

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

Black Masses Revolt In South Africa

SEPTEMBER 11—Black South Africa exploded in anger this week. Sparked by rent increases and the inauguration of a new constitution designed to strengthen the apartheid state, revolt broke out in Sharpeville and quickly spread across the *veldt* to black townships near Johannesburg. When peaceful protests were met by the savage police attacks, the blacks fought back. Government offices, beer halls, gas stations, even a police barracks were leveled by fire-bombs. The streets were littered with rocks and makeshift barricades made of garbage cans and uprooted traffic signs. As we go to press, reports indicate that the revolt has spread to the huge black township of Soweto.

The fury of the masses was directed especially at the black traitors appointed by the racist rulers to keep them down. After he fired on the protesters, the deputy mayor of Sharpeville was hacked to death and his body burned in front of his own home. Reportedly five other black township councillors got theirs. In Soweto the mayor's home was burned down. Factories, mines and businesses in the Johannesburg area were closed as a result of the explosion in the black townships.

The white supremacist bosses sense that they are in trouble. In the 1976 Soweto rebellion they relied on the police and paramilitary forces to terrorize student demonstrators; this time they immediately backed them up with army detachments. On the very day bands were playing in Cape Town at P.W. Botha's inauguration as president under the new constitution, rifles and



Sharpeville, September 6—Angry blacks protest rent increases, apartheid terror.

tear gas shells were blasting in Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Evaton. Officially, the death toll is 32. The actual number killed is doubtless far higher.

Yet the black protesters were not cowed by the massive mobilization of military force. On September 6, four

cabinet members set out to inspect the embattled townships. As their armored convoy, accompanied by army helicopters, approached Sebokeng, it was confronted by hundreds of angry blacks. The ministers retreated. "We were advised to turn back, and we

turned back," explained the Minister of Law and Order. It was a black eye for Botha.

At this crucial moment all class-conscious workers and enemies of racist oppression must act in solidarity with

continued on page 11

Nicaragua: CIA Mercenaries Blown Away

Funny, they didn't look like "contras." After Sandinista soldiers shot down the UH500 helicopter over northern Nicaragua on September 1, there they were in the wreckage. Two were burned beyond recognition, but the third was tall, light-skinned with blond hair, blue eyes—and a bullet through the temple. The U.S. embassy in Managua said they had no information, the State Department said there

was "no U.S. awareness" of the events and the White House claimed "no association" with the raids. It was good old "plausible denial," Watergate-style, and the lone survivor apparently did what Gary Powers was supposed to do but didn't when his U-2 spy plane was shot down over Russia in 1959. But the dead bodies told the story: U.S. pilots in U.S. planes, conducting a terror-bombing raid on a

so-called military training school in the town of Santa Clara, in which eleven people including three little girls were killed. And this time Reagan's counterrevolutionary "dogs of war" got what they deserved.

Once again the White House's Mr. Speakes "misspoke" himself. The next day the CIA told Senator Moynihan they were not involved, that the men were part of a group of seven merce-

naries, and besides the helicopter was only on a "reconnaissance mission" anyway. Later this became an "emergency rescue mission." But if they have no connections, how come "the Company" knows so much about them? And how could a Huey helicopter take off from a U.S.-controlled army base in Honduras without anybody noticing it? The story that the dead men

continued on page 10

1199 Hospital Workers Shafted

Doris Turner's Hidden Sellout

When New York City hospital workers find out what's really in their new contract, they'll be screaming bloody murder. *Nothing* in this "tentative agreement" is certain. 1199 members: take a look at your paychecks. Where's that 5 percent increase you fought a month and a half for? The League of Voluntary Hospitals now says it won't pay up until the state guarantees the cost of the settlement. And Governor Cuomo has already said there'll be no more money from Albany.

At the August 27 ratification meeting in Madison Square Garden, union president Doris Turner passed off the

WV Exclusive

paltry wage increase and a few other cheap concessions as a "victory." What she didn't tell you is that even these puny gains are to be financed by the union members themselves! *Workers Vanguard* has obtained a copy of the agreement, which includes an entire hit list—totaling tens of millions of dollars—of union wages and benefits to be looted to cover the hospitals' "deficit."

Turner's deal stinks! Questioned by our reporter, a League spokesman crowed: "They [the membership] don't know the back sheet. Wait till they find out." The deal, he added, was just "a way to get them back to work. As soon as they're back at work, she'll never take them out." 1199 members should demand to see this hidden agreement now! Throw it back in the faces of the bloodsucking bosses and their agents who are running this union of proud and defiant workers into the ground!

For six hard weeks, the predominantly black, Hispanic and female

workers of District 1199 RWDSU (Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union) fought the medical profiteers on the picket line. It was the largest and longest hospital strike in NYC history. The bosses turned the hospitals into deathtraps: these killers were out to break the strike, to squeeze every last penny from the people who scrub the floors...and the patients be damned! Even the anti-labor *New York Times* (29 August) admitted that management had the money all along, but they "saw an opportunity in the union's internal troubles" to go for the throat.

It was Doris Turner's limp leadership in the face of the bosses' intransigence which prolonged the strike. The workers were determined to fight: they held out for 44 days, took 66 arrests and stood up to massive fines by the courts. By the end of August the bosses were getting desperate: their scab administrators were tired of washing bedpans, the Democratic Party politicians wanted the strike over by Labor Day, and the state was on the verge of declaring a medical emergency. The League announced it would begin hiring permanent replacements for the strikers on Monday. But when the crunch came, when it was necessary to beef up the leaky picket lines and finally shut down hospital operations or else face defeat—Turner simply called it quits and proclaimed her sellout a victory.

At the Garden, Turner claimed the settlement represented nothing less than the "rebirth" of the union. Governor Cuomo, who provides 90 percent of the League's funding, wired his congratulations (which ought to tell you something). But the governor wasn't alone. Both the Communist Party's *Daily World* and the SWP's *Militant* proclaimed it a "victory" and Sam Marcy's

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE

Description of contract modifications and amounts are not matters of complete agreement, in accordance with paragraph 1 of the Agreement.

Category A

- Freezing minimums in year 2 \$2.2 million
- Freezing steps in year 2 0.4 million
- Probationary period adjustments 0.8 million

Category B

- Freezing salary base for training and benefit fund (for 2 year term of CBA) \$13.4 million
- Training fund offset (1% for 2 year period) 14.4 million
- Reduction in benefit fund (0.55% for 2 year maximum) 8.0 million
- Freeze minimums in year 1 8.0 million
- Freeze salary base for pension (if actuarially possible) 10.4 million
- One year pension eligibility delay for new employees (tentative value) 6.9 million
- New employee - Plan B benefits at 9% (tentative value) 1.2 million
- Exclude 2 day part-time 11.5 million
- Delay second wage increase 1 1/2 months 10.4 million
- Delay EOWO another 6 months 5.0 million
- Delay first year wage increase value to be determined

This is the hidden hit list of reductions, givebacks and freezes initialed by 1199 president Doris Turner.

Workers World splashed "Hospital workers' victory blazes way for labor upturn" across the front page.

"Victory"? Baloney! Turner's "contract" calls for 5 percent in pay hikes in each year of a two-year contract. In 1982, under far worse economic conditions, 1199 won 7.5 percent a year. Turner boasts about winning every other weekend off (EOWO), but it

doesn't start until next year and 80 percent of the union already had it. The "What We Won" summary handed out to the membership claims there will be "No Reprisals." Not so. Several union members facing criminal charges for defending the picket lines have not been allowed to return to work. Yet the 1199 tops agreed in the contract that "There *continued on page 8*



WV Photo

Solidarność Reagan-Lovers Meet NYC Labor

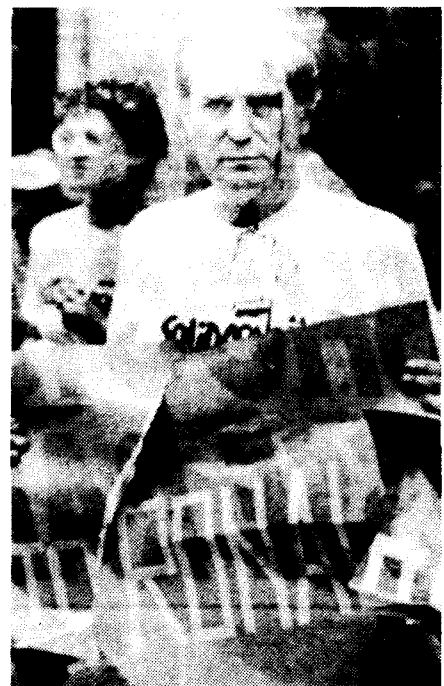


WV Photo

Polish Solidarność members tried to horn in on New York City's Labor Day parade September 4. A handful of recent émigrés at first insisted on marching at the front with a giant sign saying "We Are Thankful to Ronald Reagan and AFL-CIO for Their Support for Solidarność & Polish Nation." That got stopped fast. No doubt the IBEW marshals wanted to keep the parade "clean" for Walter Mondale, the phony "friend of labor" Democrat who marched up front with AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland. But for all of American labor "Ronald Reagan" is synonymous with union-busting. These are fighting words, and when the reactionary Polish nationalists tried to march again later, they ran

up against a couple dozen trade unionists. Their provocative "We love Reagan" sign was soon in shreds.

The incident was no doubt deeply embarrassing for Solidarność buddies, anti-Communist labor fakers such as Kirkland and UFT leader Al Shanker, who have served as funnels for CIA support to this yellow "union" for Vatican and Wall Street bankers. One official union sign noted that "Reagan's for Unions Only in Poland!" True enough, for while the U.S. was smuggling millions of dollars to Solidarność, Reagan was destroying the PATCO air controllers union at home. The pitiful attendance at Labor Day 1984 testified to the bankruptcy of the union misleaders' support for the



Koss/NY Post

This Polish Solidarność activist loves Reagan, but to American labor those are fighting words.

capitalist Democratic Party. Instead there should have been a massive mobilization against all the union-busters, from the Carter/Mondale crowd who used Taft-Hartley injunctions against the miners in 1978, to certified labor-hater Reagan.

Still, it was heartening that the fanatical Solidarność Cold Warriors finally got the "welcome" they deserve from U.S. labor.

Juror in Dixie Flag Trial:

"I Admire What Richard Bradley Did"

On April 15, Richard Bradley climbed a 50-foot flagpole in San Francisco Civic Center and cut down the Confederate flag, the banner of slavery and the Ku Klux Klan. Supporters of the Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense waiting below burned the flag. Upon descending from the pole, Bradley was arrested. A black man, he was clad in the uniform of a Union Army sergeant.

