

Reaganite Racists, Nazis, Zionists

Contras' Godfathers

Defend Nicaragua!

NOVEMBER 3—In northern Nicaragua, one mile south of the small village of Pantasma, the daily truck transport was blown up by a land mine October 20, killing six people, including a seven-year-old child, and wounding 40. Many of the victims were over 60, several were children; seven had to have limbs amputated. Two were evangelical pastors, one of whom lost his leg, the other his life. These are the latest casualties of the CIA's contra mercenaries, who have been unleashed against the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime. Ronald ("I'm a Contra") Reagan calls his hired killers "freedom fighters." The Nicaraguan people call them beasts. Over the last six years, the contras' U.S.-backed dirty war has cost almost 15,000 casualties, mostly civilians like those on the crowded Pantasma transport. And now, following mammoth exercises for a U.S. invasion of Central America, a senior officer of the 82nd Airborne Division remarked, "We hope Danny Ortega gets the message."

In every battle with the Sandinista armed forces the contras just cut and run. Like dictator Somoza's National Guard, from which the contra command was reconstituted, like the death squads that terrorize the oppressed throughout Latin America, they are only good for torturing and shooting unarmed civilians. They are Reagan's *Einsatzkommandos*, the Nazi SS killers who savagely murdered Jews and Communists throughout the areas of



El Canadiense



Walker/Time

Contra terrorists (above) take their orders from U.S. war criminal-in-chief Reagan, meeting with contra leaders at White House. Nicaraguan mothers (below) display photos of their children killed in CIA's dirty war.



East Europe and the Soviet Union occupied by Hitler's armies in World War II. Today they are the hit men for the "Reagan Doctrine" of striking at the Soviet Union through proxy wars, from racist South Africa's contras who want

to turn Angola and Mozambique into bantustans, to Afghan feudalists who want to restore the veil and bride price, who murder teachers for teaching little girls to read and write. Now, with Washington's \$100 million, voted for by

Democrats and Republicans alike, the Nicaraguan contras are on the front line of the anti-Soviet war drive.

The contras' specialty is blowing up schools, childcare centers, health clinics,

continued on page 10

America Needs Its Bolshevik Party

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

November 7 is the 69th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. To commemorate this world historic victory for the proletariat, we print below excerpts from a talk by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour in San Francisco, September 20.

"My fellow Americans. I'm pleased to tell you today that I've signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes." This is a statement actually

made a few years ago by the commander in chief of the United States armed forces, a man who literally at any time can press the button to start nuclear World War III. Of course, Ronald Reagan said it was all a big joke, he didn't know that the microphone was on for his weekly radio chat. It's not a joke. In a very crude way it's the program, the goal, the intent of the present American government. The intent of the multibillion-dollar so-called Strategic Defense

Initiative, popularly known as "Star Wars," is precisely to win a nuclear war against Russia.

Supposedly, there will be space-based weaponry which will provide a kind of Gardol shield over the United States, so the United States can bomb the hell out of Russia without fear of retaliation. Star Wars is supposed to be the most modern, state-of-the-art technology which will work with pinpoint accuracy the first time. Yet every aspect of this program in the last

year has been a spectacular technological failure. In August of 1985, a Titan rocket carrying the latest spy satellite for the CIA had to be destroyed by its controller when it veered off course. Then in January, one had on prime time television the blowing up of the Challenger space shuttle, killing all seven astronauts aboard. And two months later another Titan rocket carrying another spy satellite blew up, producing a half-billion-dollar fireworks display over Vandenberg Air Force Base. Well, comrades, let's face it: Reagan just can't get it up.

Nevertheless, Reagan's program to "outlaw Russia forever" decisively affects almost every aspect of American society and American foreign policy. Take the Wall Street panic, the week before last. One might say, what the hell does the stock market, its ups and downs, have to do with the subject of this talk, which is the Russian Revolution? The answer is quite a bit. You have all these right-wing Reaganite types: they groove on Rambo movies,

continued on page 8

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Smash the McCarran-Walter Act— Give General Dragunsky A Hero's Welcome!

On September 21, for the second time, Soviet General David Dragunsky was denied permission to enter the United States to attend a dinner sponsored by *Jewish Affairs* magazine in his honor. Earlier, in June 1985, one month after Reagan saluted SS graves at Bitburg, Dragunsky and two other prominent Soviet Jews, Lev Kaufman and Andrei Belaev, were denied entry visas to attend a celebration (also sponsored by *Jewish Affairs*) of the 40th anniversary of V-E Day. Dragunsky, twice decorated with the Hero of the Soviet Union medal, lost his family to Nazi terror in World War II. The PDC sent the following telegram of protest to Secretary of State George Shultz:

"23 September 1986

PDC condemns second McCarthyite exclusion of Jewish Soviet General David Dragunsky, hero of Red Army triumph over Hitler, as outrage to every

victim of and fighter against fascist terror."

Not only Soviet officials are barred from the U.S. under the anti-communist McCarran-Walter Act. On August 28, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) judge Martin Spiegel ordered American-born, left-wing/feminist author Margaret Randall to be deported because her writings "advocate the doctrines of world communism." The PDC has contributed to her defense and on September 9 sent another telegram to the INS commissioner protesting that, "Increasing use of anti-communist McCarran Act confirms Administration's identification with reviled McCarthy era...." More recently the U.S. government denied entry to Patricia Lara, a reporter for *El Tiempo*, one of Colombia's leading newspapers.

The deportation of immigrant trade-union militants under the McCarran-



The Russian October and World Revolution

In answer to the bloody carnage of the first imperialist world war, the Russian Revolution of 1917 opened the road to a socialist future for mankind. Addressing the Petrograd Soviet on November 7 (October 25 on the old-style Russian calendar), right after the Bolsheviks took power, Lenin called upon the international working class to wage war on the world capitalist system of exploitation and oppression.

TROTSKY

and oppression.

Comrades, the workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has been accomplished.

What is the significance of this workers' and peasants' revolution? Its significance is, first of all, that we shall have a Soviet government, our own organ of power, in which the bourgeoisie will have no share whatsoever. The oppressed masses will themselves create a power. The old state apparatus will be shattered to its foundations and a new administrative apparatus set up in the form of the Soviet organisations.

From now on, a new phase in the history of Russia begins, and this, the third Russian revolution, should in the end lead to the victory of socialism.

One of our urgent tasks is to put an immediate end to the war. It is clear to everybody that in order to end this war, which is closely bound up with the present capitalist system, capital itself must be fought.

We shall be helped in this by the world working-class movement, which is already beginning to develop in Italy, Britain and Germany....

We must now set about building a proletarian socialist state in Russia.

Long live the world socialist revolution! (*Stormy applause.*)

—V.I. Lenin, "Report on the Tasks of the Soviet Power" (7 November 1917)



LENIN

Walter Act was a significant component of the red purges of the 1950s. This witchhunting legacy is reflected in the labor bureaucracy's prostration before union-busting givebacks. The just-enacted immigration law will fill the hellish immigration jails with additional thousands of Guatemalans, Salvadorans and Haitians fleeing desperate poverty and government-sponsored terror at the hands of U.S. puppets. International class solidarity demands that the McCarran-Walter Act and racist immigration policies be smashed! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!

* * *

Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the 13 May 1985 Philadelphia MOVE massacre, informed us that she has been told by a parole board representative that any offer of parole would impose the condition that she be barred from associating with MOVE family members. Ramona stormed out of the meeting. She has told us she would not accept these inhumane conditions. The PDC sent a letter demanding her immediate unconditional release: "The condition that one not be permitted to associate with family is the hallmark of the world's most barbaric societies, from the antebellum South to apartheid South Africa." Protests should be sent to: Herman Tartler, Board Secretary, Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 3103 North Front St., Harrisburg, PA 17110.

Janet Holloway Africa and Consuewella Dotson Africa have been added to the class-war prisoners to whom the PDC sends monthly stipends. They are among the nine MOVE members still in prison for defending themselves from the 1978 attack by 600 cops ordered by notorious racist mayor Frank Rizzo. Janet told the PDC that until recently she and other MOVE prisoners spent the past three years in solitary! She added, "since May 13th when this Govt. dropped that bomb on our family, our financial situation is very poor so I really appreciate the donation that you sent me."

* * *

Class-war prisoner Ruchell Magee sent us the following election day message:

"Democrat or Republican? Some poor choice given the millions of working class. Flim/Flam.... Voting these days has become like exchanging one boot for another with spurs to kick your own self in the ass with...."

* * *

Supporters of Progressive Labor/InCAR still face felony charges for attempting to stop the fascists in the streets of Chicago on June 28. On July 17 the PDC sent a \$100 contribution for their defense. We sent a second \$100



Progress Publishers

General David Dragunsky, Hero of the Soviet Union.

contribution on September 27 defining our anti-sectarian defense policies and rebuking PL for its own anti-solidarity and history of physical attacks on other left organizations including the Spartacist League. PL returned this second contribution without comment. Contributions may be sent to: PLP Chicago Fund, GPO Box 808, Brooklyn, NY 11202.

* * *

Attorney General Edwin Meese has leveled a new attack on the Constitution and Supreme Court in the government's march toward turning public schools into Jim Crow, fundamentalist Christian parochial schools. Asserting that Supreme Court decisions on constitutional issues may be disregarded by legislators and lower courts, Meese singled out for attack the landmark Topeka and Little Rock desegregation cases of the 1950s. Meese's diatribe underlines the issues posed in the *amicus curiae* brief submitted to the Supreme Court by the Spartacist League and PDC opposing the State of Louisiana's attack on the teaching of evolution. The *amicus* brief points out, "The current battle poses the defense of the gains of the American Revolution, Civil War—and the Enlightenment." For a copy of the brief send \$4.00 to: Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116.

* * *

The PDC has just published the second issue of our newsletter, *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, featuring updates on class-war prisoners, including a letter from Geronimo Pratt. We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Sustaining contributions, donations and requests for the first two issues of the newsletter can be sent to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

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7 November 1986

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No. 85-1513

In The
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
OCTOBER TERM, 1985

EDWIN W. EDWARDS, in his official capacity as Governor of Louisiana, WILLIAM W. CUSTE, JR., in his official capacity as Attorney General of Louisiana, LOUISIANA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, and THOMAS C. CLAUSEN, in his official capacity as Superintendent of Education of Louisiana,

Appellants,

Don AGUIILLARD, LOUISIANA BOARD OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, ORLEANS PARISH SCHOOL BOARD et al.,

Appellees,

ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS AMICUS CURIAE ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

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10,000 Out in Northern California

Kaiser Hospital Strike: Stop the Scabs!

OAKLAND, November 1—Ten thousand hospital workers have struck the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan in an important labor battle against union-busting givebacks. Kaiser is the granddaddy of the "health maintenance organizations" (HMO), and its first concern is not health care but making big bucks. They're trying to ram a two-tier pay structure down the workers' throats, with a whopping 30 percent pay cut for new hires outside the Bay Area, a wage freeze for all existing employees and gutting seniority protection. But the strikers, mainly organized in SEIU Local 250 Hospital and Institutional Workers Union, voted down this rotten proposal 4-to-1. Local 250, encompassing clerical and housekeeping workers, LVNs and medical technicians, as well as the striking Optical Workers Local 505 and engineers and scientists (MEBA), make up nearly half of Kaiser employees. The strikers, 80 percent women and 40 percent minorities, have set up large and spirited picket lines at 27 Kaiser facilities throughout Northern California.

Kaiser services 2.2 million residents here, including 650,000 union members and their families, and this strike has evoked widespread support. Workers know that as bad as Kaiser hospitals can be they'll get a lot worse if Local 250 loses. An impressive number of members of the eight non-striking unions at Kaiser are honoring the picket lines. An estimated 75 percent of the registered nurses are staying out, in the face of a ruling handed down by the NLRB against the California Nurses Association. The sentiment for a united strike of all Kaiser workers runs deep. Even the more conservative craft unions, the Carpenters and Stationary Engineers, have given ten-day strike notice, but in the meantime their misleaders are despicably telling the members to cross the picket lines and work.

In Oakland many truck deliveries have been turned away as the pickets know that food, linen, etc. is what Kaiser needs to keep operating. On cue the cops and courts have moved in to aid the Kaiser bosses. The cops have arrested numerous strikers and are issuing citations for obstruction, jaywalking and "public nuisance." On October 31 Kaiser got an injunction limiting pickets to four per entrance, only one of whom may actually picket! Some scab supervisors and doctors have plowed their cars through the lines and struck several strikers. One picket reportedly suffered a broken knee. Bay Area workers remember 20-year-old Gregory Goobic, brutally run down and murdered on the picket line by a scab truck driver in the 1984 Union Oil strike in Rodeo.



WV Photo
"Let's Win This One!" WV supplement calling for militant class struggle against union-busting was welcomed by striking Kaiser workers.

This strike is an important battle to defend organized labor in the medical industry. Kaiser workers must stand fast against concessions and all of Bay Area labor must back them up, not with empty words of "solidarity" but on the picket line. Let some fancy-dan doctor try gunning his Mercedes at a burly contingent of longshoremen and Teamsters. A few scabs hobbling around on crutches will quickly spread the word that scabbing is hazardous to your health. Labor's strength is in its numbers, organization and discipline. Kaiser must be shut down tight by mass picket lines that *nobody dares cross*.

The strike leadership, however, is engaging in a variant of consumer boycott and "corporate campaign" strategy to bring pressure on Kaiser. They've been encouraging patients to cross the picket lines and demand benefits due them and calling on unions to get their members to drop Kaiser coverage if Kaiser refuses to settle. But strikes are won or lost on the picket line! Ever since the union bureaucrats let PATCO be smashed rather than call out the Machinists and pilots unions—backed by the full strength of labor—to shut down the airports, the bosses have been waging a one-sided class war against labor. The pro-capitalist union leadership in this country consistently capitulates to injunctions and restraining orders against strikes and mass pickets instead of rendering them worthless scraps of paper by mobilizing the heavy battalions of labor. Remember, the only "illegal" strike is one that loses!

Despite the militancy and combativity displayed by Hormel meatpackers, Phelps Dodge copper miners, PATCO air controllers and TWA flight attendants, their strikes lost because the union misleaders are committed to playing by the bosses' rules and relying on the Democratic Party. But the Democrats as well as the Republicans are committed to cutting jobs, slashing social benefits like medical care and attacking the unions as part of their anti-Soviet war drive.

Workers Vanguard has been well received on the picket lines. Hundreds of the WV supplements "Let's Win This One!" with our call for militant class struggle to bust the union-busters have been distributed to strikers. Picket captains in Oakland where the lines are

predominantly black have taken stacks of supplements to distribute to other shifts of picketers. A xerox blowup of Jack London's definition of a scab from our supplement was prominently displayed outside the room where Kaiser workers in San Francisco gathered for

their strike vote meeting. And so far ten strikers have taken subscriptions to *WV*.

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent SEIU Local 250 a telegram supporting their strike. This union has come forward on numerous occasions to support striking workers and defend victimized militants. In December 1984 Local 250 made a solid \$500 donation to striking British miners. In November 1983 they donated \$200 to the Phone Strikers Defense Committee's successful defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. These CWA members were facing a racist frame-up for defending their picket line against an assault by a racist scab supervisor during a national phone strike. Local 250 also donated generously to PDC campaigns to defend Chilean working-class militants Mario Muñoz and Fernando Marcos against the bloodthirsty Pinochet dictatorship.

The Local 250 strikers want to win this battle. A black woman picket captain with 20 years at Kaiser expressed the sentiment of many unionists when she told *WV*: "This strike could be a landmark, if we win, to fight the two-tier thing. They are trying to break the union. I refuse to give back 20 years of hard work and benefits. My seniors fought and died for the union and now it's my turn to fight for the unions for the next generation." Victory to the Kaiser strikers! ■

Strikebreaking Mercenaries in the Coal Fields

Volunteering for hire abroad in Reagan's worldwide crusade against communism can be a risky business, as Eugene Hasenfus might testify. But professional strikebreaking in the U.S. is a lucrative and growing business. During the bitter 15-month battle between the United Mine Workers and the A.T. Massey Coal Company, imperialism's dogs of war flocked into West Virginia and Kentucky to enlist for some big-time union-busting.

In addition to the usual services rendered free of charge by the cops, Massey spent millions of dollars to train and arm a private army of scabherders. The company surrounded its mines with miles of chain link fence, with cement observation posts manned by uniformed guards with cameras, M16s and reportedly machine guns. Massey also deployed helicopters, armored personnel carriers and an armored locomotive nicknamed the "Bull Moose Special." The September issue of *Soldier of Fortune*, in an article entitled "Guerrilla War in the Hills—Mercs Come to Appalachia," gives an insider's view of the operation.

