

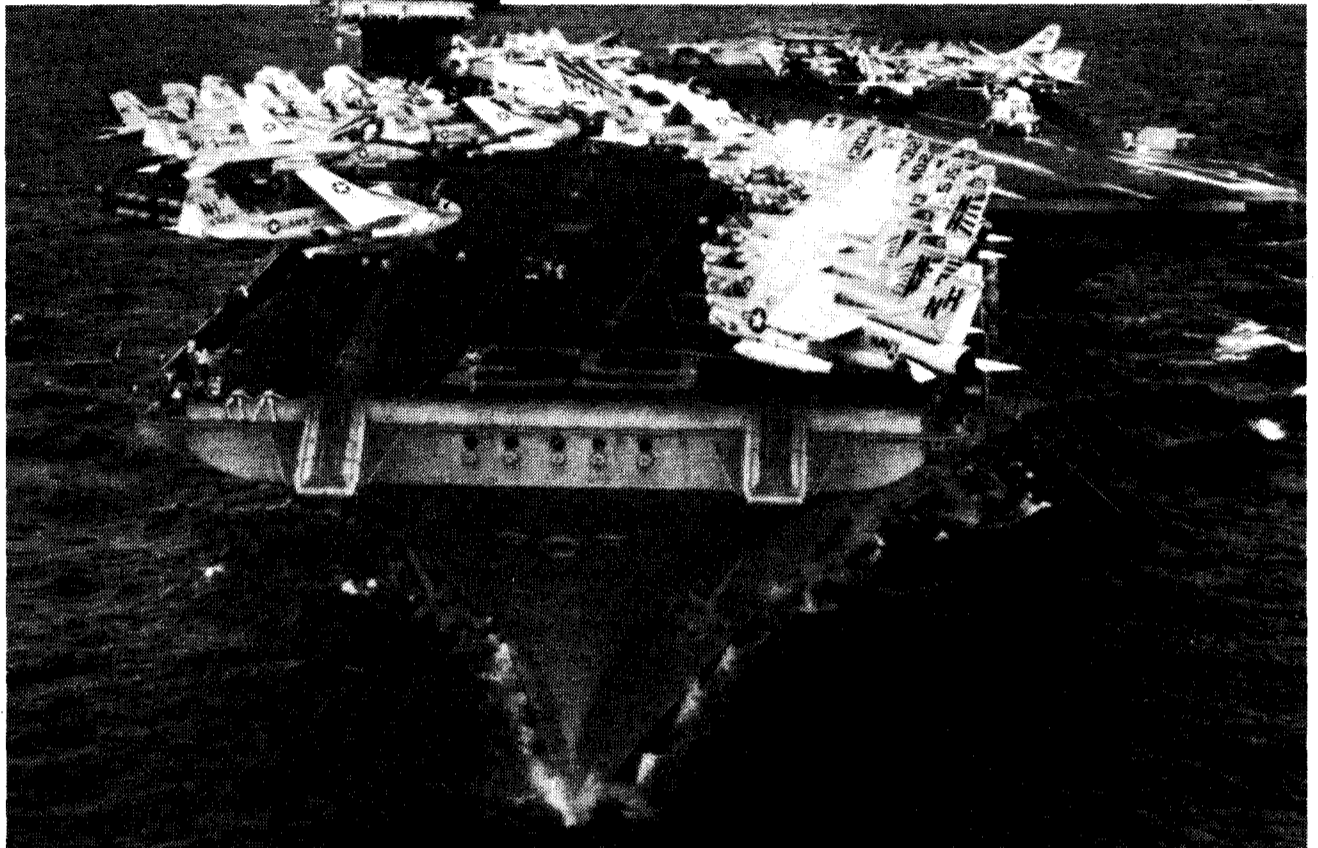
U.S. War Piracy

Defend the Soviet Union!

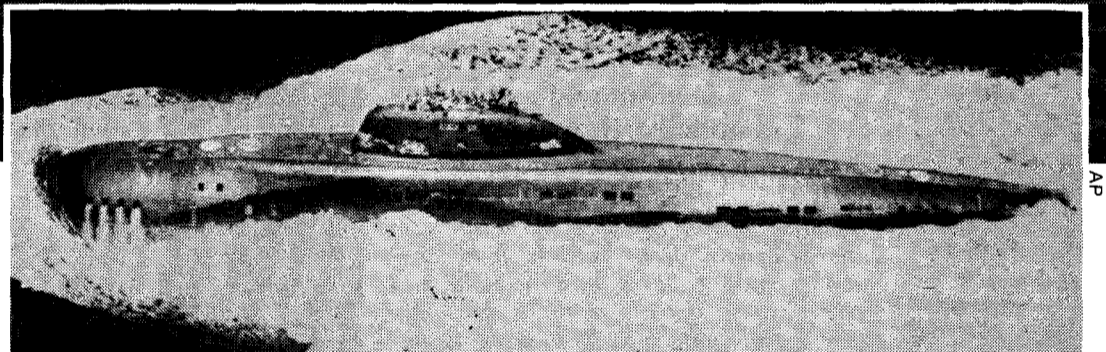
MARCH 26—The code name for the current series of war "games" being played by Ronald Reagan and the Pentagon ought to be Nuclear Chicken. From one side of the globe to the other, the U.S. is daring the Soviet Union to respond to escalating provocations and overt acts of war. On Tuesday a Soviet oil tanker docking at Puerto Sandino in Nicaragua struck an underwater mine laid by CIA demolition squads, ripping a hole in the hull and critically injuring five Soviet seamen. The same day a Navy reconnaissance plane repeatedly buzzed a Soviet helicopter carrier, the *Leningrad*, steaming toward Cuba, passing a dozen times within 300 yards of the ship. And on Wednesday the U.S. aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* deliberately rammed a nuclear-armed Russian submarine in the Sea of Japan and nearly sunk it. One of these days a Soviet commander is going to lose his cool and with full justification blow one of these hit-and-run cowboys clean out of the water. Right now if the madmen in Washington keep this stuff up we are literally a matter of a few seconds or feet away from World War III.

Moscow does not take such attacks lightly. In response to the mine detonation in Nicaraguan waters, Soviet foreign minister Gromyko fired off an angry protest to the American chargé d'affaires holding the U.S. directly responsible for this act of "piracy" committed by "terrorists." The insolent buzzing of the *Leningrad* is an incredibly reckless stunt, particularly when you recall that the U.S. Navy

continued on page 10



George Hall



On March 21, the aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* (above) rammed a Victor I class Soviet sub.

Hot Cargo Coal—Shut Down the Power Stations!

Bloody Thatcher's War on British Coal Strikers

Seeking to defeat the strike launched by militant Yorkshire coal miners on March 6 and since spread throughout the industry, Conservative (Tory) prime minister Margaret Thatcher has mobilized thousands of police to the coal counties. This poses a deadly threat to

British labor, designed to render impotent for a long time the trade unions' capacity to struggle. We print below an article by our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain, which has been playing an active role agitating to spread the strike.

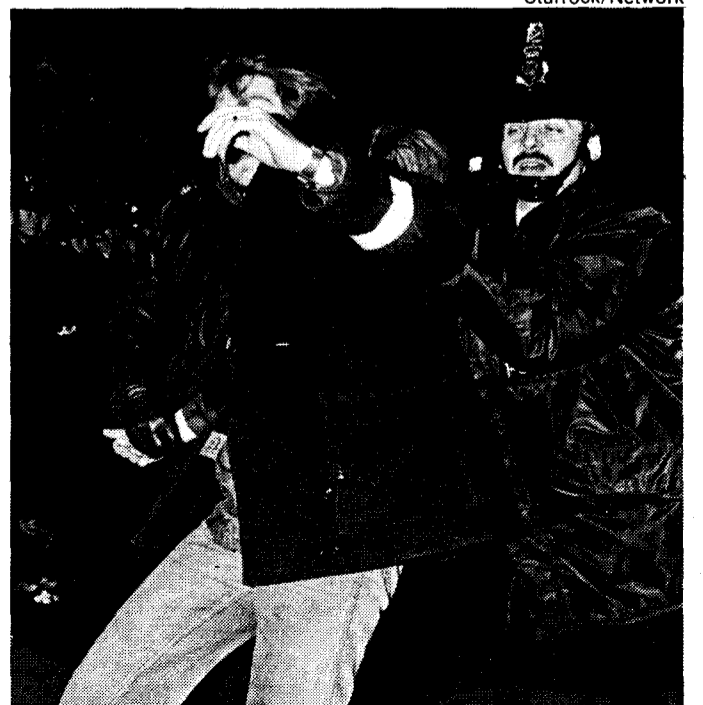
ADAPTED FROM
SPARTACIST BRITAIN
SUPPLEMENT, 23 MARCH 1984

LONDON—As the miners strike nears the end of its second week, the trade-union movement in this country stands at a crossroads. Britain's battling miners are today locked in life-and-death

struggle with the raw naked power of the capitalist state. Mass arrests of strike militants, cold-blooded murder on the picket line, martial law in the coalfields. With a bloodlust which makes [former Tory prime minister] Ted Heath look an upstanding gentlemen, the Iron Lady is out to redress the Tories' humiliating defeat at the miners' hands

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Martial law in Nottingham coalfields as cops make mass arrests of picketing miners.



Sturrock/Network

Cops Assault Trotskyist Publisher

Hands Off Lanka Spartacists!

In the aftermath of the July 1983 anti-Tamil massacres in Sri Lanka, the bonapartist UNP government under president J.R. Jayewardene has continued and even escalated its assaults on leftists and pro-Tamil organizations. We print below a statement from the Spartacist League/Lanka (SL/L) protesting the attempted suppression of *Lanka Spartacist* (in Sinhala) and *Elangai Spartacist* (in Tamil) and the murderous threat against their publisher, Vincent Thomas. The murder threat took place when comrade Vincent, summoned by the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) secret police, appeared for interrogation on January 5. As stated in his complaint of January 8:

"During this time the police officer who was seated at the other table nearby came up to me, scolded [me] in filth[y] [language] and hit me seven or eight times on my face and head. Thereafter he caught me by my neck, took me to the window and threatened saying 'It is from here Dodampe Mudalali was pushed. Jump you rascal!'"

Dodampe Mudalali, a member of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, was in fact pushed to his death from the fourth floor CID office during the 1965-70 UNP government. The secret police are well known for their tactic of setting up the deaths of leftists and oppositionists to look like suicide, destroying their homes and then accusing them of having been "terrorist Tamil Tigers" or "spies" for the Tigers. The SL/L has been targeted by the state powers in Lanka because of their courageous defense of the brutally oppressed Tamil minority. It is particularly galling to the authorities that the SL/L raised its voice against Tamil repression in the Sinhala community. We demand: Hands off SL/L and other left parties! Stop repression against *Lanka* and *Elangai Spartacist* immediately! Stop anti-Tamil terror!

State Suppression Towards *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Spartacist*: Police Assault on Publisher

COLOMBO—Local and foreign capitalists have laid big hopes on J.R. [Jayewardene, president of Sri Lanka]. The only aim of the capitalists is to use J.R. to fulfill their ambitions. More than any others, the American imperialists have laid great hopes on J.R. This is why J.R. has been known as a pro-American throughout a long period. For Reagan's war drive against the Soviet Union, J.R. was the man he was searching for in Lanka. From the day he came into power J.R. began implementing one by one the hopes of the local capitalists and of the foreign

imperialists. For that, he has up to now taken many actions.

These aims of the Lankan capitalists and imperialists did not originate automatically. They are the results of the subjective conditions of the greatest economic crash since the depression in the 1930s. J.R. understands these very well. He took power with the intention of doing everything possible for the capitalists. His ambition is to do everything that other capitalist rulers failed to do.

From the beginning J.R. took steps to prevent labour action. For this, legisla-

tive regulations, thug forces and the state armed forces were used. The meaning of this was the suppression of the left movement. Just like the craziness of Reagan's attempt to "stop the expansion of communism"—a thing that not only he but even his "God" will never be able to do—J.R.'s intention is to suppress the left movement and stop all its activities.

This anti-labour-left suppression plan

Sinhala communalists. We were subject to filthy disgrace and threats by angered Sinhala communalists.

The challenge by the Tamil nationalist movement in the North and East has created a situation where a government dedicated to fulfilling interests of the capitalists cannot smoothly function. The main challenge to the government within the country today is the Tamil Question (National Question). J.R.'s



Der Spiegel

Colombo, July 1983: Tamil homes, shops and factories burned down in the terror orchestrated by J.R.'s ruling United National Party.

of the UNP [United National Party] government led by J.R. was disclosed in advance through *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Spartacist*. The voice of *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Spartacist* against the continuous suppression of the Tamil people echoed not only within but even outside the island. Whilst reporting to the working class and to the other oppressed classes in this country about the activities of the proletarian internationalists denouncing the suppression of the Tamil people in Lanka, we clearly explained the Marxist position on the national problem. This created a deep hatred in the minds of

plans are to attempt to get out of this problem and launch an attack on the left simultaneously. It is according to this plan that all others—especially the left—were blamed by the government for the recent anti-Tamil communal violence, except for the people who really did it.