San Francisco's arrogant labor-hating mayor, "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein, had another Confederate flag put up. So on April 16, Bradley again scaled the pole and cut it down. He was arrested again and more vandalism charges were filed on behalf of the vindictive mayor.

On May 29, the trial began. Ritchie and his supporters used the courtroom as a forum to politically indict the SF administration for flying the flag of slavery, an incitement to bloody racist terror. Bradley's defense strategy centered on explaining the Spartacist League's slogan of "Finish the Civil War!" The trial ended in a hung jury.

Some time later, one of the jurors phoned the Spartacist League. He had read in the newspapers that there was to be another trial of the case (all charges were subsequently dropped) and wanted to be kept informed. He bought a subscription to *Workers Vanguard* and readily agreed to be interviewed for our press, asking that we not print his name. The interview was conducted by Diana Coleman, who has been a Spartacist candidate along with Richard Bradley for SF Board of Supervisors in 1982 and again this year, and who testified at the trial.

The interview has been edited and condensed for publication.

WV: I wanted to start off first asking you something about yourself, your background.

Juror: Well, I grew up in California, almost entirely, mostly in the Bay Area.

WV: You seem to have a real concern about civil rights. I was wondering if you had experiences that you brought to this case.

Juror: When I was about 13, my father put us all in a trailer, a 13-foot trailer, and we took off on a trip. We spent all summer making a big loop around the United States. This must have been about 1964 or 1963. And one of the things that most impressed me as we were coming through the South was seeing drinking fountains marked "white," "colored," signs which my father pointed out to us. He wanted us to see these things and to know they still existed in the United States. And it made a big impression on me.

Partly my experiences during the Vietnam War, too, of feeling the power of the government and the authorities. And coming up against the draft board and knowing something of what it's like to feel helpless in the face of a government agency.

WV: How did you feel when you found out during the jury selection that this trial was going to be about the Confederate flag?

Juror: Oh, I was fascinated. I had heard about it before in the paper. At first,

when I got called for jury duty, I was very irritated. It was a tremendous inconvenience. And I was certain that it wasn't going to be an experience that I gained anything from. When I found out what this case was going to be about, I was excited and I was interested and I felt quite fortunate to be able to sit on a jury for that particular case.

WV: Well, one of the things we were trying to get across in the trial was exactly what the Confederate flag meant. Ritchie, by talking about his experience in the South and doing civil rights work, and my experience as well.

Bradley in Union Army uniform celebrates ripping down flag of slavery from SF Civic Center.



Did you feel that came across to people?

Juror: Yes, absolutely. As a matter of fact my own personal experience with it after the trial is that now I'm very much aware of it when I see the Confederate flag anywhere. My son's favorite TV program used to be "The Dukes of Hazzard" and after the trial we had this big argument about the fact that here they are running around in the General Lee with this big Confederate flag on top of the car. It made me a great deal more sensitive to it.

WV: One of the things we were trying to get across was why we try to stop the Klan and Nazis, paramilitary groups. And I was wondering, you've lived in San Francisco a while, whether you remember the Spartacist League stopped the Nazis from demonstrating on Hitler's birthday in 1980?

Juror: I think I remember. To tell you the truth, it doesn't stand out in my mind. I do recall vaguely. It didn't get a whole lot of publicity, did it? At least not in the *Chronicle*.

WV: They kind of tried to black it out. But it got across to you about why we oppose these [fascist] groups?

Juror: Well, it was actually and more recently the activities in Richmond, California that alarmed me more than anything else. When I heard about that, the harassment going on. All during this trial they kept talking about the "Richmond cowboys." I thought you guys were talking about Richmond, Virginia. I didn't realize until much later that it was Richmond, California and I was shocked.

WV: They had the picture of the Richmond, California cowboys in the San Francisco police station.

Juror: I just couldn't believe that this would happen in California. I thought, well it must be Richmond, Virginia. And I thought, why is everyone so excited, don't they know there are a bunch of rednecks down there anyway? [laughs]

WV: Richmond, California, it's sort of a company town. Standard Oil.

Juror: I know that they've had a lot of accusations and charges of the bigotry on the part of the police force. That I

found very disturbing, I mean that really hit close to home. When I found that the Klan was marching in San Francisco or wanting to march.

WV: So what did you think of the prosecutor's case? What he had to put forward, the cops who testified, the park department guy and so on?

Juror: The prosecutor struck me as being acutely uncomfortable most of the time. As if he had to do this but he really didn't think they had much of a case. And, frankly, I didn't think they did either. Kind of a halfhearted effort as if he were just going through the motions. Maybe he wanted to be perceived that way. Wanted to get on with business, you know, just a clear-cut case, he tore it down, he's guilty, let's put him in jail or whatever and get on with life.

WV: So what was the discussion like when you were in the jury room? When you were deliberating?

Juror: That was funny, we were immediately polarized. I mean at the point where we first sat down at the table, it was 8 to 4, 8 for acquittal and 4 against. Uh, I take it back. There was one person who was sort of wavering, a young woman who wasn't quite sure, but after about five minutes she decided that she would side with the folks for acquittal.

It seemed as if we were clearly divided along the lines of was this a clearly technical issue, as the D.A. laid out: if he took down the flag then he was guilty of vandalism. And the four people who felt he should be found guilty were looking at it purely in that sense. They did not

want to listen to anything else. There was a big picture right in front of us all during the trial, of Ritchie climbing the pole and tearing down the flag. And so they said, "How can you even question it? He's guilty of vandalism. Why are we sitting here talking about this?"

And the conversation revolved around that issue. Whether or not it was malicious, whether or not the flag was there illegally in the first place, whether or not the city by flying that flag lent a legitimacy to a symbol that would not have otherwise been. For example, if a private citizen flew this flag in his front yard, certainly a number of people would be offended by it but it doesn't have the same kind of legitimacy that City Hall does.

But all they were looking at was just the fact that he took the flag down.

WV: Well, what about the fact that we had given the Union flag as a donation to the city?

Juror: We brought that up. They thought that really had nothing to do with it. They thought that was admirable but irrelevant.

WV: You had mentioned that you were curious about what was going on sometimes when the lawyers were in there haggling with the judge. One of the things is that they were debating over whether to show this 88-second film from Greensboro [the 1979 Klan/Nazi murder of five anti-racist demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina]. And then the judge said they couldn't show it, because it would be "too good." I was wondering what you thought about that, whether you remember seeing the original film when it came out.

Juror: I did see the film. To this day, it still makes me sick to my stomach. What makes me even more sick is that they [the Klan/Nazis] were acquitted twice. I think he was right, it would have been "too good." Although, I don't know, there was a couple folks on the jury who probably would have been just as moved as the rest of us and still said "that has nothing to do with it." Again, because they were at all costs going to keep their blinders on and not consider the larger social issues.

WV: I know you've heard from reading the *Chronicle* that the mayor flew another Confederate flag and both the Confederate flag and the pole have since come down. I was wondering what you thought about that.

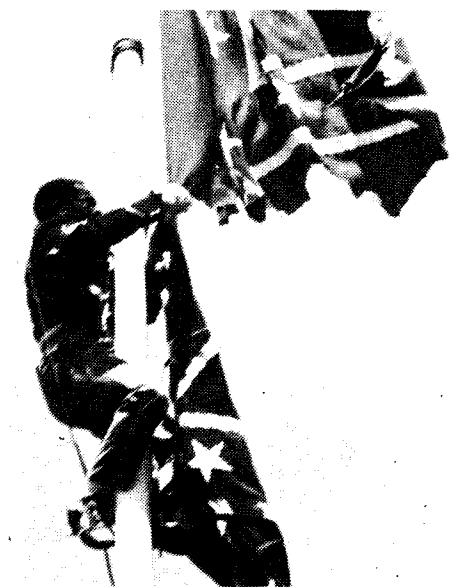
Juror: I got a great chuckle out of that the other morning when I read it in the paper. I just thought it was great. First of all, I couldn't believe that the flag went back up. I mean that to me was just astounding, after the trial. But when I found out that not only the flag but the pole as well had come down, I was just tickled pink. I thought it was just great. You know, I really am interested to see what happens now. Of course, I've been following this thing all along especially since I sat on the jury, but I can't believe that they are that committed to seeing the damn thing up. It just astounds me, I really have no explanation.

WV: Well, let me ask you one final question. Since this trial, you bought a sub to *Workers Vanguard* and gave \$20 to the Spartacist League. So I wanted to ask you, why'd you do that?

Juror: Well, I admire what Richard Bradley did. I find that was an act that took a great deal of courage and it displayed a great deal of commitment on his part. I admire him for what he did and I wanted to contribute to his defense fund.

WV: And the subscription?

Juror: Well, for a long time, the reading material that I'm normally exposed to, I've been noticing somewhat of a trend, the more right-wing tone of the standard papers, the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner* and whatnot. I've been feeling that I needed and would like to get something to balance that out a little, add a little more perspective so that the news that I receive is not quite so one-sided. And it's been very interesting, too. ■



Richard Bradley rips down Confederate flag: Finish the Civil War!

**Statement Filed By
Richard Bradley**

As a supporter of the Spartacist League I twice tore down the Confederate flag of slavery which flies no more in Civic Center. The American Civil War did not complete its historic mission. It will take a third American revolution, a socialist revolution, to liberate black people.

Spike Reagan's anti-Soviet war plans and union-busting austerity drive by mass strike action! U.S. imperialism—Hands off Central America! Smash Klan/Nazi terror through labor/black action! Break with Democrats—enemies of labor/minorities! Build a workers party that will stop at nothing short of socialist revolution and a workers government!



Diana Coleman protesting execution of black South African militants.

**Statement Filed By
Diana Coleman**

I am a supporter of the Spartacists, the labor/socialists who put a stop to flying the Confederate flag, banner of KKK racism and slavery, in Civic Center. Finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers government!

Without socialist revolution catastrophe threatens mankind. We need an integrated workers party that will take the productive wealth from the capitalist bosses, and establish a workers government and socialist planned economy.

Spike Reagan reaction through mass strikes! Military victory to Salvadoran leftists! Defend the USSR! No support to Democrats—liberal party of imperialism! Smash Taft-Hartley! Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

Spartacists Announce S.F. Candidates

**Finish the Civil War—
Forward to a Workers State!**

Spartacist spokesmen Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman are running as candidates for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in this fall's election, on the program of socialist revolution. They offer working people and their allies the opportunity to cast a vote for militant labor struggle to bring down Reagan and shatter the sinister anti-Soviet war drive of U.S. imperialism.

