learn that a 13-year-old has turned in her own parents for their private use of marijuana. And Nancy Reagan has added insult to injury with her obscene claim that this little snitch "must have loved her parents very much" to have them locked up for totally nonviolent, merely non-conforming behavior. If the parents had been put to death for marijuana use, would the child have been praised for an even greater act of "love"?

It is bad enough that the government

has outlawed the use of a benign medicinal herb. It is far worse that "authorities"—churches, schools, media and government-sponsored "anti-drug" groups—are enforcing this abrogation of personal freedom by convincing children to inform on their parents. This totalitarian tactic recalls Hitler's use of children as informants in Nazi Germany.

If President Reagan believes in "traditional American values," whatever happened to the traditional American emphasis on the family? Now that the "war on drugs" has become a war on the family, every thinking person must fear for the future of this nation.

For family unity,
Aron Kay
Brooklyn, N.Y.

"Dear J. Edgar Hoover"

Dear J. Edgar Hoover, Head of FBI

I have an evil rotten no good stepfather. Sometimes he tells me to go to sleep when I have to go to school the next morning. Last night he brought a 13-year-old girl over to the house, and I think they did something. I think so because he gave another guy's name and claimed he was one floor on top of where we live. He does this a lot.

Put him in jail. San Quentin is a

California State facility, maybe he could be put in Atlanta, Ft. Leavenworth or Wormwood Scrubs which I hear are really rotten prisons.

With total sincerity, I love Ronald Reagan and Nancy too.

Signed,
A Fink

P.S. I think I changed my mind. If he's in jail, what about my birthday present?

Tear Gas Grenade Attack at Lincoln Center

JDL Zionists Terrorize Soviet Dance Performance

It was supposed to be the opening night performance of the universally acclaimed Soviet dance company, the Moiseyev. The Metropolitan Opera House was filled with a standing-room-only audience of 4,000. Minutes into the opening number a tear gas grenade exploded in the audience and marbles were thrown on the floor to sow panic. Simultaneously, the news media received phone calls from the fascistic Jewish Defense League taking responsibility for this vicious terror strike and warning, "These actions will continue and escalate. Never again!" The virulent, right-wing anti-Soviet political climate emanating from Washington and Wall Street is breeding fascist terror across the country. On September 2, the JDL Zionist stormtroopers for Cold War II bombed Lincoln Center.

In the audience that night were the Soviet ambassador to the U.S., Yuri Dubinin, and the dance company's 81-year-old founder and leader Igor Moiseyev. After the JDL thugs had done their dirty work Moiseyev said through an interpreter: "I don't think that anything like this could happen in the Soviet Union. But at the same time it is not the fault of the American public." Indeed, the audience that night, many in black tie and gown, expressed their solidarity with the dance company and their outrage at JDL terror. After the grenade exploded, even though the orchestra filed out, the dance company continued to perform while substantial sections of the audience remained in their seats, defying the effects of the gas and applauding. The courage and discipline of the dancers helped arrest panic. And as they poured, sneezing and coughing, out of the opera house, the crowd went after a scruffy bunch of

"Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry" as perpetrators of the terror attack. To shouts of "Nazi scum!" the anti-Soviet protesters were taken away in police custody.

Meanwhile, Mayor Koch was rushed to the scene in his limousine to compare the JDL to the Palestine Liberation Organization as the "scum of the earth." But the racist pig mayor's real attitude toward Zionist terror was demonstrated by his parading through the streets of Queens with General Ariel Sharon after

in Ramallah or Bedford-Stuyvesant.

The JDL was founded by Brooklyn-born rabbi Meir Kahane (aka Michael King in the days when he tried to pass himself off as a gentile). Since Kahane went off to be the führer of an Israeli Reich, his American followers have splintered. The pro-Zionist *New York Times* leapt on the disclaimer of one JDL *Gauleiter* Irv Rubin. However another, Chaim Ben Yosef, in a news conference on the following day, "applauded" the action, ascribing it to one of his "Russian Jewish supporters," and warned prospective ticket buyers of further attack. And to make the position of his "movement" unambiguously clear, the would-be Hitler of Zion himself, Rabbi Kahane, hailed the terrorist strike at Lincoln Center.

What particularly drives genocidal maniacs like Kahane and his fascist ilk is a burning hatred not only of the Soviet Union and communism, but of culture itself, especially art forms like dance which have a universal appeal. As with any major cultural presentation of this kind in New York City, the audience for the Moiseyev troupe contained a large number of Jews, an expression of enlightened cosmopolitanism, the best side of Jewish tradition, the side which the Kahanes as well as the *Commentary* gaggle—and indeed all anti-Semites—revile.

Igor Moiseyev and his dance company are very much a product of the intellectual and cultural ferment stimulated by the Russian Revolution. As a young dancer and later choreographer for the Bolshoi Ballet in the 1920s, Moiseyev struggled to break with the rigid classicism of traditional Russian ballet and introduce the rich folk cultures and traditions of the Soviet



Handschuh/NY Post

Victim of fascistic JDL attack.

Union's diverse peoples. His 155-member dance company, officially called the State Academic Ensemble of Popular Music of the USSR, will celebrate its 50th anniversary next February. Over the years Moiseyev has reached outside the Soviet Union, to Latin America, for example, to enrich his company's repertoire.

It was 12 years since the Moiseyev was last in the U.S. and the present tour is part of the "cultural exchange" that is the only concrete result of the Gorbachev-Reagan summit. The Russian bureaucracy hailed the "summit" as a triumph of "détente." But Reagan's anti-Soviet provocations and military buildup continue unabated, and the JDL terror strike is but the advance guard of that war drive. "Détente" with crisis-racked and war-frenzied imperialism is a dangerous illusion. If human civilization is to be spared the nightmare of renewed fascist barbarism or nuclear annihilation, the Soviet Union must return to the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky. And the proletariat of the West must bury once and for all the hideous imperialist system which will stop at nothing to wipe out the legacy of the October Revolution. Only then can the brotherhood of peoples, expressed artistically through a group like the Moiseyev, become a social reality for all the world. ■

2 September

Embassy of the USSR
Washington, D.C.
Moiseyev Dance Company
New York, NY

We express outrage over tear gas explosion by fascistic JDL at Moiseyev Dance Co. opening night. Reagan salutes SS graves at Bitburg—Koch fetes butcher of Sabra-Shatila General Sharon—Zionist thugs bomb Lincoln Center. We bitterly denounce "free world" terror fueled by anti-Soviet war hysteria.

Spartacist League

that butcher presided over the massacre of hundreds of Palestinians in a Nazi-like holocaust at the Sabra/Shatila refugee camps outside Beirut. Koch orders his killer cops to treat turnstile jumpers as if they were PLO terrorists and residents of black and Latin ghettos as if they were living under the Zionist jackboot in the West Bank. But the crowd that frequents Lincoln Center is not used to being treated as if they were

Drop Charges Against William Depperman!

Koch Frames the Poster Man

In a police sting personally ordered by vindictive New York mayor Edward I. Koch, undercover cops from the elite "Major Case Squad" set up, entrapped and on August 18 busted William Depperman for the "crime" of posting up his famous "CIA conspiracy" wall posters. He was held in detention for 40

hours at 1 Police Plaza, and incredibly charged with felonious criminal mischief, punishable by up to four years in prison! On August 26, the cops busted into Depperman's place, breaking down the door, confiscating his posters and other "subversive literature."

Depperman and his wall posters,

alleging a CIA plot behind the Kennedy assassination, and his current campaign that "AIDS is Germ Warfare by the U.S. Government," are a fixture on the New York scene. But racist pig Koch, whose cops bludgeon, stun-gun and shoot black people in this city with impunity, doesn't like seeing the posters when he drives around town. According to the *New York Times* (21 August):

"City officials said the police were called in on the investigation in mid-July after Mayor Koch, riding uptown in his car, spotted some of Mr. Depperman's handiwork and asked an aide what the Sanitation Department could do about it."

Whereupon the city's *major case unit* (used on the Brinks job and against the nebulous Black Liberation Army) was assigned to track Depperman, infiltrate his tiny group, enlist in postering in order to arrest him on the spot! Normally, postering is not even a criminal offense, but akin to a traffic violation. But in this case they are trying to crank it up to a Class E felony, and are even planning to convene a grand jury!

Depperman told *WV* that he became a personal thorn in the mayor's side years ago when, he claims, his posters spiked Koch's gubernatorial bid. He also believes, of course, that Koch is acting under the direction of the CIA. Further, he says, there is the "aspect of scapegoating," to get the heat off City Hall, for the rampant corruption and crime "which extends from the mayor's



A Depperman poster.

office on down."

This is a clear free speech case. Depperman was vindictively singled out, but the target could be anyone who looks cross-eyed at the mayor—any leftist, or even a little theater group, which posters to advertise events. We call to abolish all these laws against postering and political protest. The bourgeoisie has the *New York Times* plus the gutter press to spread its propaganda. McDonald's even has a blimp! So hands off William Depperman! Drop all the charges! The Partisan Defense Committee has sent protest telegrams to Mayor Koch and D.A. Morgenthau, and a contribution to Depperman to defray his legal expenses. ■

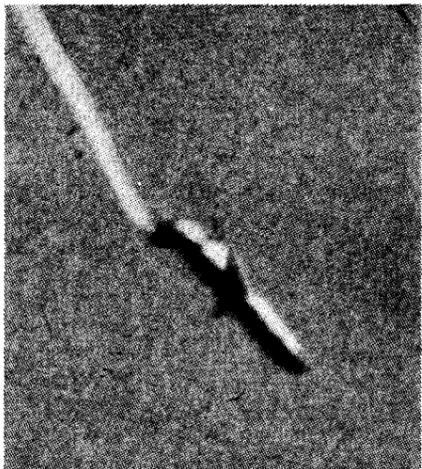
SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

<p>Atlanta Box 4012 Atlanta, GA 30302</p> <p>Boston Box 840, Central Sta. Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-3928</p> <p>Chicago Box 6441, Main PO Chicago, IL 60680 (312) 663-0715</p> <p>Cleveland Box 91037 Cleveland, OH 44101 (216) 621-5138</p>	<p>Detroit Box 32717 Detroit, MI 48232</p> <p>Los Angeles Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta. Los Angeles, CA 90029 (213) 384-9716</p> <p>Madison c/o SYL, Box 2074 Madison, WI 53701 (608) 257-8625</p> <p>New York Box 444, Canal St. Sta. New York, NY 10013 (212) 267-1025</p>	<p>Norfolk Box 1972, Main PO Norfolk, VA 23501</p> <p>Oakland Box 32552 Oakland, CA 94604 (415) 835-1535</p> <p>San Francisco Box 5712 San Francisco, CA 94101 (415) 863-6963</p> <p>Washington, D.C. Box 75073 Washington, D.C. 20013 (202) 636-3537</p>
--	--	---

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138



Francis/Sygma

Aeroméxico DC-9, after colliding with private plane, crashes near Cerritos, California August 31.