Apparently Massey fired Pinkerton and contracted with Vance International to handle its "security." Vance is headed by Chuck Vance, a former Secret Service agent who later married Gerald Ford's daughter. No doubt utilizing his "contacts," Vance selected his gun-toting scabherders:

"One Massey mine at Oceana had 30 Vance guards under the direction of



Mark Francis
Professional anti-communist terrorists: scabherders for Massey Coal.

a retired Special Forces captain. Each unit had at least one or two Green Beret veterans assigned, sources said, and several veterans of Rhodesia, Central America and the Middle East—soldiers of fortune and veterans of foreign armies—were sprinkled among the Vance ranks."

Imperialism's mercenaries in dirty, losing colonial wars come back home to make the U.S. "free" of unions. We recall that Lieutenant Calley's first public act was as a strikebreaker on the railroads in Florida. From there it was a short step to butchering Vietnamese women and children at My Lai. American miners should take note: the anti-Soviet war drive means war on workers at home. Same enemy, same fight—workers of the world unite!

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Young Spartacus

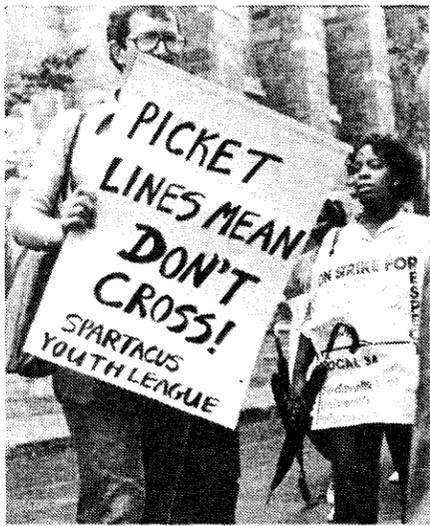
Join Us in the Fight for a Socialist Future!

Young Spartacus is pleased to announce the formation of Spartacus Youth Clubs in Chicago and Madison. Through organizing a protest against CIA recruiters at the University of Wisconsin campus, reading *Workers Vanguard* and the Marxist classics, and through their political experiences as individual radicals, several new comrades have been won to the politics of proletarian revolution. We print below selections from their application letters.

Active in building a united-front demonstration against CIA recruiters in Madison on September 22, comrade Judith—formerly of the Progressive Student Network—explained in her application:

"In putting together the anti-CIA demonstration... I too had to learn how to defend my politics against liberal anti-communism. It was tough because I witnessed a lot of my acquaintances turn into enemies on a level I never expected—POLITICAL enemies, people with no spine, people who aren't even willing to argue...."

"I got good advice. I was told to read *Ten Days That Shook the World*, *The Revolution Betrayed* and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Accompanied with mountains of *Workers Vanguard*,



Young Spartacus

Spartacist youth activist on picket line during Yale campus workers strike, 1984.

Chicago, Madison Spartacus Youth Clubs Founded

I gained a great knowledge about other parties and realized that the Spartacists were THE only revolutionary party.... "So now I want to do more work. I want to, especially, come into more contact with workers and minorities. I want to get other students interested in Trotskyist-Leninist politics before they give up the struggle.... I agree with the program and will abide by the discipline. Does this make me a comrade?"

A long-time subscriber to *Workers Vanguard*, Nick was one of the "Yale Six" students arrested for protesting CIA recruiters. Previously, during the 1984 Yale campus workers strike, he refused to cross the workers' picket lines unlike the rest of the campus "left" which scabbed on the strike. Noting that what attracted him to Spartacist politics was our "Leninist program and mode of organization," Nick explained that:

"Leninist intransigence did not give way to stupidity or adventurism. As I talked with comrades, watched them sell papers to workers and students at Yale. I realized that the SL knew not only what program to win people to, but also how to do it...."

"The SL and WV had a sense of humor—I laughed at the jokes. This was important to me because the fact that I shared the same sense of humor meant that I shared its elements: a certain sense of irony about history and the way things are, and a certain vision of how I really want things to be.... There wasn't any big turning point for me, more like a lot of little ones...."

"At a certain point I realized that these ideas that I had been struggling with and that had been shaping my political understanding were necessarily embodied in a party. Without a party they would have no meaningful existence—no way of developing further or impacting on individuals like myself, on the working-class or humankind.... I want to build that party and program that led a workers revolution to victory

in October, 1917 and will, I hope, do so again. The first step for me is to join the youth club."

Another student activist at Yale, particularly involved with anti-apartheid protests, had earlier worked in the



Young Spartacus

Madison Spartacus Youth Club protests CIA recruiters, September 22.

campaign for Democratic Chicago mayor Harold Washington. In his application, comrade Jonathan discusses both of these experiences. After Washington's election to office:

"I became dimly aware that the machine was going to stay intact.... Harold Washington was not lifting a finger to fight the Klan or defend the right of black Chicagoans to live where they choose...."

At Yale:

"As divestment activity heated up through the building of shanties and the administration's threats to suspend and arrest us all, Nick and I began to work

together politically and I was won over to his program of tactical militancy and struggle against the various CISPES/DSA/pacifist types who just wanted to get it all over with as quickly as possible by sitting down and getting arrested singing 'We Shall Overcome Someday' for the 40th time. The pressures of this situation spun us into a pretty classic left centrist trajectory, until finally we started to split out of the divestment stuff and work to present propaganda with an openly revolutionary perspective.

"Reading *What Is To Be Done* on 'Amateurishness' convinced me that it was necessary to go beyond infantile student groupings and work with an experienced revolutionary group.... Marxism does not exist today because some professor assigns the 1844 Manuscripts, but because there are a few hundred Spartacists around the globe diligently fighting for independent, revolutionary working class politics."

So-called left organizations working at Yale and peddling their respective reformist schemes turned out to be "frauds" according to Jonathan—but he did check them out. "The ISO, for all its grad student pretension, was a pack of know-nothings and liars. SPARK was a weird moralistic crew who could not explain their fake positions on the deformed workers' states and who think workers are children. The RCP [Revolutionary Communist Party], Workers League and SWP [Socialist Workers Party] were simply not interested in talking to anyone who asked hard questions."

In Chicago, a city targeted by the racist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan for recruitment and the fomenting of race war, it is crucial to win young fighters to our program. In 1982, a Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization was able to stop a Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day. Such anti-fascist actions are urgently necessary today. We solidarize with comrade Jonathan's concluding remarks: "For a fighting youth club and the rebirth of the Youth League! For the rebirth of the Fourth International!"—that is, the international party of world socialist revolution. ■

CIA Off Campus!

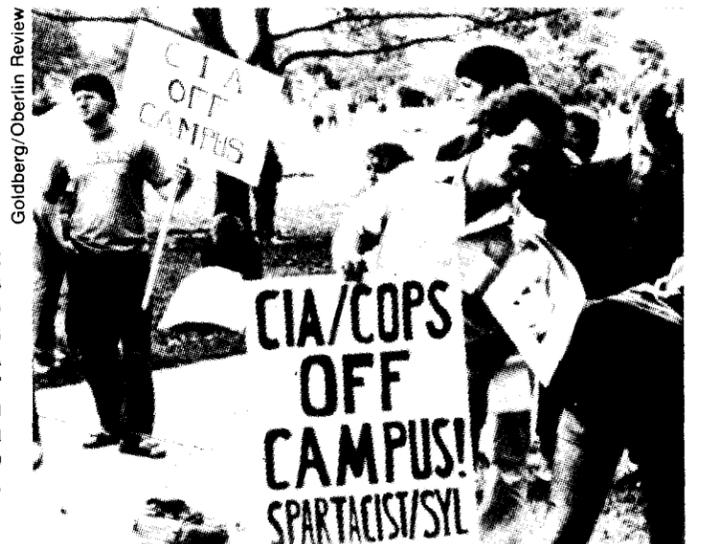
OBERLIN—On September 23, some 60 students rallied in Oberlin College's Wilder Bowl to protest against CIA recruitment on the Oberlin campus. Chanting "CIA Off Campus!" the demonstrators marched to Peters Hall where the recruiter was doing his dirty work. Oberlin's top cop Chief McDaniels stood guard, blocking militants from entering the placement office. A number of students picked up the Spartacus Youth Club's chant, "Drive the contras into the sea! Overthrow the

bourgeoisie!" while a group of would-be flower children solemnly murmured "Love, not hate."

The Oberlin Spartacus Youth Club was the only organization to actively participate in the protest, and surprisingly few students from last year's successful anti-CIA demonstration were present. The demonstration was built by a group of freshmen who picked up the ball and energetically covered the campus with flyers and large posters

continued on page 5

September 23: Oberlin Spartacus Youth Club demonstrates against CIA recruiters for counterrevolution from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan.



Goldberg/Oberlin Review

Support Builds for Guillermo at S.F. State

Spartacist activist Guillermo Bermúdez is to go on trial for the "crime" of passing out a Marxist leaflet on the San Francisco State University campus. Guillermo was slapped with a South Africa-style "banning" order in November 1984. SFSU's "ban" came on the heels of arresting Guillermo and other members of the Red Avengers of the underground Spartacus Youth League for rallying in defense of Nicaragua. (The Red Avengers were born in a fight against the anti-red witchhunt unleashed by the SFSU administration, student bureaucrats, "progressive" Democratic Party careerists and their fake-left camp followers.) While the charges have been dropped against all the other Red Avengers who were arrested or "banned" in the course of their just struggle against bean sprout totalitarianism, the bourgeois authorities continue to prosecute Guillermo. On November 10, he goes back to court to set a new date for trial.

In a letter to the campus newspaper, SFSU faculty member Sam Wellbaum, a lecturer in the Speech Department, wrote:

"I propose that the administration withdraw its charges (a simple enough step, one would think) and I propose further that this campus rally around the Bermudez case, not because it loves SYL, but because it loves civil liberties. In a time of growing campus protest over President Reagan's Central America and South African policies, it is particularly important to protest outrages like the Bermudez prosecution. If a little group of radical Trotskyists can be squelched today, more 'respectable' protesters will be tomorrow. That's one of those lessons of history we forget at our peril."

—Golden Gate, 21 October

The witchhunt against us in 1984 was enthusiastically joined by all manner of racists and bigots and paved the way for the emergence on campus of the racist punk "Residents' Liberation Army." We took on the RLA scum and their provocations against blacks, gays, His-

panics, Jews and leftists last school year. When the largely Hispanic student government was targeted for a potential fascist mobilization, we turned out a number of trade unionists who, along with concerned community members, were determined to defend the student government meeting. This fall, the president of the Associated Students reserved a room for a Spartacist event on campus when we were being subjected to petty administration harassment, a democratic gesture inconceivable two years ago, when the student bureaucrats

and, in the spirit of debate and discussion, introduced comrade Guillermo. "Guillermo Bermúdez... has been on the news most recently because of a violent act that was committed against him. His arm was broken by a policeman in Berkeley about a year ago when he was demonstrating against a table set up by Marines on UC Berkeley campus," Baron explained. He was referring to the now infamous case in which trumped-up charges of "assault on a police officer" were brought against Guillermo at Berkeley. In a hard-fought

are the powers that be so intent on prosecuting this case? "What they are afraid of especially is that when this country invades Central America... they don't want students to protest. They don't want workers to go on strike."

Guillermo explained that the SFSU witchhunters were enraged in 1984 by our intransigent defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state—the ultimate target of Reagan and the Democrats' war drive—as well as our Marxist opposition to the racist, imperialist Democratic Party and its candidate Walter "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale. A lively discussion followed Guillermo's presentation, which smoked out some supporters of the slavishly pro-Democratic Party League of Revolutionary Struggle/Unity.

It took repeated prompting from Baron before the *Unity* supporters would finally speak up. When a *Unity* supporter finally took the floor, it was to defend the Democrats: according to her, Democrat Jesse Jackson, the shill for Mondale, ran a "significant campaign; that's where a lot of people were at." Virulently anti-Soviet, *Unity* has supported the South African/CIA-backed puppet army of Joseph Savimbi against the Cuban troops defending black Angola. Here, too, *Unity* finds itself where a "lot of people" are at: with Reagan against Russia and in bed with Botha. In contrast to these Maoist has-beens, the SL's forthright call for a socialist revolution in this country led one student to comment that, despite differences with us, "I do like the fact that unlike a lot of other groups on the left you guys do have the balls to say, 'Hey, we want a Soviet America'."

Urgently needed funds for Guillermo's defense should be made payable/mailed to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, earmarked for Bermúdez defense. ■



Guillermo at March 1985 Berkeley rally against apartheid, butchery and UC cop rampage.

were in a frenzy to drive us off the campus.

On October 9 Carlos Baron, a Chilean instructor in La Raza Studies at SFSU, invited Guillermo to speak before his class. Baron recalled that in Chile, following Pinochet's rightist military coup against the Allende Unidad Popular government in 1973, his own home "became the safety house for different people" from a number of left groups including the Communist Party and MIR. "Dialogue that should have taken place long before the military coup was taking place after," he noted

victory, these charges were beaten back in court. That fight was important to all student activists at Berkeley, hundreds of whom were beaten and arrested in a massive cop rampage against anti-apartheid protest. Vindictive in defeat, UC Reichschancellor Ira Heyman suspended Guillermo despite the fact that the university's case had failed in court.

Guillermo discussed the context of his case at SFSU, noting that it's "important because it affects everyone here and it affects your rights to protest, to voice your opinions against the criminal policies of the U.S. government." Why

Oberlin...

(continued from page 4)

describing the CIA's murderous crimes. A statement of purpose drafted by some of these students concluded, "Because we feel strongly that the CIA should not be allowed to continue its acts of international terrorism, we are willing to try to keep it from recruiting today and from returning tomorrow."

Oberlin DSA (Democratic Socialists of America) honcho Kevin Brown had lamented that Oberlin students were too "uninformed" to want to demonstrate against the CIA, but the students' activities belied the DSA's attempt to justify its own default. One lone DSAer, Jonathan Perry, broke ranks to build the anti-CIA protest, but as a group, these "State Department Socialists" limited their "actions" to a teach-in, and were notable only for their conspicuous stayaway from the demonstration against these killer spies.

Hatred of the CIA, the government's terrorist "Murder, Incorporated," is widespread on the Oberlin campus, but a division exists between those militants who wanted to send the imperialist henchmen packing and other students constrained by liberal moralism and patriotic illusions in the "American way." One student called for defending the CIA's right to "free speech." This was angrily contested by Oberlin activist Jon Nissenbaum who said that that view distorted what the CIA is all about. Another student thought the CIA could be reformed if some "good people" joined it. And Perry, who had earlier

cited the CIA's crimes, showed true DSA colors when he claimed that the U.S. needed an "information" agency because it is an "evil world" out there. As Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Dave Cardarelli pointed out, what was at stake was not a question of "free speech," but taking a side with the world's workers and peasants who are the victims of bloody CIA terror. Dave argued that driving the CIA off campus would strike a real if symbolic blow in defense of the oppressed.

These debates continued throughout and even after the demonstration. Student protesters questioned the career placement director as to why the administration would help the CIA. A Spartacist supporter pointed out that the Oberlin administration was not "neutral" when it came to the CIA. The universities and colleges are very much a part of the capitalist system and are a training ground for capitalist managers, technicians, ideologues, and spies.

DSAer Perry was reminded of this by the Oberlin powers that be after naively signing up for an interview in hopes of "debating" the CIA recruiter. The recruiter, however, was not there to debate, but to sign up future cloak-and-dagger assassins. After a brief "interview," Perry spilled a container of a mixture of ketchup and his own blood on the table. In its determination that the CIA be able to recruit at Oberlin for its bloody terror and murder campaigns, the administration brought Perry and WOBBC reporter Dan Jaffee (whom Perry had asked to record the interview for possible broadcast) up before the "Judicial Board" on charges of "interference with the essential educational process of the College"! They also demanded that Perry clean up the mess in the recruitment office, which, to his credit, he refused to do. While Perry's moralistic protest is not our strategy, he did graphically point out that the CIA is up to its eyebrows in

the blood of workers and peasants, saying to the disciplinary hearing that "I spilled my blood in solidarity with the CIA's victims." Both Perry and Jaffee were put on disciplinary probation. Down with Oberlin's reprisals against Perry and Jaffee!

Several students expressed frustration that driving the CIA off campus wouldn't stop the activities of the CIA. That's why it's important for students to link up with the power of the working class in socialist revolution to put an end to the CIA's heinous crimes once and for all.