The Bradley/Coleman campaign follows upon the hard-fought and victorious struggle of the Spartacist

League to rid the city of the Confederate flag which Democratic mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein had hoisted in Civic Center. Ritchie Bradley is a hero in black and working-class neighborhoods for twice scaling a 50-foot Civic Center flagpole and tearing down that vile banner of chattel slavery and KKK race-terror. His action against the city's official display of racism is a testament to the SL's 20-year-long fight for *revolutionary integration* and united working-class struggle.

Bradley and Coleman demand: "Finish the Civil War!" It will take a third American revolution, a socialist revolution, to liberate black people and all the oppressed, fulfilling the unfulfilled promises of the second American revolution, the Civil War. Bradley and Coleman fight for *mass labor/black action to smash Klan/Nazi terror*. They hold up as examples Spartacist-initiated united-front mobilizations like the 1,200-strong labor-based demonstration that stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in SF in 1980 and the mobilization of over 5,000 militants, mainly black workers, that ran the KKK out of Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. Bradley and Coleman helped initiate the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense, which demonstrated against the racist murder of five-year-old Patrick Mason in Southern California by a white cop who broke into Patrick's home and shot the child dead as he sat watching TV. Vengeance for Patrick Mason!

The Spartacist candidates were active in the successful campaign to defend militant phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against a racist anti-labor frame-up engineered by Ma Bell and the police. Militant protest and exposure defeated that vindictive attempt to railroad this union-loyal interracial couple into jail after last year's national phone strike. And Coleman and Bradley say: Labor must fight for *full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers*.

As Trotskyists, the Spartacist candidates unflinchingly defend the Soviet Union against imperialism and stand for proletarian political revolution to restore the Soviet workers to political power. They raise with added urgency their 1982 campaign call: From Afghanistan to Poland to El Salvador—Down with Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! U.S. capitalism's war moves against Russia, Vietnam, Cuba are dragging this planet toward nuclear annihilation. Bradley and Coleman call for *military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents!* They say: Defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan revolution! From South Africa to the Philippines, down with America's butchers! Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home—Labor action against imperialist intervention in Central America. The candi-

dates intend to hammer home the Leninist lesson that imperialist wars will end only when the proletariat takes power and establishes its own class rule.

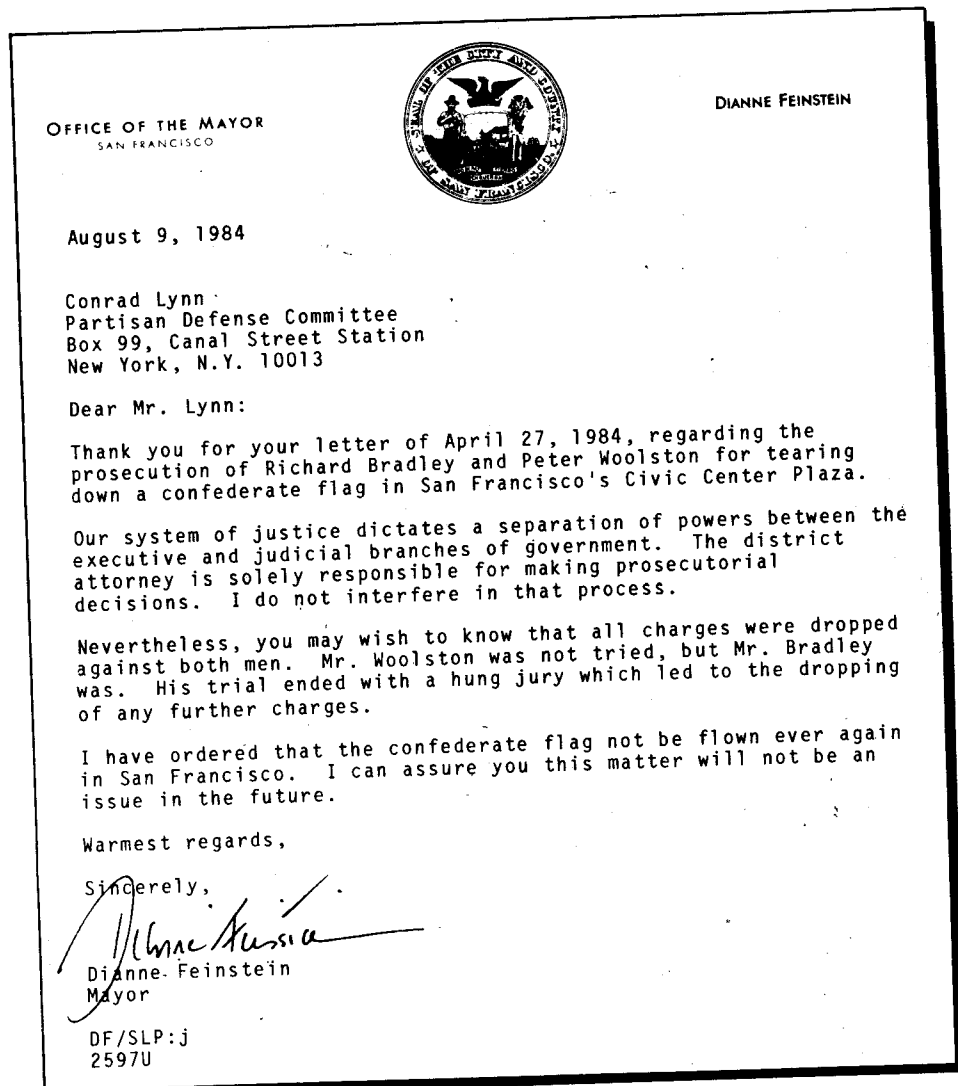
The Spartacist League will use the campaign to expose and help defeat the government's sinister "anti-terrorism" ploy. The U.S. rulers aim to intimidate, outlaw or exterminate all opposition to their deadly anti-Soviet war preparations by falsely redefining all political opponents, especially Marxists, as "terrorists." It's McCarthyism with a new twist, "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." The recent Democratic Party national convention in SF was the target of massive rightist provocation and cop violence as hundreds of liberal pro-Democratic Party demonstrators were beaten and arrested. Having tasted blood during the convention, the SF cops are now running amok. The period leading up to the convention saw strenuous efforts by police agencies, centrally the FBI, to libel leftists, including the Spartacist League, as "violent," thereby setting us up for cop repression. The SL vigorously exposed this manufactured "terror" scare. Despite our fundamental class differences with the Democratic Party, the SL called for a union-based defense squad intended to defend the democratic right of this bourgeois party to assemble, offering a contingent of militants as a component. For us such defense was inextricably linked to defense of the democratic rights of workers organizations to independently organize their own class.

As part of regimenting the American population for war against the Soviet "evil empire," a reactionary social climate is created in which separation of church and state is under attack, abortion clinics are firebombed in the name of "right to life," the Moral Majority invades the classroom and the bedroom. Coleman and Bradley say: Keep prayer out of the classrooms and the government out of our bedrooms! Free abortion on demand as part of free quality health care for all! Full democratic rights for homosexuals!

Political independence of the working class is central to the Spartacist candidates' campaign. To the working people and oppressed minorities of this heavily unionized city, Bradley and Coleman

continued on page 9

Mayor Feinstein's Appomattox



OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
SAN FRANCISCO



DIANNE FEINSTEIN

August 9, 1984

Conrad Lynn
Partisan Defense Committee
Box 99, Canal Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10013

Dear Mr. Lynn:

Thank you for your letter of April 27, 1984, regarding the prosecution of Richard Bradley and Peter Woolston for tearing down a confederate flag in San Francisco's Civic Center Plaza.

Our system of justice dictates a separation of powers between the executive and judicial branches of government. The district attorney is solely responsible for making prosecutorial decisions. I do not interfere in that process.

Nevertheless, you may wish to know that all charges were dropped against both men. Mr. Woolston was not tried, but Mr. Bradley was. His trial ended with a hung jury which led to the dropping of any further charges.

I have ordered that the confederate flag not be flown ever again in San Francisco. I can assure you this matter will not be an issue in the future.

Warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Dianne Feinstein
Dianne Feinstein
Mayor

DF/SLP:j
2597U

Feinstein to black civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn: I surrender.

Spartacist Greetings to Kurdish Conference

For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

We print below the greetings of the international Spartacist tendency presented to a conference of Kurdish militants held in central Europe this summer.

Comrades, I bring you greetings from the international Spartacist tendency. As revolutionaries, we insist that the future liberation of the oppressed Kurdish masses lies in their own implacable fight for national and social liberation hand in hand with the struggle of truly internationalist Marxist forces elsewhere and, taken altogether, constituting the true Leninist communist international resolutely committed to smashing all exploitation and oppression on this planet. The international Spartacist tendency is vigilant against every attack on the Kurdish people, against every injustice. From Sydney, in Australia, to London to Germany, the iSt has demonstrated alongside Kurdish militants in defence of their rights. As a contribution to your deliberations, we offer our opinions, based on the lessons of history, particularly the verification in struggle of comrade Lenin, who led the first successful, multinational class struggle.

Emblazoned on our banner we make clear our firm upholding of the Kurdish right to self-determination. Self-determination is a democratic right, but its fulfillment can take many different forms. We have to believe that, based on the character of the four capitalist governments which oppress the Kurds and suppress their rights, there can be no viable solution to Kurdish self-determination under capitalism.

Most of us would probably agree that we seek a socialist solution. But what does this mean? It must be made precise programmatically. Consider the many different African states which achieved independence and now, while calling themselves Marxist and socialist, continue to despotically rule thoroughly capitalist states, abusing their own people and adjacent ones. The achievement of socialism necessarily entails the expropriation of the possessors—the landlords and capitalists—and the rule of the workers and peasants.

Comrades, history teaches us that

without the social force of the proletariat, and without a Leninist party to organise that power and act as a tribune of the people, the heroic struggles of the past have often been mired in defeat. The Kurdish masses must look to an alliance with the Arab, Persian and Turkish proletariats, who in turn must

that the working people of Iran, the working people of Iraq have no interest in the victory of either side. We said: turn this reactionary, nationalist war into a civil war against the mullahs and colonels. To the Kurdish people, savagely attacked by both the Ba'athists and Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards,

which dramatically confirmed that in the epoch of imperialism's decline, democratic rights and principles can be fully realised only by the revolutionary proletariat in power. There are numerous oppressed peoples which lack a strong working-class component. While there are many Kurdish workers, most are working outside of the geographical regions with a predominantly Kurdish national identity. That the Kurdish proletariat exists primarily in the diaspora naturally and inevitably complicates your political tasks, but it is a problem that has been faced before. Indeed it was the resolute struggle of the Bolshevik party for the right of self-determination for even the most underdeveloped of the oppressed nationalities in the tsar's prison house of nations which facilitated the conquest of power by the proletariat in Russia. Inversely, inspired by the workers taking power in Petrograd and Moscow and aided by the detachments of Trotsky's Red Army, the oppressed nationalities of what is now Soviet Central Asia and Outer Mongolia found the path to their own liberation from the yoke of national and feudal oppression, especially through the instrumentality of the organised women and youth. Even today, many Kurds look to the Soviet Union where their brothers and sisters exercise their democratic national rights and enjoy the benefits of 20th century science and technology and of education.