In late August the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) implemented Reagan's drug witchhunt by suddenly removing 34 air traffic controllers from their jobs at the regional Palmdale, California control center because some anonymous person had made allegations about off-duty use of drugs at a private party. Under Attorney General Meese's system of justice, you are guilty until proven innocent, so the FAA had instantly ousted more than *one-fifth* of the fully-qualified Palmdale air traffic controllers. "Transfer of Controllers Said Not to Hurt Safety" was the *New York Times* (24 August) headline summary of the FAA action.

Not quite two weeks later an Aeroméxico DC-9 jetliner approaching Los Angeles International Airport collided in midair with a small Piper Cherokee plane, killing all 67 passengers and crew members in the air and releasing a flaming aluminum shower into the L.A. suburb of Cerritos, where about ten homes were destroyed and perhaps another two dozen people killed. The DC-9 had just come under the control of the LAX airport tower "near a point where control... is ordinarily transferred from the F.A.A. control center at Palmdale" (*New York Times*, 1 September). In fact the collision point marks the intersection of Reaganite union-busting, deregulated "free enterprise" and the drug witchhunt.

Since the media don't want to indict Reagan, they are reporting this "accident" as if fate had pre-ordained it: "because of the high density of traffic," noted one typical comment in the *Times* two days later, "it was only a matter of time before more accidents occurred." Investigators and journalists are focusing narrowly on whether the pilot of the private Piper plane had had a heart

Rehire Fired PATCO Controllers— Down with Drug Witchhunt!

Reagan Roulette At L.A. Airport

attack, whether he had entered the controlled airspace without getting permission from L.A. airport controllers, and whether the Piper's electronic transponder was transmitting a signal which would register on the controller's radar screen. It appears the Piper pilot had not gotten permission, and his transponder was of the kind that does not transmit critical altitude information. One possibility is that the airport controller missed the unauthorized blip on his radar screen because of the distraction caused by yet another private plane reported to be in the area.

But the endless battle with "general aviation" or private aircraft owners, who rebel against imposition of the tighter safety regulations which allegedly apply to commercial airlines, is a side point. The central fact is that air safety has been shot to hell across the board in the last five years directly as a result of Reagan administration policy:

- The air traffic control workforce has been cut to pieces. When the PATCO air traffic controllers struck in 1981, the total workforce was about 16,250. Reagan fired all 11,400 striking union members. Today there are only 14,000 controllers, and the percentage of those fully "qualified" has dropped from 82 to 61 percent, while airplane traffic in busy cities like New York is up an average of 19 percent.

With 100,000 flights a day at American airports, even the government's General Accounting Office felt compelled to warn in a report last March that the controller workforce was "stretched too thin." Many of today's controllers were scabs in the 1981 strike, but now are talking about bringing in a union because of the degeneration of working conditions.

- The skilled maintenance force for FAA radars and other airport equipment has been *cut in half*, from 12,400 in

1978 to 6,350 today. Meanwhile the facilities they tend have expanded by over 15 percent.

- The number of FAA inspectors has dropped drastically as a result of budget cuts, from some 2,000 in 1979 to 1,300 five years later. During the same period, the number of commercial airlines practically *doubled* as a result of deregulation.

- From 1980 to 1984 the number of mechanics employed by airlines decreased by at least 3,000. Meanwhile, the nation's commercial air fleets have reached the midpoint of their economic lives, when the airframes develop many more cracks from metal fatigue, normally requiring laborious methods to find and fix.

The result is a deadly breakdown of air safety at every level. In 1985 the FAA fined American Airlines \$1.5 million for accumulated safety violations, and more recently has been trying to collect a \$9.5 million fine from Eastern Airlines for 8,000 documented violations. And now the Reaganite wonders of "free enterprise" bootstrap operations are hitting the rocks of bankruptcy—e.g., dollar-hungry People Express takeover-shutdown of Frontier Airlines, World Airways' cancellation of scheduled passenger service—while the older, experienced airlines are cutting down through the bone. Eastern just announced the layoff of over 1,500 heavily centered in the maintenance department.

Coupled with this is a vicious union-busting campaign, from Continental Airlines to TWA's recent smashing of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants. And now the Reaganites add a drug witchhunt, part of the general offensive against civil liberties which accompanies the regimentation of the population for the rulers' drive toward war. So the stress-ridden controllers can't even unwind at a Saturday night party for fear of the Meese police



UPI

Cerritos: Victims of union-busting and drug-scare witchhunt against air traffic controllers.

bursting through the door.

It's all the end result of the mad capitalist scramble for profits, a *bipartisan* program: recall that the game plan to destroy PATCO was drawn up by the Democratic Carter administration, and the original Airline Deregulation Act of 1978 was sponsored by Democratic Senators Edward Kennedy and Howard Cannon. Today Democratic Congressmen spend their time competing with the White House in proposing even harsher penalties for "drug abuse." As one frustrated Transamerica pilot, Dave Lithgow, pointed out in a recent exposé:

"Community interest, public safety—you just can't turn that over to laissez-faire market forces and say, 'Oh well, after we kill a few thousand people, insurance rates will go up and force airplanes to be safer.' But that's the way the Reagan administration views it. That just drives me bananas."

—"Out of Control" by Sheryl Fragin, *Village Voice*, 10 June

We have pointed out (in "1985: Year of the Air Disaster," *WV* No. 394, 3 January) that last year 2,000 people worldwide died in air crashes, many traceable to declining safety standards in the U.S. This is far more than the 84 killed in terrorist actions in airplanes and airports, but for the Reaganites it's just the "normal" product of "market forces." Clearly many pilots, air controllers, mechanics and other airline workers see what's going on and don't like it one bit—indeed, it was safety issues, notably understaffing, which led to the 1981 PATCO strike. As we wrote in "Reagan's Deadly Skies" (*WV* No. 383, 12 July 1985), "union rights and passenger safety go hand in hand." It will take a planned, socialist economy run by the working class to put an end to the capitalist anarchy in the skies. Rehire fired PATCO air controllers! Down with the drug witchhunt! ■

Spartacist 4 Forums

U.S./South Africa: "Free World" Butchers

Smash KKK/Nazi Terror! • Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

Speaker: Ed Kartsen, Spartacist League Central Committee

Tuesday, September 23, 7:30 p.m.
Undergraduate Library Lecture Room
Howard University

For more information: (202) 636-3537

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Friday, September 26, 7:30 p.m.
Borough of Manhattan
Community College, Room N402

For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK

"We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution"

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, Spartacist League Central Committee

Friday, September 19, 7:30 p.m.
145 Dwinelle, UC Berkeley

For more information: (415) 835-1535

BERKELEY

Saturday, September 20, 7:30 p.m.
Unitarian Church
1187 Franklin St. at Géary

For more information: (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

Trotskyist League of Canada Forum

**From Sri Lanka to Germany to
Canada: Defend Tamil Rights!**

Fight Cold War Racism!

- Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign-Born Workers!
- Labor/Minority Mobilizations to Stop Fascist Terror!

Speaker: Jane Clancy,
Trotskyist League of Canada

Saturday, September 20, 7:30 p.m.
International Students Centre
33 St. George St. (North of College)
University of Toronto

For more information: (416) 593-4138

TORONTO

Labor, Blacks Must Crush Racist Terror in Chicago!

Speaker: Ed Clarkson
SL Central Committee

Guest Speaker: Kevin Quirk
member, ATU Local 241

Saturday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.
Hyde Park Hilton
4900 South Lake Shore Drive

For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Defend Nicaragua! Smash U.S. War Moves!

Eyewitness Account: Michele Lewis

Thursday, September 25, 7:00 p.m.
YM Lounge, Wilder Hall
Oberlin College

Sponsored by Oberlin Spartacus Youth Club
For more information: (216) 621-5138
or write: Wilder Box 58

OBERLIN

Young Spartacus

Protests Hit Harvard's Filthy Fête

Spartacist youth militants joined a protest September 5 against Secretary of State George Shultz, keynote speaker at Harvard's filthy 350th anniversary fête, as a Cambridge police SWAT team guarded the ivied walls. The night before, '69 alumni including many veterans of the Harvard student strike against U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam joined student demonstrators and successfully forced the cancellation of Harvard President Bok's alumni dinner, sending tuxedo-clad luminaries packing to find dinner elsewhere. One such notable was Peter J. Solomon, former deputy mayor of NYC who snapped: "They should have hauled those people away.... That's what Ed Koch would have done."

Harvard "celebrated" the British

monarchy on November 4 with an address by that self-proclaimed "anachronism," Prince Charles. Obscenely, Harvard also raised the Confederate flag—banner of the slave South—to mark its 350th anniversary as a bastion of race and class privilege. Harvard's orgy of reaction has not gone unprotested, despite the fact that the "festivities" were consciously scheduled before the opening of classes. We communist youth look forward to leading Harvard students in the fight against the imperialist filth in which ruling-class "Hahvard" revels. We're looking for a few good class traitors like John Reed ('10) who turned his back on this elite imperialist thinktank and dedicated his life to the struggle for world socialist revolution. Join us!



Young Spartacus

"Year of Fire, Year of Ash"

Soweto Youth Rebellion, 1976

This article was principally written by Alan Roux, who was an activist in the National Union of South African Students at the time of the 1976-77 Soweto rebellion.

Last June 16 South Africa experienced the biggest general strike in its history. That strike was carried out in defiance of the white rulers' "state of emergency," declared four days earlier expressly to suppress the planned action. What was the significance of June 16? It was the tenth anniversary of the beginning of the Soweto rebellion in which over a thousand black student youth were murdered by the racist police state.

The Soweto rebellion is universally recognized as a turning point in recent South African history. The courage and sacrifice of that struggle continue to inspire the far greater black revolt which has shaken the apartheid state in the past two years. And the militancy of South Africa's black youth has in turn inspired the oppressed around the world, especially in America's hellish ghettos. However, in the clashes of South Africa's black youth with the security forces we see the agonizing impasse of the South African revolution: on the one hand the mass heroism which testifies that apartheid is inevitably doomed; on the other, the gross military inequality which shows that it is far from defeated.

We do not share the facile triumphalism of so much of the left which seems to believe that every black martyred in the struggle against apartheid brings the South African revolution that much closer. In a sense we do share the sentiments of South African black militant Oupa Mthimkulu, who after the Soweto uprising wrote a poem called *Nineteen Seventy-Six*:

Go nineteen seventy-six
We need you no more
Never come again
We ache inside.
Good friends we have



Peter Magubane

Thousands of unarmed youth rose up against racist South African police state.