After the leftists were blamed for the anti-Tamil riots in July and the suppression then expanded to leftist parties, now *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Spartacist* are targeted for suppression. Comrade Vincent Thomas, publisher of *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Sparta-*
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TROTSKY

Zionism and Capitalist Reaction

Zionist Israel arose under the impact of the Nazi Holocaust and through the machinations of British imperialism. As the destructive frenzy of Israeli expansionism mounts, the Zionist rulers threaten to plunge the world into a new and even greater holocaust. During the 1930s the young Trotskyist Abram Leon foresaw the reactionary nature of Zionism as a "solution" to the Jewish question.



LENIN

Far from being a product of the development of the productive forces, Zionism is precisely the consequence of the complete halt of this development, the result of the petrification of capitalism. Whereas the national movement is the product of the ascending period of capitalism, Zionism is the product of the imperialist era. The Jewish tragedy of the Twentieth Century is a direct consequence of the decline of capitalism....

In the sphere of nationality, only socialism can bring the widest democracy. It must provide the Jews with the opportunity of living a national existence in every country they inhabit; it must also give them the opportunity of concentrating in one or more territories, naturally without injuring the interests of the native inhabitants. Only the widest proletarian democracy will make possible the resolution of the Jewish problem with a minimum of suffering.

—Abram Leon, *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation* (published posthumously in 1946)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Darlene Kamiura

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No. 351

30 March 1984

Letter

Could Indian Troops Save Tamil Refugees?

Barcelona, 6 January 1984

I am a reader of *Spartacist* (Spanish-language edition), and in the last issue (No. 13, November 1983) there is an article about the massacres in Lanka last summer. In this article there is a slogan that I do not understand. It refers to the patriation of Tamils under "the protection of the Indian army" (and I quote you accurately). I do not understand how you can call on an imperialist army to protect this patriation. You make clear that one should not put any confidence in Indira Gandhi, but this does not disappear the fact that you are calling on the military arm of the Indian bourgeoisie to supervise this patriation. In the same manner that you say no to the UN troops, I assume because they are imperialist, you should apply the same criteria to the Indian army. We cannot say no to an imperialist army and yes to another, equally imperialist, army. I think it is a question of principles.

Another reason is that if we call on the Indian army to protect the patriation, one must accept the consequences this fact may produce, and in the case (which I believe probable) that after the

patriation the Indian army were to stay in Eelam and were to annex it to India, the Spartacist position would not be very coherent since it would be calling for an independent Eelam while at the same time supporting the intervention of the Indian army which has annexed Eelam.

Lastly, I do not believe that the argument that the Indian army is the only one that can guarantee the patriation is valid because I think that the fact that it is an imperialist army has a greater weight. Besides, isn't this slogan similar to Arafat's call on the Yankee and French imperialists to protect the Palestinian retreat from Beirut?

My knowledge of Marxism is very limited and I am confident that you will be able to give me the correct answer.

Sincerely,
Sergi

WV replies: We work to see the anti-Tamil slaughter stopped by a Red Army, product of proletarian revolution on the island which recognizes two nations needing to coexist within a

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD

State Drops Felony Charges Against Ray Palmiero

Defend Lauren and Ray—Keep the Heat On!

OAKLAND, March 21—It was a step forward for the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC) and all partisans of the rights of labor. Felony assault and battery charges were dropped against Ray Palmiero. Palmiero and his companion and fellow Communications Workers of America member Lauren Mozee were slapped with felony charges and fired from their jobs during last summer's national phone strike. In a courtroom of the Hayward Municipal Court filled with nearly 40 Defense Committee supporters, Alameda County Assistant District Attorney Charlotte Green moved to drop the felony charges for "insufficient evidence" just prior to the scheduled preliminary hearing on the charges against Palmiero and Mozee.

The D.A.'s claim of "insufficient evidence"—over eight months after the charges were brought, after over ten court appearances—is admission that Palmiero was framed from the start and that the D.A.'s office is exacting legal vengeance on phony charges! But Lauren, who has been singled out as a former ten-year member of the Black Panther Party, still faces years in jail on felony charges, and Ray is still up for a misdemeanor. Drop all charges now!

This is the second major setback for the state in this case as the PSDC has mobilized wide opposition to this racist anti-labor frame-up. Last October, on the eve of a widely publicized protest demonstration in downtown Oakland that drew an integrated, militant crowd of 400, the D.A.'s office was forced to



WV Photo
Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee in court.

drop the "great bodily injury" clause against Mozee and Palmiero, shaving three years off their potential sentences. Just three weeks ago, following an angry demonstration of 100 defense supporters in front of the Hayward Courthouse, D.A. Green tried to call a previously unannounced witness against Palmiero, in what she then termed a "change of strategy." In the ensuing period, that "change of strategy" was transformed into a decision to drop the felonies.

The prosecution's disarray is the direct result of the pressure that has been brought to bear on the D.A.'s

office against the frame-up. On March 12, the San Francisco Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO joined with earlier action by the Alameda County Central Labor Council—together representing over 100,000 unionized workers—in demanding that the D.A.'s office drop the charges against Palmiero, Mozee and three other phone workers facing misdemeanor charges as a result of last year's strike. Hundreds of rank-and-file unionists, over 200 labor officials, prominent individuals and numerous public officials, including Congressman Ron Dellums, Oakland City Councilmembers Wilson Riles, Jr. and Carter Gilmore, Alameda County Supervisor John George and Berkeley mayor Gus Newport have endorsed Defense Committee demands that Mozee and Palmiero be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay, that charges be dropped against them and all phone strikers, and that amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers. The PSDC has from the beginning understood that it would take the widest protest and mobilization of black and all working people to win freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray.

The frame-up of militant strikers Lauren and Ray began when they defended themselves and their union picket line during last year's strike against Ma Bell. Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and struck in the face by a racist scab manager on a picket line. She defended herself and Ray came to her assistance. But at today's hearing, the racist manager Michelle Rose

Hansen, who was the D.A.'s only witness, predictably stood the facts on their head and told a string of lies to make herself appear the innocent victim of an unprovoked attack. In cross-examination, defense attorney Anne Flower Cumings exposed numerous glaring discrepancies between Hansen's testimony and previous statements she had made to the San Leandro Police Department, Pacific Bell security officers and medical personnel. Hansen repetitively "couldn't recall" numerous facts when caught out on her lies. The judge adjourned the hearing until April 3.

It's up to all of us to make sure that these victims of violent racist insult and government/company union-busting don't go to jail. The frame-up of Lauren and Ray must be smashed. The Defense Committee has also learned that an April 4 trial on misdemeanor charges is scheduled against Dan Nedeau, a laid-off Western Electric phone worker being framed for self-defense against scabs during the strike.

Funds are urgently needed to continue this defense work and to pay off back debts. Contributions should be sent to the PSDC, P.O. Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623. Protest telegrams should be sent to Alameda County D.A. John Meehan, 1225 Fallon St., Oakland, CA 94612 and Pacific Bell President T.J. Saenger, 140 New Montgomery, Room 1816, San Francisco, CA 94105. Keep the heat on the frame-up artists! **Smash the racist anti-labor frame-ups!!!** ■

Defend Anti-Fascist Militants!

Vicious Nazi Provocation in Ann Arbor

ANN ARBOR, Michigan—The handful of degenerate Nazi thugs who call themselves the "SS Action Group" came back to the Federal Building here March 17. Brandishing deadly sharp-edged two-by-two poles and stomping around in jackboots, with swastika-emblazoned shields and helmets, they had come to terrorize the heavily Jewish, black, gay, and foreign student population of this liberal college town. This racist provocation led to an altercation in which we are glad to say the Nazis wound up sprawled on the ground. Three supporters of the Spartacist League were arrested—auto workers Frank Hicks and Joe Blair, and Mark Kelly. Brother Hicks faces charges of misdemeanor assault and battery, while Blair and Kelly were slapped with a "disorderly fighting" charge.

This was the latest round of fascist terror here. This city has become a yearly target of the fascist creeps who came last year vowing to "break the red hold in Ann Arbor." In recent months they have goose-stepped in Dearborn, in Lansing, and attacked the Progressive Labor (PL) office in a westside Detroit black neighborhood. The Nazis' main target for intimidation and violence is the predominantly black population of Detroit and its integrated unions.

The Nazis are still smarting from their total rout two years ago in Ann Arbor where a 2,000-strong labor/black mobilization organized by the Spartacist League chased them out of town. This mass labor-centered mobilization drew on the powerful heart of Michigan organized labor—the black auto work-

ers from the plants throughout the area. It was precisely the success of this demonstration which brought out the wrath of the city fathers, the bourgeois media and the motley crew of reformists led by Peter Sollenberger's cult-sect, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), and the tiny state-capitalist Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). These most active saboteurs of the labor/black strategy became the loudest noise in the "Big Lie" violence-baiting of the Spartacist League.

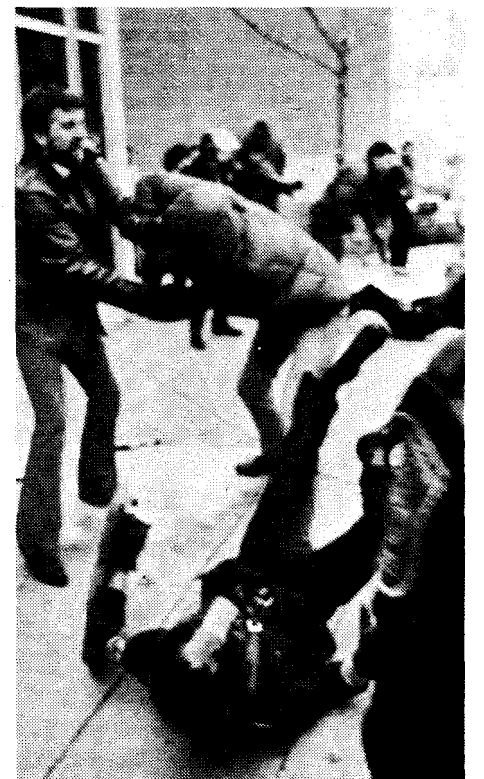
This strategy of labor/black mobilizations is the only one which can win. When, encouraged by the new anti-Soviet Cold War, the fascists have tried to stick their heads up in the big northern cities in the last several years, the Spartacist League and our program of mass labor/black action has been instrumental in running these killers out—from Detroit in November 1979 when 500 mainly black workers and youth mobilized to stop the Nazis and KKK, to similar actions in Boston, Chicago and San Francisco. And on 27 November 1982 in Washington, D.C. 5,000 came out at the SL's call in a powerful combination of red and black backed up with the social power of organized labor to clean the streets of this fascist filth.

But when the Nazis threatened to come back to Ann Arbor's City Hall this year, they faced a few score demonstrators who had come out to toothlessly protest their presence, but certainly not to stop them. After waiting several hours, the protesters announced a "victory" and called off the demo just as the Nazi vermin were showing up at the

other site. Outside the Federal Building, as two-bit Führer John "Reich" was spouting off his filth about "mulatto rapists" and "communist conspirators" to the media, a shout rang out: "You're a goddamn killer!" The next moment "Reich" was on the ground. That evening, tens of thousands of Detroit working people saw on TV how the racist scum were sent sprawling, humiliated and exposed, their swastikas scattered.

But the cops soon moved in to protect their blackshirt pals. While the three Spartacist supporters were shoved on a sheriff's bus, the cops escorted the frightened, disoriented Nazis to the rear of the Federal Building. En route, some PL militants tried to get their licks in. They were quickly set upon by the cops; one young black, Ricky Lewis, who had been arrested at last year's demonstration, was singled out and tackled while standing on the sidewalk. Marcella Silveri was arrested on "felonious assault" for allegedly attempting to throw a flashlight battery, with "intent" to hit a cop. Then, in a deliberate move to set the five arrested leftists up for murder, the cops loaded the dozen Nazi thugs, still armed and helmeted, onto the same sheriff's bus while the SL and PL supporters were handcuffed!