The solution to the oppression of the Kurdish masses can only be region-wide, involving the smashing of four reactionary bourgeois regimes. The proletarian revolution is in reality an end product of multiple battles, movements and campaigns. We understand that the struggle for a United Socialist Republic of Kurdistan will be shaped by and in turn shape the future of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole region toward a socialist federation of the Near East. Our model is Lenin's Russia of 1917-1924 where the Bolsheviks offered the national minorities the option and the advantages of association with the Soviet Federation. For our part, we are dedicated to the forging of the internationalist party of worldwide proletarian revolution and speak to you in the understanding that the future of humanity depends on its construction.

Thank you, comrades. ■



Spartacist Britain

London, 31 May 1983: In united-front demonstration at Turkish embassy, Spartacist contingent calls for right to self-determination for the Kurds.

be made to become determined champions of the Kurdish right of self-determination against the great power chauvinism of their own bourgeoisies. The Bolsheviks led the Russian labouring masses to realise that they could never become free without resolute struggle against Great Russian chauvinism. Such a revolutionary party must be built in each state and become the weapon for leading the proletarian and peasant masses to victory and in consequence to encourage such victory elsewhere.

We know that counted amongst those revolutionary fighters will be the Kurdish woman. Today the slave of slaves, when her consciousness is awakened she will be amongst the best fighters for the ideas of revolution and the ideas of communism.

The Kurdish people seek desperately to break out of the quagmire of national oppression and chauvinism. In the squalid nationalist blood feud between Iran and Iraq, we in the iSt pointed out

we pointed out that the Iran-Iraq war offers them a unique opportunity to carve out a nation-state, the best since the short-lived "Kurdish Republic" of Mahabad in 1946.

Comrades, we must learn from the struggles of other oppressed nationalities. In the northern tier of the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans—itsself a historical cauldron of national hatreds like the Near East—a largely Serbian and Montenegrin Communist Party, led by the Croat Tito, managed to cohere the workers state, albeit deformed, of Yugoslavia.

In contrast, Lebanon is the supreme example of the inability of the capitalist and property-owning classes to arrive at anything tending toward the satisfaction of the masses. The Palestinians can expect nothing from the Arab bourgeoisies, who once again revealed their total and craven subordination to the designs of the bloodsucking imperialist powers, especially the U.S. which sought to install itself in the Lebanon as a jumping-off point for its anti-Soviet campaign. The present Zionist state must be destroyed and replaced by working-class communist power based on the Arab and Hebrew-speaking workers, the latter representing an extremely valuable cultural and technical resource in the context of building the socialist federation of the Near East.

The U.S.' ignominious withdrawal from the Lebanon has not diminished the imperialists' anti-Sovietism. Today, U.S. imperialism's policies centre full square upon an anti-Soviet war drive, linking up with its European NATO allies including Kohl's imperialist government, aimed at the gains that remain of the October Revolution—state ownership of the means of production, monopoly of foreign trade and the planned economy. We are for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal attempts at capitalist restoration.

Comrades, it was the great historic example of the Russian Revolution



Der Spiegel

Iranian Kurds resist Khomeini's Persian chauvinist reign of terror.

**Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth League
Public Offices**

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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

New York City
Tues.: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

**Trotskyist League
of Canada**

Toronto
Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone: (416) 593-4138

KAL 007 Spy Mission: Footprints Lead to the White House

It's been one year since Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was shot out of the sky over Sakhalin island. For the anniversary, the Reagan administration had planned another Cold War propaganda barrage against Soviet "barbarism." A boatload of Japanese relatives of the victims of the 007 tragedy would cast flowers on the spot where the plane went down. But when they got there, they issued a statement charging that the incident seemed to be "an elaborately prescemed plot on the part of a government agent of a certain country"—which they made clear meant the *United States*. Try to suppress that one! For the last several months the official Washington story about the KAL affair has been coming apart, and last week the lid blew off.

When the Boeing 747 jetliner was shot down after overflying some of the most sensitive military bases in the Soviet Union last fall, we immediately responded:

"Who took the civilian passengers as hostages on this cold-blooded Cold War provocation in the first place? This criminal game of 'chicken' by the Korean military pilots, with the cooperation (at least) of U.S. and Japanese authorities who were closely tracking Flight 007, was more heinous than any hijacking."

—"Reagan's Story Stinks!" *WV* No. 337, 9 September 1983

Although *Workers Vanguard* has been reporting the truth about KAL 007 from the beginning, an American Marxist paper is considered beyond the pale by the bourgeois media. But now the authoritative British military journal *Defence Attaché*, former U.S. diplomat John Keppel, and prominent liberal journalists like the *New York Times*' Tom Wicker are pointing the finger of guilt at the White House. *Ronald Reagan can't wipe the blood of more than 200 innocent airline passengers off his hands.*

Last month *The Nation* (18-25 August) published a lengthy technical article, "K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew And When We Knew It," by David Pearson. Pearson, a Yale University instructor whose doctoral dissertation concerns the Pentagon's World Wide Military Command and Control System, tore apart all the "accident" theories and pointed out the footprints leading straight to the White House door:

• Analysis of the known positions of the South Korean jetliner reveals that it "must have altered its course in the vicinity of the [U.S. spy plane] RC-135." This indicates that the RC-135 played a "control role" in the incident and

demolishes the theory that the 007 crew accidentally left the flight controls on a continuous incorrect heading.

• The U.S. had a massive array of electronic gear coordinated to pick up all kinds of electronic emissions in the precise region penetrated by KAL 007 that night—not only the fixed listening posts such as Shemya Island in the Aleutians and in Japan, but movable ones as well, such as a number of RC-135s, the U.S. Navy ship *Observation Island* in the North Pacific, the USS *Badger* near Vladivostok, an Orion P-3 hunter plane in the Sea of Okhotsk, a "ferret" spy satellite, and even the space shuttle *Challenger*. "Far from slipping by unnoticed, K.A.L. 007 had flown onto center stage," notes Pearson.

• Soviet air defense difficulties—failing to launch interceptors in the first seven minutes that KAL 007 penetrated Soviet territory over Kamchatka peninsula, the inability of SA-2 missiles to lock on to the slow-moving civilian plane, and confusion between ground control and the Soviet fighters—"suggest that widespread electronic interference" (jamming) "may have been directed at the Soviet defense forces."

Pearson sums up his exhaustive analysis:

"The most persuasive theory [is] that the airliner made a deliberate, carefully planned intrusion into Soviet territory with the knowledge of U.S. military and intelligence agencies. Its object would probably have been to activate Soviet Air Defense Forces. All the evidence points in that direction."

He isn't the only one to come to that conclusion: as the evidence mounts, many independent observers have begun to smell a rat. The crew of KAL 007 "knew exactly where they were from the time they left Anchorage through the false way point checks that they transmitted past Kamchatka and over Sakhalin Island to their destruction," concluded Major General Richard Rohmer, retired, former chief of Canadian Air Force Reserves. Ex-CIA operative Keppel concurred: "One has to look at what the evidence says... you can't fly that course by accident" (*CNN News*, 26 August). And on 7 September Tom Wicker wrote in his *Times* column that the doomed flight was well orchestrated, "with the Reagan Administration, at some level, doing the orchestrating."

As the U.S. story has crumbled in recent days, the Reagan administration retreated into a sneering "so what" position: yes, the Soviets "probably thought it was an intelligence plane" and not a civilian airliner, confessed an

anonymous State Department spokesman (*Los Angeles Times*, 29 August). But, he added, "I don't think you should shoot down a plane even if you think it's an intelligence plane. If you had a plane headed toward Omaha [Strategic Air Command headquarters], I'm not sure we would shoot it down before identifying it"! Suddenly this administration of first-strike "star wars" nuke 'em nuts is purring like pacifists! Who do these weasels think they're kidding? They wouldn't even let Soviet foreign minister

anti-Soviet war drive. Last September a unanimous Congressional resolution condemned Soviet "murder." Even "radicals" like the *New York Guardian* "condemned" the USSR for shooting down the intruder.

The academic Pearson and ex-spook Keppel call for a Congressional investigation of the KAL 007 affair. You can easily imagine the impact on the current presidential campaign, for instance, if the Democrats exposed how Reagan sacrificed hundreds of innocent airplane



TASS
Former Soviet chief of staff Marshal Ogarkov effectively exposed KAL 007 Cold War provocation at Moscow press conference, 9 September 1983.

Gromyko land in a civilian Aeroflot plane in New York last September. And in January 1980 their pals at New York air traffic control tried to murder Soviet ambassador to the U.S. Dobrynin by deliberately disappearing his plane from the radar screen.

Richard Burt, Reagan's assistant secretary of state for European affairs, answered the latest 007 revelations by asserting they were merely replaying "baloney" put out by the Russians' "propaganda and disinformation machine." Proof? Why, everybody knows about "Soviet callousness," while the U.S. supposedly follows only "rules of good conduct and civility"! Tell that to the Nicaraguans, who are busy trying to hunt down an army of CIA mercenaries and murderers. Would the American government really put at risk the lives of 269 passengers, a reporter naively asked on the 31 August MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour. Keppel, described in the 27 August *New York Post* as "a former U.S. diplomat who took part in the botched cover-up of the 1960 U-2 incident," replied: "I know enough about past history to know that funny things do happen in the world, sometimes in wartime, sometimes on the eve of war...."

Indeed, that is what the KAL 007 provocation was all about—preparation for imperialist war on the Soviet Union, the homeland of the 1917 October Revolution. The affair actually "provided a political boon" to the administration, a State Department "specialist" cynically bragged, making it easier to install first-strike Pershing 2 missiles in Europe. Another official said, "A basic kind of anti-Soviet mood was created that is fairly supportive of the president" (*New York Times*, 31 August). And in fact all wings of the American ruling class are united in the

passengers on his ill-fated spy mission. But don't hold your breath. However much Mondale wants to be president, he only wants a more rational war buildup against the Soviets (no more Lebanon adventures, cut off the loser *contras* in Nicaragua, more conventional weapons in Europe, etc.). Watergate was one thing, but trying Reagan for mass murder...forget it! The KAL affair ranks up there with Hitler's murder of concentration camp prisoners dressed in Polish uniforms as the trigger to set off World War II. And the only way to avenge this imperialist crime is by throwing out the entire rotten capitalist class and fighting for world socialist revolution. Otherwise, Korean Air Lines Flight 007 will be just another marker on the road to Armageddon. ■



Japanese families of KAL 007 victims accuse U.S. government.