The Spartacus Youth Club's forthright opposition to the CIA and program for class struggle against U.S. imperialism has struck a chord among Oberlin student militants. Many have bought subscriptions to *Workers Vanguard* and *Women & Revolution*; some ten have registered for our class, "The Fight for Socialism." Join the Oberlin Spartacus Youth Club! ■

Oberlin Spartacus Youth Club
Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Tuesdays, 8:30 p.m.
Next class: November 18

King 235
Oberlin College

For more information: (216) 621-5138

OBERLIN

Young Spartacus Club
Class Series

ABCs of Communism

Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next class: November 18

Student Union, Room B-119
SF State University

For more information: (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

Spartacus Youth Class Series

Principles of Communism

Alternate Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.
Next class: November 8

Baldwin Lounge, Tubman Quad
Howard University

For more information: (202) 636-3537

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Seymour Hersh Joins Reagan's Cover-Up

As soon as it became known that Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 007 had been shot down by a Soviet fighter on the night of 31 August-1 September 1983, the White House began screaming about the "barbarism" of the Soviet "Evil Empire." Brushing aside the fact that the unidentified intruder had overflown key Soviet air and naval bases on Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin island, refusing all Soviet attempts to warn the craft, Reagan hypocritically declared that "shooting down...hundreds of innocent men, women, children and babies, is part of their normal procedure." This line, now known as "spin" in Reaganspeak, was codified in a secret 5 September National Security Decision Directive 102 calling for using the "opportunity" to expose so-called "Soviet brutality." It was the disinformation job of the decade.

Immediately, the entire American media and both parties began blaring out the administration's Russians-eat-babies-for-breakfast lies. Most of the fake "left" fell into lock step behind the anti-Soviet marching band. In those first few weeks and months we were virtually alone in pinning the blame for the tragedy on the criminals in Washington. "Reagan's Story Stinks!" we headlined our first article on the crisis (*WV* No. 337, 9 September 1983), sketching the outlines of a provocative U.S. intelligence mission directed against the Soviet Union. Where the Communist Party's *Daily World* initially denied the Soviets had downed the plane, we published the TASS press releases pointing to a U.S. mission provocation. That October we issued our pamphlet, *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation*. It was clear the trail led to the White House, even though all the pieces of the puzzle were not yet in place.

Over time, doubts have spread over the Reaganites' Big Lie. One particular

THE SPECTRE OF KAL 007



tation Safety Board was ordered off the case, why the Federal Aviation Agency told Anchorage air controllers to keep quiet. They conclude that "the moral integrity of the current Administration must be seriously questioned. We feel betrayed by our government whose silence in this case...is beginning to resemble a deliberate cover-up."

KAL 007 Was U.S. Spy Plane

A mountain of evidence has now accumulated reinforcing our charges and filling in critical holes in the puzzle. It took a year for the first peep of protest from American liberals, when Yale scholar David Pearson's painstaking examination in the *Nation* demonstrated that the errant course of KAL 007 could not possibly have been an "accident." By 1985 two books had come

it. The article "KAL 007 Was U.S. Spy Plane" (*WV* No. 379, 17 May 1985) provided a point-by-point exposure of the lies written by that "journalist"-for-hire Murray Sayle in his *New York Review of Books* piece intended to serve as a government white paper/white-wash. And in "Skeletons in the White House Basement" (*WV* No. 394, 3 January 1986) we sketched out the sinister connections between former National Security Adviser William Clark and the 007 affair.

In May 1986, Oxford scholar R.W. Johnson published *Shootdown*, a well-researched book which remarkably verifies what we have been saying about the KAL incident, including pinpointing the likely target: the Soviets' powerful new radar at Abalakova in central Siberia. (However, Johnson doesn't deal with the purpose of this probe, to map Soviet radar as part of Reagan's "Star Wars" nuclear first-strike plans.) Drawing on massive evidence from numerous sources, the book demonstrates that the flight of KAL 007 was calculated to serve as "a passive probe aimed at getting the Russians to turn on radars further toward the Soviet interior, radars about which previous 'tickling' had failed to provide any information." Johnson's American publishers, Viking Penguin, took out a large ad in the *New York Times* boldly accusing the White House:

"The evidence is overwhelming. It points to one inevitable conclusion: the Reagan Administration deliberately provoked a Russian response by sending a Korean airliner with 269 unsuspecting passengers on a perilous mission deep inside sensitive Soviet airspace."

"If you're not convinced" by the book, the ad promised, "we'll give you your money back."

Yet the American media do their best to keep the lid on the KAL Pandora's box, seeing it as a matter of "national security." Typical was the *New York Times Book Review* (20 July) on

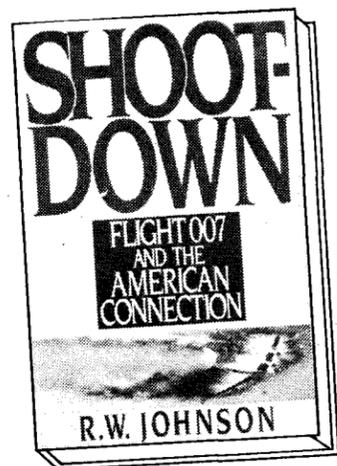
Shootdown: in six snotty paragraphs the reviewer dismisses Johnson's massive research on the grounds that the author's "strident tone" shows that he "treats the major figures in the Reagan Administration with disdain bordering on contempt"! The *Times* prefers to kiss Reagan's keister. Even détente-minded liberal muckrakers have shied away from KAL 007 because it goes to the heart of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive—and exposing a lie so monstrous would threaten the imperial presidency still trying to recover from Watergate and Vietnam. R.W. Johnson confesses in the foreword to his book: "I was also undoubtedly guilty of the normal cowardice which suggests that a reputation for objectivity in the West means one has to avoid reliance on Soviet sources."

Moreover, the Reagan administration has made it clear that the cover-up is to be enforced by the mailed fist of the state. When in September 1983 two former Air Force intelligence officers revealed that the American RC-135 spy planes (one of which rendezvoused with KAL 007) regularly monitor Soviet electronic activity in "real time" (i.e., the U.S. had to know), they received threatening visits from the FBI. More recently, CIA director William Casey has taken the unprecedented step of phoning authors and publishers of books about KAL 007 to "warn" them they could be "violating the law." Casey noted that *Shootdown* was on the list of items to "look at" for "violations." And Johnson noted that even before his book was published he "received a strongly denunciatory letter from Mr Tom Maertens of the US State Department... It was not clear how Mr Maertens had read my book before it was published" (*Time Out*, London, 30 July-5 August).

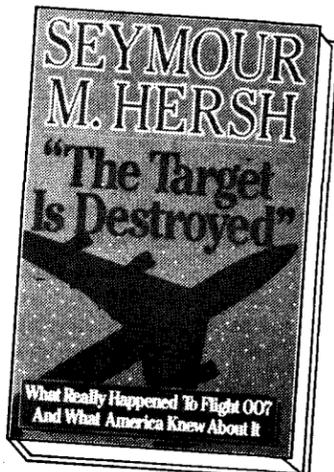
SMERSH Hersh, or Why Can't Seymour See More?

Finally the long-announced book on KAL 007 by Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Seymour Hersh has appeared. Hersh, the dean of Washington muckrakers, is highly respected by the media establishment and liberal intelligentsia for his Vietnam-era exposés of government cover-ups—including the My Lai massacre and Nixon's use of the CIA against antiwar protesters. His new book, *The Target Is Destroyed*, was billed as the final word on the KAL plot. Instead, Hersh advances the most minimal criticism of the Reagan administration, with the transparent purpose of absolving the White House of the more serious charges. Like the RCA Victor dog, he has his head cocked for his master's voice, and that master is the American ruling class. Hersh labored mightily, and produced a cover-up for Reagan that has as many holes as a Swiss cheese.

Hersh says the Soviets "did not know" they were shooting at a civilian airliner—they thought it was a U.S. military craft invading their airspace. And that the Reagan White House soon



R.W. Johnson's *Shootdown* was panned in media for telling truth about Reagan's KAL 007 plot. "Free but responsible" press praised Hersh for covering up White House complicity.



group has grown increasingly bitter at the U.S. government: the Families of American Victims of the KAL 007 Tragedy. This past August 31, the group held a third anniversary memorial service at the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine in Manhattan. Several relatives rose to give moving personal accounts, and complained of KAL and State Department disinformation. Nan Oldham asked some pointed questions:

"Your children and my son were torn from the skies over a Soviet military base. My peace-loving son, who had studied Chinese and French, economics, politics and law, in order to be able to help this world to be a better place for all of us to live, was discovered flying above a Russian military base. How did this happen? What chain of events took those precious children there? Our children died during peacetime above the most critical military site in all of Russia. Why? How?"

In their press release, the families ask why the U.S. claimed in court the relevant Air Force radar tapes had been destroyed, why the National Transport-

ation Safety Board was ordered off the case, why the Federal Aviation Agency told Anchorage air controllers to keep quiet. They conclude that "the moral integrity of the current Administration must be seriously questioned. We feel betrayed by our government whose silence in this case...is beginning to resemble a deliberate cover-up."

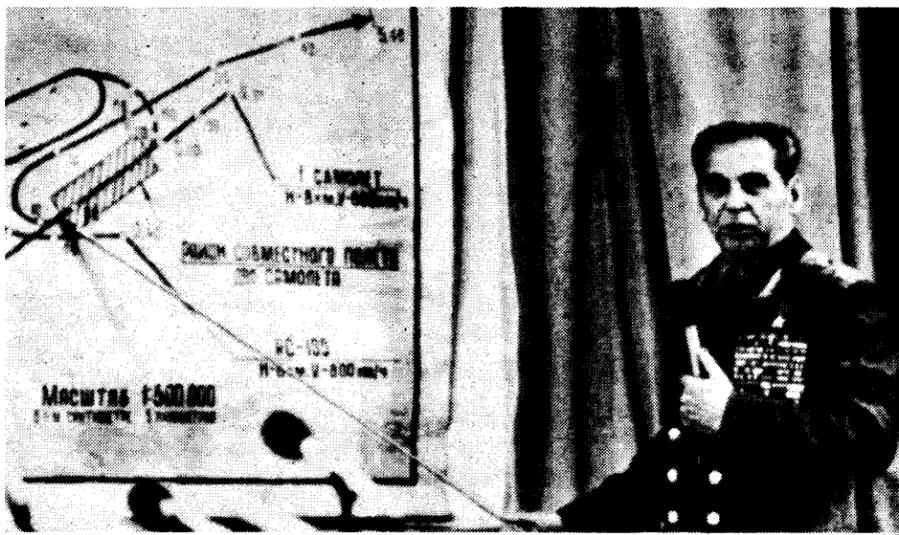
out—one by anti-Soviet academic Alexander Dallin and another by political science professor Oliver Clubb—suggesting that the provocative flight was part of a U.S. plot. But readers of *Workers Vanguard* have been able to get the truth from the beginning. As Trotskyists, who defend the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism while denouncing the bureaucracy's dangerous détente illusions, we were able to penetrate the smokescreen of war propaganda over KAL 007. We followed up our October 1983 pamphlet with an article, "Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels" (*WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984), providing evidence that the KAL 007 flight was coordinated with a U.S. spy satellite (as the Soviets had alleged). In *WV* No. 357 (22 June 1984) we published corroboration that the American space shuttle was also involved in the plot. In *WV* No. 362 (14 September 1984) and *WV* No. 369 (21 December 1984) we reported on "Nation Liberals Hit KAL 007 Cover-Up," and why the Democrats went along with

Memorial service for KAL 007 dead in New York, August 31. Families of victims say U.S. government silence "is beginning to resemble a deliberate cover-up."



learned this but chose to "look the other way," continuing to spread the lie that the Russians deliberately "murdered" civilians for the sheer pleasure of it. But the *New York Times* admitted as far back as 7 October 1983 that "U.S. Experts Say Soviets Didn't See Jet Was Civilian" ... which didn't keep the *Times* from joining the anti-Soviet slanderfest. Hersh dredges up this old news just to establish his anti-Reagan credentials for the main purpose of the book, to permanently lay to rest all "conspiracy theories"—something only an ostensible "critic" could do. Not surprisingly, the media which gave Johnson's book short shrift have enthusiastically embraced Hersh's opus for "its sense of responsibility" (*Washington Post*, 14 September).

Hersh's book is not a serious investigation of the facts at all. It is a giant, self-serving "leak" of supposedly secret information fed him by an anonymous crowd of intelligence officials and operatives. Much of the "leaked" information comes from the National Security Agency (NSA), which should raise eyebrows right away, since the NSA has always been the most secretive of all U.S. intelligence agencies. So now, in a period when the Reagan/Meese gang are threatening ordinary reporters with prosecution under the Espionage Act, we are supposed to believe that a



Soviet Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov at 9 September 1983 Moscow news conference pointing to provocative rendezvous of KAL 007 with American RC-135 spy plane.

his hero, Major General James C. Pfautz, then commander of U.S. Air Force Intelligence, who reportedly claims that it was all the result of Soviet sloppiness in confusing KAL 007 with the RC-135 spy plane. Hersh tells us that American technicians searched through "thousands of feet of NSA recordings" and could find no "side by side flying" of the planes as Soviet Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov claimed in the Moscow press conference. So where are these "thou-

gence community" contacts allege having no pre-knowledge of the KAL 007 flight proves nothing, even if they're telling the truth. Only a relative handful of people at the top would "need to know"; the rest would merely go about their normal activities of monitoring the Soviet Union (which were heightened by an expected Soviet missile test that night).

Seymour Hersh certainly didn't have to skulk around Watergate garages to

eye of an "unwary" Russian radar operator. Hersh, however, admits there were at least three separate Soviet radars tracking KAL 007 at that point (not to mention the Japanese radars, which also recorded the turn, as reported in the evening edition of the Tokyo *Asahi Shimbun* the next day). This destroys Murray Sayle's "accident" hypothesis. Enter Harold Ewing, billed by Hersh as an experienced pilot in the Far East, who conjures up a new "accident" scenario. Supposedly the turn over Sakhalin was caused by computers of the plane's Inertial Navigation System, with the help of an incredible series of "mistakes" by the cockpit crew. This "explains Flight 007 in terms of what is known and what has not yet been revealed," says the inscrutable Hersh.

The Ewing/Hersh thesis is such a bizarre concoction it makes Sayle look almost rational in comparison. It begins with "the fatal finger error" as the KAL flight engineer enters the wrong coordinates into the captain's INS computer at the start of the flight; then during the flight Captain Chun decides to take a minor shortcut by entering an extra, unauthorized waypoint into his computer in order to save on fuel; and when putting in the additional waypoint, Chun gets the coordinates wrong. "Ewing acknowledged that his scenario calls for a leap of faith at this point," Hersh says. That's a leap that would make Baryshnikov blush. To explain the failure to notice the compounding errors through nine checkpoints when amber lights go off on the INS, Hersh has the captain taking a powder from the cockpit for five hours. (As in Sayle's tale, he supposedly gets caught up in conversation with ultrarightist Congressman Larry McDonald who was traveling on board.)

With this kind of "investigation" one could discover the moon is made of green cheese. Even columnist Tom Wicker, desperate to get off the hot seat for being one of the rare voices to question the Reagan line on KAL 007, while hailing the Hersh book admitted he found the loony Ewing scenario "less than satisfying" (*New York Times*, 21 September). A far simpler explanation for the plane's deviation is that it was deliberate. But this is the one hypothesis Hersh refuses to even entertain. Why? And why should NSA and CIA types tell him the truth where the government has stonewalled to the hilt? Hersh claims in his introduction that "Those who chose to talk to me did so out of a conviction that political abuse of communications intelligence has become a reality in the Reagan administration." Supposedly, the White House had been playing by Marquis of Queensbury rules until the Great Corrupter came along. (What about the mythical "missile gap," for instance, which served as JFK's

continued on page 12



Reagan surveys North Korean defenses in 1983 (above). From "Star Wars" space weapons to high-tech multiple launch rockets (right), White House is planning nuclear blitzkrieg.

crowd of NSAers and other intelligence people decided to open their hearts to Seymour Hersh.

Predictably, the "leaked" information is supposed to show that the NSA had no pre-knowledge of KAL 007's aberrant flight, Washington was in the dark as it was occurring, and was unable to figure out what happened until after the fact, when they reviewed their tape recordings. In other words, the prime suspects claim they're "innocent"—big news!—and we're supposed to simply take their word for it. Even NSA technicians in the ultrasecret Project CLEF, stationed at the Wakkanai intelligence base in Japan (allegedly without the knowledge of top Japanese government officials) and who admittedly *did* monitor the flight and shoot-down of KAL 007 in "real time," were unable to alert anybody in time, we are told—though Japanese Defense Agency operatives were "just a few feet away"!