A Progressive Labor supporter, attorney Doyle O'Connor protested this deadly threat and was himself set upon by the cops, roughed up, arrested and charged with a felony, "interfering with a police officer." Charges against Lewis were dismissed, and the three other men released that night. Marcella Silveri,



Habib/Michigan Daily

Nazi provocation meets pavement in Ann Arbor, March 17.

however, was locked up in the county jail for 48 hours and only released on bond Monday afternoon. These charges are an outrage! The state defends the Nazi scum and their provocations while setting up their black, Jewish and socialist victims. Drop the charges against all the anti-fascist protesters!

Contributions may be sent to: Anti-Fascist Committee to Defend Blair, Hicks and Kelly, P.O. Box 19204, Detroit, Michigan 48219. ■

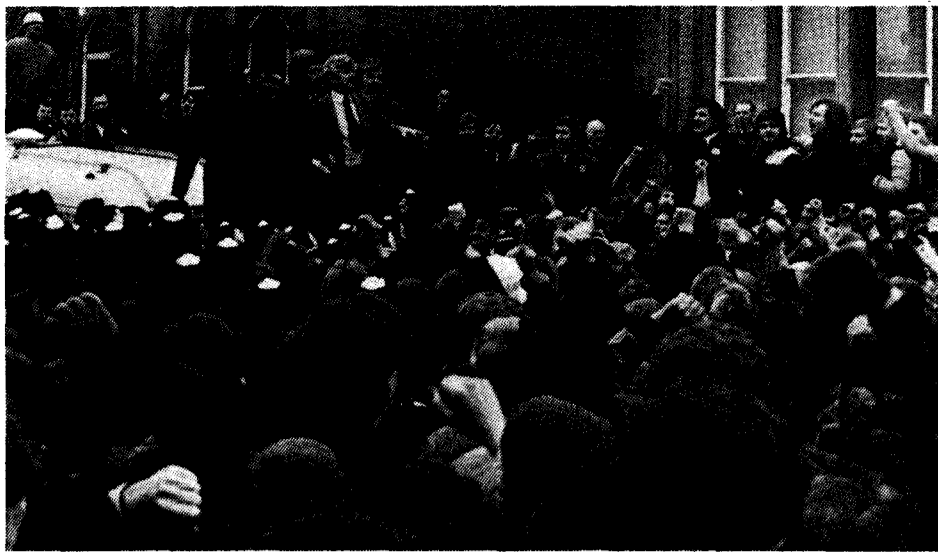
British Miners...

(continued from page 1)

in 1974. Fresh from her victory over the NGA [printers union] and her smashing of trade-union rights at GCHQ Cheltenham, Thatcher has precipitated the sharpest and most deep-going conflict of British labour since the turn of the century.

They want to chain the unions and they'll kill to do it. That was the message written in the blood of young David Jones, the strike militant who died on his 24th birthday from a fatal wound inflicted while picketing Ollerton colliery. Whoever the cowardly swine that struck him down, it was Thatcher/MacGregor [National Coal Board president] that killed him. Thatcher is today running preventive civil war: thousands upon thousands of cops deployed at roadblocks leading into and out of Yorkshire and other centres of strike militancy. The "sus" [suspect] law victimisation formerly a fact of life only for the inner-city black and Asian ghetto populations is now the daily experience of Britain's miners.

But the miners have not been broken. For all its crowing over the "success" of this state of siege in the coalfields, for all its cheering over the strikebreaking ballots and splitting tactics pushed by its favoured "moderates," even Fleet Street [the capitalist monopoly press] cannot hide the fact that with every passing day the miners' determination grows more solid, the number of pits picketed out more numerous. With every new Tory provocation, the miners' tradition of militancy and solidarity, of respect for picket lines is more intensely rekindled. Having voted against a strike three days earlier, the North Derbyshire area walked out in solidarity against Thatcher's martial law. Then came Lancashire. Of the strikers' militancy and determination there is no question. But with the awesome might of the capitalist state confronting the miners at every step, the key to victory is a class-struggle strategy. The burning immediate task is to spread this strike, to galvanise ever broader sectors of the labour movement in a fight to defend the unions and bring



Spartacist Britain

Striking miners defend union headquarters in Barnsley, Yorkshire, March 19.

down this union-hating government. *Victory to the miners! Spread the strike now! Smash the Tory assault!*

In the first four days of the strike all but six of the 80 or so recalcitrant collieries were shut down by flying pickets with local reinforcements. That's why the Tory [London] *Times* (16 March) vented its spleen in an editorial entitled "Fear under the law":

"We hear a lot about picketing these days, lawful and unlawful. The point about picketing—any and every form of picketing—is that it is a form of intimidation. Intimidation, according to the dictionary, is to overawe with fear."

They want to outlaw effective picketing altogether. They know, as does every militant striker, that without picket lines there would be no union. As one NUM [National Union of Miners] official aptly put it on television, the only law he knew was that you didn't cross picket lines. And that simple lesson has to be hammered into the mind of every would-be scab. When striking U.S. coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky were faced with a gang of company gunmen during a 1977 strike for unionisation, they put up a sign next to their picket line—"Warning: The Stearns miners have determined that scabbing is dangerous to your health"—and responded in kind. In the past week miners here have seen that Britain is no more immune than anywhere else to the hard realities of the class struggle and begun to organise disciplined picket defence

squads. In such formations are to be found the nuclei of workers militias and the future workers state power.

The miners cannot take on the superior might of the bosses' state alone. It takes a multi-front struggle. Welsh miners have already begun picketing two power stations to stop transport of supplies. Now Scotland has followed suit, picketing a nuclear power station as well. Central to making this strike bite hard and fast is to *shut down* the power stations—every last one of them—not just coal-fired, but oil- and nuclear-fuelled generators as well. What's needed is mass pickets outside the power stations coupled with a direct official appeal for immediate strike action—in solidarity with the miners, in defence of their own right to strike against the Tories' "essential services" strikebreaking, in defence of the entire trade-union movement.

[Scottish miners leader and prominent Communist] Mick McGahey's promise that all transport of coal will be brought to a halt by blacking [boycott] action has been implemented in Scotland but must be put into practice everywhere with a call on all unions to immediately black every ounce of coal in the country. The sentiment is there. Already NUR and ASLEF [railway unions] members are being sent home for refusing to breach miners' pickets. At least one NUR branch, in London Transport, has pledged itself to fight for full blacking throughout the union and for immediate national strike action against any victimisation. Scuttle the rabid anti-union lies being churned out by Fleet Street through a national printers strike! What we need now is a *pro-strike* daily paper! An effective fighting lead by the labour movement now can mobilise whole sections of the population being crushed under the Tory juggernaut. Not only carloads of miners but mass delegations from every union and the army of the unemployed must be recruited to build the picket lines.

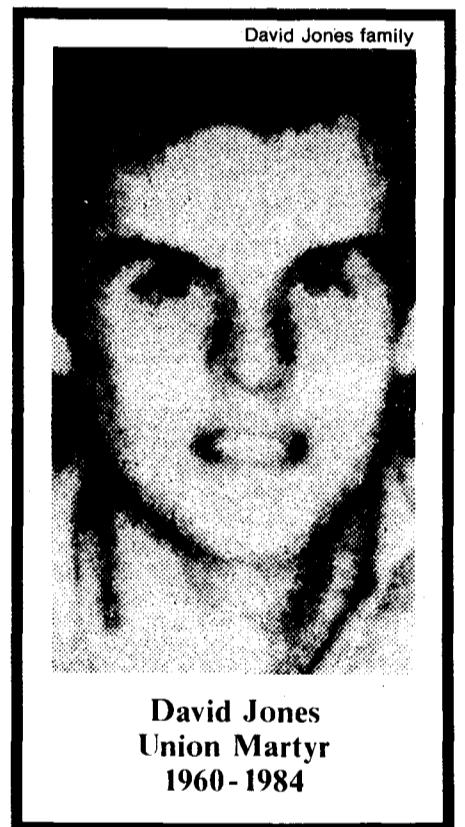
The Main Enemy Is At Home

British imperialism is marching in lockstep behind the U.S. imperialist-spearheaded drive to restore the profit system to the Soviet bloc—at the price of international nuclear annihilation if necessary. Thatcher's vendetta against the miners is part of a deadly assault designed to reduce the population of Britain to a living standard approaching that of the Argentine people under General Bignone. What the Iron Lady's rule means is starving babies, freezing old people and the majority of the male adult population who can't find work put in jail.

From riding tanks during NATO exercises in Germany, to dressing up in camouflage smock to toast SAS [Special Air Services, "anti-terrorist" commandos] hitmen to smashing strikes, Thatcher is no "lie back and think of England" type—she enjoys it. Too bad that Britain as well as Argentina didn't suffer defeat in the Falklands. Had the Argentines managed to sink an aircraft carrier (leaving Prince Andrew's heli-

copter hovering over an empty ocean with fuel gauges showing zero), Thatcher's "Falklands factor" would have been different. Argentina's defeat in the Falklands war exacerbated massive social unrest in that country to the point that General Galtieri was toppled from power almost immediately afterwards. At the time, in contrast to the social patriotism of the [Trades Union Congress head] Len Murrays and the pro-imperialist social pacifism of the Labour "lefts," we said, "The main enemy is at home," and called for revolutionary defeatism on both sides.

The British ruling class are past masters at "divide and rule," from the days when Welsh archers were used against the Scots, through the Scots regiments in Ireland and India. The South Wales valleys have been devastated and Scottish miners are a particular immediate target. The bosses are dumping the Scottish, Welsh and other militant coalfields while holding out bribes for "moderation" to areas like Nottinghamshire. The proletariat of the Celtic fringe must support every just struggle of the English working class, no matter what reciprocation they do or do not receive. The order of the day is class unity and no police Hadrian's Wall should stop Scottish miners doing their duty, much as, when the need arose, their forebears stormed down across the border under Wallace and Douglas. There's nothing more calculated to upset the smug arrogance of Home Counties stockbrokers than a disciplined army of Scots and Welsh miners shoulder to shoulder with their English



David Jones family

David Jones
Union Martyr
1960-1984

class brothers extending this strike throughout the island and meting out a small measure of retribution for centuries of exploitation and oppression.

Bring Down Thatcher!

From the Prior Act to the Tebbit Act to the proposed new King Bill the Tories try to chain the unions through their laws. But for the treachery of the Labour Party/TUC chiefs, their "laws" would be nothing but scraps of paper. The "new realism" enunciated by Len Murray & Co. at Blackpool last autumn amidst the Cold War barrage directed at [Miners union leader] Arthur Scargill was the signal to Thatcher that they would not stand in her way. Murray's allies in the NUM executive, who today scream for ballots, joined the hue and cry against Scargill. The conduct of the ballot-mongers is just the sort of splitting and wrecking policies which the CIA teaches its labour friends. And hand-in-hand with that goes corruption—we wonder how many papal funds Thatcher has got diverted from Poland to swing this ballot.

In the course of this struggle, the Labour Party leaders have demonstrat-

Are You Ready to Take the Power?

We reprint below an excerpt from *In Place of Fear, the autobiography of the late Aneurin Bevan, who for years was leader of the left wing of the British Labour Party.*

I remember vividly Robert Smillie describing to me an interview the leaders of the Triple Alliance had with David Lloyd George in 1919. The strategy of the leaders was clear. The miners under Robert Smillie, the transport workers under Robert Williams, and the National Union of Railwaymen under James Henry Thomas, formed the most formidable combination of industrial workers in the history of Great Britain. They had agreed on the demands that were to be made on the employers, knowing well that the government would be bound to be involved at an early stage. And so it happened. A great deal of industry was still under government wartime control and so the state power was immediately implicated.

Lloyd George sent for the Labour leaders, and they went, so Robert told me, "truculently determined they would not be talked over by the seductive and eloquent Welshman." At this Bob's eyes twinkled in his grave, strong face. "He was quite frank with us from the outset," Bob

went on. "He said to us: 'Gentlemen, you have fashioned, in the Triple Alliance of the unions represented by you, a most powerful instrument. I feel bound to tell you that in our opinion we are at your mercy. The Army is disaffected and cannot be relied upon. Trouble has occurred already in a number of camps. We have just emerged from a great war and the people are eager for the reward of their sacrifices, and we are in no position to satisfy them. In these circumstances, if you carry out your threat and strike, then you will defeat us.'

"But if you do so,' went on Mr. Lloyd George, 'have you weighed the consequences? The strike will be in defiance of the Government of the country and by its very success will precipitate a constitutional crisis of the first importance. For, if a force arises in the State which is stronger than the State itself, then it must be ready to take on the functions of the State, or withdraw and accept the authority of the State. Gentlemen,' asked the Prime Minister quietly, 'have you considered, and if you have, are you ready?' From that moment on," said Robert Smillie, "we were beaten and we knew we were."