A Spartacist Pamphlet 50¢

KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation

WORKERS VANGUARD... Young Spartacus... Reagan's Story Stinks... KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation... Reagan's 007 War Fever... Don't Miss With Reader!

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

24 pages 50¢

Spartacist Pamphlet Tells the Truth!

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

Charges Dropped Against Canadian Unionists

Fascist Frame-Up Thrown Out of Court

TORONTO—Organized labor, minorities, socialists, all decent people and enemies of union-busting and fascist terror scored an important victory here last week. The nine-month-long attempt by Canadian KKK "intelligence director" William Lau Richardson and his Nazi sidekick, George Graham, to frame up and jail postal workers Paul Schneider and Mike Mares has been stopped. On August 29, Ontario provincial court judge J.S. Climans threw out Richardson's and Graham's outrageous charges for lack of evidence. The Toronto press has closely followed this case. The August 30 *Globe and Mail* headlined "Judge throws out charges laid by ex-spy and friend," while the *Star* announced "Union activists cleared of assault."

Schneider and Mares were charged with "assault causing bodily harm" for defending themselves and others at a labor-endorsed abortion rights demonstration in Toronto against the intimidation, provocation and harassment by Richardson and Graham. William Lau Richardson, a former CIA and U.S. Army Intelligence agent, is the most dangerous union-busting fascist terrorist in Canada. For 15 years he has infiltrated, terrorized, disrupted and harassed the trade-union movement and leftist organizations. But this frame-up was defeated by a labor-centered defense campaign waged by the Committee to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists, initiated by the Trotskyist League of Canada and militant postal workers.

Hundreds of unionists across Canada



Rally outside Toronto courthouse, July 5, defends anti-fascist union militants Michael Mares and Paul Schneider.

supported the defense of Schneider and Mares, including a dozen union locals and close to 90 union officials. The Ontario Federation of Labour—representing over 800,000 unionists—demanded that the charges against Schneider and Mares be dropped. Close to 100 people attended a Toronto rally in defense of Schneider and Mares in February and more than 40 protesters, including members of 14 different unions, demonstrated outside the courthouse on July 5. Time and again supporters of Schneider and Mares filled the courtroom in solidarity.

However, the president of Schneider and Mares' own union, the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), Robert McGarry, outrageously opposed their defense. And he expelled

them and five of their supporters for asking in a leaflet if McGarry's backstabbing might not be related to the fact that two of his brothers owned Centurion Investigation Ltd., the firm that hired Richardson to carry out anti-union terror! This purge has not gone unopposed in the Canadian labor movement. The Toronto local of the LCUC's sister union, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) passed a motion demanding the immediate reinstatement of the LCUC 7. The Toronto Area Council of the Public Service Alliance of Canada, as well as UAW Local 303 (of which Schneider was a member for three years) and the Vancouver CUPW Executive have also passed motions of protest.

The Toronto court's quashing of the

fascist frame-up strengthens the case of Schneider and Mares and their five supporters outrageously expelled from their union for mobilizing to defend themselves and all of labor. This sinister purge gives a green light to fascist infiltration and terror against the unions. Richardson's fascist supporters and scabs who have wormed their way into the Toronto LCUC local have already escalated their campaign of intimidation and worse: Schneider and Mares have received death threats at work and two of the fascist scum sent a death threat to the vice president of Toronto CUPW, Andrew Kolompar, for his activities in defense of the seven LCUC militants. The upcoming national LCUC convention must overturn this treacherous purge and reinstate these anti-fascist unionists.

In thanking the many supporters of this important defense case Paul Schneider underlined that the battle against fascist terror is far from over: "Today was a victory for organized labor and minorities. But a victory in court cannot stop KKK/Nazi terror. They are out to kill. What we need are labor and minority mobilizations to sweep the fascists from the streets." To stop the fascist threat once and for all the working people must take power in their own hands.

Victories like this cost money! Send your donation to the Committee to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists, Box 463, Station E, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M6H 4E3. ■

Hospital Workers...

(continued from page 3)

shall be no union discipline for those who crossed a picket line." In other words, it's the scabs who got "no reprisals"! Then there's the two-tier wage system for new hires starting in July 1985, along with a provision that probationary employees will start at \$20 per week less than the minimum rate.

And what the bosses give with one hand, they take back with the other. Attached to the contract is a "Tentative Schedule" of "contract modifications" initiated by Turner and top League negotiator William J. Abelow. No mention of any such list was made at the Garden and no wonder. This list of potential freezes, delays and reductions adds up to over \$90 million which could be eliminated from the contract. Here are a few examples taken verbatim from the list: "Freezing salary base for training and benefit fund (for 2 year term of CBA)—\$13.4 million; Training fund offset (1% for 2 year period)—14.4

million; Freeze salary base for pension (if actuarially possible)—10.4 million; Exclude 2 day part-time—11.5 million; Delay second wage increase 1 1/2 months—10.4 million; Delay EOWO another 6 months—5.0 million." And what happens to the first year wage increase, "value to be determined," is, at this point, anybody's guess.

At 1199's annual street fair on September 2, Doris Turner wasn't talking so *WV* showed the list to long-time black machine Democrat and mayoral candidate Basil Paterson, a federal mediator involved in the negotiations, and inquired which "contract modifications" were part of the contract. "Some of them are," he replied. 1199 spokesman Robert Carroll finally "explained" that the hospital bosses claim that they're going to lose money, so Turner made a promise: "Once the League identified its deficit," Carroll said, "we would help." According to Carroll, the union tops have offered to "help" to the tune of \$21 million. But a League spokesman told *WV*, "Our figure [for the deficit] is \$44 million." This is the hospital workers' money! Maybe that's what Turner was talking about at the Garden when she said,

"When I make a promise, I expect you to keep it."

On Labor Day, the city's top union misleaders paraded up Fifth Avenue with Walter Mondale, Geraldine Ferraro and Cuomo. The bureaucrats put the tiny 1199 contingent (no more than 250) dead last in a five-hour parade. This accurately captures what the "friends of labor". Democrats think about strikers. With tears streaming down her cheeks, Doris Turner herself paused in front of the reviewing stand with a sign that simply said "Thanks." Thanks for what? When the muscle of the NYC trade-union movement was desperately needed, with city workers' contracts coming up, Gotbaum & Co. did *nothing* for 1199. A *citywide* hospital strike, backed up by militant solidarity *action* by firemen, transit and sanitation workers, would have won a real victory for hospital workers and put strike-breakers like Reagan and Mayor Koch on notice.

District 1199 under Leon Davis and Moe Foner was one of the last New York City unions led by Communist Party supporters. The CP had a combative, heavily black and Latin workforce, but after winning important gains they pissed it all away through support to the capitalist Democratic Party. In the mid-'70s, 1199 could have led a fight against the bank-imposed austerity of Big MAC. Instead, Davis and Foner sold out the militant 1976 NYC hospital strike in order not to "spoil" the Democratic convention which nominated Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter.

Today within 1199, there is no organized militant opposition to Turner & Co. So a double-dealing sellout, presented as a victory, was overwhelmingly accepted by the ranks. The Unity and Progress slate, which opposed Turner's separation of 1199 from the National Health and Hospital Union last July, denounced the contract (*El Diario*, 31 August) but played no visible



Reformist left helped sell bureaucrats' sellout.

role in resisting it. Instead, on August 31 the group filed a formal complaint with the U.S. Labor Department charging Turner with misconduct in the union's April election and demanding a new vote sponsored by the federal government's labor cops. All 1199 members must oppose this anti-union suit. Workers must clean their own house—keep the feds out of the labor movement!

The hospital slumlords were unable to break 1199 but the strikers did not win anything like what they need. And who knows what Turner may yet give away. Real victories require a leadership committed to a fighting program of class struggle. Such leaders know that the state, its cops, courts, arbitrators and politicians are not neutral—they are on the side of the bosses. Locked in struggle with the class enemy, the workers must employ their own methods—mass picketing, labor boycotts and sympathy strikes. Millions of New Yorkers would support the call for "Free quality health care for all!" From Lane Kirkland to Doris Turner, the labor fakers have sold their souls to the Democrats. Now, more than ever, we need a workers party to fight for a workers government. ■



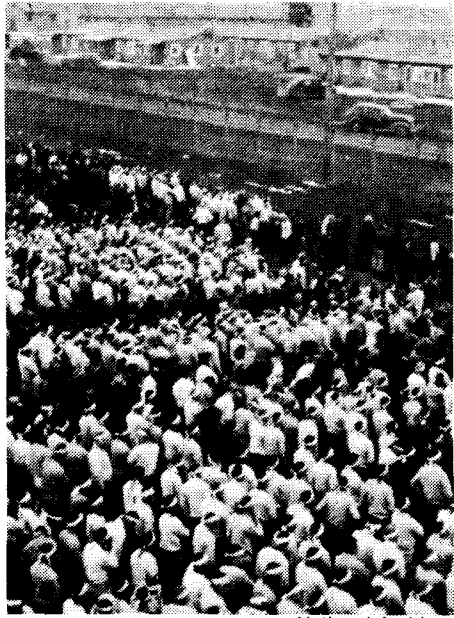
1199 ranks fought hard against union-busting.

Japanese Americans...

(continued from page 2)

Daily Worker carried a special article by Cuban Stalinist Blas Roca which repeated the U.S. government's lying propaganda: "As it has already been published, the fifth column of Pearl Harbor was formed by the Japanese of Honolulu, many of them American citizens with more than 20 years in the country, established as business men and with children born in the island."

It was not just courage, nor their steadfastness in adversity, that helped



National Archives

Japanese American internees demonstrate at Tule Lake concentration camp.

the Trotskyists to defend the Japanese Americans. Above all it was program. The SWP, while defending the Soviet Union, understood that Roosevelt's war was imperialist, seeking U.S. capitalist world domination, and that a U.S. victory would in fact on the morrow pose an even sharper threat to the Soviet workers state. Thus the Trotskyists' policy was revolutionary defeatism toward both imperialist sides, the "democratic Allies" as well as the Germans and Japanese. They opposed Roosevelt's war and his administration's racist hysteria at home, remaining the champions of the interests of the workers and oppressed. As we noted in our 1977 article, a veteran Trotskyist organizer, in Los Angeles in 1941, has recounted that many Japanese Americans in the important CP fraction in

San Pedro harbor turned to the Trotskyists for aid when the CP kicked them out.