The many other U.S. "assets" in the region that night are simply disappeared from Hersh's book: the massive phased-array radar known as Cobra Dane and the over-the-horizon radar Cobra Talon on Shemya Island in the Aleutians; the U.S. Navy's radar spy ship *Observation Island* in the North Pacific; the U.S. "ferret" spy satellite orbiting overhead; the U.S. Navy frigate *Badger* on combat patrol off Vladivostok; the U.S. Orion P-3 search planes in the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk and off Kamchatka; the several additional RC-135 spy planes (besides the one Hersh acknowledges) reported by the Soviets to be aloft in the region in those five-plus hours; and so on.

Omitting all that and more, Hersh instead spends endless pages building up

sands of feet" of tapes? When the families of the KAL victims suing the U.S. government asked for Air Force radar tapes in court, government lawyers claimed they had been "accidentally" erased! You just have to take Langley/Fort Meade/Hersh's word for it, because the government won't release one inch.

In September 1983 Soviet air marshal Pyotr Kirsanov noted the presence of a U.S. "ferret" spy satellite coordinated with the flight of KAL 007. Independent Western experts have verified that at least one such U.S. "ferret," with the international designation 1982-41C, fit the Soviet description (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *SIPRI Yearbook 1985*). We have also shown that at least one other U.S. "ferret" (designated 1983-60C) was launched from a Big Bird satellite put up specifically to look at the Abalakova radar, barely two months before 007's flight. But Hersh baldly claims: "there was no American reconnaissance satellite orbiting within range of Sakhalin" at the time of KAL 007's intrusion. Again no proof, no refutation of the published claims to the contrary. Hersh's sources told him so, and so be it.

Hersh simply dismisses any possibility of a U.S. conspiracy in a footnote, claiming there was "no evidence of any advance word on the Korean flight." When Soviet Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov and Deputy Foreign Minister Georgi Kornienko, interviewed at the start of his "investigation" in May 1984, suggested investigating the "CIA's role," Hersh says he responded "with a laugh" about their "trying to be my editor." So much for the thorough "investigative reporter." The fact that Hersh's "intelli-



Vought

get this kind of disinformation. He could have walked in through the front door of Fort Meade, which is probably what he did.

"Leap of Faith" ... in Reagan

Those who claim the provocative flight of KAL 007 was an "accident" must explain away the embarrassing deviations from a straight course made by the plane that night, especially the sharp right turn and evasive maneuvers over Sakhalin island. Murray Sayle stupidly tried to claim the turn never happened, it was just an illusion in the

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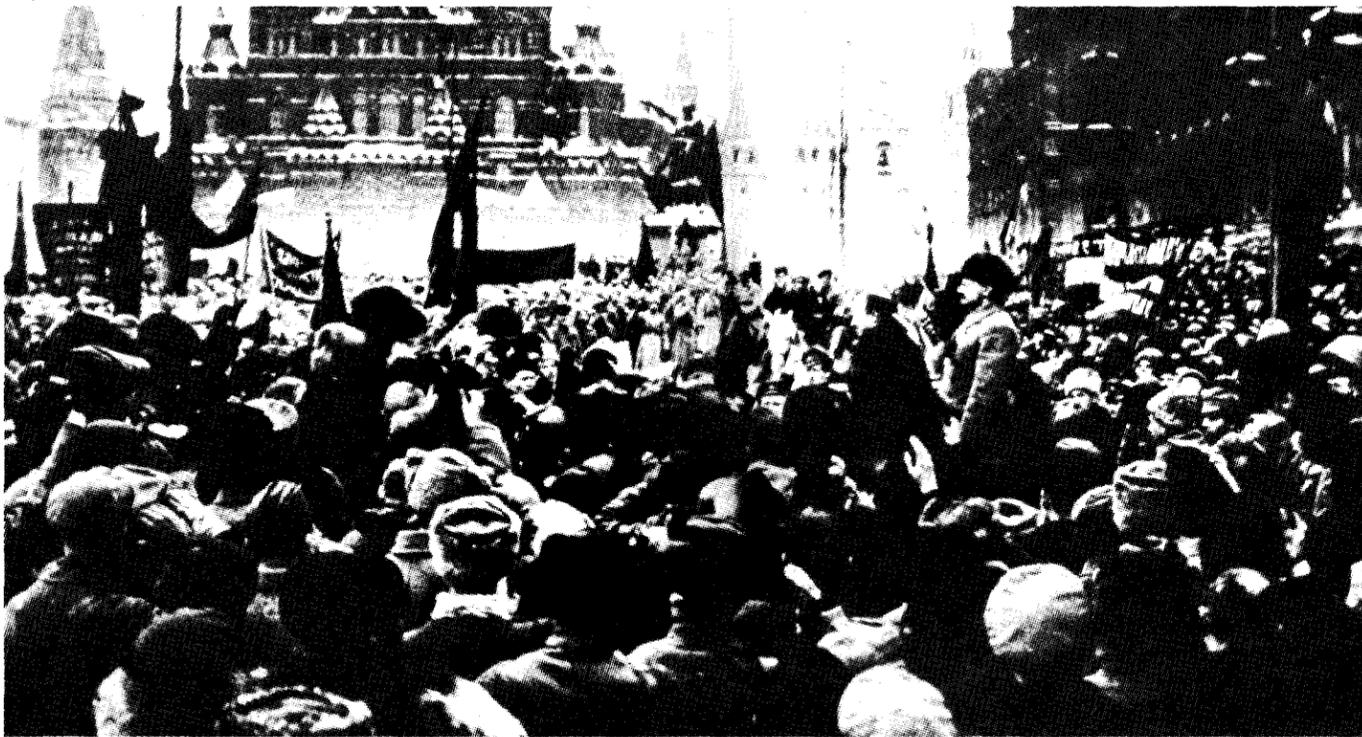
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Leon Trotsky (center) speaking in Moscow's Red Square, 1920.

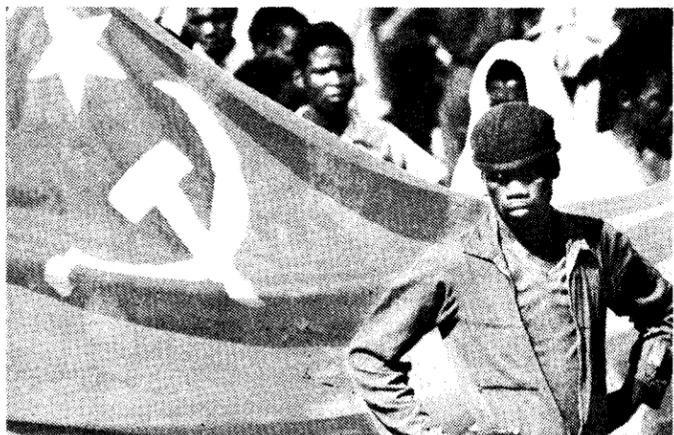
Penguin Books

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

(continued from page 1)

they love Jeane Kirkpatrick's speeches, they're all gung-ho for a crusade against Russia. Except they don't want to pay for it. I mean, they hate Communism, true, but they hate taxes even more. As far as I can tell, all the right-wing students I've known are all majoring in tax dodging.

So that here you have the biggest military buildup in American history, financed to a large extent through foreign borrowing. Reagan's America, not Brazil, not Mexico, is the world's biggest international debtor. Well, after a while foreign investors, the Japanese, the Germans are beginning to wonder whether it's a good investment. So what



Gubb/IB Pictures

South African black militants carry red flag of communism. Russian Revolution continues to inspire struggles of the oppressed throughout the world.

happened last week is that the Germans and the Japanese refused to roll over their loans to the U.S. government unless the Treasury paid them a lot higher interest, and that's what triggered the stock market panic.

Everywhere you look, you find the Russian question. South Africa is a totalitarian police state, the likes of which has never existed on the face of this earth. This is a country in which the black African majority are stripped of every democratic right and human dignity. Yet South Africa is an important part of the "free world," indeed, it is the leading U.S. ally in that part of the world. What's behind it is that in South Africa, as in everywhere else, Russia is seen as the main enemy. In Reagan's major speech on South Africa last July, he made this quite clear: "If this rising hostility in southern Africa between Pretoria and the front line states explodes, the Soviet Union will be the main beneficiary and the critical ocean corridor of South Africa and the strategic minerals of the region would be at risk."

You already know the American government in general, and Ronald

Reagan fanatically so, is hostile to the Soviet Union and sees Russia as the enemy on all fronts. What we want to talk about is *why*. What is the nature of the Cold War? Is the Cold War, as the American ruling class says, a war between democracy and police-state totalitarianism? Is it a conflict between two equally militaristic, equally imperialist world powers? In West Europe this is a fairly common view, especially in social-democratic circles; a kind of curse on both your houses, yes, America is bad in Central America and the Soviets are bad in Afghanistan. You know, the two biggest bullies on the block theory of the Cold War. What we want to assert is that the Cold War, which really began in Russia in 1917, is at bottom a *class war*

between world capitalism and proletarian revolution.

Bolshevik Revolution Shakes the World

Communism as a reality—not simply as a program, an idea—begins in Russia in 1917. For the first time the program of socialist revolution, which many generations of workers had fought for and died for, and which the ruling class had dismissed as pie in the sky, the second coming of Christ, just a pipe dream, was realized in reality in Russia, a backward but important country in Europe. For the first time the workers took political power into their own hands, in the form of *soviets*, which is simply the Russian word for councils—workers, peasants and soldiers councils. For the first time (granted, under the worst possible conditions of war and civil war and terrible economic devastation) the capitalist class was expropriated and a government consciously controlled the economy in the interest of the toilers. So that the Bolshevik Revolution was the greatest victory for the proletariat in history and the greatest defeat for the bourgeoisie. That's why

Reagan and the rest of them hate Russia.

In Reagan's America of 1986, there's a point worth emphasizing: that the liberating effect of the Bolshevik Revolution went far beyond the narrow conceptions of politics and economics. Take for example sex. A few months ago, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the outlawing of sodomy. And then there is all this hysteria about AIDS: in California there's a genuinely fascistic referendum to put AIDS victims in concentration camps. You want to know what was the first country to outlaw all laws against homosexuality, against so-called sexual deviation? Soviet Russia, in 1920 or '21.

Now, the Russian Revolution, the Bolshevik Revolution, was made in Russia. It was not, however, made simply *for* Russia. It was not just the top leaders of the Bolshevik Party—Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Sverdlov—but the advanced workers of Russia themselves who saw themselves beginning the world socialist revolution, that is, breaking imperialism at its weakest link. The Bolshevik Revolution, as no event before or since, inspired the workers of the world, even in the United States where the working class was relatively backward.

Moreover, the impact of the Russian Revolution was not limited to the U.S. and Europe. One of the weaknesses of the working-class socialist movement before World War I was that it was limited to the imperialist countries, it did not extend to the colonial masses. But the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution not only went West but it also went East. No event awakened the colonial masses in the struggle against imperialism and their own *anciens régimes* more than did the Russian Revolution. One

thinks for example of the founding leader of the Chinese Communist Party, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, who saw in Russian Bolshevism a model for the liberation of his own country.

But while the Bolshevik Revolution inspired revolutionary movements around the world, these movements did not succeed in taking and consolidating state power. The central reason is that there did not exist outside of Russia a party like the Bolsheviks, a party which had been built over the course of a decade and a half precisely to take advantage of a revolutionary crisis. A party with a revolutionary program, a tested leadership, a hardened cadre, a solid organization. Throughout Europe in the wake of World War I there was enormous revolutionary ferment, but the revolutionary energy of the masses tended to be dissipated because there was not a central guiding force to direct it in the seizure of power.

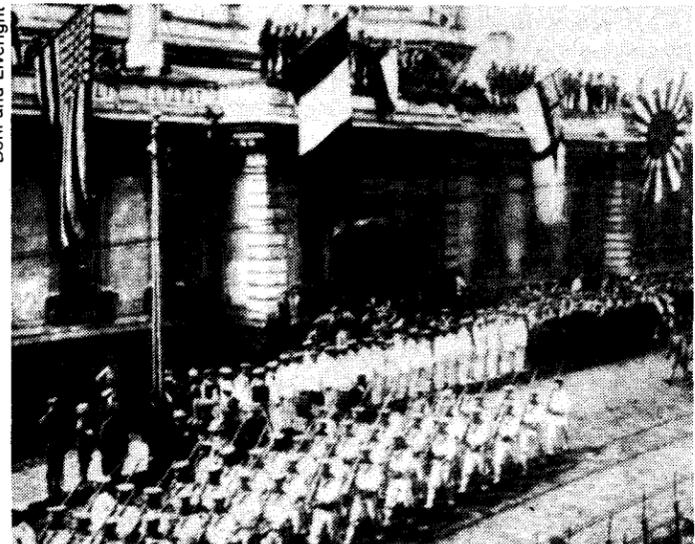
Now within Soviet Russia the impact of the failure of the revolutionary wave to extend itself beyond Russia was catastrophic. That is, the Bolsheviks won the civil war—they drove out the 14 imperialist armed forces, including that of the United States, which aided the White armies, the counterrevolutionary armies—but they were victors over a devastated and broken country. The economy was shattered. Industrial production was a mere fraction in 1921 of what it was in 1914. Famine and pestilence stalked the country, in some regions cannibalism appeared.

So there opened up in the early 1920s a seemingly unbridgeable gulf between the liberating goals of the Russian Revolution and the stark everyday reality of Russia. A government which proclaimed itself, in Marx's words, to be the first step in the transition from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, was forced to sell religious artifacts to the West, to appeal to Western charities, simply in order to feed its own people. And under these conditions you began to get a tendency toward demoralization and depoliticization on the part of the masses. Within the leadership of the revolution, you began under those same conditions to develop a tendency toward complacency, corruption to a certain degree, bureaucratic commandism.

And that tendency culminated in a factional struggle within the leadership of the Soviet Union, a factional struggle which pitted a bureaucratic nationalist faction, which came to be headed by Joseph Stalin, against a revolutionary internationalist faction led by Leon Trotsky. Predominantly for objective reasons, the bureaucratic nationalist faction won, in what Trotsky later termed a political counterrevolution, in 1924. He called it "political" because the overthrow of capitalist property, the socialization of the means of production, that is, the objective basis for the transition to socialism, still existed. Trotsky himself was first exiled to Soviet Central Asia and in 1929 expelled from Russia altogether. He spent the next decade seeking to build the world party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International. In 1940 Trotsky was

American, French, British and Japanese forces intervene to crush Vladivostok Soviet, 1918. Trotsky's Red Army drove imperialist invaders out of Russia.

Boni and Liveright





assassinated by a Stalinist agent in Mexico.

The Revolution Betrayed

The Stalinist political counterrevolution was carried out under the slogan of "socialism in one country," a slogan diametrically counterposed to the program of the Bolshevik Revolution. At one level this was a travesty of what everyone had always regarded as socialism, not only Marxists but non-Marxists. That is; a socialist society was conceived of as a society of social equality and economic plenty in which there was no state coercion—in Engels' words, the state had withered away. It was also conceived of as an international order in which there was no war, no threat of war, no mass organized violence. Stalin promised to build socialism in a country far more backward, still largely peasant, than West Europe, under conditions of hostile encirclement in which the threat of war totally dominated the life of the Soviet Union, as it still does today. And in fact war did come to the Soviet Union in 1940. So this was a cruel parody of socialism.

Trotsky also pointed out that the program of "socialism in one country" in a sense represented social reality as perceived by the new Soviet bureaucracy. They no longer believed in, to be more precise, they feared proletarian revolution in the West, in West Europe, in the United States, in Germany. So they sought to neutralize the imperialist threat, to buy peaceful coexistence. Now as every capitalist knows, in order to buy something, you have to sell something. What did the Soviet bureaucracy have to sell to the Western imperialists? Well, as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution there were throughout the world mass parties and movements loyal to Russia. So the Soviet bureaucracy sold other people's revolutions.