Lost.
Nineteen seventy-six
You stand accused
of deaths
Imprisonments
Exiles
And detentions.
You lost the battle
You were not revolutionary
Enough
We do not boast about you
Year of fire, year of ash.

—reprinted in Baruch Hirson,
Year of Fire, Year of Ash
(1979)

The 1976 Soweto rebellion was "not revolutionary enough" centrally because it did not link the struggle against apartheid to the fight for workers power. And this fundamental weakness

continues to beset the last two "years of fire, years of ash."

Education for Slavery

For township youth growing up in the shadow of the cities, education has always been nonexistent or lousy. In 1945 an Afrikaner member of the whites-only parliament declared frankly:

"We should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this... who is going to do the manual labour in the country?"

—quoted in *Year of Fire*...

Like their American counterparts, South Africa's white rulers see no need to provide a decent education for black youth, whose future is unemployment or menial work. But in education as in

so many ways, racial oppression in South Africa is qualitatively more extreme. Apartheid educational policy resembles that of the Southern slaveholders, who forbade slaves being taught to read, for a literate slave is harder to control. It was once he understood as a young slave how enforced ignorance gave the white man power over the black that the great abolitionist Frederick Douglass became determined to teach himself to read. Similarly, Nelson Mandela and many of South Africa's other black leaders, expelled from colleges or in jail, have had to educate themselves, studying by correspondence.

In the 1950s, the Afrikaner Nationalist regime began to implement a conscious policy of "Bantu Education." Private black schools were taken over by the state; the one black university was replaced by tribal colleges and blacks prohibited from attending white universities; thousands of children from the townships were forced to get their schooling in "their" respective tribal bantustans; tribal languages were emphasized as the medium of instruction.

Naturally, separate does not mean equal. Per capita state spending on white schoolchildren was 15 times as much as on black children in 1975-76. A quarter of Soweto's schools had no buildings of their own, but used church halls, tents and other buildings, sometimes with two classes in the same room. Black parents had to pay for their children's textbooks, while white children got theirs free.

It was the growing stratum of students near the end of high school, many in their early twenties, who tasted the full bitterness of Bantu Education. If they graduated, they found themselves in a bind: poorly equipped for further study, often barred from skilled jobs, though there was a growing shortage of whites to fill them; and, if they got jobs, earning a fraction of what their white

continued on page 6

Soweto Youth Rebellion...

(continued from page 5)

counterparts were paid.

Yet the Bantu Education planners were not done. In 1975-76 they began to impose a new insult, the requirement that half of all black high school classes not taught in an African tongue be taught in Afrikaans, the language of the hated "Boere," the Afrikaner cops and their government. Up until then, most courses had been taught in English, which for South African blacks is the doorway to world culture. On 16 June 1976, police fired on a demonstration in Soweto against the imposition of Afrikaans. On that day the "class of '76"—one of the first to spend its entire schooling under Bantu Education—"graduated," shattering forever the schemes of education for slavery.

Behind the Youth Revolt

The education crisis reflected the central contradiction of apartheid: the whole economy was becoming ever



ANC
Student rebellion was triggered by forced imposition of Afrikaans, language of the hated Boer baas (master).

more dependent on the black proletariat, yet the preservation of white supremacy required totalitarian measures to repress all social consequences of that development. For example, just as there were more high school students with nowhere to go, relatively skilled workers whose incomes were rising found themselves living in ever more crowded conditions, because the government virtually prohibited more housing being built in the townships. In the face of increasing urbanization, the regime pressed ahead with its grand design of consigning all blacks to the impoverished bantustans many blacks had never seen.

But as Pretoria kept tightening the screws, apartheid was being successfully challenged for the first time in over a decade. Black workers were stirring inside the country. The massive Durban strikes in 1973 heralded strike waves in other regions over the next two years, and the first steps in the formation of new independent unions. The strike waves, directly involving many thousands, showed that resistance was possible under apartheid. Repeatedly strikers caught the bosses and cops off guard in spontaneous actions that spread from factory to factory. Even when they did not win their demands, they proved that their power to stop production could avert the savage repression that normally meets black protest.

In 1974, Portuguese colonialism collapsed in Mozambique and Angola, bled by guerrilla wars. In 1975-76, a Cuban expeditionary force supplied by the Soviet Union turned the tide for the anti-colonial MPLA in Angola, forcing CIA-backed South African troops to withdraw. The Cuban intervention in Angola shattered the myth of white South African invincibility, inspiring the black masses. "Viva MPLA!" was a

popular chant in the Soweto uprising.

Why was it that in this climate black student youth attained such political prominence? The answer lies in the bloody defeat of resistance to apartheid almost a generation before, at the beginning of the 1960s. That defeat flowed from the reformism of the anti-apartheid formations, chiefly the African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party (SACP), which followed a strategy of "nonviolent" resistance to pressure the apartheid state into granting blacks democratic rights. Not only was this strategy futile—the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 showed it to be suicidal. The ANC and SACP were driven underground and forced into exile.

In the wake of Sharpeville, a generation of black South Africans were beaten into submission. Meanwhile, apartheid capitalism was destroying black family life, forcing husband and wife, parent and child to live hundreds of miles apart in the cities and bantustans, while simultaneously seeking to bolster the authoritarianism of traditional relations. When the youth revolt came, it was tinged with resentment over the widespread passivity of the parents. Intergenerational hostility was a factor in some of the campaigns the youth waged in the townships, such as the effort physically to stamp out alcohol consumption, and in the occasional violent clashes between students and workers.

Despite these negative features of the Soweto rebellion, the black student youth fought heroically and in many ways effectively against apartheid rule. Practically unarmed, they destroyed hundreds of facilities of the apartheid bureaucracy, such as the "pass" offices. Student councils, particularly the ones in Soweto, called consumer, bus and school boycotts and forced the regime's puppet black municipal councils to resign. In 1977, they called a rent strike in Soweto which succeeded in getting a rent increase indefinitely postponed.

Black Consciousness and the Soweto Rebellion

During the early 1970s the ANC was a rather moribund organization within South Africa, effectively suppressed by the totalitarian police state. The reviving workers movement of the '70s had no clear political voice. For the first few years it expressed itself largely in terms of industrial demands. It was in this near-vacuum of black political organization that the youth of 1976 came to be inspired by the viewpoint of Black Consciousness.

The Black Consciousness Movement originated among black college and seminary students in the late 1960s in a break with the paternalism of liberal whites in the impotent multiracial organizations of that time. The movement was to a large extent organized and shaped by Steve Biko, whose courageous voice was silenced when South African cops beat him to death in 1977. As in the early stages of the "Black Power" movement in the U.S., the ferment that surrounded the repudiation by these young black leaders of the liberal mainstream held the possibility that they would move in a genuinely anti-capitalist direction. But there was no communist party which could intervene effectively to promote that development: in the U.S., the Spartacist League was too small to break through; in South Africa no such party even existed.

The emphasis of Black Consciousness was on "psychological liberation," the instilling of black pride. Its watchword was "Black man, you are on your own." Whites were to be excluded from "black" politics. Black Consciousness had no place for the white anti-apartheid activists who were beginning to play an important role in the establishment of the new black unions. Thoroughly petty-bourgeois, the movement toyed with utopian schemes for black "economic self-reliance" such as

Funds for Nicaragua Urgently Needed!

Embattled Nicaragua needs dollars for everything from military defense to spare parts to medicine. Last spring, after the U.S. decreed a trade embargo against Nicaragua, the Spartacus Youth League collected over \$25,000 from students, workers and leftists in this country. We now appeal again for donations to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution. Reagan's "contra congress" has approved \$100 million in aid to the anti-Sandinista terrorists; the U.S. plans to use Green Berets to train contra commanders in their counter-revolutionary campaign of assassination, torture and sabotage against the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. We say: Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Make checks payable to: Student Commit-



Popular "Nicabutton" raised \$\$\$ to defend Nicaraguan Revolution.

tee to Defend Nicaragua. Mail to: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Your dollars can help crush the contras.

the establishment of black banks and factories. While espousing a vague "black communalism" it included outspoken anti-communists in its ranks.

The Black Consciousness organizations were overwhelmingly black students, clergymen and other professionals. The organization of black workers was never central to their activities. But then, it had little to offer them. While Black Consciousness-inspired students thought it radical to refuse to take a job in the "white man's economy," black workers had no such option.

Nonetheless these militant student youth did grope toward a recognition of the power of black workers. They called four mass work "stayaways" in Soweto in 1976. The first was in significant measure a youth initiative which they sought to enforce by blocking transport out of Soweto. The second gained widespread support among Soweto residents, but the failure of the students to involve the migrant workers living in their separate hostels triggered a bloody rampage by the migrants. In the third, a large section of the migrants had been won over, but the fourth, an attempt at a five-day stayaway, the longest so far, failed as the community was hard-pressed to survive yet another stayaway and the bosses' associations clamped down, threatening to fire all who took part.

The Road to Workers Power

The main lesson that has been drawn from the Soweto stayaways is that youth



ANC
Workers unite with students in Johannesburg march to protest Soweto massacre.

must seek to work more closely with workers, not try to impose labor actions on them. But the problems of 1976 go deeper, to the nature of the stayaway tactic itself. In 1976-77, few blacks were unionized. The students could pull off mass actions, but they had no perspective of building worker organizations that would have power not just in the segregated townships but at the point of production, in the "white man's economy." While some student leaders imagined that spreading stayaways could make the government fall by paralyzing the economy, the stayaways, being

called for a limited time set in advance, were more labor demonstrations than strikes. Mobilizing workers by township rather than by factory and industry, the stayaways left workers vulnerable to scabbing and dismissal. Thus during 1977 the Soweto rebellion died out having failed to find the road to workers power.

Nonetheless, following the year of fire and ash there emerged, at first slowly and then explosively, a young, combative and potentially powerful black and coloured (mixed-race) movement from the docks of Cape Town and Durban to the auto plants of the Eastern Cape and the gold mines of the Witwatersrand. Many former Black Consciousness radicals were drawn into the black union movement, and indeed became leaders of it—for example, Cyril Ramaphosa, head of the powerful National Union of Mineworkers. And in general graduates of the class of '76 play major roles in the present anti-apartheid struggles: for example, Patrick Lekota, a principal spokesman for the ANC-backed United Democratic Front.

While most of the young radicals of '76 have since abandoned student-youth vanguardism and Black Consciousness in its pure form, they remain imbued with a nationalist outlook that is counterposed to proletarian revolution and to building a communist vanguard party. Thus it is in good measure due to the influence of former Black Consciousness activists that South Africa's powerful black workers movement remains politically shackled to petty-

bourgeois nationalism, principally the ANC with its program for building a "democratic, nonracial" South Africa in collaboration with "progressive" white capitalists like Anglo American head Gavin Relly. To break the chains of apartheid slavery, the black workers movement, leading behind it all the oppressed, must fight for its own class power. Key to the South African revolution is forging a Bolshevik party which will unite black African, coloured, Indian and white communists in the struggle for a black-centered workers government. ■

Who Killed the Hormel Strike

A year after Austin, Minnesota meatpackers went on strike against union-busting "takebacks," the scabherding labor tops of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) have "settled" with Hormel: 900 members of Local P-9 lost their jobs to the hundreds of scabs who were escorted into the plant under the guns of the National Guard.