Washington Orders Union-Busting at British Spy Center

LONDON—Following the Trades Union Congress (TUC) sellout of the printers union (NGA), Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher's ban on trade-union membership at the Government Communications Headquarters in Cheltenham (GCHQ) has again ignited wide-scale opposition to the Tories' union-busting offensive. On February 28 hundreds of thousands of trade unionists from civil servants to building workers and miners took various kinds of industrial action in protest. Nearly 40,000 marched through London, with smaller rallies in cities and towns up and down the country.

The Cheltenham ban is part of the ruling class's drive to turn trade unions into little more than ineffectual "staff associations." From the Prior and Tebbit Acts to the new King legislation, the Tories continue slashing away at the right to strike and picket, the closed

shop and other historic hard-won gains of the working class. The latest "think tank" leak shows that Thatcher wants a no-strike rule in essential services including gas, electricity, water and health, and a ban on strikes which affect these services (including transport and the mines). Already a no-strike rule for phone workers has been added to the Telecommunications Bill in Parliament.

The blanket ban on trade unions at GCHQ effective from March 1 harbinger the threat that all government employees and the broader labour movement face. At the same time basic democratic rights and liberties are increasingly threatened by legislation like the Police Bill. Now she talks of McCarthyite purges of opponents of government policy (including CND [pacifistic Committee for Nuclear Disarmament] members and even Liberal and SDP [Social Democratic Party]

supporters) from part of the civil service, and total bans on political activity in the army. These sweeping attacks on basic rights, including the very right of trade unions to function or even exist, must be stopped through mobilising the social power of the labour movement. Defend trade-union rights at GCHQ! Smash the Tories' reactionary onslaught!

The Cheltenham ban directly serves the NATO imperialist anti-Soviet war drive. GCHQ is an integral part of the mammoth international spy network directed against the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries and run by the sinister American National Security Agency (NSA). Established through a secret 1946 treaty between the U.S. and British (Labour) governments, GCHQ monitors communications and intelligence from the Soviet bloc as well as compiles its files on 75,000 individuals,

including so-called "enemies of the realm" like trade-union militants and leftists. Under Tory and Labour administrations alike, GCHQ provided the Americans with crucial information during the Vietnam War which undoubtedly helped the U.S. army murder thousands of heroic Vietnamese fighters.

Britain is about the only country where you can even imagine workers at such an institution being unionised. It must have horrified the CIA/NSA as they geared up for Cold War II, especially when industrial action at Cheltenham reportedly disrupted intelligence-gathering at the time of the December 1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the rise of Polish Solidarność in 1980-81. Then came the Geoffrey Prime case, when a minor GCHQ operative arrested for child molesting turned out to have been passing information to the Russians for years previously. And all this after Burgess, Maclean, Philby, Blunt and god-knows-who-else. Since the CIA/NSA foot most of the bill for GCHQ anyway, they must have wished they could just cut the British off and run the show themselves. "Jeezus," someone in the CIA or NSA HQ must have

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ed yet again where their true loyalties lie. Neil Kinnock, fresh from a visit to Washington where he called mass murderer Ronald Reagan "a man with whom I have a great deal in common," now spits on the Welsh miners who put him in Parliament by condemning the strikers' "violence." And why isn't Tony Benn, out of step with the Cold War austerity right wing of the party, out rallying forces to join the miners' pickets instead of restricting himself to parliamentary speeches? Throughout the steel strike Benn said and did virtually nothing; and now he has paid for his seat in Parliament by bowing shamelessly to the likes of Denis Healey, the chancellor of the exchequer [treasury minister] under [Labour prime minister] Callaghan who gouged the workers' eyes.

Given the outright political disarray and betrayal of all those claiming to represent politically the wings of British labour and liberalism, the struggle on the industrial front is the only evident immediate tool for British workers. Strike militants around the country express increasing frustration at the lack of direction and coordination being provided by the union leadership. With the full weight of the capitalist state breathing down upon the miners' necks, simple trade-union tactics point directly to a general strike, and that poses the question of power. The reformist limitations of simple trade unionism, no matter how militant, are being put to the severest test and the abject servility of the Labour/TUC tops laid bare.

We of the Spartacist League have thrown our full resources into fighting for a victory in this strike, as part of our struggle to build the revolutionary leadership and party which alone can lead the British workers to final victory over the capitalist class. The two supplements we have distributed, in thousands of copies, at miners' picket lines and welfare clubs and strike headquarters in Wales, Yorkshire, Kent, the Midlands and elsewhere have found a resonance among mine worker militants looking for a way forward. The militant miners who have read our leaflets and say, "These people tell the truth," know that shutting down the power stations is crucial and spreading the strike to the rest of the trade-union movement is key to victory. Many of them know too that the Spartacist League is the organisation that defended Scargill for his opposition to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność.

The self-styled Workers Revolutionary Party [WRP, led by Gerry Healy] and its *Newsline* triggered the anti-

communist witchhunting hysteria by Fleet Street and the Cold War rights with their deliberately timed publication of Scargill's letter denouncing Solidarność. Scargill has shown often enough in the past that he's no particular friend of the Spartacist League, but at least this union leader thought he had some duty to the British miners to speak out against the CIA/Vatican-inspired operation in Poland. And whatever pronounced conciliationist politics he has, unlike the WRP he is capable of recognising a scab in Poland as well as in Notts. Who'd want to listen to these WRP political bandits after their role as finger-men for Thatcher at Blackpool? Indeed militant miners, who quit reading *Newsline* after the TUC, warded off appeals from WRP leader Mike Banda by telling him they had now joined the Spartacist League.

The imperialist anti-Soviet war drive is today the cutting edge of ruling class attacks on the gains of the working class. As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik Revolution which overthrew capitalism and tsarism in Russia, said over 40 years ago, "Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones." The Spartacist League has sharply demarcated itself from the rest of the left in the period since the renewal of the Cold War by its firm unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism. Just as class-conscious militants must defend their unions against capitalist attack despite the treacherous leaders who today run the unions, so must the USSR be defended despite the bureaucracy which wields political power there.

We are fighting to ensure that Tony Cliff's years-old thesis that the British trade-union movement has suffered a decisive defeat does not become a matter of fact as the outcome of this struggle. If the consequences of defeat now are dire, so too there is a great opportunity to stop Thatcher dead in her tracks and open the road towards workers rule. As we wrote last September:

"At bottom, the industrial decomposition of British industry, direct product of loss of empire, and devastating victory in two world wars, has left the state. The maintenance of jobs in uneconomic industries is just a stretched out version of the dole; and all the present Labourite and Tory schemes to shift the basis of the British economy naturally and necessarily involve brutally smashing every gain and right and privilege hard won by the British working people. Quite simply, to undertake a renewal of British economic life and to correspondingly vastly

increase the presently pathetic quality of life for British working people is to pose point blank—what class rules."
—*Spartacist Britain* No. 52,
September 1983

What is needed is not another Labour government which would act just like the Mitterrand Socialist government in France, imposing Cold War austerity and slashing miners' jobs, but a genuine workers government based on elected workers councils which expropriates the entire capitalist class and sets about reviving economic life with socialist planning and as part of a Socialist

United States of Europe. Then we wouldn't be paying compensation to the coal bosses, then we could provide jobs and a decent future for all working people, their sons and daughters. For that we desperately need to forge a revolutionary leadership, a Leninist/Trotskyist vanguard party of workers and oppressed broken from the deadening grip of Labourism. That is what the Spartacist League fights for.

- Victory to the miners!
 - Spread the strike now!
 - Shut down the power stations!
- Black all coal! ■

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Racist Pig Ed Koch

Edward I. Koch is uniquely the worst big city mayor in America. He's in a class by himself, even with heavy competition from garden variety racists like ex-Chicago boss "Crazy Jane" Byrne. Koch is a monster who loves to hurt the poor, the minorities. He is a virulent nationalist, a right-wing extremist who believes in genocide. He gets Harlem and the South Bronx confused with the West Bank. He treats blacks and Hispanics like Arabs, and turnstile jumpers like PLO "terrorists." The only difference between him and the gang of fascist killers in Israel led by JDL *Führer* Meir Kahane (the one-time Michael King of New York) is that Koch made it up the greasy pole in a bourgeois-democratic society. So he rounds the edges a little. Otherwise, he's as chemically pure a fascist as you get.

Koch is the backlash mayor, the voice of white petty-bourgeois rage against blacks and labor. "I speak out for the middle class," he writes in his just published book, *Mayor: An Autobiography* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1984). "Because they pay the taxes; they provide the jobs for the poor people.... I'm gonna recognize the sacrifices that they make." It was the "fiscal crisis" engineered by the Wall Street bankers in the mid-1970s which brought Ed Koch out of his relative obscurity as the East Side "silk stocking" district Congressman onto center stage. "The black community had been...a protected area," he ranted as he took the budget ax to hospitals, fire stations and job-training centers. "This City had been brought to its knees by pressure groups," he fulminated as he declared war on labor. Koch became a blatant racist and labor-hater as a matter of deliberate policy.

Borscht Belt Fascist

Koch's autobiography should have been subtitled, "Diary of a Borscht Belt Fascist." He's a stand-up Catskills comedian, constantly playing for laughs. He recently came to a costume ball dressed as a gold lamé statue of himself with a pigeon shitting on his head. His style is as haughty as Marie Antoinette: just last year he fainted from overeating and overdrinking in an Upper East Side restaurant the same week he announced the eviction of homeless families from welfare hotels. And behind the gags is one of the most depraved and dangerous politicians in the U.S. today. Perhaps the best

Conrad/NY Times



Koch celebrates Purim 1984 in Queens with genocidal Israeli butcher Ariel Sharon (left).

expression of Koch's contempt for black people was seen at the 1980 "Inner Circle" fundraising ball where he donned an Afro wig and did a minstrel jig mocking black activists who had been protesting hospital cuts.

Koch deeply believes Jews are the chosen people. He celebrates Purim, a Jewish holiday of deliverance from extermination, by parading through Flushing with General Sharon, the exterminator of Sabra and Shatila. (The victims of the Beirut massacre, you see, were Palestinians—"two-legged beasts" Begin called them.) Koch is a liar and an egomaniac, too. But then this psychic apparatus is part of the standard fascist profile. Of course, as the Jewish mayor of New York City in the United States of America, he has a few restrictions. He can't lead an American nativist movement in white sheets. He's out of time and out of place. For Edward Koch really belongs in the ruling establish-

ment of Israel, terrorists who enjoy the respectability conferred by power.

It's not simply that he's a virulently anti-Soviet Zionist politician. Ben Gurion, after all, was fluent in Arabic and a master of hypocrisy, the vaseline of bourgeois democracy. But Koch is the counterpart of the present butchers in power in Jerusalem, like Menachem Begin, whose Irgun massacred Arab villagers at Deir Yassin and blew up the King David Hotel; or Yitzhak Shamir, whose Stern Gang assassinated British high commissioner Lord Moyne and UN observer Count Bernadotte. The Stern Gang declared for the Nazi "New Order" and tried to ally with Hitler in World War II. Forty years later Sharon proclaimed a "New Order" in Lebanon and his spokesman called for a "final solution" to the "Palestinian problem."

These guys are not different in their mentality from the SS division commanders who put down the Warsaw

ghetto uprising. When the British fire-bombed whole German cities, they always explained it was an "accident" or they "had to do it." But when the Germans divebombed Rotterdam, they said it was a policy of *Schrecklichkeit*, of pure terror. That's Koch all over. At the height of the 1982 invasion when Israeli warplanes were leveling West Beirut, killing god-knows-how-many Arabs, Koch went to Israeli-occupied Lebanon to embrace the bloody butcher Sharon. At the same time, Koch is really more akin to the strutting Mussolini than to Hitler atop his awesome German military machine. Italian fascism, reflecting its weaker base, was vicious but less efficient; it took Italy 20 years to conquer Libya's tiny population. As befits the weak social base of Jewish fascism in America, Koch will prove historically to be a sick joke—but it's no joke while you're living through it.

Koch believes that Jews deserve special privileges and everyone else is trying, every day in every way, to obliterate Judaism. Thus when Bonn announced arms sales to the Saudis, Koch declared that "Germany is once again embarked on a program to destroy my people." The same kind of reasoning was shown in a recent ad in the *New York Times* (9 March), "A Letter to the World from Jerusalem," which treats all non-Jews (really all non-Zionists) as Nazis, as in, "Do you really believe that after Dachau and Auschwitz we are frightened by your threats of blockades and sanctions?" This is an extremely dangerous mentality, one which disarmed Central European Jews in the face of Hitler. They couldn't tell the difference between one more bunch of pogromists and genocide. Today Israeli leaders think they have the right to blow up the planet—and they already have the means. This kind of "Masada complex" threatens us all, especially the Jews.