One of the most extreme and important cases was that of Spain during the mid-1930s. Here was probably the greatest opportunity for proletarian revolution in Europe in that period. However, Stalin wanted an alliance with Britain and France against Nazi Germany, so he was anxious to assure the British and the French ruling classes that he was not going to export communism to Spain, that the Spanish Revolution would not go beyond the bounds of liberal democracy. As a result of which, the Stalinists set up an apparatus of terror in Spain, they killed scores of militant Spanish workers, assassinated some of the more radical leaders of the Spanish proletariat, suppressed any attempts at organs of proletarian power. This paved the way for Franco's victory and therefore strengthened and emboldened Nazi Germany. But proletarian revolution in Spain could well have set off a chain of events that would have overthrown Hitler before he launched Operation Barbarossa.

There is a fundamental truth and a fundamental lesson here. Which is that no matter how hard the Kremlin bureaucracy and the parties loyal to it

try to conciliate imperialism, no matter how hard they try to maintain the status quo, and promise they will not upset the bourgeois order, world capitalism is not conciliated. They will not accept peaceful coexistence. In the late '30s, Trotsky wrote:

"For the bourgeoisie—fascist as well as democratic—isolated counterrevolutionary exploits of Stalin do not suffice; it needs a complete counterrevolution in the relations of production and the opening of the Russian market. So long as this is not the case, the bourgeoisie

Kennedy and Johnson.

Why is it that the so-called liberal party of American capitalism is the war party and not the rightists? In fact, the Democratic Party can mobilize those sections of the population who are most likely to oppose those wars. I think this is most striking when we come to the question of blacks in the United States today. In the past presidential election, 90 percent of blacks voted for the Democrat Mondale, in part because Jesse Jackson campaigned for him, in a half-hearted way. At the same time, if you look at the American army, especially the combat units, it's very disproportionately black, in some cases 20 and 25 percent blacks. Is it because blacks are gung-ho Rambo types, just itching to fight for Reagan? Quite the contrary, blacks are the least anti-Soviet, the least anti-Communist and the most anti-Reagan.

So why do they join the army? Because the conditions of ghetto life are so hellish, so desperate, that it's the one group to whom the army looks good. At least they get a chance to learn a job skill, earn three square meals a day and get a warm place to sleep. You know, your Reaganite college youth don't want to join the army. This creates a

Oakland. So it is the Democratic Party which forms the key link between the black ghetto and organized labor and the Pentagon war machine. Whenever I argue about the Democrats and Republicans, I'm always reminded of a Woody Allen joke, in his "Speech to the Graduating Class": "Today mankind stands on a crossroads. One path leads to demoralization and despair. The other to total annihilation." Except in this case they both lead to total annihilation.

Reagan's program of "outlawing the Soviet Union forever" brings with it not merely the danger of total annihilation or a bloody military adventure in Central America like that of Vietnam, but it also means a Cold War at home against increasingly large sections of the American population. First and most immediately under attack are the black and Hispanic poor. We have seen in the Reagan years that the limited and even the token gains of the civil rights movement, and in some cases of the Civil War, have come under attack, have been reversed. This is captured in a nice cartoon I saw. There's a bus carrying a bunch of black people, and alongside the bus is this car with a bunch of white racists who are stoning the bus. One of the blacks says, "Call the Civil Rights Commission." And another black replies, "What do you mean, that is the Civil Rights Commission."

Avenge PATCO—Bring Down Reagan with Labor Action!

If blacks had no illusions about what Reagan meant, many white workers certainly did. He got about half the votes of white, unionized workers in 1980. One of the few unions who actually endorsed Reagan was the air controllers union, PATCO. That is, this was a union of predominantly, overwhelmingly white, highly skilled people. They thought they were Reagan's people. So shortly after Reagan took office, they went on strike. Next thing you know, Reagan has leaders literally in chains like antebellum slaves and fires the entire 13,000 membership of that union. Why did Reagan act so brutally to what appears to be his own constituency? It was also a message to the Russians, to the Nicaraguans. It says, look, if I'm going to do this to skilled white workers, Americans, imagine what you're going to get from me.

The PATCO strike was a turning point in recent American labor and social history. It was intended to be a brutal, frontal challenge to the entire organized labor movement. I remember we sold *Workers Vanguard* with the headline: "Labor: Shut Down the Airports!" at a big labor rally on Labor Day in New York City, and then a half-million labor rally in Washington, D.C. a few weeks later. And I saw that there were hundreds of thousands of workers, many of them quite socially and politically backward, many of them flag-waving people who hated Russia. But at that moment, they were *enraged* about what Reagan was doing to their

continued on page 12

Lenin's General Staff of 1917

STALIN, THE EXECUTIONER, ALONE REMAINS



The Central Committee of The Bolshevik Party in 1917

Socialist Appeal

American Trotskyists' **Socialist Appeal (1938)** documented Stalin's extermination of the Bolshevik leadership that made the October Revolution.

considers the Soviet state hostile to it. And it is right."

—"Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937)

In Reagan's America the truth of this position is, I think, undeniable and indisputable.

The Klan Doesn't Ride in Moscow

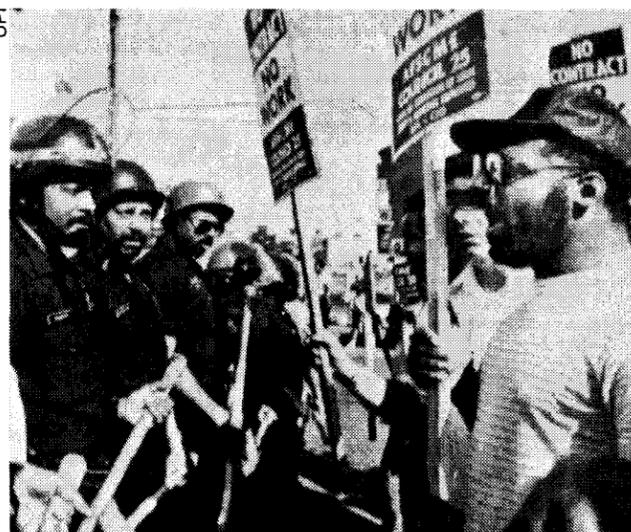
I have talked about "Reagan's America." Reagan is, after all, the supreme commander of U.S. imperialism and undoubtedly the most single-mindedly, fanatically anti-Soviet president in American history. Partly for that reason there are many people, especially black people, who hate and fear Reagan and they look to the Democratic Party as an alternative.

Now, it's hard to make an argument that the Democratic Party is in opposition to Reagan's policies on Russia. They voted for everything, the Nicaraguan contras, the Afghan contras, the Angolan contras, you name it. They voted for Star Wars, for the MX, right down the list. But you still get the lesser evil argument. Those of us radicals who were around during the Vietnam War don't buy it because we remember Kennedy and Johnson launched the Vietnam War and the Bay of Pigs. And if you look at it, every war that the United States has fought in the 20th century has been fought under a liberal Democratic president. World War I under Woodrow Wilson, World War II under Franklin Roosevelt, the Korean War under Harry Truman, and Vietnam, its initial major stages under

certain problem for U.S. imperialism. It means that if the United States invades Nicaragua, for example, it is much more effective to have Jesse Jackson as U.N. ambassador justifying this policy than to have Jeane Kirkpatrick or Vernon Walters justifying this policy.

To generalize, U.S. imperialism cannot in the present conceivable period effectively conduct a war, if we leave aside nuclear Armageddon, without the support of the black Democrats. It is simply impossible. Just as U.S. imperialism cannot administer the big cities, cannot impose all the racist cutbacks without black Democratic mayors. Look at the mayors of the big cities: Wilson Goode of Philadelphia, who ordered the MOVE bombing; Harold Washington in Chicago, Coleman Young in Detroit, Lionel Wilson in

Detroit city workers strike last July against Mayor Coleman Young, black Democratic front man for Reagan's racist cutbacks.



Contras' Godfathers...

(continued from page 1)

buses... and trucks. Patricia Manning, a Witness for Peace volunteer, arrived on the scene two hours after the blast at Pantasma:

"Seeing the truck absolutely destroyed, the scene littered with clothes, pieces of broken shoes, everything soaked in blood. And I'm thinking, why isn't anyone covering the war here, they're all sitting in a comfortable room in Managua listening to an American talk about happening to get shot down while he's transporting arms that wreak this kind of carnage."

—WBAI News, 31 October

World attention is currently focused on the trial, before an Anti-Somozaist People's Tribunal, of American mercenary Eugene Hasenfus, for running guns to the contras. Not even this dog of war contests his guilt: Hasenfus told *Time* (3 November), "I was caught helping the enemy (of the Sandinistas), killing their people through this aid." But when 19-year-old Sandinista soldier José Fernando Canales shot the American cargo plane out of the sky with a hand-held Soviet SAM rocket launcher, they not only bagged this contract "merc." The documents strewn on the ground and Hasenfus' testimony exposed the whole international network of CIA killers, European fascists and Latin American death squad terrorists who make up the



Der Spiegel
General John Singlaub (left) with contra henchman Enrique Bermúdez. Singlaub's World Anti-Communist League—cabal of leftover Nazis, Kuomintang and South Korean thugs, and Latin American death squad hit men—meeting in Dallas, 1985.

Council. A clear chain of command, except that when Congress cut off direct U.S. military support to the contras two years ago, after the CIA got caught "secretly" mining Nicaraguan harbors, the Reagan administration supposedly "privatized" the war. Finally, Hasenfus got the word from Washington, through "Reagan's Democrat" Griffin Bell, to keep his trap shut, or else. But by then it was too late.

Trying to get off the hot seat, Reagan administration officials talked of a "good ole boys" network of former CIA employees left over from Vietnam days, and pointed the finger at retired Army Major General John Singlaub, head of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). Singlaub denied all: his

tion of the racists and anti-Semites" (*New York Times*, 14 October). 1981 was when an earlier B'nai B'rith report had denounced the WACL as a nest of anti-Semitic vipers, and also when Singlaub took command.

The World Anti-Communist League cleansed of anti-Semitism and racism? Impossible. Not only does the WACL incorporate the rhetoric of Hitler's Anti-Comintern Pact, but it's the biggest collection of fascist killers in the world. What about Ukrainian fascist leader Yaroslav Stetsko, premier of the Nazi puppet regime responsible for the mass murder of 7,000 Jews at Lvov in 1941? Stetsko is head of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and a leading member of the WACL. And then there is Chirila Ciuntu, a former member of the fascist Romanian Iron Guard who participated in the notorious January 1941 destruction of the Jewish ghetto of Bucharest in which 800 were slaughtered with axes, knives and meat hooks and many burned to death. And the Croatian Liberation Movement, leftovers from the fascist Ustashi who butchered a million Serbs, Muslims and Jews, is also a section of the WACL. This is what the ADL gives its stamp of approval to!

According to *Inside the League* (1986) by Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, its Central American leading lights were Mario Sandoval Alarcón, head of the Guatemalan MLN, known as "Godfather" for his role in spawning other terrorist outfits; and his student Roberto D'Aubuisson, head of the Salvadoran fascistic ARENA party, known as "Blowtorch Bob" for his favorite interrogation instrument. In Argentina, the WACL affiliate was the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA), notorious for waging the "dirty war" responsible for the "disappearances" and murders of thousands of leftists (and many Jews), both under the Videla junta and the preceding Perón regime. Plus a myriad of fascist terrorists including Klaus Barbie, the Nazi Butcher of Lyons, and Stefano Delle Chiaie, author of the 1980 Bologna train station bombing.

So why is the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League so anxious to whitewash this gang? It's all in the great anti-Soviet crusade, you see. After all, *Israel is a major arms supplier and military trainer for the contra terrorists*. When Congress began to balk at giving more dollars to the contra leaders (who

salted it away in Swiss bank accounts and Miami condos), Washington put the arm on its Zionist allies in the Near East to take up the slack. "Senior Reagan administration officials" told the *New York Times* (21 July 1983):

"Israel, at the request of the United States, has agreed to send weapons captured from the Palestine Liberation Organization to Honduras for eventual use by the Nicaraguan rebels.... The arms shipments, which began recently, include artillery pieces, mortar rounds, mines, hand grenades and ammunition."

According to the North American Congress on Latin America, these shipments included an estimated 2,000-3,000 Soviet AK-47 assault rifles captured from the PLO in Lebanon (*NACLA Report on the Americas*, July/August 1986). And *Time* (7 May 1984) reported:

"Israeli intelligence experts have helped the CIA train the *contras* and retired or reserve Israeli Army commandos have been hired by shadowy private firms to assist the rebels. 'The Israelis,' says a U.S. intelligence expert, 'know how to run a secret operation'."

In early 1984, according to Americans for Middle East Understanding, former CIA deputy director Vernon Walters, then Reagan's roving ambassador and now chief U.S. delegate at the UN, met with Israel's ambassador in Washington, Meir Rosenne, to press for greater Israeli involvement in "defending the free world" on the Central American battleground (*Link*, November 1985). This was when the U.S. Congress was cutting off the CIA's contra funds, and after the Argentine generals pulled out their "trainers" following the junta's defeat in the Falklands/Malvinas war.

Other U.S. allies who pitched in include Taiwan, South Korea and South Africa. Christian fundamentalist televangelist Pat Robertson, the big-mouth bigot now running for president, boasted to reporters earlier this year: "The contras are being supplied by Israel and South Africa" to serve the cause of "defeating communism worldwide by the end of the 20th century" (*PCNA Monthly*, September/October 1986). The Tel Aviv/Pretoria axis has long been a key link in the "free world." Rather less to the Israelis' liking was that Washington also muscled Saudi Arabia into funneling several million to the contras, as a kickback for the AWACS radar plane deal. (The Saudi monarchy also kicked in an estimated



Morgan/Picture Group



Morrison/AFP

Reagan's unlucky Hasenfus (above), after mercenary plane supplying arms to contra terrorists was shot down by Sandinistas.

support network that's run straight from the White House.

Hasenfus admitted working for the CIA, based in the heavily guarded Ilopango air base in El Salvador. His boss was "Max Gómez" (aka Felix Ismael Rodríguez, "El Condor"), a gusano veteran of the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, who later worked for the CIA during its Vietnam debacle. "Gómez" was put in place by the former CIA Saigon station chief, Donald Gregg, now national security adviser to (ex-CIA boss) Vice President Bush; he currently reports to Marine Lt. Colonel Oliver North, in the National Security

Council for World Freedom (CWF) front only sent 8,000 "freedom fighter kits" to the contras, containing shaving cream, non-melting candy and Bibles (admitting transporting arms and ammunition to the contras could affect the CWF's tax-exempt status). While Singlaub was a convenient decoy, there's no doubt about the existence of a network of "private" aid groups run by former top-level military officers and intelligence operatives, Cuban gusanos and ultrarightist political groups. Reagan tried to compare them with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade which fought for the Spanish Republic against Franco in the 1930s. With his usual historical accuracy, no doubt he got them mixed up with Hitler's Condor Legion.

Zionists Whitewash Nazis

In the center of the bewildering array of shadowy organizations is the World Anti-Communist League. The WACL was originally founded in 1966 as a propaganda outlet for two of the world's more savage police states, South Korea and Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang regime in Taiwan. Moreover, it is crawling with leftover Nazis and violent fascist torturers and killers, to the point that it is known in Latin America as the Death Squad International. Belatedly, someone on the White House "spin patrol" figured out that this gang could be an embarrassment to the administration. So...in jumped the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League to declare that "We are satisfied at the very least that substantial progress has been made since 1981 in ridding the organiza-

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\$250 million a year to the Afghan-contras' war chest.)

So while B'nai B'rith apologizes for the WACL anti-Soviet fascist cabal, Israel is supplying guns and advisers to the contra terrorists along with just about every racist, fascist and feudal regime in the world. But this unholy alliance of Zionists and anti-Semites is nothing new. In the 1930s the Zionist "Revisionists" collaborated with Mussolini, and a leader of the Stern Gang, Yitzhak Shamir, today Israeli premier, offered to Berlin to forge a Zionist "New Order" in Palestine on the model of the Third Reich. No less sordid were the "Labor" Zionists, who collaborated directly with the Nazis. Shortly after Hitler took power in 1933, for example, Histadrut secretary Chaim Arlosoroff concluded an agreement on behalf of the World Zionist Organization, whereby Nazi Germany would transfer a million reichsmarks to Zionist settlements in Palestine. Hitler, however, had a different "final solution" to the Jewish question in mind.

Today, anti-Semitic propaganda is broadcast into the Soviet Union on the CIA's Radio Liberty... from a transmit-

Spartacists say: Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!



ter in Israel. Israel's present friends and allies—Singlaub's WACL, the Nazi-loving Afrikaner Nationalists in Pretoria, Christian fundamentalist bigot Pat Robertson—would also like to see a world without Jews, if only they could get rid of the reds first.