The strike was knifed in March, when the UFCW traitors withdrew sanction and the local leadership consolidated around a program of defeat. Then the International moved in to finish off the job they started when the strike began—the smashing of the militant P-9. This scab contract is a victory for Hormel, the scabs, the UFCW International and the capitalist state. And now with an upcoming National Labor Relations Board representation election at Hormel, there may be *no union* in Austin.

For months the Hormel strike was a beacon to hundreds of thousands of workers across the country who were inspired by P-9's roving pickets and their fight against the AFL-CIO labor traitors. After years of having concessions rammed down their throats by the labor bureaucracy in exchange for a seat on the company board, after seeing PATCO isolated and abandoned to Reagan's ax, finally someone was calling the labor tops like UFCW president William Wynn by their right name—scab!

The Wynn gang smashed the militant P-9 local to enforce their wage-slashing givebacks in the meatpacking industry. They collaborated openly with Hormel and the bosses' government, even sending scab UFCW "organizers" into the Austin plant as soon as the National Guard troops sent in by Democratic Party "friend of labor" governor Rudy Perpich opened up the plant in late January.

The striking meatpackers and all workers who were rooting for P-9 to win are asking themselves: who killed the Hormel strike? The courageous P-9ers were up against a solid front of the bosses, the capitalist state and their own union tops, but they had the guts to fight. What they didn't have was a *leadership with the program to win*. The local P-9 leadership, under President James Guyette, put their faith in the liberal pressure tactics, civil disobedience and consumer boycott of Ray Rogers' Corporate Campaign Inc. and



AFL-CIO News

UFCW International president William Wynn.

the National Rank and File Against Concessions (NRFAC), who betrayed the militant Hormel strikers.

Unlike the host of fake socialists who tailed NRFAC, the Spartacist League fought for the program to *win*. At the moment when the fate of the strike hung in the balance, we wrote:

"But the call for a consumer boycott against Spam and Dinty Moore Stew is a diversion from the crucial struggle to *shut down Hormel*. Twin Cities auto workers, Iowa meatpackers, Chicago newspaper strikers—labor organizations from all over the Upper Midwest must mobilize to flood Austin with thousands of unionists who can send the scabs scurrying! There must be political

strike action to beat back the National Guard strikebreaking!"
—WV No. 396, 31 January

Faced with the mobilization of the National Guard, NRFAC, Guyette and Rogers *retreated* from any attempts to shut down the Austin plant, where the



WV Photos



Levison/Minneapolis Star and Tribune

For months militant Hormel meatpackers battled bosses, scabs, National Guard and strikebreaking union tops.

future of the strike lay. Increasingly, "Support P-9" became a traveling road show, instead of hard class struggle *in Austin*. NRFAC leaders like Dave Foster, a leader of a Steelworkers local in Minneapolis, refused to mobilize the ranks of their own union locals for fear of angering the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

The strike came to a head in March, when the UFCW International removed the strike's sanction and began its takeover of the local. The P-9 leadership then decisively rejected labor struggle, turning instead to *suing the union in the bosses' courts*, which will only increase government control of the unions. And while NRFAC leaders, following the political program of the reformist Communist Labor Party, channeled "P-9 support" work into harmless consumer boycotts and "moral witness" civil disobedience, Hormel, the cops and the UFCW were not appeased. At an April 11-12 protest and march in Austin, P-9ers were beaten and arrested by scores of riot cops. On May 8 the UFCW International moved to put P-9 in trusteeship, and under a judge's order the Wynn gang occupied the Austin Labor Center on June 2. The response of Guyette/NRFAC? To file an NLRB petition for the *decertification of the UFCW* and its replacement with "Original P-9" (since renamed the North American Meat Packers Union, NAMPU). The ballot will include a choice of *no union*, a serious danger in a plant with 1,100 scabs.

Fake-Lefts Cover for Hormel Betrayal

We told the truth to the Hormel strikers: that to win required mobiliza-

tion of Midwest labor to take the plant and drive out the National Guard, not calling on housewives to "cram your Spam"; that the strike was defeated in March, when it was knifed by the UFCW traitors and the P-9 leadership consolidated around a program of

bosses' courts, thereby shackling the unions to the capitalist state. But for years the CP has backed reformist hustlers who have appealed to the bourgeois courts and the U.S. Department of Labor against (to name only a few) the United Mine Workers, the National Maritime Union and the Steelworkers union. The only "principle" working here for the CP is their unswerving loyalty to the labor bureaucracy and their masters in the Democratic Party, the party of Taft-Hartley, the Vietnam War and the MOVE massacre.

The now virulently anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party has tailed Guyette all the way to the labor board and the federal courthouse. The SWP is aggressively promoting NAMPU's decertification drive, both in Austin and throughout the industry. These reformists, who began "supporting" the Hormel strike by censoring P-9's criticisms of the UFCW traitors, continue to flee from the hard fight against the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. The SWP's *Militant* of 29 August headlines, "Hormel workers continue the struggle," glorifying the decertification drive and the consumer boycott, while covering up for Guyette/NRFAC's betrayals.

Each in their own way, the CP and SWP have been *consistently* reformist. Not so for the political liars and bandits of the Workers League, whose "program" is not even consistent opportunism—but rather a series of lies and zigzags. David North's WL felt sure they were going to hit the reformist big time by hitching their star to the P-9 leadership's wagon. When Guyette consolidated around the consumer boycott and suing the union after the UFCW withdrew its strike sanction in March, the WL hailed this as "a great step forward for the entire labor movement." They told workers to look to the bureaucracy and away from labor struggle, demanding "the AFL-CIO and UFCW sanction and organize the nationwide boycott of Hormel products launched by the Austin strikers last month." Then they bombastically proclaimed: "The Hormel strike is the forerunner of the mass movement of the American working class against the capitalist system" (*Bulletin*, 18 March).

And when we told the *truth* about the P-9 leadership's betrayal, North & Co. went berserk. They claimed *Workers Vanguard* "totally distorted and slandered as a surrender" P-9's strategy of continuing the strike "through sit-in demonstrations in front of the plant and corporate offices, through the consumer boycott, and through a court suit filed against the International" (*Bulletin*, 1 April). For David North, P-9's "great step forward" lasted all of two weeks. The WL made an about-face and "discovered" that NRFAC leaders

defeat; and dragging the labor movement into the bosses' courts and labor boards can only help the capitalist class to smash working-class struggle. In contrast, a host of fake socialists, either through their *open* support to the UFCW strikebreakers, or tailing behind Corporate Campaign/NRFAC's reliance on liberal pressure and the capitalist state instead of mobilizing the power of the working class, betrayed the Hormel strikers.

The most slavish of Wynn's "socialist" supporters has been the reformist Communist Party. The CP was, and remains, "left-wing" apologists for the scabherding UFCW tops, attacking the P-9 strikers for months as "divisive" and "anti-union," while calling for "unity" with the strikebreaking Perpich! In a particularly obscene piece, CP labor reporter Bill Dennison praised Wynn & Co. in signing up the 600 scabs who entered the plant beginning in January, while P-9 strikers were being beaten and arrested on the picket line (*People's Daily World*, 26 July). In fact, the UFCW's organizers are scabs Wynn sent into the plant in February to break the strike!

In what must be close to an all-time record in reformist cynicism the CP, which sided with the scabherding UFCW International and the strikebreaking National Guard, turned around and attacked P-9 for... taking the UFCW to court! "Honest differences over strategy between trade unionists are not carried this far by anyone who has workers' interests at heart" (*Political Affairs*, April 1986). Marxists oppose the reformist practice of dragging the labor movement into the

continued on page 11

continued on page 11

continued on page 11

continued on page 11



P-9 leader James Guyette.

WV Photo

Contra Connection...

(continued from page 1)

today as head of the World Anti-Communist League the chief "private" fund-raiser for the contras, calls the uproar a "smokescreen" to obscure the "real issue"—what Reagan calls "Sandino-Communism." In fact, Democratic Party liberals have tried to get around the charge of being "soft on communism" by pointing to the contras' drug trafficking, gunrunning and money laundering. It's all true, of course, though hardly a Republican monopoly. Large-scale drug dealing by U.S. puppets goes back to the Vietnam War and beyond. From LBJ's Meo "general" Vang Pao and Saigon Marshal Ky to the Afghan mujaheddin leaders Reagan receives in the White House, opium is the religion of these people.

But the M.O. of the present gang in Washington, which claims the Soviet Union is an "evil empire," is to charge everyone on its "enemies list" with its own crimes. For Reagan, no lie is too big. Appealing for contra aid in March, in addition to claiming the Sandinistas were trying to "export revolution" to Brazil and had firebombed Jewish synagogues in Nicaragua, he charged that "top Nicaraguan government officials are deeply involved in drug trafficking." Brasilia expressed annoyance at this Reaganite fantasy, it turned out Managua's only synagogue was destroyed under Somoza, and the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) reported that "no evidence was developed to implicate the minister of the interior or other Nicaraguan officials." Later the administration conceded that drug traffickers "have tried to establish connections" with the contras and that some "may have engaged in such activity" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 April).

So what's behind the government smokescreen? In his March appeal Reagan held up a photo allegedly showing a Sandinista official present at a transshipment of Colombian drugs at a Nicaraguan airport. This "proof" first surfaced in July 1984 when the White House leaked it to the Moonies' *Washington Times*. The DEA named Frederico Vaughan, allegedly Nicaraguan



Taylor/Black Star

Contra leaders (from left) Arturo Cruz, Alfonso Robelo and Adolfo Calero raise blood money in Miami. Inset: contra slits throat of Nicaraguan prisoner.



Wohl/Sygma

Miami gun shop and contra meeting place owned by a suspected drug dealer and member of "Brigade 2506," the surviving *gusanos* from the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. As for Frederico Vaughan, the U.S. never made any effort to extradite him from Nicaragua. The Sandinistas, meanwhile, deny that Vaughan was ever a "top official" or has even worked for the Nicaraguan government at all since 1982.