Backlash Mayor

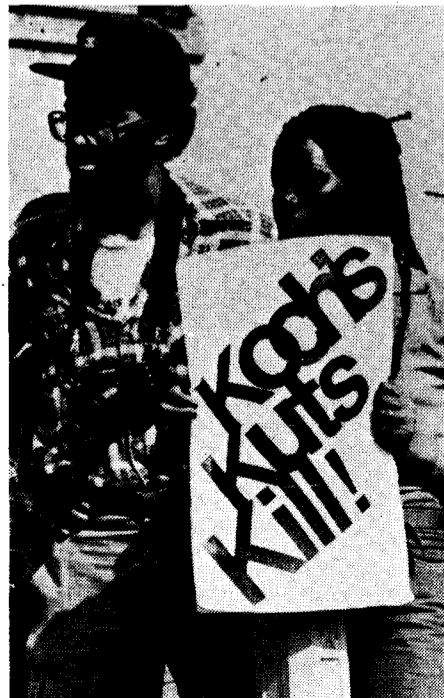
If they love him in Queens, Harlem hates Koch—passionately and justly. When the mayor showed up at the Diana Ross concert in Central Park last spring he was booed by hundreds of thousands of black youth. And municipal judge "Turn 'Em Loose" Bruce Wright spoke for black New York when he said that trying to talk to Koch was like starting a "pissing contest with a skunk."

From Day One, Koch's record as mayor has been an unmitigated trail of racist horrors. He rode into office on a wave of racist backlash, peddling the politics of death even as the bank-induced "fiscal crisis" was making an economic graveyard out of New York. "Hi, I'm Ed Koch, I'm for capital punishment," he'd say as he shook voters' hands at the subway stops, scapegoating blacks with his "Fear City" theme. Echoing the "Night of the Animals" press hysteria which followed the looting in Con Ed's June 1977 blackout, he attacked incumbent Abe Beame for not calling in the National Guard to "protect" the city against its black population. Once in office Koch dumped his "reformer" anti-Tammany Hall image to declare war on the "poverticians"—welfare was slashed, summer job programs scratched, every token advance won by blacks through a decade of struggle in the '60s was put on the chopping block.

Koch has a chapter in *Mayor* on Charlotte Street, the South Bronx wasteland which has become the symbol of the brutality of life in black and



Koch's cossacks bust heads of Harlem protesters fighting against closing of Sydenham Hospital, 1980.

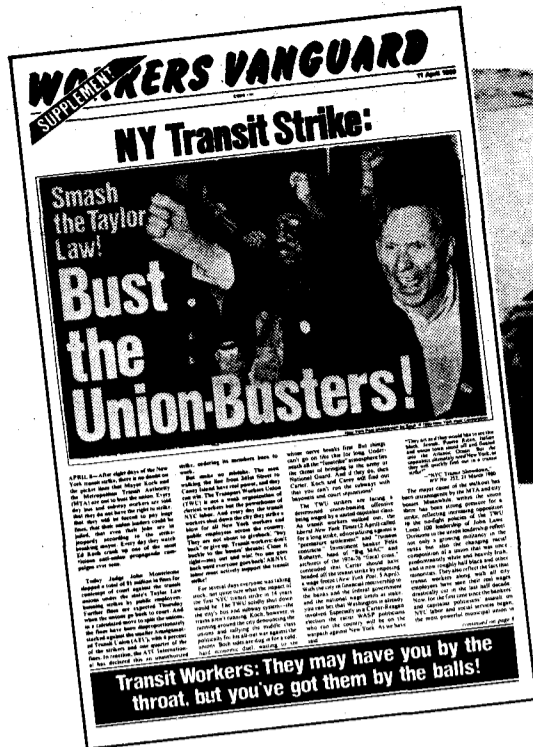


WV Photo

Puerto Rican New York. Arson-for-profit fires have produced an eerie horror of miles upon miles of abandoned burnt-out buildings and bulldozed wreckage where once there was a city. Every politician comes to Charlotte Street—Carter, Reagan, even the pope. But nothing ever happens, nothing can happen: the decaying racist capitalist system which created Charlotte Street as its supreme monument is incapable of changing it. Big MAC financial wizard Felix Rohatyn called for tearing down the South Bronx and blacktopping it. Koch baptized it "Charlotte Gardens" and put up a couple of ranch houses with white picket fences in the middle of the rubble. Meanwhile he plasters decals on the broken windows of buildings facing the major thoroughfares, hoping to hide the destruction. Things got so bad that former city councilman Gilbert Gerona-Valentin called for Soviet aid to the South Bronx. Koch's response was to redistrict him out of a job.

But it was the closing of Sydenham Hospital, on 125th Street in the heart of Harlem, which became the focus of black protest—as Koch put it in *Mayor*, Sydenham "was a kind of litmus test and a rallying point against the Koch administration." For the poor, the emergency room is the family doctor: 24-hour access is a life-and-death question when the old take sick, or the baby gets burned playing near the stove. Here in the ghetto, where infant mortality rates rival that of Third World countries, where TB rates are ten times the national average, Koch's campaign to close down Sydenham, along with Metropolitan Hospital in East Harlem, was correctly seen as racist murder. Protesters denounced "Koch's Killer Kuts."

Beginning in mid-September 1980, 60 demonstrators began a sit-in inside the hospital; each day the crowds outside



During 1980 transit strike Koch incited white middle-class commuters against heavily black union. Left: special WV transit strike supplement.

Levin/Black Star photos

grew. Koch railed against "rabble rousers" and the "black mob" as police denounced "communists" and "white agitators" who "might bring guns into the community." Labor/black mass action began to materialize as black Hospital Workers Local 420 and transit workers, neighborhood activists, leftists, tenants and church organizations mobilized. The climax came after five days when an army of 500 police was massed around Sydenham to confront a demonstration of 2,000. There was a bloody cop riot as Koch's cossacks charged into the defenseless crowd, clubs swinging and guns drawn, picking out the most militant protesters for the most vicious treatment.

So when Koch dared to show his face in Harlem last summer at the police

brutality hearings, the furious crowd ran him out. While the hearings had been set up by the black Democrats as a controlled legalistic session, outraged blacks sent the "respectable" Black Elected Officials packing along with the mayor, turning the armory into a "people's tribunal" where the masses' testimony was heard. They spoke of the racist terror which stalks the streets of NYC, from the case of young black artist (and son of a transit worker), Michael Stewart, choked to death by a transit cop, and the cover-up which stretched to the highest municipal authorities; to black transit worker Willie Turks, beaten to death by a white racist mob in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn. One of Turks' killers was given a token sentence and the rest are

walking the streets today, thanks to Brooklyn D.A., liberal Democrat Liz Holtzman.

Transit Strike Showdown

In ramming through the massive cutbacks of social services for the black and Hispanic populations, in going after the municipal unions, Edward Koch was point man for the whole of the capitalist class. And from Jerry Ford (who told NYC to "Drop Dead") to Carter and Reagan, America's rulers aren't exactly wearing "I Love New York" buttons. As we put it four years ago: "The racist WASP politicians that run this country try to paint New York as a city filled with welfare chiselers and

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Zionist Racists Exploit

Jesse Jackson's Disgusting Anti-Semitic Slur

Black Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson has become the darling of rad-lib types and the reformist left. The would-be builder of the "rainbow coalition" is hailed in particular as a champion of minorities. So it was something of an embarrassment for his fake-left cheerleaders—who also claim to be staunch enemies of anti-Semitism—when their hero called Jews "Hymies" and New York City "Hymietown" in a conversation with black *Washington Post* reporter Milton Coleman. At first Jackson tried to deny what he had said, but was finally forced to apologize: "However innocent and unintended, it was wrong." And the Zionist lobby picked up on Jackson's disgusting slur with glee.

Such anti-Semitic jibes at New York City have long been a staple of Middle-America bigotry. The great metropolis, with its large and influential Jewish community, has never really been considered part of America by the rest of the country. In the 1930s-40s the city was called "Jew York" by Middle-America racists. And Jackson's "Hymietown" remark will do him no harm as he glad-hands Dixiecrats like George Wallace in the Southern Democratic primaries.

From the start we have told the truth about the Jesse Jackson campaign (see "Jesse Jackson: Front Man for the

Racist Democrats," *WV* No. 344, 16 December 1983). An unprincipled opportunist and demagogue, he is an enemy of black struggle. His main purpose is to channel the oppressed black masses' just anger against Reagan into traditional Democratic Party ethnic politics. Whether it comes to protectionist attacks on Japanese imports or agitating black GIs in West Germany to defend the "free world" against the Soviet Union, Jackson serves the interests of U.S. imperialism. And his anti-Semitism only underscores his ties to America's white racist rulers.

Anti-Zionism Does Not Equal Anti-Semitism

The "Hymietown" scandal has focused attention on the long-standing hostility of the Jewish establishment to Jackson and rekindled the debate about black anti-Semitism. Jewish community leaders have been out for Jackson's blood ever since he embraced Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat during a trip to the Near East in 1979. A group of right-wing Zionist thugs, calling themselves "Jews Against Jackson" (reportedly an offshoot of the fascist Jewish Defense League), have harassed, hounded and disrupted his campaign since the very day he announced his candidacy. So-called "respectable" Jewish leaders have not

denounced these racist attacks, nor have they been the subject of finger-wagging editorials in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*.

The fact is that those who rant most about "black anti-Semitism" are themselves violent racists who believe the only good Palestinian Arab is a dead one. New York mayor Ed Koch, New York teachers union head Albert Shanker, the *Commentary* crowd, all supported Israel's genocidal invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982. Jackson's "Hymie" baiting is grist for the Zionist propaganda mills. For this slimy demagogue reinforces their big lie, that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism.

Jackson's defenders on the left argue that his condemnation of Israeli policy and support for Palestinian rights do not equal anti-Semitism. That is true. But Jackson has bought the Zionist myth. He sees no difference between Jews and Zionists and therefore between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. Thus, during his famous 1979 Near East tour when he embraced Arafat, Jackson exclaimed:

"I'm sick and tired of hearing about the Holocaust and having Americans being put in the position of a guilt trip. We have to get on with the issues of today and not talk about the Holocaust."

—*New York Times Magazine*, 4 March 1984

He also correctly stated, "The Jews do



WV Photo

not have a monopoly in suffering." Every American black and Palestinian Arab knows that very well.

The Nazis' systematic extermination of six million Jews—almost all of European Jewry outside the Soviet Union—is one of the most terrible crimes in history. No one should forget this! To remember the Nazi Holocaust in no way justifies or mitigates the crimes of the "Jewish state" against the Palestinian Arab people. It is the Zionists—the Begins, Sharons and Kochs—who maintain that the Holocaust gives them license to kill anyone and everyone they deem their enemy.

Zionism and the Rightward Shift

Today the most prominent black political figure in the country indulges in anti-Semitic slurs, while in Ed Koch, New York City has the most flagrantly racist mayor outside those Mississippi hamlets where the city council doubles

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Ed Koch Racist Pig...

(continued from page 7)

kill-crazy ax-murderers. They act as if they would like to see this black, Jewish, Puerto Rican, Italian and union town sliced off and floated into the Atlantic Ocean. But the capitalists ultimately need New York, as they will quickly find out in a transit strike!"

For Koch the high point of his administration so far was the 1980 subway strike, when the grinning union-buster mobilized the white middle class against the heavily black transit workers. In *Mayor* he writes:

"There was something in the atmosphere of strikebound New York that made people, and not just me, ebullient. Women in their Madison Avenue business suits strode along wearing their Uptown nylons and their jogging sneakers. People pulled rusty bicycles out of basements. Everyone had an excuse for being a little late. On the rainy days, New Yorkers looked as if they'd just stood under a downspout. Somehow, all those things made people feel better about themselves and their city."

Strikebreaking really turned Koch on. As he stood out on Brooklyn Bridge at



South Bronx: Koch's "Charlotte Gardens" ranch houses amid the rubble.

8 a.m. each morning asking people, "How'm I doing?" he wasn't just showing off. He roused the white collar workers hoofing it over the bridge from their gentrified Park Slope brownstones to their Wall Street jobs in defiance of the strike. It recalled the Chilean counterrevolutionaries mobilizing the enraged middle class housewives banging their pots and pans as a prelude to Pinochet's bloody coup, which slaughtered tens of thousands of Chilean workers.

Koch claimed, "The City won the strike in the streets; the Metropolitan Transportation Authority lost it at the bargaining table." From the point of view of militant transit workers, however, the story (as we put it) was "Strikers Winning in the Streets... Union Misleaders Sell Out at the Bargaining Table." While it was true the "young urban professionals" were tripping happily along at first, a month of rainy days and Mondays dragging their asses to work was sure to get the "yuppies" down. Meanwhile, the threat of "dreaded gridlock" hung over the city as the financial center of U.S. imperialism was grinding slowly to a halt. As we said in our strike special: "Transit Workers: They may have you by the throat, but you've got them by the balls!"