The Loser International

They're plenty sinister, but this spider's web of intrigue is a collection of

losers. The people who lost World War II, who lost China, who lost the Vietnam War, are now united in backing the contras, who even with their WACL Bibles haven't got a prayer against the Sandinista army and a population determined to defend their revolution. "\$100 Million Won't Begin to Buy a Contra Victory," headlined *Business Week* (25 August). All this only makes sense as preparation to a provocation,

opening the way to bring in American forces. Already the Hondurans are being offered advanced U.S. F-5E fighters or the Israeli-built Kfir (which that dirt poor banana republic couldn't possibly buy on their own). And the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division has just completed its "most extensive" exercise in 15 years, preparing for a "forced entry" into a Central American country (guess which).

Still, they've got a big obstacle in this war drive on the home front. From liberals proclaiming "sister city" arrangements with Nicaraguan towns to Puerto Rican nationalists bombing army bases to protest plans for training contras on the island, there is little support for Reagan's terrorists. And even less for anything that smacks of dragging the U.S. into another Third World adventure, like Vietnam. While Democrats and Republicans vote \$100 million in contra aid, the mass of the population is consistently against it. The Spartacist League looks to the working class to smash the war on Nicaragua and the anti-Soviet war drive before the imperialists trigger a thermonuclear holocaust. ■

WV Sub Drive Over the Top!

Congratulations to all the comrades who contributed to the success of the 1986 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. The six-week campaign brought in 4,182-1/2 points in new and renewal subs to our press: *WV*, *Women and Revolution*, and the Spanish-language *Spartacist*. This figure is 139 percent of the national quota.

The *WV* sub drive is an annual event which coincides with the opening of schools. Every year after quotas are set, each local establishes its priorities and

major industrial union like the ILA really take on the union-busters and the racist labor-hating Reagan government. Subs sold through this work totaled 211 points: 29 in the North, 170 in the South and an additional 12 points from people who clipped the coupon and subscribed by mail.

Comrades who sold subs on campuses noted that "this was a rather less activist year than last." Last fall, a significant number of students wanted to "do something" about the apartheid regime in South Africa, but now that university administrations have adopted the program of "divestment," one comrade noted, this milieu "doesn't have much to do except applaud the college's moral progress." A report on the Boston sub drive noted that comrades' attempts to open up a conversation by raising South Africa were often met with an "indifferent shrug." The report added:

"But if there was indifference, there was also serious concern on the part of many students about racist terror, Reagan's war drive, the drug witchhunt and the insidious undermining of science ["creationism"]... Subs were also sold on the basis of getting the truth. People were aware of Seymour Hersh's 'new revelations' on KAL 007 and liked the fact that we had told the real story long before any of the bourgeois liberals had decided to dissent from a few of Reagan's more egregious lies. Our coverage of the Daniloff case and the disinformation flap intersected gnawing suspicions... about the role of the media in abetting Reagan's plotting for war."

Among Boston-area campuses, the most lucrative were Harvard (74 points) and U Mass Amherst (53-1/2). Door-to-door work in Mattapan, Roxbury and Dorchester yielded 44 points. Washington, D.C. got 79-1/2 points at Howard University and sold 28-1/2 on trips to the Tidewater, Virginia area.

Atlanta led all locals by selling 218 percent of its quota. At Atlanta University, 92-1/2 points were sold. In addition, comrades from Atlanta, Boston and New York sold 102 points on a tour to North Carolina campuses; 80-1/2 points were sold at Chapel Hill.

The New York sub drive got off to a good start on Caribbean Day: 31-1/2 points and 375 individual pieces of literature. Of New York's 1,117-1/2 total points, 436 came from in-city and

regional campuses, while 156-1/2 points were sold to transit workers. Door-to-door work in Queens netted 95-1/2 points. New York's points included 24 subs to Spanish *Spartacist*.

Door-to-door work in the Engelwood section of Chicago yielded 83 points, while Chicago transit workers bought 51 points. Chicago comrades sold 57 points at in-city campuses and 69 in Madison, Wisconsin. Comrades from Cleveland, Chicago and Toronto joined forces to sell 107 points in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Two trips to Detroit by Cleveland comrades brought in 42 points; 51 points were sold at Oberlin.

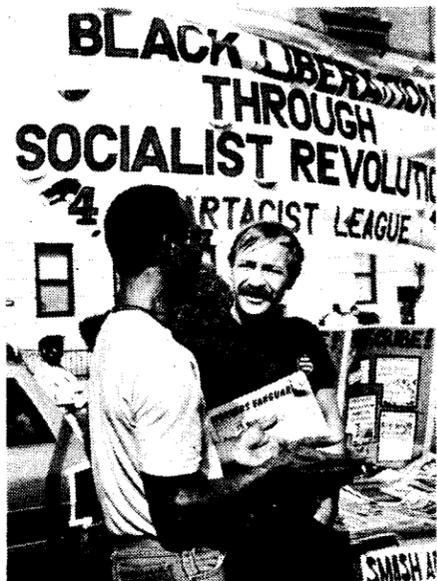
Los Angeles' best campus was UCLA with 85-1/2 points. One comrade from L.A., one from San Francisco and three from Oakland toured campuses in the Pacific Northwest, where 237-1/2 points

were sold, including 97 at the University of Oregon, 54 at Reed College and 45 at Evergreen State.

Included in the points listed in the chart as "At-large" are 202-1/2 points in subs to *SL/U.S.* publications sold by comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada as part of their *WV/Spartacist Canada* sub drive.

In the comradely competition for most points, the winner was comrade Paula from SF with 124-1/2 points. Honorable mention: Guillermo, Oakland (93-1/2 points); San, Oakland (92); Debbie H., New York (87); Janis, Oakland (77); and Marc V., Chicago (72). Special thanks also to the sympathizers who participated in making the sub drive a success, led by Gordy with 65 points.

We welcome our new readers. ■



At Brooklyn's Caribbean Day.

makes a schedule for the different kinds of necessary work: trips to important regional campuses, contacting subscribers for renewal subs, door-to-door work in selected neighborhoods, etc. This year, though, the best-laid plans of the East Coast comrades in particular went out the window when the International Longshoremen's Association went on strike.

The ILA is a strategic union and, especially in the South, historically a stronghold of black workers' power. *WV* crashed out a special four-page supplement, "Let's Win This One!" Teams of Spartacist supporters hit the streets and union halls and distributed a quarter-million copies. Black ILAers in particular were friendly and many were enthusiastic about the supplement, while many other working people in all parts of the country were itching to see a

Final Totals			
Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Atlanta	125	273	218
Boston	250	312	125
Chicago	350	483	138
Cleveland	200	311½	156
Los Angeles	125	186½	149
New York	900	1,117½	124
Oakland	550	709½	129
San Francisco	350	385	110
Washington, D.C.	150	172½	115
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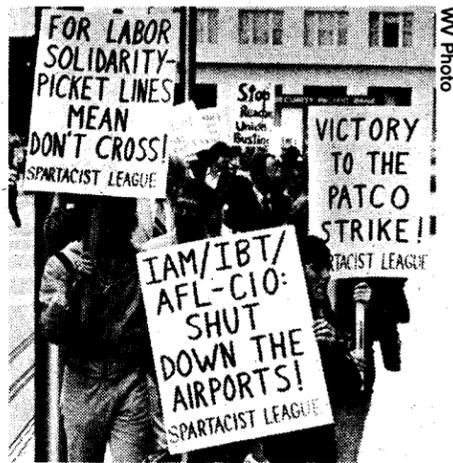
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Russian Revolution...

(continued from page 9)

class brothers and they wanted to bring him down.

And it would not have been hard, because if any one of three unions—the Teamsters, the Machinists or the pilots—had honored the air controllers' picket lines, you would have had a national airlines strike in this country. (I think the refusal of the Machinists was particularly worth commenting on, because the head of that union, William Winpisinger, is also a leader of the Democratic Socialists of America.) Imagine the impact of a national air strike, of shutting down the airports, on the American economy, especially on the ruling class. I mean, they fly all over



Left: During 1981 PATCO strike, labor should have stopped union-buster Reagan by shutting down the airports. Right: A taste of workers power—ILA strikers educate scabs while shutting down East Coast ports last month.



the place, all these business meetings and million-dollar deals would be totally disrupted. It would probably take less than a week and Reagan would have rehired these people and bowed to their

demands. A defeat for Reagan, by labor, at that moment and in that way, would have gone far beyond what is called "labor relations." It would have helped derail the entire program of political and social reaction, from the arms buildup against Russia to the attack on abortion rights, the whole bit.

Why didn't the labor bureaucracy do anything, why did they let PATCO go down the tubes? It's because they understood that to humiliate the President of the United States, to defeat and humiliate him in a massive show of labor power, would open up a period of very considerable social struggle which they could not control and which could well sweep them away. So that they would rather see the unions broken and defeated than to disrupt capitalist law and order. The outcome of the PATCO strike was a green light for the American capitalist class to have open season on the unions. In the past four or five years, four million workers have gotten give-back contracts, their wages have been cut, their benefits have been cut. Union gains won over the course of decades have been taken away.

There exists in this country the raw material, the anger, the economic desperation, the sense of oppression and

injustice, for big class struggle, big social struggle. In the black ghettos there is a deep-felt hatred of Reagan and everything he stands for. In the past year or so, we've seen some very hard-bitten, long, bitter strikes, mainly defensive—the Hormel meatpackers battling the National Guard and scabs for months, the mainly Mexican women cannery workers in Watsonville. Certainly the will to fight, the kind of diehard will to fight, is there. What's lacking is how to win. So all these struggles and the potential for struggle have been atomized, isolated, misled and betrayed. And it is here that a revolutionary party is indispensable.

A party of the kind that the Bolsheviks created in tsarist Russia, because only such a party can take the raw material of anger and desperation, the partial, militant, explosive struggles, and weld together the potential militancy and combativity of the working class with the anger and hatred of the black ghetto, and direct it against its real enemies on Wall Street and in Washington.

We are the party of the Russian Revolution because we intend to be the party of the American Revolution. Join us! ■

PATCO and Russia

Reagan's destruction of the PATCO air controllers in 1981, a few months after taking office, was also intended as a message to Moscow that the American president is out to break anyone who gets in his way. The imperial president wants to bust the Soviet Union and to bust the unions at home. Discussing the Reykjavik summit on ABC's *Nightline* (14 October), Secretary of State Shultz bragged that PATCO first learned the "lesson" of how Reagan "negotiates":

"And the first people to learn it were the air-controllers, who felt they had the country right in their hands all the time. And you remember they walked off the job, and the President said, 'It's very simple, they walked

off the job in violation of their oath, and they're not welcome back.' And nobody thought he could make that stick, but he did. So, everybody learned a lesson, and it has been a marker throughout his presidency. And maybe the Russians learned a lesson in this, too."

The mark of the Reagan presidency is that the gang in the White House thinks it can get its way by bullying everybody. But if the American labor movement had shut down the airports to defend the striking air controllers, Reagan would have learned a lesson about workers power. There's another lesson he should keep in mind, too: Russia isn't PATCO. Remember what happened to Adolf Hitler!

KAL 007...

(continued from page 7)

excuse for a nuclear arms buildup?)

Seymour Hersh has always served the interests of U.S. imperialism. Along with Watergate reporters Woodward and Bernstein, he helped the liberal Democrats restore the leash on the "rogue" intelligence agencies, which had gotten out of hand under Nixon. Their services culminated in the Church committee and similar investigatory "reforms" of the CIA/NSA/FBI. Today



Der Spiegel

Japanese military radar at Wakkanai was locked onto KAL 007.

the Democrats march to Reagan's beat, although they would perhaps prefer a more measured pace in the march toward war. So Hersh gets his assignment: pull the reins a little on the Reagan bandwagon, but don't tip it over.

The KAL 007 affair is a propaganda landmark on the road to World War III. In a panel discussion in New York on September 1, *Shootdown* author R.W.

Johnson commented:

"The comparison which does come to mind for me is the *Lusitania* disaster during the First World War—innocent civilian craft, torpedoed by the Germans, terrible loss of life, major thing behind the ultimate American entry into the war. The Germans at the time said it was loaded with munitions. This got no sort of hearing at all—it was 'German propaganda.' And so on. It took many, many years before we discovered that in fact the British had loaded it with munitions."

Reagan's KAL provocation ranks up there with all the other infamous fabricated incidents that have served as pretexts for imperialist war. Then, as now, the "free but responsible" press did the bidding of their warmongering capitalist masters.

Seeking justice for their deceased kin, the Families of American Victims of the KAL 007 Tragedy have gone along with the strategy of the liberal Fund for Constitutional Government which seeks a Congressional investigation. But to no avail. At their September 1 discussion, two of the four panelists expressed misgivings about appealing to Congress, calling instead for a presidential commission of "experts," like the one which investigated the Challenger disaster. This is even more futile—do they expect Reagan to investigate himself? (The Challenger commission issued a blatant whitewash.) These liberals cannot face the central reality: it is impossible to raise the issue of KAL 007 without challenging the anti-Soviet "consensus." For the Reagan regime sacrificed the innocent passengers on that ill-fated flight to stoke the flames of war.

In his *History of the Russian Revolution* (1932), Leon Trotsky wrote:

"When the ancients said that Jupiter first makes mad those whom he wishes to destroy, they summed up in superstitious form a profound historic observation.... The impersonal Jupiter of the

historical dialectic... withdraws 'reason' from historical institutions that have outlived themselves and condemns their defenders to failure."

He described the final days of the Russian autocracy, when the "spirit of medievalism thickened" in the empire, the imperial court was consumed in frenzied frivolity, the tsarina bewitched by a degenerate Black Hundreds priest, the tsar embarked on a European war Russia could not win. Today for the mad priest Rasputin the Reaganites have the likes of Jerry Falwell who preaches the imminence of a nuclear Armageddon in which "Russia will be... ultimately totally destroyed" while Christian "true" believers will be saved. The head of the Pentagon vows to "prevail" in a thermonuclear war, and the imperial president "jokes" about

"outlawing Russia forever" and pushing the button to destroy the Soviet "Evil Empire" in "five minutes."

In the death agony of imperialism, the American rulers are truly war crazy. Suffering a humiliating defeat in Vietnam, the wounded beast lashes out wildly, sending more than 200 innocent passengers plunging to a watery grave, threatening and attacking Soviet "surrogates" from Nicaragua to Libya, thinking it can intimidate the Russian bear with an endless stream of provocations, hallucinating about "victory" in a nuclear first strike. As Trotsky noted of imperial Russia, perishing in the carnage of the first imperialist world war, the slaughter will not be stopped by the ousting of a single madman, but only by sweeping away the dying capitalist class, through world proletarian revolution. ■

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South African Workers Strike for Their Jobs

General Motors Divests

South African black auto workers have struck General Motors in the wake of GM's announcement that it was "divesting" itself of its operations there. Following a meeting with GM's managing director Robert White on October 29, some 2,000 workers staged a sit-in at the company's two plants in Port Elizabeth. Called by the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU) and joined by members of the Motor Assembly and Component Workers of South Africa, the strike effectively shut down GM's production in Port Elizabeth.

Now that "divestment" is here, the first effect is that the workers are fighting for their jobs. While GM says no jobs will be lost through the sale of its operations to a South African outfit, the workers rightly don't trust such "assurances." There is, moreover, no guarantee the new owners will recognize the union. The union is also demanding payment of pension funds, and severance pay of one month for each year worked for GM upon its withdrawal. In the face of the strikers' militancy, the company is reportedly hardlining it, trying to get the apartheid rulers to declare the strike illegal.

In an Op-Ed column in the *New York Times* (30 October), General Motors' chairman of the board Roger B. Smith said GM was quitting South Africa, deploring Botha's efforts to end apartheid as "too little too late." But the bottom line is the dollar sign. "The basic problem," Smith said, "one which all corporations must pay attention to—is the fact that our South African operations have been losing money for several years." In any case, GM's "divestment"

does not mean it is pulling out of South Africa. GM cars that are assembled in South African plants will still be in the showrooms, and the company said it will continue to sell automotive components to its former subsidiary.

Smith obscenely justified GM's 60-year history of superexploitation of South African black labor: "We believe our efforts to promote social progress and racial equality justified our being there." He was talking about a "code of ethics" devised by the Rev. Leon Sullivan, black Philadelphia clergyman and General Motors board member, in which American companies doing business in South Africa were supposed to improve housing, health care and other social services for black workers. Well, so much for the "Sullivan Principles," smashed up on the bedrock of capitalist profits.