The CP's utterly shameful betrayal is rendered even more shocking by the fact, as *Ganbatte* reveals, that they had a solid core of worker militants throughout the West Coast after the 1934 San Francisco general strike, and could actually have led massive labor actions to stop the vicious roundup. And the CP's Japanese comrades were part of the heart and history of the party on the West Coast. The CP published a Japanese-language paper, *Rodo Shim-bun* (which Yoneda edited in the '30s); had a Japanese Bureau which published regular bulletins; and dozens of Japanese American cadre worked as labor organizers, traveling the fields among California agricultural workers. Yoneda proudly notes that the Japanese socialist Sen Katayama was a founding member of the American CP in 1919. During the '20s and '30s, many Japanese comrades on the West Coast were arrested and deported for organizing strikes, for participating in CP rallies in defense of Tom Mooney and others, or were swept up in Los Angeles Red Squad riots. Yoneda himself was the first Japanese American to run for public office in the U.S., on the CP's ticket for San Francisco District Assembly in 1934. These comrades lived in poverty, were tested time and again in struggle, took cop beatings, spent time in prison for their work for the CP—and in an act of racist war hysteria, they were dumped *without a word of protest* anywhere in "their" party!

The reason, again, was program. The CP supported Roosevelt's war as part of its program, following Stalin's line, of class collaboration with the "democratic" imperialists. "All out for the war effort" was their slogan, under which they refused to fight Jim Crow segregation in the army, engaged in open strikebreaking, and told their Japanese American comrades to go into the camps to prove their "loyalty" to the imperialist U.S. warlords. Shamefully, Yoneda acted as a Judas-goat in leading Japanese into the camps, even *volunteering* to go to the Manzanar concentration camp to help build it! This was the bloody logic of the CP's betrayal of the workers and oppressed in supporting U.S. imperialism. Thus Yoneda's book is, on this central question, a guilty cover-up of the CP's day of infamy, their social-patriotic participation in gross racist injustice.

So it wasn't just Earl Browder, as

London Protest Against Anti-Tamil Terror



Spartacist Britain

Tamil militants joined by supporters of the Spartacist League/Britain in picketing Sri Lankan High Commission in London, August 13, to protest government terror bombing of Jaffna.

CPers today—including Karl Yoneda—claim. Comrade Darlene Kamiura recalls confronting Yoneda in the mid-'70s on this betrayal and his slimy excuses that the camps were "safer" (the same lie the government used to justify the atrocity!) and it was just a "mistake" and Browder's fault. "Have you no shame?" she challenged him, "What about the expulsions?" Yoneda replied that was "a vague part of party history—next question." It wasn't until 1959, over a decade after the roundup, that the CP even got around to making a motion in a party conference that the racist atrocity they helped to perpetuate was a "serious error"! And it was only in 1972 that the CP admitted its rotten betrayal explicitly in public, in a book review in the *World Magazine* (1 January 1972).

The CP's "excuse" is precisely the same as our reader's ignorant assertion that *everybody* was more or less racist then and they just got swept away. This is a vile slander of those few courageous revolutionaries who did defend the Japanese Americans. It was the Trotskyists who were able to stand up to Roosevelt's war hysteria, because they remained true to their program of class struggle, remaining staunch opponents of imperialism on every single question touching the workers and oppressed. ■

S.F. Elections...

(continued from page 5)

say: "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" The militant tactics that built the unions—win strikes through massive solidarity actions in defense of militant picket lines that nobody dares to cross—are the class-struggle weapons labor needs. In contrast, the labor skates who run the unions are working overtime to sell wet-noodle Mondale and the Democratic Party of imperialist war and racism as an alternative to the justly hated Reagan. Their slogan is "Don't Strike—Vote Democrat!" Yet Mondale and Reagan are united in their anti-Sovietism and differ only on the tactics of how best to prop up this sick and decaying capitalist society, which threatens us all with nuclear holocaust. Whereas the other "left" candidates in the 1984 elections all slavishly tail the labor bureaucrats who loyally serve the Democrats, we call for ousting the labor bureaucrats and forging a fighting *workers party* that will stop at nothing short of a workers government. Bradley and Coleman are fighting for the American working class to follow in the footsteps of their Russian comrades in 1917, through socialist revolution. ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive



WV Photo

1984 Quotas

Local	Quota (in points)	Local	Quota (in points)	Local	Quota (in points)
Atlanta	120	Detroit	160	San Francisco	250
Boston	350	Los Angeles	110	Washington, D.C.	120
Chicago	280	New York	900		
Cleveland	170	Oakland	500	National total	2,960

Subscribe Now!

Name _____
 Address _____
 Phone () _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____
SPECIAL! A packet of Spartacist literature with one-year subscriptions to both *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*.
 \$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*) New \$2/4 issues of *Women and Revolution* Renewal
 \$2/9 issues of *Young Spartacus* \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

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

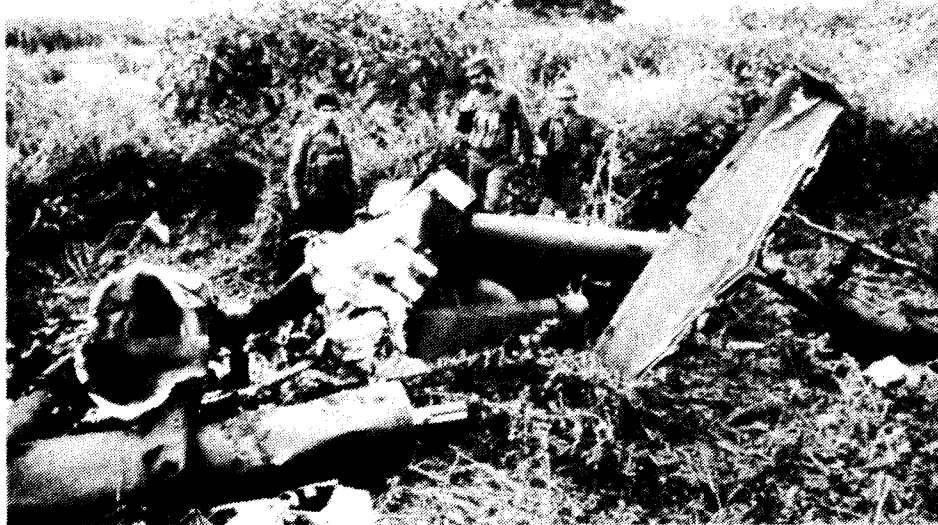
Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

were "independent" mercenaries with no ties to the U.S. government was "a tale no one is going to believe," said Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega. The Sandinistas protested to the UN Security Council, and angrily rejected a call by the Contadora group of bourgeois governments that Nicaragua disarm in the face of U.S. aggression. We say: Kill the invaders! Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs!

It soon came out that the dead blond pilot, Parker, was a Huntsville, Alabama cop "on leave," and captain of a Special Forces Group in the Alabama National Guard. (Interestingly, the Alabama Air National Guard provided mercenary pilots for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, the CIA's biggest debacle to date.) Parker's dead buddy Powell was also a Viet vet, a former army helicopter pilot and a part-time "flying instructor." Another of the "volunteer" mercs, Albright, is "commander" of the "Phantom Division, Tennessee Airborne," described in the January 1984 issue of *Soldier of Fortune* as a "master parachute rigger, jumpmaster and instructor." Part of the Huntsville-based paramilitary operation called "Civilian Military Assistance," the group had entered Honduras in August with full knowledge of the State Department, which had coordinated their mission with the highest levels of the Honduran army.

It was not the first time. Last January these so-called "private Americans" were waved through Honduran customs carrying combat weapons and 4,000 rounds of ammunition because they had a personal letter from then-commander in chief of the Honduran military, General Gustavo Alvarez. Their mercenary missions for the Salvadoran butcher army are coordinated by the chief logistics officer in the U.S. embas-



Sandinista soldiers view wreckage of downed helicopter and remains of Yankee CIA mercenaries.

sy in San Salvador.

Since the Huey went down in a hail of AK-47 fire, Congress has been screaming about violations of the Neutrality Act, the War Powers Act, etc. What has the Democrats all upset is the Reagan administration's open flaunting of their authority. The Democrats don't mind funding anti-communist CIA/mercenary operations from Afghanistan to Cambodia, but they think the sleazy *contra* operation in Nicaragua is a loser...and one that could drag the U.S. into a Central American war they want to avoid, at least for the present. So when Congress cut off funds to the overt covert war on Nicaragua, the CIA simply switched over to so-called "private channels." We have repeatedly stressed that this government doesn't give a damn about such niceties as Congressional "restrictions," World Court opinions and the like. As the Republican convention confirmed again, Reagan is determined to do away with the Sandinista regime, as part of the anti-Soviet war drive which the Democrats are fully committed to. This dirty imperialist war must be defeated.

by exterminating the killer *contras* in Nicaragua, by leftist victory on the battlefields of El Salvador, and by mass labor/black action at home. For an all-out Tet offensive to bring Reagan down! U.S. labor must hot cargo all U.S. war materiel to Central America, and launch massive strike action against a U.S. invasion!

The Santa Clara incident also revealed the extent to which the U.S. intelligence/military is intimately involved with fascist terrorists around the world. While the Reaganites claim these were "unpaid volunteers," like some dogooder candy strippers going off to Central America for social work, these sadistic killers are about the closest thing to barbarism now existing on the planet. A September 1983 *Soldier of Fortune* special issue on Central America gave a grisly taste of these two-bit macho assholes, dolled up in their camouflage fatigues and fantasizing about avenging lost wars in the wooded hills of El Salvador, going out to "bag their game" and kill "G's." The obese skinhead "Big John" Donovan, so-called "demolitions expert" teaching the Salvadoran killer Atlacatl Brigade how to massacre unarmed old people and children, like they did at My Lai... There are full-page pinups of the wild-eyed *contra* killers like "Suicide" or "Rasputin," lusting for the days when as Somoza's butchers they were pillaging, raping and torturing their way through the peasant villages, wiping out an entire generation of Nicaraguan youth.

A column in the *Wall Street Journal* (6 September) by Alexander Cockburn lays out the connection between these "private" mercenary outfits and the top levels of the U.S. military. Last year's *Soldier of Fortune* convention in Las Vegas was attended by General William Westmoreland and G. Gordon Liddy and featured the speech of Major General John Singlaub, relieved of his command by Carter for publicly attacking the policies of his commander in

chief. Singlaub turns up again associated with a secret "Special Operations Association" and has just been elected head of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), a Taiwan-based lash-up of ultrarightist nuts and neo-Nazi killers. Earlier this year columnist Jack Anderson reported that the Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Honduran death squads coordinate their activities through the Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation, affiliated with the WACL.