"The TWU solidly shut down the city's bus and subway system—the trains aren't running. Koch, however, is running around the city denouncing the unions and rallying the middle class politically for his all-out war against the unions. Both sides are dug in for a cold, hard economic duel, waiting to see whose nerve breaks first. But things can't go on like this for long. Underneath all the 'funstrike' atmosphere lies the threat of bringing in the army or National Guard. And if they do, then Carter, Koch and Carey will find out

Angry black residents drive Koch out of police brutality hearings in Harlem last summer.



that you can't run the subways with bayonets and court injunctions!"
—"Bust the Union Busters!"
WV strike supplement,
11 April 1980

Koch was pissed because he was after more than concessions which the MTA wrung out of the union bargaining committee. He was out to break the TWU. He demanded prosecution of Local 100 and individual members to the hilt under the state's Taylor Law, forbidding government employees to strike. He demanded immediate elimination of the dues checkoff from transit

people actually took a whack at the mayor. When a frustrated Teamster waited at the bridge and tried to wipe that Howdy Doody grin off Koch's face, it was a heartfelt punch from all of us. And we hailed the Progressive Labor doc, Dr. Nayvin Gordon, who threw an egg in Koch's face when that budget-ax murderer had the gall to speak at the American Public Health Association convention in the midst of his ghetto hospital-slashing spree. But gut hatred and a pow in the kisser won't change a thing. What's needed is powerful labor action mobilizing the ghetto masses to bring the city bosses to their knees. We need a transit strike that *wins*. And for that you have to dump the current leadership of the labor movement, both the "in" and "out" bureaucrats, the losers who tie the unions' hands by binding them to Koch's Democratic Party.

"We're Not Partners"

Koch upset the city union tops' cozy relationship with the Democratic "friends of labor" in Gracie Mansion. "Mayatollah" Koch gleefully described how the bureaucrats squealed like stuck pigs when he declared the "partnership" over. Just after he was elected, the new mayor met with the big *machers* of NYC labor in December 1977. They were all there—Albert Shanker (teachers), Victor Gotbaum (city workers), Barry Feinstein (Teamsters), also PBA head Sam De Milia and the ubiquitous "labor consultant" Jack Bigel—the very ones who engineered the dumping of union pension funds down the Big MAC rathole. Koch writes:

"And everything is wonderful and we are all on the same track behind the Rohatyn plan and Bigel happens to mention that we—the City and the unions—are partners. ...
"I say, 'Just a moment, fellas. Can I say something? There is no government by

partnership or government by committee here. Let's make sure we all understand that. I was elected. Not you....'
"Then, after a hushed silence, they say, 'Okay, we're not partners,' and the meeting goes on. But that was the first time I can recall that it was laid out to them that this Mayor was not going to be their patsy."

Yet in Koch's million-dollar 1985 reelection fund, donations of several thousand dollars each are reported from Gotbaum and Feinstein's unions and the Longshoremen. Someone's a patsy here, and it ain't Koch.

As hatchet man for the capitalist class, Ed Koch presides over the devastation of New York City. All preventive maintenance on the subways was canceled for four years: now motors fall out of subway cars, buses fall apart not only because of massive corruption in the TA but also due to pothole-riddled streets. Every time it rains hard, whole sections of the city are blacked out due to exposed wiring and tunnel flooding. Koch laid off thousands of sanitation-men when he "won" the two-man garbage truck, made possible by replacing metal trash cans with plastic bags—to the glee of the city's burgeoning rat population. NYC schools are so bad that of the 6,000 teachers hired every September, one-third are gone by the end of the second week. A few more years of this deliberate destruction and the movie *Escape from New York* may not be a horror fantasy but the barbaric reality.

So what are we going to do about this racist pig mayor? Koch got a little taste of what he deserved last summer when angry blacks drove him out of the police brutality hearings in Harlem. But it will take more than Harlem and Bed-Stuy, where Koch is universally hated, to bring him down. To run the likes of Koch out for good will take a fighting labor movement leading the ghetto poor. The heavily black transit union is key—Bust the Union-Busters! ■

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Jackson...

(continued from page 7)

as the local KKK chapter. Yet it was not all that long ago that the black and Jewish communities were considered the staunchest supporters of Democratic Party liberalism.

No section of white American society was as sympathetic to the Southern civil rights movement as the Northern Jewish communities. In the early 1960s *Commentary*, the organ of the American Jewish Committee, which now criticizes Reagan from the right, ran an article after article praising Martin Luther King and the SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) militants. Albert Shanker—believe it or not—was an early civil rights activist. The liberal political alliance between blacks and Jews, as the main outsiders in American society, lasted from Roosevelt's New Deal through the early-mid 1960s.

At the same time, American capitalism tended to set the Jewish and black communities against one another. In a number of U.S. cities the black ghetto exists today where the Jewish ghetto of East European immigrants existed yesterday. Thus, a black ghetto dweller often identifies Jews with his landlord or shopkeeper. But the undercurrent of anti-Semitism among some blacks is not of the "civilized" ruling-class variety which periodically results in anti-Jewish pogroms and extermination in gas ovens. Indeed it cannot be. For the oppression of blacks and Jews in the U.S. is fundamentally different. Jews in the U.S. today are generally well-off and comfortable, while blacks are impoverished, miserable, brutalized by the cops and forced to live in ghetto hellholes. At the same time, Jews, even if relatively privileged, have a deep sense of historic oppression.

Traditionally, Jews lived for centuries in "other peoples' countries." They have often been targets of nationalists of all stripes who lead the pogroms against "the alien Jew." It is a tragic fact of history that Jews got "their" state (Israel) in the epoch when the capitalist nation-state has become a force of

reaction. To the extent that Zionism has become politically dominant in the American Jewish community, a large section of Jews shifted radically from a posture of enlightened cosmopolitanism of a liberal or left-wing variety to an increasingly rabid nationalism as Zionist Israel moved ever rightward.

From then-Israeli ambassador Yitzhak Rabin successfully hustling votes for Nixon in 1972 on the basis that a "strong America" is good for the Jews, to the marshaling of support to the anti-Soviet war drive in the name of Soviet Jewry, a section of the Jewish community has placed itself actively on the far right wing of American politics. This Zionist-nationalist shift forms the political background of the anti-black Jewish backlash in the U.S. in the late 1960s.

Jews Join the White Backlash

Increasingly, Jews viewed black demands for economic advancement as a threat to their own status. The New York City Jewish community, for example, reacted strongly against the black demand that admission to the city's tuition-free colleges be proportional to the ethnic make-up of the high school student population. Admissions had been based on academic competition, and as a result the student bodies at City College and Brooklyn College were overwhelmingly Jewish. The case of City College was especially galling for blacks, since it was located on the fringe of Harlem.

The sharpest confrontation between black radicalism and the Jewish community in this period was the 1968 New York City teachers strike. In the name of "community control," a black school district superintendent in Brooklyn attempted to turn the teaching staff into his personal fiefdom and to break the heavily Jewish United Federation of Teachers (UFT), led by Albert Shanker, in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. This fit neatly into plans by the Ford Foundation and New York's liberal mayor, John Lindsay, to bust the power of the UFT and set the minorities against the unions. Significantly, the main black organizer of scabbing during the '68

teachers strike, Albert Vann, is today Jesse Jackson's New York campaign manager. The Spartacist League stood against the stream, defending the trade-union movement against this major attack by bourgeois liberals and their black front men, while insisting that organized labor must champion black rights and struggle against racism.

Spearheading the racist backlash within the Jewish community was the Jewish Defense League (JDL), founded in Brooklyn in 1969. Today the JDL is seen rightly as a dangerous group of violent Zionist crazies. Its founder, Meir Kahane, soon emigrated to Israel in order to terrorize West Bank Palestinians. But the JDL originated primarily as an *anti-black* paramilitary organization. Its first act was to picket a black nationalist college teacher, John Hatchett, who had denounced Jewish "domination" of the NYC Board of Education. A few months later Kahane's thugs first gained public notoriety when they threatened to break the legs of well-known black radical James Forman if he entered Manhattan's prestigious synagogue, Temple Emanu-El. The same political climate in the Jewish community which gave rise to the fascistic JDL a few years later gave New York City mayor Ed Koch, the most racist administration in its modern history.

The growing anti-black attitude among American Jewry was strongly reinforced by its unquestioning, indeed fanatical, attachment to Zionist Israel. American Jews act like they have dual citizenship. And, in fact, they do. Israel is the only country where an American can emigrate and still keep his U.S. citizenship rights.

One effect of the black radicalism of the 1960s has been to make black activists identify with the dark-skinned peoples of the world oppressed by Western imperialism. Many politically conscious blacks sympathize with the dispossessed Palestinians under the boot of a state whose racist arrogance equals only that of South Africa. And, in fact, the relations between Israel and South Africa are quite close.

At the same time, black leaders have

tended to put themselves forward as America's natural ambassadors to the so-called "Third World." Well attuned to the voting patterns in the UN general assembly, some black establishment figures like Jackson and Andrew Young publicly criticized Israel and expressed sympathy for the Palestinian cause. For the rabid Zionists who pervade the American Jewish community, anyone who embraces Arafat deserves the same treatment. So today the most prominent black political figure in the United States, Jesse Jackson, probably cannot walk unguarded through New York City's Jewish neighborhoods.

Everybody knows that a victory for fascism in this country would send blacks to the American version of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. And Jews would not be spared. But a lot of Jews think they can escape anti-Semitism by becoming part of the mainstream in white racist America. To cover their insecurity they indulge in flag-waving chauvinism and proudly point to Israel as America's main "free world" ally in the Near East. Jews who think like this—and many do—are living in a fool's paradise. Remember, the Holocaust occurred in advanced, modern Germany, where Jews were more integrated than in any other European country.

Moral Majority racists may hate Jesse Jackson as much as the Zionists do, but they hate Jews too. A fascist movement in this country will target not only blacks but also Jews, who many lower-class white racists believe wield enormous and sinister power. "We must get rid of the Jews who run Wall Street and put in a real white man's government," is part and parcel of the fake-populist appeal of Klan/Nazi demagogues. The future of blacks and Jews in this country is linked together. In strengthening the forces of racist reaction in white America, the Ed Kochs, Albert Shankers and the *Commentary* gang are deadly *enemies* of the Jewish people as well as of all humanity. Only the victory of proletarian socialism can destroy the danger of fascism once and for all and save us from another and even greater holocaust. ■

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 2)

cist, was called to the infamous fourth floor of the Secret Police (CID) to be questioned on articles explaining our position on the Tamil national question and against the oppression of the Tamil people. Here a police officer abused him in filthy language and severely assaulted him. This cannot be treated as an isolated incident. It is a result of state repression extended to the leftists.

After completely creating the suitable economic and legislative environment for capitalist exploitation, now J.R.'s government has lined up behind Reagan for anti-Soviet activities. The discussions J.R. had with the chairman of the U.S. Congress defence committee, Joseph Addabbo, and with the U.S. Congress delegation during the past few days reflects the keenness of the government to move closer and closer to the anti-Soviet camp. It is reported that J.R. asked them to "provide a large ship capable of strengthening the Sri Lanka Navy and to provide modern combat training to the Sri Lanka Navy personnel." The delegation had informed J.R. that, "we will recommend to the U.S. government to immediately release US\$350,000 for Lanka's defence activities" and that they will consider the "special request." These are the same things that American imperialists do elsewhere in the world.

It is clearly seen that the opportunity for American military activities as in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Grenada to be repeated in this country is not too distant. This pro-imperialist programme of the UNP led by J.R. should

be defeated. Tamil people's rights and their security should be guaranteed. Suppression of the left movement should be defeated. The plans to offer even an inch of land from this country to American imperialists for their war drive against the Soviet Union should be smashed. Only through workers' actions can all plans of the capitalist class and of their government be defeated.

Spartacist League/Lanka
16 January 1984

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

socialist federation. There are also lesser variants—we would have somewhat more confidence in the impartiality of the Soviet Army, but that would entail starting World War III. We can certainly solidarize with the several thousand Tamils who marched to the Soviet embassy in London during the massacre last year demanding "Russia help Tamils!" Fortunately, unlike many comparable situations, there was a practical and probably not too deleterious possibility, encapsulated in our demand: "Patriation of Tamils in Sinhala areas to the North under protection of the Indian army!"