Reagan's Contra Band

In fact, there are plenty of Nicaraguans involved in drug running, but they're connected with the contras' UNO (United Nicaraguan Opposition), as in "looking out for Numero..." Late last year it was reported that "Nicaraguan rebels operating in northern Costa Rica have engaged in cocaine trafficking, in part to help finance their war against Nicaragua's leftist government." According to the *Washington Post* (27 December 1985), "the smuggling involves individuals from the largest of the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary, or contra, groups, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (ARDE), as well as a splinter group known as M3." FDN and ARDE are both part of UNO, the umbrella group designated to receive Reagan's \$100 million in contra aid.

was approved. A CIA spokesman in response issued a classic "non-denial denial": "I would find it difficult to believe the United States would sanction anything like that." Zavala was working with Horacio Pereira in Costa Rica, and claims he delivered \$500,000 to the treasurer for the UDN-FARN contra organization of Fernando "El Negro" Chamorro. In June, Costa Rican courts sentenced Pereira to 12 years for drug trafficking. Earlier, in April, Adolfo Chamorro of ARDE was arrested as he illegally entered Costa Rica and was being "investigated for drug trafficking" (*Daily News*, 25 April). He was later sent back to the U.S.

U.S. deputy secretary of state Elliot Abrams testified to Congress in March that, after checking with the DEA, "there is absolutely no evidence... of any involvement with drugs by the FDN," the leading contra group, while admitting "there was an accusation involving another group." However, the *San Francisco Examiner* (23 June) reported that Norwin Meneses Cantarero, the brother of the former Managua chief of police under Somoza, admittedly trafficked in cocaine while acting as a host for FDN fundraising parties in the Bay Area and Los Angeles. Among his drug runners were three FDN members, including its SF representative Renato Pena-Cabrera, convicted on cocaine charges in 1985.

In May, National Public Radio journalist Tony Avirgan and his wife, journalist Martha Honey, filed a \$23.8 million suit against 30 individuals charging that they had smuggled weapons and drugs on behalf of the contras and were involved in the bungled plot to assassinate rival contra leader Edén Pastora, on the outs with the CIA. Avirgan and Honey were injured (eight were killed) by a bomb planted at a Pastora press conference in 1984. Named in the suit are Adolfo Calero, leader of UNO and the FDN; WACL head General Singlaub; former CIA training director of clandestine operations Thomas Clines; and Tom Posey, head of the Alabama-based Civilian Military Assistance group. The suit alleges that John Hull, an American who has been identified in the press as CIA representative to the contras, and others received money from Colombian drug dealers who refueled their planes on the airstrip on Hull's ranch in northern Costa Rica.

And the list goes on...

"Free World" Narco-Terrorism

"I can't imagine members of Congress wanting to commit the United States to providing an additional \$100 million over a period of a year and a half to groups that are alleged to be involved in drug smuggling and gun running and other criminal activity," said Democratic Congressman Michael Barnes (UPI, 11 April). This proves only that Barnes doesn't have much imagination. For the liberals, exposés about contra theft, drug and gunrunning by Reagan's

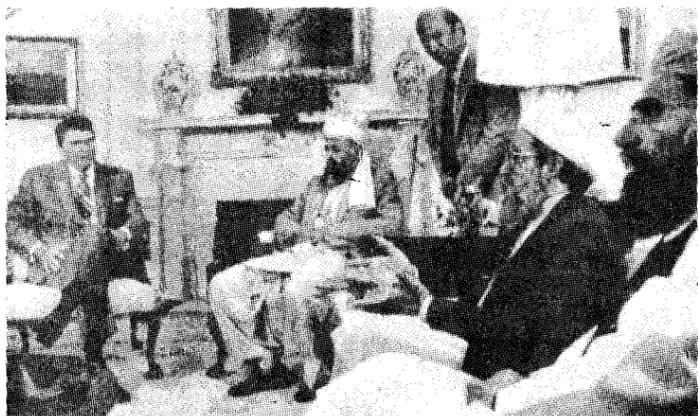
"brothers," are more indications that the contras are a gang of corrupt losers who haven't got a prayer of winning against the Sandinista militia or army troops. But the Democrats as well see Central America as the front line of the anti-Soviet war drive. They regularly authorized Reagan's contra aid until it became too embarrassing with an electorate that still remembers Vietnam, and then supported "humanitarian" aid for this gang of murderers and rapists. Now the Democratic-controlled House and Republican-controlled Senate have joined hands in supporting "free world" terrorism in Central America.

The Democrats don't think *all* drug smuggling is bad, of course. Consider Afghanistan. In February a State Department report to Congress described the "Golden Crescent" of Afghanistan and bordering areas of Pakistan as "the world's leading source of illicit heroin exports to the United States and Europe." And the producers and traffickers are none other than the Islamic guerrillas who are fighting a *jihad* (holy war) against Soviet troops and the Moscow-backed Kabul government. The CIA's feudalist reactionaries oppose land reform and shoot teachers as communists for instructing little girls how to read. A *New York Times* (18 June) article on a trip through rebel areas of Afghanistan reported extensive opium growing "in every village and town." "We must grow and sell opium to fight our holy war against the Russian nonbelievers," said a mujaheddin leader.

Don't hold your breath for any Congressional hearings on drug running by the Afghan contras, however. Already under Jimmy Carter, the Democrats were backing the mullah-led rebels, who reportedly receive more than \$250 million annually from the CIA. Washington routinely rejects reports of mujaheddin trafficking as Soviet "disinformation." When pound bars of hashish showed up in the Bay Area with a gold stamp saying, "Smoke Russia Away," this was dismissed as a "marketing gimmick" by California growers. They had more trouble explaining it away when DEA agents in Karachi, Pakistan seized a shipment of 17 tons of Afghan hash stamped "Freedom for Afghanistan" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 June). But it's all part of the anti-Soviet "fight for freedom," you see.

This is nothing new. During the Vietnam War, the CIA organized some 30,000 Laotian Meo (Hmong) tribesmen in a "secret army" headed by General Vang Pao to "fight communism." The U.S. "in effect subsidized and facilitated the marketing of the Meo's traditional crop... the CIA subsidized Vietnam Air Transport, whose pilots, including Nguyen Cao Ky, 'took advantage of this situation to fly opium from Laos to Saigon'" (James Pinckney Harrison, *The Endless War: Vietnam's Struggle for Independence* [1982]). Other CIA outfits involved in this drug trafficking from the Lao-Thai-Burmese border area were Civil Air Transport, Air Asia, Southern Air Transport, Bird Air and Air America, widely known as "Air Opium." Ky's defense: "every [one was]... involved in it in Vietnam during the war, the soldiers, the air force, the marines, the navy, the government."

Ky certainly isn't alone: the Duvaliers in Haiti, General Stroessner in Paraguay, Somoza in Nicaragua, Batista in Cuba, the Kuomintang in China—scratch an American puppet and you'll find a big-time drug trafficker. Talk about a truly "evil empire"—in Reagan's America, "right to life" means bombing abortion clinics, "right to work" means union-busting. The Reagan/Meese "war on drugs" is equally Orwellian. The biggest drug pushers in the world are the *allies* of U.S. imperialism in an insane but very real drive toward war with the Soviet Union. It took a revolution to smash the drug traffickers and pimps who once ran cities like Shanghai, Havana and Saigon. It will take no less here. ■



Hosefros/NY Times

June 16: Reagan welcomes counter-revolutionary Afghan mullahs to White House.

Interior Minister Tomás Borge's "right-hand man," as the Sandinista mystery man. The photographer was one Barry Seal, whose career was detailed in a lengthy article in the *Village Voice* (1 July). In 1972, this former Special Forces pilot was discharged by TWA after being indicted for plotting to ship explosives to anti-Castro terrorists in Mexico. From 1977 to 1982 Seal smuggled marijuana from Ecuador and Colombia to Louisiana. Facing a drug rap, he offered his services to the DEA and flew cocaine from Colombia to Las Vegas, having arranged for the feds to seize both plane and cargo. Barry Seal was a flying narc, a dangerous occupation.

Seal was scheduled to testify against Colombian drug kingpins, who reportedly put a \$500,000 price on his head, but last February 19 he was gunned down in Baton Rouge. One of the weapons used reportedly came from a

This spring the *San Francisco Examiner* (16 March) broke open the spectacular "Frogman Case." In 1983, federal agents seized 430 pounds of cocaine as divers tried to unload it from a Colombian freighter at San Francisco's Pier 96. Subsequently, Carlos Cabezas and Julio Zavala were convicted for smuggling in federal court, but the records were sealed because they involved "classified operations." Cabezas, a former Somoza air force man, testified that the profits from the cocaine deals "belonged to... the contra revolution." Zavala actually produced letters from contra leaders saying \$36,020 in drug money seized by the government was for "the reinstatement of democracy in Nicaragua." The money was returned.

Zavala's lawyer claimed that "agents of the United States government" had "either sanctioned use of cocaine trafficking to raise funds for contra revolutionary activity" or led him to believe it

Stop INS McCarthyite Deportation!

Residency for Margaret Randall!

The Reagan/Meese thought police have struck again. On August 28 in El Paso, Texas, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) judge Martin F. Spiegel ruled that leftist author Margaret Randall is to be deported from the country of her birth because her writings "advocate the doctrines of world communism." This sinister government witchhunt, based on the McCarthyite 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, is part of a drive to regiment the U.S. population in the anti-Soviet war drive. The labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights must demand residency for Margaret Randall.

Randall, a professor at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, is the author of more than 40 books, many dealing with the struggles of women and Third World social revolutions against imperialism. She left the United States in 1961 and moved to Mexico City, marrying the poet Sergio Mondragón. In order to work, Randall acquired Mexican citizenship through her husband. When she advised the U.S. embassy of this fact, she says, "they literally renounced my American citizenship."

With Mondragón, Randall founded the bilingual literary magazine *El Corno Emplumado* (The Plumed Horn), which denounced the government slaughter of hundreds of protesters at Mexico City's Plaza de Tlatelolco in 1968. She was harassed by the police, and when paramilitary cops broke into her house,

taking her passport at gunpoint, the government refused to issue her another. Randall went into hiding, sent her children to Cuba, and then joined them several months later, living there until 1981. After Somoza was overthrown, she was invited to Nicaragua where she conducted the interviews with women which are the basis of her book, *Sandino's Daughters*.

In 1984, Randall returned to Albuquerque on a visitor's visa. She is now married to an American citizen and one of her daughters is likewise a U.S. citizen, but her own application for resident alien status was denied last October by the INS. This ruling has now been upheld in court, and December 1 has been set as the deadline for Randall to leave the country, after which she will be subject to deportation. Randall's lawyers at the Center for Constitutional Rights are appealing the decision.

The INS ruling last October 2 cited the McCarthy-era McCarran-Walter Act. This witchhunting legislation is used by the government to exclude people on the grounds of association with whatever it defines as "communism." A doctoral candidate at the State University of New York (Stony Brook), Choichiro Yatani, once went to an antiwar demonstration in Japan 20 years ago, so his name went on the blacklist. After a visit home this summer, he was nabbed by the INS and imprisoned for almost two months in a holding pen pending deportation, until

a public outcry won his release.