The ruthless drive for capitalist profits routinely kills black workers just as surely as if they had been executed. In September, 177 miners were killed when poisonous gas from a fire filled a mine shaft. Only last week another six black miners were crushed to death when an elevator cable snapped, sending a cage and tons of cable plunging half a mile to the bottom of the shaft. How could this happen? Clearly no inspection, no testing, no back-up safety devices. Whether South Africa's mines and factories are owned by Americans, British or Afrikaners, the lives of the superexploited black workers will be

held cheap.

The announcement by General Motors and IBM that they are selling off their South African operations has been hailed by American liberals and reformists as a great triumph for their divestment campaign. Similarly with Congress' recent override of Reagan's veto of sanctions against South Africa. Behind all the divestment/sanctions business is the attempt to imbue U.S. imperialism—the greatest exploiter and oppressor on the face of the planet—with a "moral mission" in the world. As revolutionary socialists, the only "divestment" we fight for is the divestment of the American capitalists and their South African junior partners by the working class in power.

In South Africa a number of black unions have been equivocal about the effects of divestment. Alec Erwin, former organizer for FOSATU, now merged into the giant COSATU black union federation, explained that his organization opposed the withdrawal of assets from South Africa "because we view them not as the simple property of foreign companies, but as assets which have been built up through the sweat and labour of South African workers..." Nonetheless, black unionists have in large part supported sanctions due to the ideological hold of petty-bourgeois nationalism on the black trade-union movement. Revolutionaries must fight to win black anti-apartheid fighters instead to the pro-



Jordan/Time

On the line at GM Port Elizabeth plant.

gram of proletarian internationalism.

American auto workers' best defense of their striking black union brothers in South Africa is militant labor action against the auto magnates at home. From Durban to Detroit, workers to power! Not imperialist "sanctions" and capitalist "divestment" fraud, but expropriation of capitalism by a victorious workers revolution. To paraphrase Marx, apartheid has created in a six-million-strong black, coloured and Indian proletariat its own gravedigger. The wealth of South Africa belongs not to the capitalists, be they Wall Street, Frankfurt and London bankers or Johannesburg industrialists—but to the toilers belong the fruits of their labor! ■

Philippines...

(continued from page 16)

"It was like switching from Coca Cola to Pepsi Cola," said one disappointed Cory fan.

Corazon Aquino is herself a member of the old landed aristocracy which has dominated Filipino society for centuries, both under Spanish and American colonial rule and following "independence." Cory is a Cojuangco, and the family estate "Luisita" is one of the largest haciendas in the country, with more than 7,000 hectares, 6,100 workers, a golf course and racetrack. During the election campaign, Aquino promised to make Luisita a model of land reform, but later reneged. Meanwhile, the Jacintos got back their steel factories, the Lopez family recovered its TV stations, newspaper and banks seized by Marcos. Terzani summed up:

"Rather than a revolution, what occurred in Manila last February was a restoration: the reinstatement of the old aristocratic oligarchy of Spanish descent, with which Marcos clashed and which he partly replaced by his own clique of relatives and hangers-on."

One of the popular slogans of leftist demonstrators before the overthrow of Marcos was "Yesterday Nicaragua, tomorrow Philippines." Instead, it's as if Somoza was replaced not by the radical-nationalist Sandinistas but by the Chamorro oligarchy, with the direct backing of the U.S.

Cory is the widow of Benigno Aquino, a millionaire bourgeois politician assassinated by the Marcos regime in 1983. "Ninoy" spent practically his entire career working for the American Central Intelligence Agency, first helping them crush the Communist-led Hukbalahap rebellion in the late 1940s-early '50s, and later attending the CIA's elite school in Quantico, Virginia. After Marcos declared martial law in 1972, Washington carefully cultivated Aquino to run the Philippines in case their

22,000 workers struck Clark AFB and Subic Bay Naval Station last March.



puppet could no longer keep things under control. When Ninoy was gunned down on the tarmac at Manila airport in 1983, Cory took his place. By November 1984, the National Security Council was calling for Marcos "to set the stage for a peaceful and eventual transition to a successor government." And that's what eventually happened, though it took some hard talk from the White House to shoehorn the aging dictator out of Malacañang Palace.

However, the fraud of "people power" is not just the product of the Aquinos' intimate relations with the CIA and of Cory belonging to the landlord/capitalist oligarchy. In the epoch of capitalism's decay, the native bourgeoisies of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, junior partners of the imperialists, are incapable of carrying out the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. As Leon Trotsky summed up the experience of the three Russian Revolutions (1905, February 1917 and October 1917):

"... the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the

subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses."

—L.D. Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution* (1929)

In order to complete the democratic tasks, in particular agrarian revolution to abolish the feudal-derived servitude of the peasantry, the proletariat in power, led by its communist party, will necessarily undertake "deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a permanent revolution."

Nowhere is this more vividly confirmed than in the Philippines today. Aquino's "February revolution" achieved neither democracy nor agrarian reform (much less revolution), and talk of national emancipation is a hoax. Conquered by emerging U.S. imperialism in the Spanish-American War of 1898, ever since "independence" in 1946 the Philippines has been a very special American neocolony in the Far East. Ninety percent of the Philippine officer corps have trained in the U.S. There are 40,000 U.S. military and support personnel at Subic Bay and Clark Air Force Base, which were main staging areas for

the American war on Vietnam. Today, as the axis of the ASEAN alliance of anti-Communist Southeast Asian regimes, one of their key tasks is to keep Soviet naval forces from using Cam Ranh Bay to break out of U.S. encirclement. No bourgeois regime will be allowed to close down these bases. Indeed, Washington dumped Marcos for Aquino hoping that Cory's popularity would make the bases more secure. But the U.S. bases have become a lightning rod for popular protest pitting the Philippine masses against the Aquino regime. On July 4, a rally of 5,000 outside the U.S. embassy demanding removal of the bases was dispersed by police.

The economic ties of the Philippines to U.S. imperialism are no less binding than the military ones. American capitalists hold over half of all foreign investment and rake off two-thirds of all profits in manufacturing. While Aquino begs handouts from Reagan and Congress, half of all the country's foreign exchange earnings go to pay off Wall Street, the City of London and Tokyo banks just for the interest on the Philippines' \$25 billion foreign debt. Much of this debt was built up to pay for Marcos' corrupt and brutal regime, yet it is unthinkable that Aquino would repudiate this debt and stop paying the blood money sucked by foreign bankers from the Filipino workers and peasants. To break the chains of imperialism will require a socialist revolution whose influence would quickly spread through the region and hit at the imperialist countries themselves, from second-rate powers like Australia to Japan and the United States.

Philippine Stalinism in Disarray

The present crisis of the Philippine bourgeois order will be resolved by revolution or counterrevolution—there is no middle way. And thus it has led to a crisis of Philippine Stalinism, which in

continued on page 14

Philippines...

(continued from page 13)

its own way is tied to the landlord/capitalist regime. During the last years of Marcos' rule, growing popular opposition provided an increasing stream of recruits for the New People's Army, military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). By late 1984, the NPA claimed 20,000 full- and part-time fighters in 45 guerrilla fronts operating in 56 provinces. The purpose of this armed struggle, however, was not to achieve a military victory that would sweep aside landlord/capitalist rule, but as pressure for a popular front with the anti-Marcos bourgeois opposition.

While the NPA insurgency along with mass protests and workers strikes in the cities fatally undermined the Marcos regime, the Aquino opposition was expressly aimed at *excluding* leftist influence. When, under pressure from Washington, Marcos called a "snap election" for February 7 in order to legitimize his rule, the Communist Party was caught in a dilemma. Damned if it did and damned if it didn't in terms of bourgeois electoral politics, the CPP leadership narrowly decided to boycott



AP

U.S. imperialism's darling Corazon Aquino with Stalinist nationalist Jose Sison.

the vote, which the party's legal front, the National Democratic Front (NDF), called a "sham, that is mainly designed to blunt a rapidly developing popular protest movement." Nonetheless, some prominent CPP supporters and fellow travelers in the Bayan coalition campaigned as individuals for Aquino.

What Marcos intended was indeed a sham election, but when as usual he stole it, the Philippines erupted in mass protests. When the Aquino forces and their American patrons moved to get rid of the tottering dictator, the CPP found itself on the sidelines and hardly intervened at all. Commenting on the Stalinists' disarray at the time we wrote:

"The reason for this confusion is simple: fighting not for a socialist program but on a purely 'democratic' platform, the main left groups had difficulty explaining their political differences with [Aquino's] Laban. Yet they could not participate, because the whole sham 'democratic exercise' was designed to defeat the Communists. And in fact, the yellow flags of Aquino/Laurel managed to gain ascendancy over the red flags of the left in the streets of Manila and elsewhere."

—"Reagan Pulls Plug on Marcos." *WV* No. 398, 28 February

Left out in the cold, some Communist Party leaders defended the February boycott, denouncing Aquino as little more than an American stooge. But upon being released from prison, CPP founding leader Jose Maria Sison declared, "The Aquino Government has done a lot in just a few days to democratize the situation," adding, "I might even volunteer my help to her Government" (*New York Times*, 6 March).

The contradiction between the Stalinists' appetite to cohabit with the "progressive" bourgeoisie and Aquino's CIA anti-Communism has since produced a seismic rift within the CPP. Sison

launched a "correction" faction to join the "people power" mass movement, i.e., to hop in bed with Cory. The result was a public self-criticism in the May issue of the party organ, *Ang Bayan*, which "characterized the boycott policy as a major political blunder":

"In large measure the Party and its forces were on the sidelines, unable to lead or influence the hundreds of thousands of people who moved with amazing speed and decisiveness to overthrow the regime."

Instead, they advocated "critically participating in the snap election"—i.e., voting for Aquino. "The people were almost entirely left out from the composition of the new government," they lamented the next month. The new CPP line was for a "democratic coalition government" which would achieve "emancipation of the people from imperialism and feudalism" (*Ang Bayan*, June 1986).

Apparently, Sison & Co. think the boycott cost them cabinet posts. But they aren't giving up. In pursuit of this goal, the CPP has recently set up the Partido ng Bayan (People's Party), which, said Sison during a recent speaking tour in Australia, "will seek to take over the reins of government or share power in a coalition government through elections and other legal means" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 September). But this right turn has not gone down without strong internal resistance. Two reputed hardliners in the CPP leadership, chairman Rodolfo Salas and secretary general Rafael Baylosis, were deposed as a result of the "rectification" campaign. (Salas was arrested in Manila in late September and remains in prison.) Opposition to the pro-Aquino line is apparently also strong among sections of the party cadres and ranks. If pressure continues to build in the Philippines, the CPP could undergo a major left split.

From its origins in 1968 as a pro-Chinese split from the old Moscow-line Philippines Communist Party (PCP), the initially Maoist CPP has always been wedded to the Stalinist schema of a "two-stage" revolution. Indeed, Sison earlier criticized the PCP for *over-emphasizing* the class struggle at the expense of Filipino nationalism: "the matter of national liberation was obscured by the slogans of class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class" (*Struggle for National Democracy* [1967]). "We should not confuse the national-democratic stage and the socialist phase of the Philippine Revolution," he declared in 1970 in his major political work, *Philippine Society and Revolution* (written under the name Amado Guerrero). "Only after the national-democratic stage has been completed can the proletarian revolutionary leadership carry out the socialist revolution as the transitional stage towards communism."

From Chiang Kai-shek's China in the 1920s to Allende's Chile, this anti-Marxist call for "democracy now, socialism later" has led to bloody defeat for the workers. Many a Third World nationalist regime has sought to protect its left flank by bringing the Communists into a "democratic (or anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, etc.) coalition government," only to set them up for a massacre on the morrow. Would-be communists in the Philippines need only look next door to Indonesia and recall the 1965 slaughter of *half a million* or more Communists, the bloody tab for the PKI's participation in the Sukarno regime. Significantly, as the situation heats up in the Philippines, in October the Suharto regime in Jakarta executed 17 of the Communist prisoners who had languished in jail these last 21 years (*Asiaweek*, 19 October).

If Sison and his "correction faction" are pushing for a coalition with Aquino, what perspective can CPP dissidents offer? A purer version of a "national-democratic" government? The present regime is the closest thing to bourgeois democracy the Philippines is ever likely

to see. To oppose Aquino while still seeking a bloc with the mythical "progressive" bourgeoisie is to place oneself in a political no man's land. The only progressive alternative to Aquino and Enrile is a workers and peasants government. And this is a burning issue today as the workers and peasants have massively undertaken to struggle against their exploiters and oppressors.

Filipino Workers, Peasants On the Move

The upsurge in labor activity led by avowed leftists has both the Philippines bourgeoisie and its American big brothers worried. *Business Week* (15 September) headlined "The Philippine Left Has Washington Spooked," complaining of illegal strikes and unions conducting "Marxist teach-ins":

"The leftist gains are far more serious than the fading challenge from diehard Marcos supporters.... In addition to their rural insurgency, the leftists are taking advantage of what they call the 'democratic space'.... The left is scoring its biggest gains in labor. More strikes have occurred so far this year than all of last year under Marcos."

The head of the American Chamber of Commerce vituperated against "'people power' run amok." The principal object of the capitalists' ire is the leftist labor federation Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU), or May 1st Movement, which has mushroomed from 35,000 members in 1980 to over 600,000 today. That makes it three times as large as the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP), notorious for its ties to the Marcos dictatorship and sweetheart contracts with employers. The TUCP is also a major recipient of U.S. dollars via the AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labor Institute, a known CIA front.

With hundreds of walkouts since February, Manila has become strike city. The origins are directly economic: Philippines workers are the lowest-paid in the Pacific Rim. Most do not receive even the minimum wage of 57 pesos (less than \$3) a day—32 pesos for agricultural workers—and real wages have been falling under the hammer blows of inflation. Aquino's labor minister, Augusto Sanchez, a "human rights" lawyer, has been reluctant to move against strikers, hoping that the strike wave will fizzle out. But businessmen have been getting restless, and in late July Enrile ordered the army in as strikebreakers. On August 1, strikers at Pepsi-Cola's Metro Manila bottling plant fought a pitched battle with company goons. The next day, armed soldiers moved on transit strikers south of the capital. The military has also been used against garment workers, hotel workers, phosphate workers and to militarize sugar estates on the island of Negros.

KMU general secretary Rolando Olalia told the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (28 August) his union's goal was "socialism." And the May 1st Movement repeatedly spearheaded mass protests against the tyrant Marcos. Last February 26, it had scheduled a nation-

wide *welgang bayan* ("people's strike") against the dictator—who fled on Reagan's orders the night before. However, on May Day this year when the KMU mobilized for a huge rally estimated at 250,000 in Manila, on the platform together with CPP leaders Sison and Buscayno sat Cory Aquino and General Ramos! The May issue of the CPP's *Ang Bayan* declares, "Part of the workers' anti-imperialist struggles is alliance with national capitalists," and calls for "a bigger voice for the national bourgeoisie in the economy and in the formulation of economic policies"! In the concrete, rather than mobilizing political strike action to achieve the workers' demands, the KMU has called for defending Labor Minister Sanchez and ousting Defense Minister Enrile.

Meanwhile, peasants are demanding land reform, a touchy subject for Aquino. When 20,000 supporters of the National Peasant Movement of the Philippines recently marched on the presidential palace, their way was blocked by thousands of heavily armed soldiers behind barbed wire barricades, recalling the tumultuous anti-Marcos protests. A spokesman for the demonstrators said of Aquino: "We feel that she is not listening, and that instead, she is worrying about losing Hacienda Luisita" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 22 October). It's all in the family: her close relative Eduardo Cojuangco was the "coconut king" under Marcos, and owned 25,000 acres on Negros policed by his private army. The Aquino agrarian "reform" plan calls for reducing *landowners'* debt by recovering money illegally skimmed off profits of the sugar marketing board by Marcos cronies, and *selling* idle land to landless rural workers!

In the countryside, things are at the point of explosion on the sugar island of Negros. Bacolod bishop Antonio Forchich calls it a "social volcano." As the price of sugar fell from 65 cents a pound in 1974 to four cents today, a third of the actual production cost, the planters have fired tens of thousands of workers. But social unrest has spread apace. In the last few years the National Federation of Sugar Workers (NFSW), affiliated to the KMU, has grown rapidly among the 300,000 sugar workers on Negros. Protection by the NPA guerrillas has been essential for the NFSW facing the planters' hired guns who regularly "salvage" (disappear) union organizers. The *San Francisco Examiner* (11 August) reports that in "the southern half of the island [Negros], the NPA controls large parts of the countryside, according to local priests."

Cease-Fire with the NPA?