India has not managed to become an imperialist power. Every act of aggression by a stronger state against a weaker one hardly constitutes imperialism as we Leninists understand it, unless imperialism is to lose its scientific meaning and become an empty moral epithet. Would you call the several decades of India-Pakistan conflict "inter-imperialist," or rather the rotten legacy of the withdrawal of British imperialism leaving a

bitterly divided subcontinent? Of course, short of socialist revolution, with the strong pitted against the weak one gets abuse and oppression, conquest and annexation. Indira Gandhi is as much an oppressor of India's national/religious minorities as Jayewardene is of Lanka's. But the Indian government is not in an easy position to annex Lanka (though it is not clear that they shouldn't be united in the long run, albeit on a very different social foundation).

Lankan Tamils are directly related to a numerous and powerful Indian people, the tens of millions of Tamils in India, thereby rendering virtually impossible that the Indian army would become the national oppressor of this Indian people in Lanka. There is a reasonable expectation that the Indians would come in, do their assigned job and leave. Your comparison of the Indian army to French and American imperialist "peacekeepers" or UN forces in Beirut misses the mark. These forces were hostile to the Palestinians; they disarmed and removed the protectors of the refugee camps; and there was a war in progress in which the PLO could have stayed the threat of massacre by tenaciously fighting the Israelis inside Beirut. A more apt analogy would be the hypothetical use of Libyan troops (if they had the military capability) protecting the withdrawal of Palestinian refugees.

The real force of imperialism in the situation emanates from Washington: it is U.S. imperialism's appetite for a naval base at Trincomalee, the finest deep water harbor in the Indian Ocean, which fuels the anti-Tamil massacres. (It is reported that Trinco was a subject of discussions between Jayewardene and U.S. "defense" secretary Weinberger

and former deputy CIA director Walters who visited Sri Lanka last October.) What is posed is whether Lanka will be a staging area for U.S. hegemony over the Indian Ocean in its drive for encirclement and war against Vietnam and the Soviet Union; or will Lanka, through the bridge of the Tamil toilers, be a staging area for proletarian revolution in the Indian subcontinent? No doubt Gandhi dislikes the former but fears the latter even more. For that reason she offers to send the Indian army to Lanka not to defend the Tamils but to "reinforce" J.R.'s army. But the demand for Indian army protection, like the program of which it is a part, is addressed not to Indira Gandhi but to the deeply felt needs and social power of the Tamil working people of the entire region. ■

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U.S. War Piracy...

(continued from page 1)

recently threatened to shoot down any plane coming near one of its ships off Lebanon. But the most brazen of all is the *Kitty Hawk* incident, part of a mammoth joint U.S.-South Korean exercise. The day before, planes from the U.S. carrier provided air cover for a "simulated amphibious landing of 50,000 United States and South Korean marines" near Pohang (*New York Times*, 22 March). How would Reagan like it if the Soviets staged a similar exercise on Cuba's Isle of Pines, and then tried to sink an American sub to boot?

For the *Kitty Hawk* was clearly trying to kill the Russian sub. Initial Navy disinformation accused the Soviet commander of intentionally colliding with the mammoth supercarrier 16 times its size. But ABC-TV reporter John McQuethy dug up the dramatic story. He reported that the Soviet submarine had been having "apparent mechanical problems for more than a day, repeatedly surfacing and submerging." The U.S. commander had "purposely broken off tracking the several submarines in the area, and the *Kitty Hawk* was making a diversionary run." It sliced into the Soviet sub as the latter was coming to the surface and, "By coincidence the *Kitty Hawk* approached the submarine from the rear. Because of a submarine's own propeller turbulence, its sonar is blind to the rear and the Soviets probably never knew what hit them." McQuethy added: "Pentagon sources say if the collision had occurred just a minute later, the Soviet 'Victor' submarine would have been demolished

by the 80,000-ton aircraft carrier" (ABC Network News, 22 March).

While trying to pass off the string of U.S. war provocations last week as evidence of "expansion of Soviet naval power," the "free but responsible" capitalist press has deep-sixed information about the current mobilization of American forces against the Russians. Three major U.S. anti-Soviet naval exercises are currently under way. In the Sea of Japan there is Operation "Team Spirit 84" involving more than 200,000 U.S. and South Korean troops; last year it included maneuvers in tactical nuclear warfare. Simultaneously, "Team Work 84" is being held off Norway involving some 150 NATO ships. This is described in the 5 March *Navy Times* as "a massive allied exercise that includes an amphibious assault on North Norway." And scheduled to begin in the Caribbean on April 20 is "Ocean Venture 84"—involving 30,000 American sailors, marines, airmen and soldiers—which will include a "practice reinforcement" of the U.S. base in Guantánamo, Cuba. This is all in addition to the Sixth Fleet positioned off Beirut and almost three dozen American warships poised in the Indian Ocean and at the entrance to the Persian Gulf.

Particularly after their fiasco in Lebanon, where the U.S. had to pull out with its tail between its legs, Reagan & Co. are trying to put a global squeeze on the Soviets. The current focus is Central America, where the Pentagon is mounting a whole series of "exercises" as a means of introducing American forces while circumventing the War Powers Act. Over the weekend, 250 paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne were dropped into Honduras on a "no-notice" operation named "Kilo Punch." Earlier the carrier *America* had been dispatched to the Central American coast as part of

"Ocean Venture," now supplemented by the nuclear cruiser *Virginia* and two other warships. And the planned exercise "Granadero I," originally scheduled for June, was moved up to April 1. In addition there are reportedly another 1,900 U.S. "trainers," support troops and a military intelligence battalion stationed in Honduras as Washington builds the infrastructure for a full-scale invasion.

The current excuse for the U.S. military buildup in Central America is to support "free elections" in El Salvador. These are "Yankee intervention elections" in more ways than one. As a vote they are a joke—even the Salvadoran government's election board now admits that more than a quarter of the ballots in the '82 vote were fraudulent. This time almost a third of the towns are in the hands of leftist rebels of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and elsewhere total confusion reigned. There may have to be a runoff between the Christian Democratic butcher Napoleón Duarte and the head of the death squads, "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson. And in either case there may be an army coup. But when the results are eventually decided in consultation between the U.S. Embassy and the Salvadoran general staff it will be proclaimed a "freely elected government," worthy of backing by a "free world" expeditionary force as were various South Vietnamese puppet dictators.

Smarting from its humiliating defeat by the Vietnamese peasants and workers in the mid-1970s, U.S. imperialism has been straining to reestablish its hegemony ever since. Democrat Carter launched a new anti-Soviet Cold War which Republican Reagan has been trying to heat up from the beginning of

his administration. While the rest of the left has been trailing after the Democrats in an anti-Reagan popular front and pretending that Central America has nothing to do with the anti-Soviet war drive, the Spartacist League has uniquely proclaimed, "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" In the last nine months the vital importance of defending the Soviet Union has dramatically escalated as the U.S. goes from one anti-Soviet war provocation to the next, beginning with Korean Air Lines Flight 007. After overflying the Soviets' most sensitive Far Eastern military installations on its spy mission, the KAL passenger jet, presumed by the Russians to be a military plane, was shot down and plummeted into the Sea of Japan. Now, only a few hundred miles away, the *USS Kitty Hawk* perpetrates a new crime against a Soviet sub on the high seas.

Today the Soviet Union faces the most ominous danger since Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa in 1941. Nuclear-armed American imperialism is under the command of an anti-Communist fanatic every bit as crazed as the Nazi Führer. In Reagan's crusade to "roll back" the Soviet "evil empire," first-strike plans are closely linked to a policy of provocation—from Central America to the Mediterranean to the Far East. The global nuclear confrontation looming on the horizon pits the combined imperialist powers against the Soviet bloc workers states. And in this conflict the exploited and oppressed masses of the world have a side: Defend the homeland of the October Revolution and all the anti-capitalist revolutions against imperialist reconquest! The world working class must take power from the war-crazy capitalists before it is too late—and time is running out! ■

British Spy Center...

(continued from page 5)

exclaimed, "they've got unions too! Goddamn British unions with strikes for longer tea breaks, work-to-rules every other Thursday and shop stewards who speak Russian!" So the U.S. demanded improved security vetting [checks] with polygraphs and a union ban. And the diehard anti-Communist union-hater Thatcher was only too happy to comply.

True to form, the Labour Party/trade-union misleaders have sought to turn the defence of trade-union rights at Cheltenham into a question of (bourgeois) "national interest." Their rallying cry is not "Defend the unions" but "Who is endangering national security?" CPSA (civil servants association) head Alistair Graham pleaded that his members would be distressed if they really damaged the spy network at Cheltenham and vowed he would have given Thatcher a no-strike pledge if she'd only asked. In Parliament [right-wing Labour leader] Denis Healey complained that the decision was a "kick in the teeth

for all those union leaders who had been prepared to try to develop a constructive relationship with the Government." From the "left," Tony Benn chimed in with a reported comment about how he helped set up "positive vetting" (nice polite English security checks without horrible American lie detectors) when in office. Throughout the dispute the bureaucrats, Labour and union alike, worked overtime to channel working-class anger into social-chauvinist concern for the effective functioning of the imperialist anti-Soviet war machine.

As fighters for the interests of all workers and oppressed, we oppose the very existence of counterrevolutionary spy agencies like GCHQ and its NSA big brother. But we recognise that the imperialists' bloody state spying and snooping can only be ended through mobilising the working class to rip power from the hands of the capitalists through socialist revolution. Even then, rather than shut down GCHQ the victorious proletariat might well need to turn it around against the inevitable bourgeois reaction at home and abroad. (We'd have to rename it though: perhaps the Donald Maclean Communications HQ?)

Iron Lady Thatcher and Nuclear Cowboy Reagan: Union-busters and anti-Soviet warmongers.



And we certainly do not equate the white-collar clerical workers in GCHQ with their war-mad imperialist paymasters. Nor do we equate the GCHQ spy clerks with cops and prison guards, the racist armed thugs and professional strikebreakers of the ruling class whose so-called "unions" should be expelled from the labour movement. The relationship of the former to their job is the relationship of paper to pencil or keyboard to computer terminal; for the latter it is the relationship of a billy club and a gun to someone's skull and vital organs. In general, white-collar workers tend to make pretty low-grade unionists. Given the nature of the place and current circumstances, a lot of these 8,000 may not exactly be the types you'd want to recruit to a communist organisation (from all reports they voted Tory last election). But the fact that, like the American PATCO air controllers, GCHQ's workers are a normally conservative and fairly marginal sector of the labour movement points only to the depth of the Tories' attacks and intentions.

The central issue at stake here is whether these workers can exercise their fundamental right to belong to a union.

Thatcher, firm upholder of "free world" (pro-capitalist) trade unions for Poland, says they can't. And behind this attack stands a much broader assault on the basic rights, the jobs and the working conditions of broad sectors of the labour movement and the oppressed. Defence of these rights and liberties requires hard class struggle to take on and defeat the capitalist attacks, and that requires the ousting of the pro-imperialist bureaucrats and the forging of a new revolutionary leadership of the labour movement. Stop the union bashers! Defend democratic rights! Defend the workers unions, defend the workers states! ■

CORRECTION

The article "Not Protectionism But Union Organization: Cleveland Steel Referendum," *WV* No. 348, 17 February 1984, incorrectly referred to Frank Valenta as head of District 31 of United Steelworkers of America. In fact Mr. Valenta is director of USWA Cleveland Lorain District 28.

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Miami...

(continued from page 12)

with hair-trigger racism to shoot blacks on instinct. Ask the mother of Patrick Mason, the five-year-old black child shot down in his own bedroom in California. Jail Alvarez and the rest of the killer cops!

The Johnson case was particularly explosive because he was shot by a Cuban cop, exacerbating the ongoing conflict between Miami's black residents and the Cubans, many of them right-wing *gusanos* and criminals kicked out of Castro's Cuba in 1980. The conflict stems from the desperate competition for jobs between the two ethnic groups. But behind that conflict is the racist reality that while the Cubans are welcomed with open arms—so that the government can foster anti-Communism and push the anti-Soviet war drive—native blacks are left to rot in ghetto hellholes and black Haitians who make it to the mainland are tortured and caged in concentration camps like the state's Krome Avenue detention center. The Reagan administration has decided to grant citizenship status to about 125,000 Cubans who came to the U.S. in 1980 from the Cuban port of Mariel, but not for the desperately poor Haitians.