In Randall's case, INS judge Spiegel based his decision on her alleged advocacy of "communism" in *Spirit of the People* (a book about the Vietnam War), *Cuban Women Now* and other books. Randall says, "I do not believe that I've advocated the doctrines of world communism in my writings," but adds, "what if I had?" (During a four-day hearing in March, the INS also wanted to know about Randall's once working in a gay bar, and posing as an artist's model some 25 years ago.) As Randall put it in an interview:

"I'm to be deported for having spelled America with three K's in the 1960s, for having called the Attica prisoners 'my brothers' during that prison uprising, for being against U.S. policy in Southeast Asia and against U.S. policy in Central America today. These are the kind of things mentioned in the INS decision."

—The North Star, Spring 1986

The Center for Constitutional Rights and the ACLU filed a complaint in federal district court last October challenging the INS' refusal to grant Randall's resident visa. Other plaintiffs in the suit include PEN America Center and prominent liberal writers. In a telegram to the INS in April, the Partisan Defense Committee stated, "Vindictive apartheid-like exclusion from land of birth for opposition to U.S. imperialism evinces government assault on democratic and human rights. PDC demands permanent residency for writer Margaret Randall."

In Reagan's America there's plenty of room for anti-communist scum like the Nicaraguan contras, but none for those fleeing death squad terror in "free



Margaret Randall

Marilyn Humphries

world" countries like El Salvador. If you're a former Batista cop and gusano like the Cuban "wheelchair poet" Armando Valladares, the door's open wide. But if you are a friend of Fidel Castro like Nobel laureate Gabriel García Márquez, or the widow of Chilean president Salvador Allende assassinated in a U.S.-backed coup, it's slammed shut. Even among the world's many reactionary regimes, Reagan's America stands almost alone with Pinochet's Chile as a land where the native-born can be stripped of their birthright and deported for political opinions. Stop the witchhunt against Margaret Randall!

Protests should be sent to Alan C. Nelson, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Room 7100 Chester Arthur Building, 425 I Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20536. To contribute to the defense, send checks made out to "CCR-Randall Case" to the Center for Constitutional Rights, 666 Broadway, New York, NY 10012. ■

Amicus Briefs On Sale

Taking its cue from the White House pulpit and the fundamentalist Christian right, the government is waging war on basic First Amendment rights of separation of church and state, freedom of religious worship and right of political association. As Marxist organizations, the SL and PDC have sought to intervene in the legal arena in defense of these fundamental rights of vital importance to the workers movement and all defenders of democratic rights.

In 1982 Sun Myung Moon, head of the "Unification Church," was convicted of tax evasion and fraud, through the use of a legal device by which the government declared that assets held by Moon for his group were taxable personal property. Moon is a Korean who says he's god, thereby deeply offending white Christian America. So the government denied the Moonies the protections afforded religious organizations, despite Moon's credentials as a right-wing ideologue and financier of counterrevolutionary terror around the world.

Though the Moonies are among our most bitter political enemies, the SL submitted an *amicus curiae* ("friend of the court") brief to the U.S. Supreme Court, opposing the ugly spectre of government intrusion into constitutionally protected activities. The Supreme Court refused to hear the case. Reflected in the Moon case is the government's arrogant declaration of sole authority to determine the legitimacy of a religious organization. The government's treatment of unincorporated associations as legal nonentities presents a grave threat to established rights of voluntary groups organized for every kind of noncommercial

purpose from the religious to the political to the recreational.

Currently before the Supreme Court is an appeal of Louisiana's "Balanced-Treatment Act" which mandates the teaching of biblical "creationism" in public schools. The Louisiana law is a prototype of similar legislation under consideration in numerous states, and is a direct threat to the separation of church and state. Along with a wide range of organizations and individuals, the SL and PDC have submitted this *amicus* brief opposing this anti-science, anti-humanist, bible-thumping crusade against "atheistic evolution"—a stalking horse for a political and social agenda shared with reactionaries from the White House to the resurgent Klan and racist murderers across the country. At issue is the preservation of the separation of church and state, a historic demand of the working class and prerequisite for even a modicum of fairness; the gains of the Enlightenment; and the education of future generations.

This legal document discusses the methodology by which the creationists peddle their pseudo-science to wage war on the gains of the American bourgeois revolution of 1776 and the defeat of slavery in the Civil War, and explores the development of these constitutional rights through social struggle.

Now you can get copies of these legal briefs filed by the SL and PDC with the Supreme Court. These should be of interest to legal defense professionals, defenders of science and the First Amendment, and all those concerned with civil liberties in America today. Get your copies. Send \$4.00 per copy to Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive



WV Photo

1986 Quotas

Local	Quota (in points)
Atlanta	125
Boston	250
Chicago	350
Cleveland	200
Los Angeles	125
New York	900
Oakland	550
San Francisco	350
Washington, D.C.	150
National Total	3,000

Subscribe Now!

Name _____
 Address _____
 _____ Phone () _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____

SPECIAL! A free packet of Spartacist literature or pamphlet with full subscriptions to both *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*.

- \$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)
 New Renewal
- \$2/4 issues of *Women and Revolution*
- \$2/4 issues of *Spartacist*, edición en español
- \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10116

A Fair Trial for Daniloff

The case of Nicholas Daniloff has become a major *cause célèbre* of Cold War II. The Moscow correspondent for *U.S. News & World Report*, he was picked up by the KGB on August 30 after meeting secretly with an alleged Soviet "dissident" and accepting a package which turned out to contain photographs and maps marked "TOP SECRET." Now Reagan has cranked up the hysteria machine, baldly asserting that Daniloff is "innocent" and his arrest is an "outrage." The *New York Times* screamed that he is an American citizen taken "hostage" by the Russians and demanded the U.S. retaliate.

If Daniloff didn't at least provide "tips" to the local CIA station chief or U.S. intermediaries, he'd be a rare bird among American correspondents in Moscow. And if he thinks the rules governing journalists are different in the West, he'd do well to have a chat with Samuel Loring Morison, the civilian

naval analyst and American editor of the authoritative British journal, *Jane's Defence Weekly*. Morison was prosecuted by the U.S. government and convicted of espionage for leaking a harmless Western satellite photo of a Soviet naval shipyard which was published in *Jane's*, a prime resource for Western military analysts. Now Morison is being treated as if he'd smuggled photos of American military installations to the Russians.

Is Daniloff a spy? Well, if we believe what we read in the *New York Times* ("The Bolsheviks' Prisoner," 9 September), the man is so convoluted and conflicted that he could be working for anybody.

Daniloff is the grandson of a Russian tsarist general, and anti-Bolshevism is in his blood so to speak. He remembers stories of the Russian civil war, heard from his family—tales of "terror" and of "neighbors who buried their jewels but forgot where they had hid-

den them" (!). Yet among his ancestors is also a member of the Decembrists, early 19th century revolutionary democrats who organized a celebrated conspiracy against the tsar. Daniloff was reportedly planning to write a book about his Decembrist forebear, a man also honored by the present Soviet government.

The Americans are claiming Daniloff was set up and are demanding his unconditional release without a trial. A Soviet foreign ministry official told Western reporters: "If you think he's innocent, we can learn pretty soon because there's going to be a trial." So let's find out if he's guilty with a fair trial: an open, public trial with a defense counsel of his choice and strictly according to Soviet jurisprudence.

There's a precedent in the 1922 trial of the populist Social Revolutionaries in Lenin's Russia. The SRs had engaged in countless counterrevolutionary conspiracies and carried out an assassination

campaign against Soviet leaders in which Lenin was wounded. Yet they were tried in the full light of the international community. Indeed prominent Western social democrats were among their defense counsels, a concession which at the time Lenin felt was unwarranted. Alfred Rosmer in his book *Lenin's Moscow* reported: "The accused defended themselves energetically throughout the trial and were given complete freedom to do so." The treatment of the SRs in 1922 contrasted sharply with the 1931 trial of the Mensheviks, the first of the infamous Stalinist frame-ups.

Whether Daniloff is guilty or not, U.S. imperialism is using the case to fuel its war drive against the Soviet Union. Pentagon chief Weinberger "considers the arrest of Mr. Daniloff so outrageous that he says the Soviet Union should be punished now" (*New York Times*, 7 September). But Weinberger and his boss Reagan will find that the Russians are not defenseless little boys. The last man who tried to "punish" the Soviet Union was Hitler, and we all know what happened to him. ■

Bloody U.S. Cops...

(continued from page 1)

hegemony. Hands off Libya! Defend the Soviet Union!

Reagan/Zia's Bloody Massacre in Karachi

With the U.S. already busily fabricating new charges of "Libyan terrorism," the Pan Am hijacking came as a virtual godsend to Reagan. We have repeatedly pointed out that such senseless and criminal acts of indiscriminate terror play into the hands of the Israelis and the biggest terrorists of all—the American imperialists. But this case may have involved more than the delusions of desperate Palestinians mistakenly believing they are striking a blow at the Zionist state that has turned them into people without a land. Hijackers dressed in uniforms like Pakistani airport security personnel drove up in what looked like a police van. And what of the reports in the Indian press that passengers heard them speaking Urdu (a Pakistani language)? To put it mildly, this hijacking was oh-so-convenient for the Reaganauts. Libya accused U.S. and Israeli intelligence agencies of orchestrating it. In any event, those who had the *least* to gain were Qaddafi and the Libyans.

But if the circumstances surrounding the Pan Am hijacking are dubious, the bloody "rescue" effort had the finger-

prints of the Reagan administration all over it. After the slaughter, the White House issued a grotesque statement hailing the Pakistanis for acting "boldly and courageously"! The "rescue" was supposed to be modeled after the U.S.-supervised storming of an airliner by Egyptian commandos in Malta last December, in which 57 people were killed. The Karachi hijackers were obviously heavily armed and prepared to kill: early on they shot to death an Indian American from Kenya. Demanding passage to Cyprus where several Arab guerrillas are imprisoned, they pushed back their "final deadline" several times. But in Israeli-style "counterterrorist" operations, there are no negotiations. The Reagan gang runs according to the mercenary slogan, "Kill 'em all and let god sort them out."

Karachi airport security knew that

the Boeing 747's auxiliary power unit was due to fail after 16 hours on the ground. According to the scenario, the lights in the plane would dim and a team of Pakistani commandos would rush the plane. The power unit failed and at about the same time authorities turned off the runway lights—but no commandos! Their commander was reportedly "taking tea" at the time. Kurshid Anwar Mirza, head of the Pakistan Civil Aviation Authority, told reporters that he was about 150 yards from the plane when "suddenly we saw a stream of people coming out" screaming, "They're killing everyone! For God's sake, do something!" Mirza said commandos "were not in the vicinity" of the plane and that it took 10 to 15 minutes for them to arrive" (*New York Times*, 7 September).