The kill-crazy CIA adventurers are one and the same as the native fascists spreading racist terror in America. Not far from Huntsville in northern Alabama is a Ku Klux Klan "special forces" camp where hooded commandos train to kill blacks. These psychopathic killers are the degenerate products of American imperialism's bloodiest defeat. The founder of "Civilian Military Assistance," Tom Posey, told the *Washington Post* (5 September) that 90 percent of the group's recruits were Viet vets like himself who "felt guilty about not winning." In fact, they're not only the scum of the earth, but the world's greatest losers! They got their asses handed to them in Vietnam; in Angola they worked with the Chinese advisers and South African army against the MPLA and got shlonged by the Cubans. A bunch of them signed on with Somoza in the dying days of that dying regime and got zapped by the Sandinista revolution. And now they're losing again in Nicaragua. As we wrote last year:

"In the face of the counterrevolutionary threat engineered from the highest levels of the U.S. government, it is urgently necessary to defend the democratic gains of the popular insurrection that toppled the Somoza dictatorship and extend them to a struggle for workers revolution throughout Central America. The CIA-financed *contras* are gunning down Nicaraguan youth, workers and peasants. But the Sandinistas are running a 'roach motel' for counterrevolutionaries ('they check in but they don't check out')."

—"Kill the Invaders!"

WV No. 326, 25 March 1983

Twenty-three years ago, truckloads of armed Cuban workers streamed out of Havana to stop the *gusano* invaders at the Bay of Pigs. Today the pigs are trying to make a comeback in Nicaragua. But if Reagan tries his "December surprise"—full-scale U.S. invasion of Central America—he could get a real surprise at home. Despite the hysterical cries of "USA! USA!" at Los Angeles and Dallas, flag-waving is not enough to exorcise the "Vietnam syndrome." U.S. rulers cannot count on a heavily black army to fight a colonial war, and American workers don't want to be used as cannon fodder in another losing imperialist adventure. The real "state-supported terrorism" is made in U.S.A. For a class-struggle fight to smash Reagan reaction—For workers revolution, from San Salvador to Detroit! ■

SL/SYL at Cleveland Central America Demo "Workers: Take San Salvador!"



Ashbolt/Plain Dealer

CLEVELAND—On Saturday, July 28, between 300 and 400 people marched through downtown Cleveland to protest U.S. aggression in Central America. Sponsored by a liberal amalgam called July 28 Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America, the march and rally drew virtually the entire Cleveland left as well as various and sundry liberals and religious elements. A spirited revolutionary contingent of members and supporters of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League called for "military victory to the leftist insurgents" in El Salvador and "full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers."

SL/SYL signs proclaimed "Vietnam Was a Victory!" and called for "Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S.

Imperialism!" Ours was the only contingent to carry the banner of the FMLN—the guerrillas heroically fighting imperialism and its puppets in El Salvador. In response to chants of "One, two, three, four—We won't fight the bankers' war," we chanted, "One, two, three, four—Workers take San Salvador!"

Through our chants and disciplined presence we made a visible impact on the protest—a photo in the next day's *Plain Dealer* prominently displayed our contingent. Even a fairly well-behaved clot of ETers felt compelled to attach themselves behind us. Must be they didn't see our FMLN banner or the signs defending victims of racist military "justice" from Captain Dreyfus to Corporal Griffin.

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) 663-0719

Cleveland

Box 91037
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) 384-9716

Madison

c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 257-8625

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

Anti-Apartheid Protest at South African Embassy

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 7— Fifty anti-apartheid militants turned out today for an emergency demonstration near the South African embassy here, denouncing the murder and maiming of hundreds of blacks this week by the bloody racist regime. The united-front action was initiated by the South African Students Committee (SASCO) at Howard University, and included the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCM), a representative of the Howard student government (HUSA), and the Bolshevik League. One protester's sign stated simply: "To Live in South Africa and Namibia Is Hell."

Besides SASCO, the largest contingent was from the SL/SYL whose chants "From Black Soweto to Black D.C.—Same Enemy, Same Fight!" and "Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!" were eagerly picked up by the crowd. Supporters of PAC, however, pointedly refused to join the demonstrators in chanting "Free Nelson Mandela!" SL/SYL signs included: "For International Labor Action to Support Black Unions in South Africa" and "Smash Reagan/Botha's Racist Anti-Soviet War Drive!"

The SYL mobilized Howard students in response to a letter from SASCO calling for the united-front protest:

"The South African Students Committee based at Howard, is inviting the Spartacus Youth League to demonstrate with us.... You stopped the Klan! You tore down the flag of slavery! To us then you demonstrate the interest of the oppressed and exploited black working class. Join us in stopping apartheid."

HUSA vice president Manotti Jenkins thanked the PAC, the BCM and SYL "for inviting us here to show our solidarity through action." Notably, the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) of Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael) failed to mobilize, sending only a lone supporter.

The demonstration closed with speeches from participating organizations. The SASCO speaker thanked the organizations demonstrating for "not only showing their solidarity with us, the South African students, but also showing their solidarity with the students at home that are waging an internal battle inside South Africa." A speaker from PAC said that the fight against the "Bantustanization and the Balkanization of our country" means "fighting for cultural autonomy" and "the unity of our people irrespective of



Spartacists join united-front protest in D.C. over racist terror against South African black toilers. WV Photo

class, race, color or education." The SYL's Brian Mendis called for class struggle here and abroad and pointed to the 27 November 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the race-terrorist KKK while Reagan met his butcher friend South African premier

Botha in the White House. Mendis closed by saying that to smash apartheid, "It's black workers who must take the lead because it's black workers who have the power to... crack open the apartheid regime and pave the way for workers revolution."

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

South Africa's black toilers. For mass, united-front protests against apartheid terror! For international labor boycotts of all cargo to and from South Africa!

Everyone recalls the mass demonstrations and stay-away strikes which spread nationwide from the huge black township of Soweto in 1976. Could this be the start of a new rising? A full-scale eruption has been expected for more than a generation. The South African ruling class, armed to the teeth and with general support from the 4.5 million privileged whites, has had trouble keeping the lid on for the past ten years. Seething discontent is widespread among all sectors of the oppressed—newly unionized black workers striking from the gold mines of the Rand to the auto plants of the Eastern Cape, Cape Town "coloureds" (mixed-race) battling the police against eviction, coloured students and Indian traders protesting the new apartheid constitution. Even among whites, particularly male students facing conscription for the endless, low-intensity war in Namibia/Angola, there has been protest. It is centrally the five-million-strong black proletariat, today more organized than ever before, who are key to toppling the entire apartheid regime.

When one thinks of black resistance to apartheid, the names of townships come to mind: Sharpeville, Cato Manor, Langa, Elsies River and, above all, Soweto. During the Soweto revolt 800 to 1,000 blacks were killed, many of them schoolchildren. The heroism of 1976 inspires all anti-apartheid fighters, but it is widely understood that the powerful apartheid state will not be smashed through plebeian risings in the townships alone. The township revolts have some negative features in common with those in the black American ghettos. These spontaneous outbursts are directed not only against the police or local collaborators but also against shops, clinics and schools. In the present conflagration, for example, the shops of Indian traders (many of whom are opposed to apartheid and shut their shops in solidarity with the election boycott) were burned out.

South Africa's black townships are

not only segregated and poor, they have deliberately been placed miles outside the cities where blacks have to work. They are designed to have a minimum of access roads with separate power stations and water systems that can be shut off in an emergency. Sometimes they have ring roads to make it easier to seal them off. Despite all these police-state measures, the 1976 events and the current upheavals show that rebellion can spread rapidly from one township to another.

The burning need is for a centralized leadership with a program to win, a revolutionary vanguard party rooted in the combative black proletariat which can make into one the many-sided struggle against apartheid, against rent hikes and starvation wages, against jailings, detention and torture, against the pass laws and all racist laws. Under conditions of South Africa today such a vanguard party must be built as Lenin built the Bolsheviks. That is, it must be based on an underground network and have an important exile component to preserve its cadre, while also utilizing every avenue for legal work (e.g., the trade unions).

Vacuum of Revolutionary Leadership

Opposition to the new constitution has been led by a formation called the United Democratic Front (UDF), the largest anti-apartheid grouping in two decades. On paper the UDF boasts a membership of one and a half million and some 600 component organizations, including a number of trade unions. Yet when black township dwellers battled the police and army on the very day the new constitution was inaugurated, what did the UDF do? According to Western press reports, there have been no solidarity protests or stay-away strikes such as occurred after the 1976 Soweto massacre. This cannot be explained simply by the effectiveness of police-state repression. The popular-frontist UDF does not aim to lead militant mass struggle against the apartheid state but rather to pressure the "moderate" or "rational" elements in the white ruling class to reform the system.

The main forces behind the UDF are the nationalist African National Congress (ANC) and its long-time bloc

partner, the Stalinist South African Communist Party. Historically the main organization of black resistance to apartheid, the ANC retains great moral authority among the toiling masses. Its leader Nelson Mandela, who has been imprisoned for 20 years (most of it on the notorious Robben Island), is unquestionably the most revered black man in South Africa. However, the ANC's organizational influence over the rising wave of black struggles in the past decade, especially the burgeoning workers movement, has been limited. For the past several years the ANC has concentrated on daring commando raids against South African military and police installations. In recent months even these actions have been crippled by a deal between the weak nationalist regime in Mozambique, where the ANC had based some of its operations, and South African imperialism.

Externally, the ANC has devoted much of its energy to promoting the diplomatic and economic isolation of South Africa from the Western world (e.g., pushing university divestment schemes). Such appeals to the American ruling class to break its ties with South Africa are especially grotesque today. With Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, South Africa—always an ally of U.S. imperialism—has become an increasingly important part of the "free world." Washington has backed to the hilt the South African army's ravaging of Angola, whose hard-won independence is being defended by 20,000 Cuban troops backed by Soviet arms. We call for international labor action to support black unions in South Africa. And at this moment we urgently call for hot cargoing all cargo to and from South Africa as an elemental act of solidarity with the black and coloured masses fighting apartheid terror.