The "counterinsurgency" experts at the U.S. embassy had hoped that with Marcos out of the way, the guerrillas would stream down from the hills, leaving only a "hard core" that could be easily wiped out. Wasn't Marcos the "best recruiter" for the Communists, having driven even bourgeois opposi-

October: Police block 20,000 protesting Philippine peasants, in largest leftist demonstration in Manila since Aquino came to power last February.



Marquez/AP



Centeta/Black Star

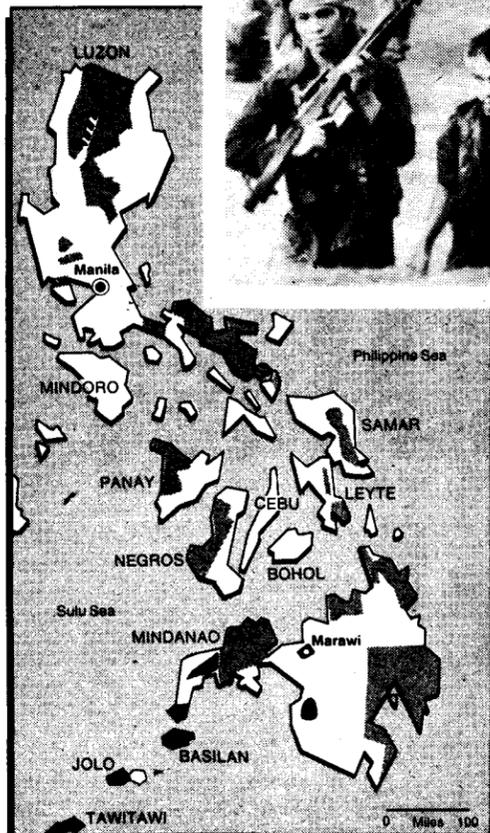
Leftist guerrillas of New People's Army control an estimated 20 percent of Philippine countryside.

Insurgency in the Philippines

Sporadically active in large areas of the Philippines, the New Peoples Army, Moro National Liberation Front and Cordillera Peoples Liberation Army are composed mainly of small guerrilla units. Except for the city of Marawi on Mindanao, guerrilla activity is confined to the countryside.

-  Active presence of New Peoples Army (Communist)
-  Active presence of Moro National Liberation Front (Moslem)
-  Active presence of Cordillera Peoples Liberation Army (local insurgency led by a former priest)

New York Times



tionists into the arms of the CPP? However, the amnesty netted only some 100 guerrillas, most of them probably previously planted "zombies" (agents). Guerrilla operations have continued, from Cagayan province in northern Luzon to the island of Mindanao in the south, though at a reduced level. Meanwhile, Pentagon estimates of NPA strength have grown from 16,000 to 22,000, controlling an estimated 20 percent of the countryside.

The military has also continued its customary bombing, strafing, shelling and burning villages, killing and looting the peasantry. In late September, NPA top military commander Rodolfo Salas was arrested when he was in Manila in connection with cease-fire negotiations. Clearly this was a move by Enrile/Ramos to scuttle Aquino's attempt at negotiations with the rebels. They want a free hand for a bloodbath, using an army whose officers from top to bottom are still running rackets while their soldiers often have no boots, little food and defective equipment. The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) of Enrile/Ramos invites comparison with the puppet army of Thieu/Ky which was routed in South Vietnam. "It will take a lot more time before they have a capable combat force they need," commented U.S. ambassador Richard Bosworth (*San Francisco Examiner*, 24 September).

Given Marcos' failure to crush the NPA despite a bloated 250,000-strong army and a dozen years of martial law, the Aquino forces aim to isolate the Communists politically and use the cease-fire negotiations to buy time. But if Aquino lacks the military wherewithal to crush the NPA, neither does she have the political and economic means to buy them off. Not that the nationalist Stalinists of the CPP won't play ball. Sison has called for a "lasting cease-fire in connection with the formation of a coalition government," suggesting that the NPA could become a "strength in reserve" to defend Aquino "in the face of an armed forces that she does not fully control" (*Washington Post*, 6 June). The CPP leader even said, while touring Australia, that his party would retain the U.S. bases, only demanding that the Pentagon cut back its personnel!

Washington's instructions to Cory, emphatically reiterated during her recent trip to the U.S. where she begged Congress for more aid, are to crush the leftist insurgency. For the CPP/NPA to lay down their arms for the mere promise of amnesty would be suicidal, especially when Aquino could be ousted by a right-wing military coup in the near

future. So while the government is using negotiations to buy time, the CPP is using them as a pressure tactic to gain a "popular front" with liberal elements of the Aquino regime.

Where Stalinist/nationalist guerrilla struggles have reached the level of civil war, proletarian revolutionaries give *military support* to the leftist insurgents against the bloody armies of bourgeois reaction and imperialism. But we give *no political support* to their petty-bourgeois leaderships. The Trotskyists seek instead a socialist revolution centered on the urban working class and based on organs of proletarian power (soviets, factory committees, workers militias). In El Salvador we call for military victory to the leftist insurgents of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), to smash the armed first of the bourgeois state and open the road to proletarian revolution. (However, the popular-frontist FMLN leaders are instead bent on pursuing an illusory "negotiated solution" with Duarte's death squad "democracy.")

In the Philippines, the NPA's peasant insurgency remains at the level of widespread but relatively small-scale guerrilla operations, and the center of social conflict has shifted to the working class, both urban and rural. Were the CPP's hoped-for "national democratic coalition government" to materialize, it would strengthen the bourgeois state, leading in time to savage repression against the workers movement as well as Communist cadres. A general truce or cease-fire by the NPA would take the pressure off the army and give Philippine capitalism a breathing space to restabilize. As long as the present situation of neither-peace-nor-war continues, with the NPA holding down the neocolonial army in the countryside and prolonging the state of disarray, it will buy precious time for the proletariat to take advantage of the limited "democratic" opening, which cannot last for long, to organize for seizing state power.

For a Philippines October!

When the U.S. Air Force flew Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos and their numerous retinue to Hawaii, with another cargo jet to haul the crates of bonds, currency and shoes, the rulers in Manila and Washington breathed a collective sigh of relief. But in the aftermath, class polarization in the Philippines has progressively sharpened. Yet, ironically, as the Filipino masses have grown increasingly disillusioned in the hoax of "people power," the bulk of the Philippines left has

grown increasingly desperate to hitch their cart to Cory's ox. Thus the struggles of the worker-peasant masses have not been guided by a revolutionary program, but undercut by their leaders' reformist capitulation to the CIA's latest puppet. What is dramatically clear is the *absence* of a Bolshevik-Leninist vanguard fighting to turn the phony "February revolution" into an authentic Philippines October.

Upon his release from Marcos' prison, CPP leader Sison declared that "he was prepared to support the 'positive aspects' of the Government of President Corazon C. Aquino" (*New York Times*, 6 March). This is precisely the line taken by Stalin and Kamenev in 1917 toward the "democratic" Provisional Government in Russia following the overthrow of the tsar, which unlike the February coup d'état in Manila was a genuine political revolution. Lenin cabled on March 6 from Switzerland with a counterposed line of revolutionary opposition: "Our tactics: no trust in and no support of the new government; Kerensky is especially suspect; arming of the proletariat is the only guarantee...." Upon arriving in Petrograd, Lenin went on to state in his famous "April Theses":

"The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that the country is *passing* from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organization of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to its *second* stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants."

—V.I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution" (7 April 1917)

Where Lenin warned in his March telegram, "no rapprochement with other parties," today the CPP calls for a "democratic coalition government" with Aquino herself plus assorted impotent liberals.

(When some months later, the tsarist general Kornilov marched on Petrograd to overthrow the weak Kerensky regime, aiming to crush the soviets and the left, the Bolsheviks took the lead in mobilizing the workers against the rightist threat. This set the stage for the Bolsheviks to take power, ousting

besmirch the tradition of Trotskyism have grievously failed to call for a program of permanent revolution in the Philippines today. Thus Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" issued a declaration on March 2 which nowhere mentions proletarian revolution—or the need for a Trotskyist party—and only calls on "the democratic and anti-imperialist movement" to "continue to organize and struggle for its aims" (*Intercontinental Press*, 7 April).

The American Socialist Workers Party, in turn, which today denounces Trotskyism as "ultraleft" and cheerleads for the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua, calls for "extending" the Aquino "revolution" of "people power" (*ibid.*). And the U.S. Workers League publishes a four-part series by Nick Beams, Australian acolyte of the WL's dubious David North, which after much verbiage about the "Fight for Trotskyism" advocates "a critical vote for Aquino" in the February elections (*Bulletin*, 20 May)! This parliamentary cretinist support for the bourgeois, pro-imperialist standard-bearer of CIA "democracy" is counterposed to everything Lenin and Trotsky ever fought for. In contrast, we wrote at the time:

"But for the Filipino people, the replacement of the corrupt, brutal Marcos dictatorship with the 'clean team' of Aquino and [vice president] Salvador Laurel will mean the substitution of one set of American lackeys for another. Marxists say: beware of coups 'Made in U.S.A.'..."

"A fight against imperialist domination and the anti-Soviet war drive which determines the life of the Philippines, described by the London *Economist* as an 'archipelagic aircraft carrier,' requires *class* struggle against popular-front illusions and for workers revolution, led by Trotskyist parties, from the Philippines to the U.S."

—WV No. 398, 28 February

The Stalinist program of "two-stage" revolution seeks to resuscitate the Menshevik line in tsarist Russia, whose bankruptcy was demonstrated by the Bolshevik October Revolution—the greatest victory for the international proletariat in history. In the imperialist epoch, there is no room for the emergence of an independent national



Tom Fawthrop

Embattled sugar workers on island of Negros show fighting spirit, May Day 1984.

Kerensky, within a matter of weeks. Likewise, in the Philippines the working class and its allies must mobilize independently to quash any coup attempt by Enrile and his fellow right-wing militarists whose aim is to unleash a bloodbath of the left, labor and peasant guerrillas.)

Lenin's call in the April Theses for constructing "a state of the Paris Commune type," a government of the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, was congruent with views earlier advanced by Trotsky, whose theory of permanent revolution envisioned a dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the peasantry, to carry out the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution and consequently undertake the socialist tasks of the proletarian revolution. It is striking that those forces internationally who

capitalism, and all the more so in America's Philippine neocolony where Kennedy liberals intertwine with the old landlord families. But at the same time, uneven and combined development has produced a modern working class alongside the age-old exploitation of the peasantry. The bloody U.S. imperialists, who slaughtered two million in Indochina, will not let their Philippine fortress go lightly. Thus victorious workers revolution in the Philippines would strike a powerful blow against the global anti-Soviet war drive, smash the imperialist encirclement of heroic Vietnam, and spark a revolutionary upsurge throughout the region.

For a workers and peasants government in the Philippines! Forge a Trotskyist party, Philippines section of a reborn Fourth International! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Aquino Regime Unraveling

Philippines Workers Must Fight for Power!

U.S. Bases Out!

NOVEMBER 1—The Philippines is today the weak link of U.S. imperialism in the Far East. Last February, Washington dumped its long-time puppet dictator Ferdinand Marcos when popular hatred for his corrupt and brutal rule threatened to get totally out of hand. Hundreds of thousands swarmed into the streets of Manila under the slogan of "people power," but the White House was pulling the strings, engineering the rebellion by top military leaders and removing Marcos at the crucial moment. His replacement, the "liberal" Corazon Aquino, is beholden to the United States and the army for putting her in power. All wings of the American ruling class were exultant over this happy outcome. Secretary of State Shultz declared he was "bullish about the Philippines." Liberal Democrats congratulated Reagan for bringing "democracy" to the former American colony and site of the two largest U.S. military bases in the world outside North America.

However, Aquino's "February revolution" is now in deep trouble, and Washington is worried. The bourgeois state apparatus has been thrown into disarray by clashes between Aquino supporters and Marcos loyalists as well as squabbling in the cabinet, a den of Byzantine intrigue made up of hardline militarists, conservative businessmen and liberal reformers. At the same time, the end of Marcos' 20-year reign has aroused expectations in the masses which cannot begin to be satisfied short of socialist revolution. After eight months of "people power," 40 percent of the working population is still unemployed and three-quarters of all Filipinos go to bed hungry every night. Cory Aquino herself admits: "Many people believed that in the short space of six



Edwin Tuyay

May Day in Manila: workers march under red banners. Fall of Marcos dictatorship aroused expectations among masses which cannot be fulfilled short of socialist revolution.

months, many of our problems would be solved. I guess this has disappointed some of them" (*Washington Post*, 14 September). To say the least! Mass peasant and worker unrest is mounting while the leftist insurgency is now rooted in 62 of the 73 provinces.

Currently, Manila is nervously watching a power play by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, a long-time Marcos crony. Enrile has demanded that liberals in the cabinet be fired and cease-fire talks with the Communist-led New People's Army (NPA) be broken off. He has made no secret of his ambitions to be a new Marcos, and his people in the officer corps are full of coup talk. Enrile has threatened to resign and "do a Rambo" if his demands are not met, and recently toured the

islands denouncing Aquino as "soft" on the guerrillas. While the American embassy and State Department declare "complete and unequivocal" U.S. support for Aquino, Enrile wouldn't be up to these tricks without backing from some section of the Reagan administration. And while "Cory" tries to make up with "Johnny," making a show of tough talk to the NPA in order to appeal for military support, all eyes turn to armed forces chief Fidel Ramos, another former Marcos henchman, to see which way he will jump.

At the top of Philippine society, the government is unraveling. In the countryside, the state apparatus has been upended with Aquino's wholesale appointment of "officers in charge" to replace Marcos' local flunkies. The OICs have little power against the entrenched patronage bosses and warlords, who commonly retain private armies of thugs. When these goons terrorize Aquino's appointees, the army just stands aside. Meanwhile, the NPA guerrillas are more than holding their own against the corrupt and demoralized military. Last June, Pentagon spokesman Richard Armitage told a Senate committee that the "military situation [in the Philippines] is serious and getting worse, with Communists enjoying the initiative and assuming de facto control in areas where government influence has eroded over the years" (*Philippine Report*, June-July 1986).

The disarray of the state apparatus, along with severe economic distress caused by falling commodity prices on the world market and an enormous

international debt, have led to an upsurge in labor struggle, both in urban and rural areas. In Metro Manila, there is an explosive strike wave, including transit workers, air traffic controllers, garment workers, hotel workers. And in the outlying provinces, sugar workers unions on Negros are rapidly extending their organization, banana plantation workers walk out on Mindanao, industrial and service workers strike in Cebu City. Most unnerving for U.S. imperialism was an eleven-day strike last March of 22,000 workers at the Pentagon's giant Subic Naval Station and Clark Air Force Base, the linchpin of the anti-Soviet war drive in the Pacific. Sensing the weakness of the Aquino regime, the Filipino masses have moved against their oppressors and exploiters.

In short, there now exists in the Philippines a rare moment and exceptionally favorable opportunity to organize for proletarian socialist revolution. The ruling class and its state apparatus are unable to rule as before, while the masses are no longer willing to live in misery and are fighting as best they can for a better future. But the present prerevolutionary situation is fragile in the extreme, and will not last for long. Under orders from Washington, the Philippine military will move to restore capitalist order by seeking to crush both the militant workers movement and leftist insurgents. The only question is whether Aquino, like El Salvador's Duarte, will serve as a "democratic" figurehead for the right-wing butchers, or be overthrown by the military. The situation cries out for a revolutionary vanguard party, such as the Bolsheviks forged in Russia, to lead the Filipino proletariat, supported by the peasantry, to fight for its own class rule.

The Fraud of "People Power"

Last summer the liberal West German *Der Spiegel* (7 July) published a perceptive article titled, "Philippines: The Revolution That Wasn't." (The author, Tiziano Terzani, was the *Spiegel* correspondent in Indochina both during the U.S.' dirty colonial war and after the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution in 1975.) Pointing to the crowd of hawkers around the Malacañang Palace selling T-shirts with the slogan "People Power," the article notes that these cost 35 pesos apiece, a full day's wages for the average worker in Manila. So most of the poor are still wearing the shirts handed out by the old regime by the thousands during the last election campaign with the slogan, "Vote smart, Vote Marcos." Clearly, it was not the people who came to power in February:

"The social order has remained inviolate. Those who were on the bottom have not come to the top. The rich are still rich, the poor are still poor.

continued on page 13



Tucci/Gamma-Liaison

Defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile (center) threatens to "do a Rambo" if Aquino doesn't crack down on Communist-led insurgency.