Afterward the Pakistani government

complained it wasn't prepared to carry out the operation. So who egged them on? Pan Am and U.S. officials maintained contact with the spokesman of the hijackers through an Arabic-speaking employee; two DEA agents coached the Saudi "interpreter" throughout the day. White House spokesman Larry Speakes said Reagan "had made several specific decisions in response to the hijacking." As usual, they said the U.S.' professional "counterterrorists," the Delta Force, were "on the way." In short, while the Americans are now claiming that it was solely a Pakistani operation, the Pakistanis were clearly taking orders from Washington and the Western White House. One might think that even they would be embarrassed by a commando operation in which the commandos didn't show up. But Reagan got what he wanted: a bloody massacre which he can now "avenge" at the Libyans' expense.

Certainly the Reaganites are hardly concerned about the butchery of civilians here. The Americans on board were overwhelmingly of Indian origin, as were the rest of the passengers, and the lives of brown people weigh very little in Reagan's crusade against communism. So they entrusted the job to Pakistan's General Zia, whose soldiers apparently saw no point in risking their asses to liberate a planeload of mainly Indian Hindus and Sikhs.

The stark fact is the passengers *saved themselves*. Survivors described the scene as a "holocaust," with hijackers firing wildly, children crying and blood spattered everywhere. Still incomplete casualties total 18 dead and at least 100 wounded, and the figures would have been even higher if some quick-thinking individuals hadn't inflated evacuation slides when the gunmen started shooting. Even more than fear of being hijacked, these days air travelers are justifiably scared stiff of being "rescued." (Maybe that's why the Pan Am cockpit crew flew the coop. Whatever happened to the captain staying with the ship?) From civilian Korean Air Lines Flight 007, sent on a spy mission over strategic Soviet military installations, to Pan Am Flight 73 in Karachi, the rulers of the "Free World" consider airline passengers pawns in their Cold War.

Reagan's Terror, Inc. Targets Qaddafi

For the "crime" of defying American imperialism and for being a military client of the Soviet Union, Libya's Qaddafi was chosen by Reagan early on to take the rap for all the world's terrorist incidents. For over five years the U.S. has conducted a vendetta against this small desert country with a



Medical workers rescue victim of Karachi airline hijacking.

Pinochet Almost Gets His

SEPTEMBER 8—Hated Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet almost got it yesterday, and socialists and class-conscious workers the world over exclaimed, "Oh shit, they just missed the bastard." Guerrillas of the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (MRPF), linked to the Chilean Communist Party, attacked the dictator's motorcade with rockets and grenades, killing five bodyguards and wounding ten more. Pinochet responded by declaring a 90-day state of siege, while a spokesman for the MRPF vowed, "We failed, but we won't fail next time."

With the prodding and aid of U.S. imperialism under Nixon and Kissinger, Pinochet rode to power over mountains of corpses, killing at least 30,000 leftists, workers and peasants. The dictatorship sent 100,000 to the

hellish concentration camps, and forced ten times that number into exile. Today in the impoverished shantytowns surrounding Santiago, hundreds of thousands of workers are enduring the long nightmare of terror, roundups and mass starvation.

While the assassination of Pinochet would doubtless open up the Chilean political situation, Marxists point out that individual terrorism is no program to free the masses from this brutal capitalist dictatorship, and will be used as an excuse for savage reprisals against the Chilean workers. If the Russian Narodniks who wanted to liberate the peasants by assassinating the tsar were "liberals with bombs," as Lenin called them, the Chilean MRPF are "popular frontists with AKs." Behind their action is the strategy of getting rid of Pinochet, the

better to unite with the rest of the general staff, enforcers of the Pinochet dictatorship for the last 13 years!

No to *pinochetismo* without Pinochet! It was the class-collaborationist Allende popular front, with its faith in the "constitutional officer corps," which politically and militarily disarmed the workers movement and paved the way to the bloody coup. The goose-stepping generals must be removed by a mass workers struggle for socialist revolution, embodied in our slogan: "Pinochet to the wall—Workers to power!" And if the world's No. 1 bloody dictator and mass murderer dies in bed like Franco, or ends up on Spain's Costa del Sol like some other U.S.-backed despots, the workers movement in Chile and around the world will be bitterly disappointed.

population of under 4 million. The American provocations have been drawn up well in advance—the pretexts fabricated later. The military assaults on Libya earlier this spring were agreed to at top-level meetings attended by Pentagon, White House and intelligence officials in July and December of 1985—before the Rome/Vienna airport hijackings and the bombing of the La Belle disco in Berlin that were later cited as pretexts. The Berlin disco was a hangout for American black GIs and foreign (particularly Arab) workers—scarcely a target for Qaddafi.

The current buildup against Qaddafi followed the familiar Reagan M.O.: again according to the *Washington Post*, a series of meetings of the “highly secret Crisis Pre-Planning Group” and National Security Planning Group drew up the scenario. A few weeks later, timed to coincide with Operation Sea Wind, a report is “leaked” to the *Wall Street Journal* (25 August) that “the Pentagon is completing plans” for a “quick, punishing” strike that would “rubble-ize” Libya. The three-pronged program included readying a massive naval strike force prepared to attack Libyan oil terminals; approaching France for a joint military campaign to drive Libyan troops out of neighboring Chad; and payrolling dissident military officers to foment a coup.

When Reagan’s UN ambassador Vernon Walters recently toured European capitals, he produced so little “evidence” of Libyan “terrorism” that a German official concluded: “Beating up on Libya is something that’s popular with the American electorate” (*New York Times*, 6 September). No doubt Don Regan and the rest of the White House “crisis pre-planners” are eyeing the November elections, but that doesn’t mean it’s just talk. Picking on what’s regarded as a “soft option,” the Reaganites are desperate for a cheap victory to restore American military prestige and gear up the U.S. population to “roll back communism” worldwide. While some Congressmen, remembering the 50,000 American GIs shipped home in body bags from Vietnam, flinch at a Central American invasion *right now*, state terrorism against Libya is universally popular among Democrats and Republicans.

Last March, in the aftermath of the first U.S. bombing of Libya, the international Spartacist tendency sent a journalistic team to Tripoli to underline our proletarian solidarity with the victims of imperialist aggression. Today again, defense of Libya against U.S. imperialism is an urgent responsibility



Yesterday's Ronbo: Imperialist bully Teddy Roosevelt swaggers through Caribbean.

for the international workers movement, as supposed “Soviet surrogates” are targeted as stepping stones toward anti-Soviet nuclear war.

Reaganite “Aircraft Carrier Diplomacy”

Noting the massive U.S. naval intervention in the Gulf of Sidra last spring, the foreword to the 1986-87 edition of *Jane's Fighting Ships* (the authoritative reference book on the world's navies) commented that “modern gunboat diplomacy” is taking on increasing global importance. Back in March, a Soviet foreign ministry spokesman condemned the U.S.’ “act of piracy,” declaring that “the United States has turned to so-called aircraft-carrier diplomacy” to blackmail Libya into toeing the “Free World” line (UPI, 25 March). The Sixth Fleet’s “warm-up” for its invasion of the Gulf of Sidra was a brazen penetration of Soviet territorial waters near the major Black Sea naval installation of Sevastopol. *Izvestia* (23 March) quoted Red Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin noting that “this time, we showed patience and restraint.” The Soviets would have been entirely within their rights to have blown those Navy warships out of the water.

This fall, while three American aircraft carrier battle groups are menacing Libya, the U.S. Navy is staging provocative military maneuvers even closer to Soviet home. The carrier *Vinson* was part of a battle group off the Soviet Far East conducting “the largest

U.S. Navy exercise in the Bering Sea since World War II” (*Washington Post*, 30 August), not far from a key Soviet submarine base at Petropavlovsk on the Kamchatka Peninsula. Meanwhile, NATO exercises are being held off the coast of Norway, near key Soviet naval/air installations on the Kola Peninsula. And this month the battleship *New Jersey* is reported to be part of a U.S. battle group scheduled for more “exercises” in the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk, the region where KAL Flight 007 intruded into Soviet airspace in 1983.

In the classic style of Cold War brinkmanship, Washington is engaged in a deadly game of “nuclear chicken,” hoping to terrorize the Russians into abject capitulation. Meanwhile, in the “back yard” of the American Empire, Reagan is going around proclaiming U.S. “super-sovereignty” like he was back in the days of Teddy Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, when the Great White Fleet cruised around the Caribbean establishing American protectorates and installing the Batistas and Somozas who tyrannized workers and peasants for decades. Now in the name of “drug wars” American soldiers are once again slashing and burning their way through Latin America. On April 8, Reagan signed a National Security Decision Directive ordering the Pentagon to work with other U.S. agencies and foreign governments in dragnets and airborne assaults by American troops.

In mid-July, “Operation Blast Fur-

nace” was launched in Bolivia, as a task force of U.S. Special Forces moved in supposedly to root out the drug traffickers. The *Navy Times* (1 September) commented: “For some of the American aircrews, Bolivia is the ninth country to which they have been deployed since they got the UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters two years ago.” And on August 14, Vice President Bush and Attorney General Meese unveiled “Operation Alliance,” entailing hundreds of additional cops, aircraft, and other weaponry to police the Mexican border. The U.S. interventions in Bolivia and Mexico are clearly designed to “soften up” the American public for direct intervention against Sandinista Nicaragua. Even in Peoria, everyone knows that the contras are a bunch of losers who are only good for murdering teachers and destroying day-care centers. From Libya to Grenada, the Pentagon planners want an “easy win.” But as one of the main architects of the Vietnam War, McGeorge Bundy, noted, Nicaragua is to Grenada as a hand grenade to a marshmallow.

Emerging victorious from World War II after A-bombing defenseless Japanese civilians, U.S. imperialism proclaimed the coming of the “American century.” However, the drive to run the world according to the dictates of Washington and Wall Street was checked by the extension of deformed workers states into Eastern Europe, the development of Soviet nuclear weapons and the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Still, the U.S. was able to act as a gendarme policing the “Free World”—e.g., the 1954 CIA coup against the nationalist Arbenz government in Guatemala, the CIA’s 1961 assassination of Patrice Lumumba, leader of the independence struggle in the Congo. Then came Vietnam. This was supposed to be the big victory over Communist insurgency. Instead the “American century” was buried in the swamps of Indochina, as the American people lost any stomach for Third World military adventures (the “Vietnam syndrome”).

Now Reagan wants to reassert America’s role as cops of the world. No pretext is too flimsy, no provocation too dangerous for the Reagan gang flexing its military muscle around the globe. The U.S. imperialists are tugging on the trip wires for a thermonuclear World War III. They can only be answered by revolutionary class struggle. The working people of America, united with their class brothers around the world, must rise to their historic mission and disarm the bloody imperialists through proletarian revolution. ■

Hormel...