Since the 1973 Durban mass strike, a black trade-union movement has developed in South Africa, especially strong in the Eastern Cape industrial belt. However, this newly formed workers movement lacks overall political direction and has little continuity with the mass anti-apartheid struggles of the 1950s and earlier. The black unions are fragmented, localized and to some degree beset by tribalist divisions. Without the leadership of a revolutionary party, the black labor movement

cannot go beyond militant defense of its members' economic interests and support to one or another wing of the nationalist/reformist opposition.

In a number of important respects South Africa today resembles tsarist Russia in the years leading up to the Revolution of 1905. It was under these conditions that Lenin wrote *What Is To Be Done?*, the classic statement of the need for a centralized proletarian party to direct the spontaneous and many-sided struggles of the oppressed toward a single aim, the overthrow of the autocracy. In describing the state of the Russian opposition Lenin used a metaphor about building a structure with bricks: "Are we not now passing through precisely such a period in our Party life when we have bricks and bricklayers, but lack the guide line for all to see and follow?" Likewise, in South Africa there exists in ample supply the raw material of universal discontent and constant struggles by the oppressed. What is lacking is a central directing force to overthrow the apartheid system, the basis of South African capitalism.

As in the struggle against Russian tsarism, so in South Africa the struggle against apartheid conforms to Trotsky's program of permanent revolution: proletarian leadership over all the oppressed in the struggle for democratic rights, agrarian revolution and national emancipation. The 22 million black toilers, held in bondage as an internal colony, can be liberated only by proletarian revolution. The first step toward racial equality demands a revolutionary constituent assembly based on one man, one vote. A future for the impoverished rural masses means freeing them from the bantustan hellholes and distributing the country's rich farmland to the black tillers. At the same time, a communist vanguard would seek to unite black toilers with the oppressed coloured and Indian minorities, and also win those whites opposed to apartheid to the cause of proletarian revolution. For a black-centered workers and peasants government! History has given to South Africa's black proletariat the power to liberate not only their own deeply oppressed people but all of black Africa whose social and economic development is shackled by imperialist subjugation. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Screw Mondale—Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!

Auto Workers: Strike the Big 3!

DETROIT—If ever there was a time to strike auto, *this is it*. General Motors, Ford and Chrysler are wallowing in profits. The contrast between multi-million dollar bonuses for the greedy bosses and the multi-billion union concessions has sparked workers' anger. And the companies' offer was a big "screw you." Meanwhile, sales are up and inventories down. *Auto workers: you've got 'em by the balls! Now squeeze!*

Just look at what the business press says: "Showdown in Detroit" headlined *Business Week* (10 September). In the hours before the midnight September 14 deadline, they write, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Owen Bieber and a top company negotiator will make "the most important labor bargain in the history of the auto industry—assuming, of course, that they avoid a strike." Right now, even with heavy overtime, GM has only 48 days inventory on hand instead of the usual 60. The bosses will be hurting from Day 1 of a strike. The *New York Times Magazine* (26 August) worries that "the costs of a work stoppage at G.M. or Ford would quickly mount into the billions of dollars and make a settlement at almost any price worthwhile."

The capitalist media is taunting workers with talk of "labor's sunset" and the "decline of the unions." But auto workers can make them eat their words with a hard strike against the Big 3. Together with the coal miners, whose contract expires at the end of the month, these two CIO giants can take back the givebacks, turn back the union-busting tide of the Reagan years and avenge PATCO (air controllers). Reopen the Chrysler contract and shut down auto! For an industrywide strike now!

The arrogance of the auto bosses is hard to beat. Industry profits are almost \$13 billion in the last year and a half—an all-time record. That's more than \$20,000 per auto worker! The Big 3 bosses sometimes talk about "profit-sharing." You want "profit-sharing" now? Okay, then *double* the wages! Instead GM and Ford have the gall to make a contract "offer" with *no* wage increase whatsoever. And then they go on to propose hacking COLA and medical benefits to pieces and splitting the workforce with a substandard wage structure for new hires. When the UAW rejected this insulting non-proposal Ford's chief negotiator, Peter Pestillo, responded by saying he would wrap the next one around a rock and throw it through Bieber's window!

And the response of the UAW tops? The *Wall Street Journal* smugly commented that "the union has been doing handstands to disabuse people of the notion that it aims for a big settlement." Bieber & Co. have tried to sell the ranks the line that they have to trade off wage and benefit increases for guarantees of job security and promises against "outsourcing." But such "guarantees" would be completely phony. The Detroit bureau chief for the *Wall Street Journal* (7 September) explained "even if the union brass can wring job guarantees out of the companies, and even if they can persuade their members



Militant auto workers pour out of Ford River Rouge at midnight strike deadline, September 1976. Now is the time for an industrywide auto strike!

to ratify a contract richer on job guarantees than on cash, the guarantees are likely to prove meaningless." Real job security means a massive fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours—30 hours work for 40 hours pay—to protect existing jobs and create new ones for the unemployed.

The last thing Bieber and his gang want is a strike. After some blowhard remarks about striking both Ford and General Motors, last week they picked GM workers to go it alone. And rumors abound that only "selected" GM plants will be struck. But the ranks know that an industrywide strike can bring the auto bosses to their knees very quickly. When it looked like Ford and GM might go out together for once, Ford's giant River Rouge complex was fired with talk of "It's about time," and steel division workers told *WV*, "Hell, we should all go out." Damn right!

Mondale + Protectionism = Workers Lose

The "labor statesmen" at Solidarity House are worried that a strike would hurt the Democrats' chances in the November elections. So what did Walter Mondale ever do for you? "Save Chrysler"? Carter/Mondale bailed out the bosses, all right. Lee Iacocca just handed himself a 30 percent pay hike plus \$5-20 million in stock options. Former UAW president Doug Fraser got a seat on the Chrysler board. But what did Chrysler workers get? Dodge Main torn down, the workforce cut in half, and \$3 an hour less than GM and Ford. Tell the Democrats to shove it!

Since the Chrysler bailout of 1979 the UAW made \$5 billion worth of concessions on wages and benefits...and a quarter million members lost their jobs, most of them permanently. The social democrats in Solidarity House demonstrate their "corporate responsibility" by ramming givebacks down the workers' throats, suppressing class struggle for the sake of the Democrats' electoral fortunes and shifting the blame for

layoffs from the auto bosses to foreign workers.

The UAW is currently pushing a campaign of protectionist TV ads in favor of "American jobs." Labor Day 1984 throughout the Midwest was dominated by flag-waving rallies for Mondale and jingoist demonstrations like the smashing of a Toyota and a VW in Toledo. The UAW tops' anti-Japanese hysteria helped create such a poisonous racist climate in Detroit that a white Chrysler foreman and his nephew bludgeoned to death the young Chinese American Vincent Chin with a baseball bat. And now everyone from Reagan to Bieber threatens auto workers with the loss of protectionist quotas and "content laws" if they strike hard to win. But the only thing protectionism "protects" is the profits of the banks and stockholders.

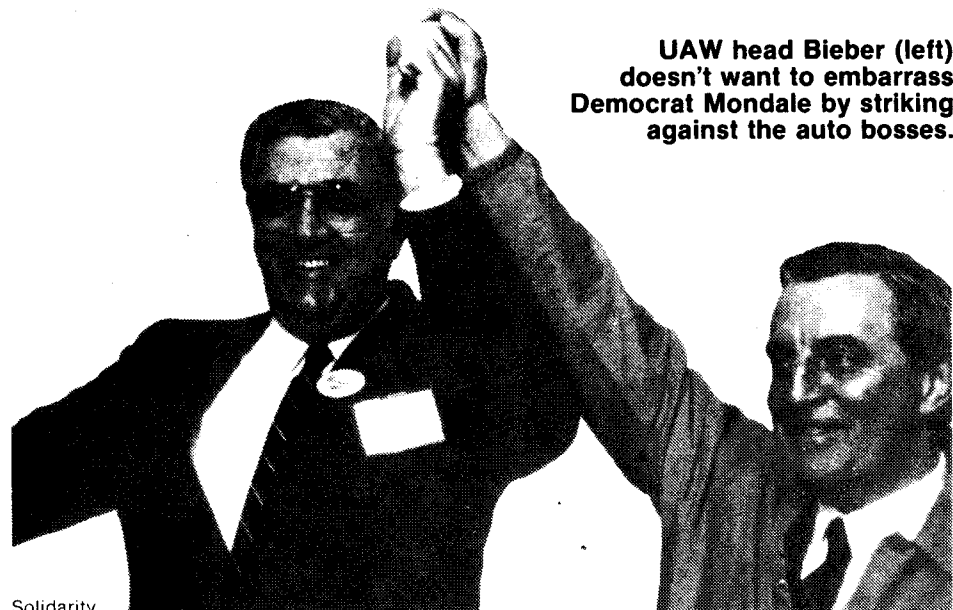
Chief among the victims of the racist protectionist agitation will certainly be black people. And auto is the stronghold of the black proletariat in the United States. The murderous threat represented by such racist appeals was demonstrated last month in the GM center of Flint, Michigan where five white men were arrested for shooting up

and firebombing houses of black families in order to drive them from a largely white neighborhood. The future of black workers is intimately bound up with the fate of the ghetto. And in Detroit, the center of the auto industry where unemployment was over 20 percent only a few months ago, a third of the city is on welfare and over 40 percent are on food stamps.

The present showdown in Detroit will decide the future not only of the UAW but also to a large degree that of the working class, and especially the black workers and poor, throughout the industrial Midwest. A nationwide auto strike would certainly be a shot in the arm for the traditionally militant coal miners. And an auto and coal strike this fall could trigger an explosion among other workers fed up with years of giveback contracts, among the desperate and impoverished black and Hispanic masses—everyone who hates what has happened to them in Reagan's America.

Auto workers must revive the militant tactics that built the CIO in the 1930s: sit-down strikes, plant occupations and mass pickets to stop the scabs and seal the plants. The mass picketing at AP Parts in Toledo last May came within inches of a plant occupation and inspired auto workers around the country. The UAW could have won that strike the day it began by refusing to handle scab parts. On Labor Day the flying squad of UAW Local 1200 at the Warren tank plant marched in their black berets and jackets. To win a strike every auto union local must form flying squads to reinforce the picket lines. Strike committees must be elected and union halls turned into organizing centers for the struggle; strike bulletins must be issued on a daily basis, and labor's allies mobilized from other unions, the unemployed and the black community. Above all a nationwide strike must be an impulse to forge a new class-struggle leadership that will sweep out the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who have criminally weakened this powerful union at the heart of American industry.

Break with the bosses' parties, Democrat and Republican, and mobilize militant union struggle! For a workers party! Screw Mondale—Shut down auto! ■



UAW head Bieber (left) doesn't want to embarrass Democrat Mondale by striking against the auto bosses.