Black Miami is a thoroughly polarized powder keg waiting to explode again and again. And black Miami's outrage, felt acutely by the scores who witnessed the shooting of Johnson, was fueled by the fact that this was just one of four murders of city blacks by the cops in late 1982-early 1983; another black person died in police custody of "natural causes." This cop rampage was virtual martial law against black Miami. It was a declaration to the black population: that the daily anti-black police violence and misery is going to continue and if blacks dare to even voice opposition to it, they are going to get the Grenada treatment. The capitalist system is a "no exit" scenario for black America. But there is a way to break the endless cycle of misery, outbursts and repression, and redirect black anger into a social fight for power. As we stated in "Cop Terror in Miami Ghetto" (*WV* No. 321, 14 January 1983):

"The black ghettos in Miami are isolated and have been taking it from all sides. The mass, independent labor/black mobilization in Washington on November 27 shows the road to victory against racist attacks. To stop cop terror, to smash the Klan/Nazis, to build militant self-defense requires a break with the Democrats and building a workers party, based on the unions and fighting for the ghetto poor. That is the Trotskyist road of black-white class struggle to overturn the capitalist system and win justice against the racist killers who maintain it." ■

Southern Africa...

(continued from page 12)

ist market, their borders artificially drawn across tribal groupings by the old colonial powers—cannot achieve genuine national independence, much less liberation from imperialism. Despite constant declarations of undying opposition to apartheid, the black "front line" states are economic colonies of South African capitalism, the industrial powerhouse of the region. Mozambique is little more than a glorified bantustan supplying South Africa with port facilities and, most important, contract labor for its gold mines. Angola's rich diamond mines are owned by South Africa's De Beers. (Its other main export, oil, is owned by the American multinational Gulf.)

The struggle for genuine national independence for all the peoples of southern Africa is inseparably linked to

the struggle for proletarian socialist revolution in South Africa. It is the black industrial proletariat of South Africa—from the gold mines of the Rand, to the docks of Durban, to the auto plants of the East Cape—which has the social power not only to overthrow white racist rule but to liberate all of black Africa from the murderous military despots, tribalist chieftains and treacherous nationalist demagogues who suck the blood of their people.

At the same time, the struggles for national liberation on the periphery of South Africa destabilize the apartheid state and inspire its black masses to resist. Thus, the Soweto uprising in the summer of 1976 erupted just months after the South African army was driven out of Angola by Cuban troops. Here we see the reciprocal dynamic of permanent revolution in southern Africa. What is needed to realize the program of permanent revolution is a Trotskyist vanguard party linking South Africa's black proletariat to the struggles for national liberation and democratic demands throughout the region. Such a communist vanguard can be forged only through political combat with petty-bourgeois nationalism.

MPLA Nationalists Become Border Guards for Apartheid

When the petty-bourgeois nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) finally won independence from Portugal in 1975 after a bloody decades-long struggle, South Africa launched a massive invasion, backed by the U.S., attempting to install its puppets in power. U.S. imperialism, fresh from its humiliating defeat in Vietnam, was unable to intervene directly, and the apartheid terrorists were driven out of Angola through the introduction of thousands of dedicated Cuban troops. Now numbering between 25,000 and 30,000, the Cuban troops, armed with Soviet tanks and SAM missiles, have protected Angola's hard-won independence against the Pretoria/Washington axis.

And this protection has been desperately needed. Since 1975 South Africa has invaded Angola 12 times, the latest and biggest attack coming last December-January. South Africa's war machine has killed several thousand Angolan villagers, uprooted millions of people, economically devastated entire regions and destroyed resources estimated at \$7 billion. South Africa carved out a 30-mile-wide zone in southern Angola, from which it supplied air cover and logistics to its puppet forces of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, wreaking terror and economic sabotage throughout the southern third of the country.

The public pretext for Pretoria's massive use of state terror in Angola was the suppression of the SWAPO (South-West Africa People's Organization) military bases. Pretoria and Washington also insisted that independence for Namibia be conditional on the "parallel" withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Until a few months ago the MPLA regime vocally rejected this "linkage" and constantly reaffirmed its support to SWAPO. Even as he was negotiating to betray them, Angola's minister of external relations, Paulo Jorge, declared, "it is the absolute duty of the Frontline states, just as it is the duty of all African countries to support the ANC, to continue to help SWAPO" (*Afric Asia*, February 1984). The MPLA nationalists are "helping" SWAPO all right—helping the South African army kill them.

Shortly after the deal with Pretoria, Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos flew to Havana to discuss the question of Cuban troops. According to the Cuban-Angolan statement, which was greeted by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, Cuban troops are to be withdrawn upon South Africa's mere promise to carry out various UN resolutions on Namibian independence. In other



Sechaba

Free ANC leader Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for 20 years by racist South African police state!

words, South Africa will still occupy Namibia, its army will still be poised on the Angola border after the Cuban forces are withdrawn.

The direct and immediate victims of the Angola/South Africa deal are the SWAPO guerrillas and the peoples of Namibia. But the wily politicians of the MPLA may be too treacherous for their own good. Once the Cuban forces are gone, what is to prevent South Africa's racist rulers from tearing up their agreements, invading Angola once again and this time going all the way and installing Jonas Savimbi in Luanda's presidential palace. Honor? In any event, the MPLA nationalists are selling their people to apartheid imperialism.

Defend the African National Congress!

The past decade has seen a rising line of black struggle within white-ruled South Africa—the 1973 Durban mass strike, the Soweto uprising in 1976, the explosive growth of black trade unions. The African National Congress (ANC), which had been decimated and reduced to a shell of an organization in the 1960s, has experienced a remarkable resurgence despite savage repression. For the survival of the apartheid rulers, the destruction of the ANC is even more important than the suppression of the SWAPO guerrillas. Hence the nonaggression pact with Mozambique.

Even before this pact the Machel regime did not permit ANC military bases on its territory, only political offices. "We have made it clear to South Africa that we do not have ANC military bases and will not allow the ANC to use Mozambique as a springboard for attacks on South African territory," Machel's foreign minister stated late last year (*Washington Post*, 2 January). However, ANC militants were able to slip across the long, ill-guarded border and carry out attacks on

South African police and military installations. While these raids have a very limited military effect, the political impact is great. When an ANC car-bomb attack demolished the air force headquarters in downtown Pretoria last May, all of black South Africa rejoiced at this humiliating blow against their apartheid masters.

So the apartheid rulers are determined, as the ANC put it, "to compel the independent countries of our region to act as Pretoria's agents in emasculating the ANC." Immediately after the attack on the air force headquarters in Pretoria, South African jets bombed ANC offices in Maputo, located in the same neighborhood as Machel's presidential palace. At the same time, South African-organized terrorists have been carrying out a campaign of economic sabotage, which along with drought caused the deaths of 40,000 Mozambican villagers from starvation. While starving Mozambique's people, Botha & Co. are offering the Frelimo officialdom a generous supply of Krugerrands. One of them, perhaps with an eye on opening a Swiss bank account, exulted during the negotiations for the nonaggression pact, "South Africa will give us everything we need" (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 March). Don't bet on it.

When asked by a Western journalist how a "hardline Marxist" like himself could make such a deal with the most despised imperialist country on earth, Machel replied blandly: "South Africa is a racist country with apartheid. But they, too, want peace." And, of course, South Africa's white slave masters do want peace. They want to pacify the tens of millions of black toilers under their brutal racist rule. The Machel and dos Santos have become the border guards of the vast and horrible slave plantation of South Africa/Namibia.

We hail the heroism of the ANC militants and we stand with them against the apartheid state and its black border guards like Machel and dos Santos. But their struggle against the apartheid system is subverted by the ANC's strategy, also promoted by the Stalinist Communist Party of South Africa, of seeking to pressure "liberal" elements of the white ruling class such as gold and diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer, and the "democratic" imperialist countries, such as Reagan's America, into forcing the South African government to abandon apartheid. The apartheid system cannot be "reformed." It must be smashed. The black working class mobilizing behind it all the oppressed masses of South Africa will be the gravedigger of apartheid. On that grave, and under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard communist party, will arise a black-centered workers and peasants government, the industrial core of a Socialist United States of Africa. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office

Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor

c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston

Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland

Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit

Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Los Angeles

Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison

c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-4321

New York

Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

San Francisco

Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.

P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

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

WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Killer Cop Gets Off

Police Rampage in Black Miami

When racist killer cop Louis Alvarez gunned down an unarmed 21-year-old black youth, Nevell Johnson, Jr. on 27 December 1982, black Miami exploded in outrage over this cold-blooded murder. But when an all-white jury renewed Miami's "finest" armed thugs' license for racist murder by acquitting Alvarez on March 16, the city fathers were ready: 1,000 of these thugs in blue were mobilized in a pre-emptive strike against Miami's black population, resulting in mass racist dragnets and detentions. Some 400 black residents were hauled off and thrown in the slammer, at least 20 hospitalized and untold numbers injured.

They were the biggest mass arrests since the 1980 Miami ghetto upheaval when 1,000 people were locked up in the wake of the murder of black businessman Arthur McDuffie by four cops. This latest police riot, which hit Overtown, Liberty City and spread throughout the city's black areas, had little to do with actual ghetto explosions, however. The *Washington Post* (19 March) noted that Miami was "the city that didn't burn." This cop rampage was a massive display of police terror intended to send a racist message to black Miami: stay in your place even if the cops murder your children with impunity. Free victims of racist jailings!

Now one more trigger-happy racist cop is on the street. During his 18



Cops terrorize Miami ghetto. Black residents bound in cable ties and herded into police vans.

months on the Miami force, eight citizen complaints had been filed against Alvarez. He claimed he shot Johnson because he "noticed a bulge in the small of his [Johnson's] back" and because Johnson "moved as if he were reaching for a gun" (*New York Times*, 17 March). Being black in racist, capitalist America means you can be killed for having a

bulge underneath your shirt. As black Miamians watched the trial, they learned that Alvarez had violated police procedure with regard to use of his gun: his revolver was "polished and modified ... so it would fire with only a light tug on the trigger..." and he "cocked his gun to reduce the trigger pressure needed to fire" (*Washington Post*, 13

March). In other words, Alvarez' gun had a hair trigger; further, Alvarez, without permission, had ventured eleven blocks outside his normal patrol area that night—most likely looking for the kill. In the anti-black, anti-labor climate of Reagan's America, crazed police terrorists like Alvarez are being trained

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For Permanent Revolution in Southern Africa!

Black Front Line States Bow to South Africa

In the steamy no man's land along the crocodile-filled Komati River in southern Africa, a solemn diplomatic ceremony took place in a wood-paneled railroad car originally built for Britain's King George VI. Mozambique's "Marxist" president Samora Machel embraced South Africa's Pieter Botha and flourishing solid gold pens they signed a non-aggression pact pledging not to support any insurgents seeking to overthrow the other's government. In the background former Frelimo guerrillas, who had fought Portuguese colonialism, mingled amiably with white South African soldiers. To prove its new friendship with the apartheid butchers, Mozambican police have since raided the homes of African National Congress militants, seized their weapons and arrested at least four.

Across the continent a *joint* military force of 300 Angolan and 300 South African troops is now patrolling the Namibian border to enforce the recent cease-fire. Reportedly this Angolan/South African force has on three occasions encountered and bloodied groups of SWAPO guerrillas fighting to liberate black Namibia from South African rule. The so-called black "front

line" states have become South Africa's front line against the forces battling apartheid imperialism.

American Cold War liberal journalist Flora Lewis observed: "The nonaggression pact with Mozambique and the cease-fire with Angola, though still tenuous, look like a triumph for South Africa" (*New York Times*, 22 March). They are no less a triumph for U.S. imperialism. In fact, the State Department's top African troubleshooter Chester Crocker brokered both deals. A

decade ago U.S. imperialism suffered a major setback in southern Africa when Soviet-backed nationalist forces in Mozambique and Angola won their independence from Portuguese colonialism. Ever since, and especially after Reagan took the reins, Washington has encouraged and backed South Africa's murderous efforts to overthrow these black nationalist regimes or force them to submit to the "free world."

Mimicking his big brothers in Washington, Botha describes his cam-

paign of massive state terror against the surrounding black states as the "promotion of stability and the strengthening of democratic forces against communist subversion" (*Johannesburg Star*, 27 November 1982). Ravaged militarily and starved into submission, the desperately impoverished bourgeois-nationalist regimes in Mozambique and Angola have been broken by South African imperialism. Once Soviet clients, they are now entering the "free world." Their entry fee is to be paid in blood, the blood of the courageous militants of the African National Congress of South Africa and the guerrillas of SWAPO who have been fighting apartheid imperialism for 18 years.

"Machel has betrayed black Africa in its quest for freedom," exclaimed a black office worker in Johannesburg (*New York Times*, 20 March). No one can question that. But what is involved here is not simply the treachery of one man, despicable as that is. The pan-Africanist notion of a classless unity against the apartheid system has always been a myth. The wretchedly backward bourgeois states of black Africa—their economies arrested by the world capital-

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Mozambique's president Samora Machel (left) becomes border guard for South Africa's Pieter Botha.