(continued from page 7)

“offered the Hormel boycott campaign as a substitute for any real struggle” (*Bulletin*, 18 April). Within two months the WL, having denounced us for our opposition to suing the union, was now attacking Guyette for the “disastrous mistake” of appealing to the union-busting NLRB to decertify the UFCW (*Bulletin*, 10 June)!

The Workers League doesn’t expect to convince serious militants with these kinds of wild gyrations—on the contrary, their lies and zigzags are designed to weed out anyone with anything resembling a backbone. Having last year dumped their deeply corrupt and morally bankrupt godfather, Gerry Healy, North & Co. continue the famous Healyite “method” based on conscious cynicism—about the working class and their own membership.

The bosses, the National Guard, the Democratic Party machine and the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy can be beaten. But to win it takes the kind of struggle waged by the Minneapolis Teamsters in 1934, under a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership. They defeated the backstabbing Teamsters International tops and the bosses, troops and

courts by mobilizing labor under a class-struggle program—not by relying on, but by warning *against* trust in the capitalist state. The key to victory in that battle was its Trotskyist leadership, which the government finally jailed under the anti-communist Smith Act as the U.S. entered the second imperialist world war. That is the heritage taken up by the Spartacist League: the fight to forge a revolutionary workers party, committed to the emancipation of the working class and all the oppressed through socialist revolution. ■

Soweto Massacre...

(continued from page 12)

South Africa’s oppressed blacks lies not in the townships but as workers in the white-owned factories and mines. And the enforced ghettoization of the black majority must be fought as a strategic part of the struggle for workers power. It is very important for revolution in South Africa that the racist butchers *not* be able to unleash their bombs and cordon off entire cities without affecting any whites.

The call by the petty-bourgeois

nationalists of the ANC to “make the country ungovernable” is *not* aimed to overthrow the apartheid state. Rather it is a means of pressure for a “power-sharing” deal with the “progressive” section of the white capitalist class such as Gavin Relly, head of the giant Anglo American mining and manufacturing conglomerate. This is linked internationally with the ANC’s campaign for economic sanctions by South Africa’s main imperialist allies, Reagan’s America and Thatcher’s Britain. Of course, a “power-sharing” government which includes Nelson Mandela and Gavin Relly, the biggest super-exploiter of black labor on the African continent, will *never* come about. But this utopian program of class collaboration dangerously diverts the black toilers from revolutionary struggle against apartheid capitalism.

It is not just that the black proletariat has the strategic power to cripple the economy as was demonstrated dramatically by general strikes this May Day and again on June 16. Only the program of socialist revolution leading to a black-centered workers government, ensuring a decent life for all the toilers in southern Africa, can weld together the oppressed black African, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian masses, and can neutralize and win over a section of

the privileged white caste. To achieve this the black and coloured working class must be broken from all forms of petty-bourgeois nationalism and organized to lead all of the oppressed in the struggle against apartheid. This in turn requires the forging of a Bolshevik party in South Africa—modeled on the party Lenin built in tsarist Russia—uniting black African, coloured, Indian and white communists. Under the banner of South African Bolshevism the black masses will avenge the martyred dead of the Soweto massacres. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

Bay Area

Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

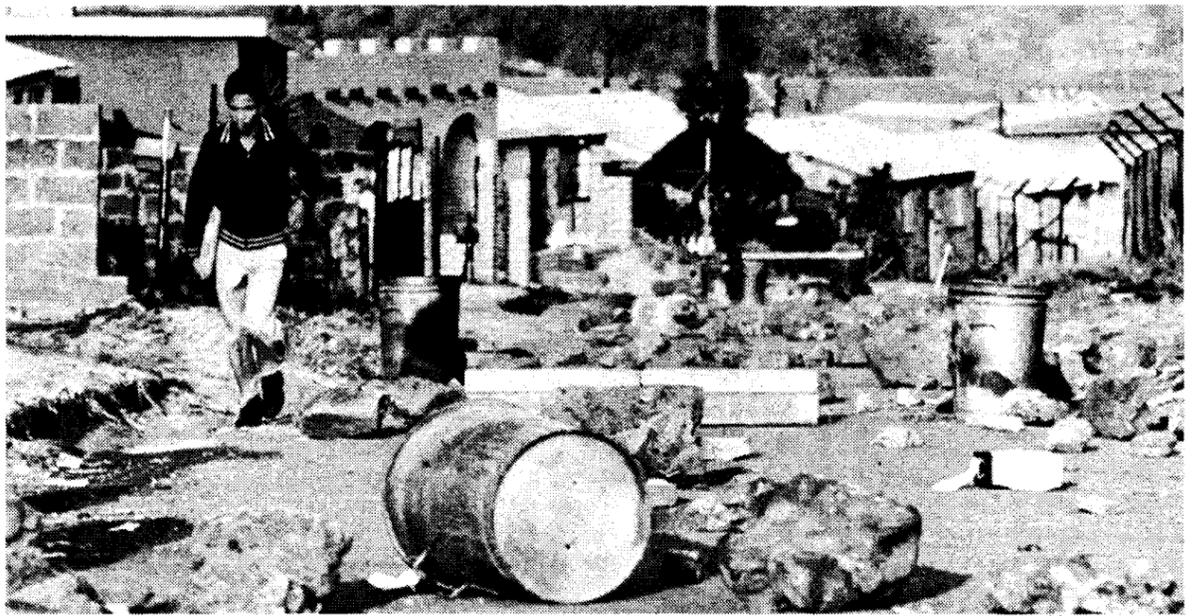
New York City

Tues.: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

WORKERS VANGUARD



Khumalo/Johannesburg Star



Magubane/Time

Soweto, August 27—Victims of racist police state lie dead in streets strewn with debris from barricades erected to defend rent strike.

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

Soweto Massacre 1986

Soweto 1976—South African police kill hundreds of protesting black student youth. Soweto, August 1986—Police open fire on protesters trying to prevent the eviction of rent strikers: "The police are shooting left and right. They just shot an old man. They are shooting at everyone, everything," was the anguished cry heard by a reporter over the phone.

The 1976 Soweto massacre became a symbol of racist atrocity the world over. At the same time, the mass protests and "stayaway" strike of that year opened up a decade of anti-apartheid struggle. Most important was the emergence of a young, combative and potentially powerful black workers movement. Today, after two years of continuous black revolt, South Africa stands on the razor's edge. The white supremacist rulers are preparing to crush the black revolt in a massive bloodbath. They must be smashed by the superexploited and oppressed toilers.

The Soweto massacre of 1986 points to the terrible danger of a South African holocaust. When on August 26 the puppet township officials—known as "blackjacks"—tried to evict rent strikers in the White City section, militants barricaded the area using junked cars, garbage containers, burning tires and tree trunks. Then the police moved in with armored cars and shotguns, and the killing began. It lasted for hours. "We hardly slept last night as police moved from yard to yard shooting," one White City resident told reporters. Courageously Soweto blacks fought back, hurling stones at the cops. The death toll for blacks was at least 24, over 70 were wounded. It was by far the worst bloodletting in Soweto since 1976.

The next morning reporters touring White City saw dead lying in streets patrolled by armored vehicles rolling over the burned-out debris of the barricades. They encountered the relatives of the victims, numbed and devastated by the sudden loss of their loved ones. One man thought his brother was safe with friends only to find his corpse in the street. "Godfrey was the last of my family left. Now, I am all alone." So

fearful of black anger were the racist butchers that they *banned* any public funeral for the victims. But black Soweto remained defiant in the face of police attacks on the mourners. When they tried to bury their martyrs two weeks later, the *New York Times* (5 September) reported, "witnesses from the township of more than two million near Johannesburg told of daylong turmoil as blacks tried to congregate at a stadium, at churches and at cemeteries to hold funerals for victims of the violence last week." Tens of thousands honored the call for a stayaway strike.

Botha's "Emergency" Doesn't Quell Black Revolt

On June 12 South Africa's white racist rulers declared a "state of emergency" to head off "radical and revolutionary elements." They've since arrested 12,000 anti-apartheid fighters, including many trade-union leaders. Just get the scenes of turmoil in the townships off American TV screens, Pretoria's spokesmen claimed, and the black unrest would die out. The Western media have cooperated with the apartheid state by self-censoring the news from South Africa.

Yet the black revolt has continued with full force. Just a few days after the

"emergency" the economy was crippled by the biggest stayaway strike in South African history to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising of June 16. The economically vital mining industry was hit by strikes and slowdowns demanding the release of the imprisoned union leaders. Mass student strikes and demonstrations, including by white university students, have defied the racist police state. And millions of blacks are engaged in rent strikes.

The raw material certainly exists for a prerevolutionary situation. What is desperately and urgently needed in South Africa is a communist vanguard party which can channel the many-sided upsurge against apartheid into the struggle for workers power. But in the absence of such a struggle, the white supremacists could restore the social peace of the graveyard.

The White City massacre, for example, was carried out to break a rent strike. Such rent strikes have been at the very heart of the two-year-long black revolt. What is involved is not simply the refusal of blacks to pay anymore for squalid, unlivable hovels in places like White City. This housing is state-owned, and rents are the *main source of revenue* for the white racist regime's puppet township councils. Thus rent strikes are a weapon against the apartheid state, the financial counterpart to

direct attacks on its black agents symbolized by the feared "necklace"—the burning tire used to terminate police spies and other collaborators.

Every day the township puppets lose half a million dollars from rent strikes carried out by three million blacks across South Africa. Roughly half the households in Soweto—the largest city in southern Africa—are refusing in this way to pay for Botha's "blackjacks." An American journalist writing from Soweto observed: "For the government, the rent strike is both a challenge to its authority and one of the black activists' most effective steps yet to make the country ungovernable in their fight against apartheid" (*Los Angeles Times*, 28 August).

However, as long as the awesome military power of the white-supremacist state remains intact, the isolated and segregated black townships cannot be made "ungovernable" for very long. The Botha regime has been moving to break the rent strikes through mass evictions. In Crossroads, a squatter community near Cape Town, Botha's black "vigilantes" burned out whole neighborhoods, leaving some 80-100,000 people homeless. With the black townships designed for civil war, laid out like giant concentration camps encircled by highways and "free-fire zones," what happened in White City on the night of August 26-27 could happen again and again, and on a far larger scale. After touring this area, Winnie Mandela, a spokesman for the nationalist African National Congress (ANC) and wife of its long-imprisoned and heroic leader, Nelson Mandela, exclaimed: "It's an ominous sign of times ahead and the beginning of what we fear."

However, the ANC's call to "make the country ungovernable" and for "people's power" in the townships *politically disarms* the black masses before the regime's preparations for a bloodbath. Apartheid cannot be overthrown from bases deliberately designed to protect white-supremacist rule by the residential isolation and segregation of the black population. The power of

continued on page 11



IDAF

Striking unionists demand release of metal workers leader Moses Mayekiso, imprisoned under Botha's "state of emergency."