

For Class Struggle—Down with Both Capitalist Parties!

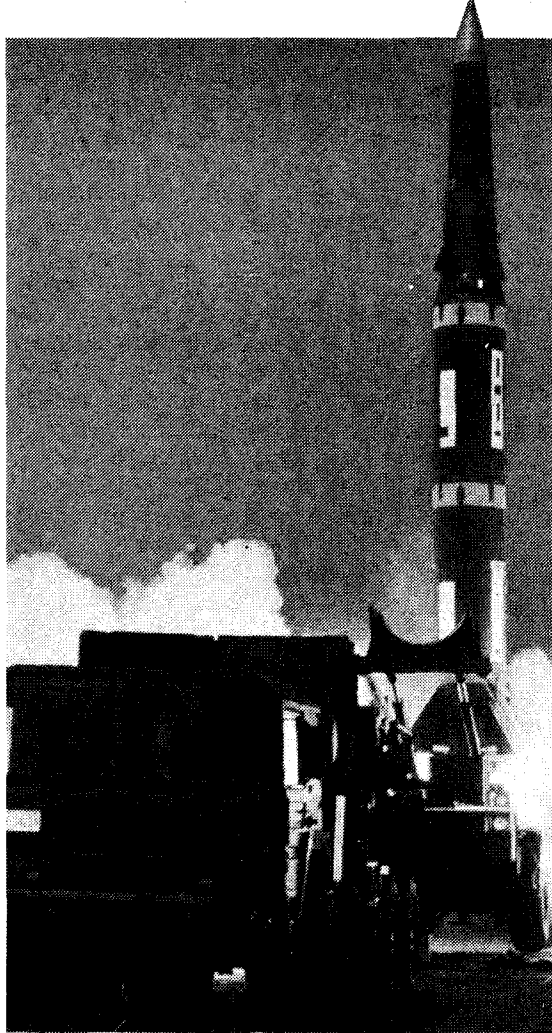
That Twit Reagan Again

"You ain't seen nothin' yet," Reagan threatened in his victory speech. These are chilling words for workers, blacks and poor people, from Detroit to San Salvador to Soweto. And now it's *that shit Reagan again* (rhymes with "twit"—got it, Barbara Bush?) Ronald Reagan thinks he has a mandate to escalate his war on the working class and ghetto masses at home and his war drive against the Soviet Union abroad. But the fate of the Reagan government will be decided by class struggle, not electoral victories.

In the White House locker room they figure they got a win in Grenada, so maybe they can do it again in Central America: more medals than soldiers, and none of "our blood" (namely, white middle-class Americans) getting spilled. (The Pentagon isn't so sure—they remember the Cuban construction workers.) And if they waltz into Managua, then it's on to the Big One—Moscow, capital of the "Evil Empire." That's why defense of the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution, begins in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

The Reagan gang see themselves riding the crest of a "new patriotism" in the land. This superficial mood has not yet been tested in blood. The American people did not vote for foreign military adventures like Vietnam, or for nuclear brinkmanship. If Reagan believes he has popular backing to invade Central America, *he ain't seen nothin' yet.*

The Reagan "prosperity" is just as superficial as the "new patriotism." The number of unemployed in this country is higher than when Reagan took office in 1981. Real wages in America's factories are below what they were *a decade ago.* The hellish condition of the black ghetto



Taylor/Sygnma



UPI

It's no joke. Reagan is spending a trillion dollars on arms to bomb Russia.

their children starved to pay for MX missiles, women infuriated by the rise of Moral Majority bigotry. Reagan can be brought down!

Reagan and the Democrats: They're on the Same Side

How then did a president who wantonly attacked organized labor, blacks and women, who has presided over the worst depression since the 1930s and "jokes" about bombing Russia in five minutes, win re-election by a large majority of the voting population? Because the Democrats do not bring out the exploited and oppressed against Reagan reaction. Mondale says he's a "people's Democrat," but he and his party, no less than the openly pro-big business Republicans, are guardians of

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Live by the Sword, Die by the Sword

Indira Gandhi Gets Hers

Gandhi Thugs Unleash Terror Against Sikhs

LONDON, November 4—When Sikh members of her personal bodyguard pumped 22 bullets into her, Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi became yet another victim of the communalist whirlwind she herself had whipped up. From the guerrillaists of the Mukti

Bahini targeted by Gandhi in 1971 to the survivors and relatives of the Sikhs slaughtered in the Golden Temple massacre last June, the oppressed masses of India have no reason to mourn the departed tyrant. The Sikhs are not a people to be messed with. When Indira Gandhi ordered the Golden Temple massacre where more than 2,000 Sikhs were killed in Amritsar last June, she virtually committed suicide. But it is not just the self-styled "Mother of India" whose body was consumed by the flames of a funeral pyre. As the death toll mounted to

the thousands in the days after her assassination, a large part of India erupted in the billowing flames of communalist terror, directed first and foremost against the besieged Sikh minority themselves. What we wrote in the wake of the Golden Temple massacre is being tragically confirmed today:

"But the vicious crackdown by the Hindu-chauvinist Gandhi regime was an attack on the entire Sikh community and a bloody lesson to all opponents of the regime. And the repercussions are likely to be immense, and

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Camera Press

"Mother of India" butchered Sikhs, other minorities.

South African Revolution: Black Unions the Key...6

Reagan's Revelations

The Armageddon Debate

"KABOOM! It's World War III." The people who put out the *Post New York Post* (November 1984, "Absolutely Final Edition") have caught something about the mind of Ronald Reagan. It's not only the "joke" about bombing Russia in five minutes. That's for openers. Then comes the end of the world.

"And when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour." Whereupon all hell breaks loose, followed by god's angels burning the wicked to a crisp, as well as mountains, trees, oceans, grass and the third part of the sun, the moon and the stars. This is the biblical prophecy of Armageddon (usually known as the end of the world) and Ronald Reagan literally believes in it. If he didn't have his finger on the nuclear button, we'd be more sanguine about using that old line "you could die laughing."

Here is the president of the most powerful, scientifically advanced imperialist nation on earth, oppressor of untold millions across the planet, burbling cheerfully in the nationally televised "Great Debate" about the interesting "portents" of that "final



reckoning" of the Bible's Book of Revelation, a far-out revenge fantasy by some downtrodden, underpaid hysterical Christian writer with a good imagination describing what he'd like to do to the Roman Empire. It's full of bloody red beasts with seven horns, eyes before and behind, magic numbers, fires, plagues and all sorts of detailed and no



TROTSKY

Defend the Gains of the Bolshevik Revolution!

November 7 marks the anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, the greatest victory in history for the workers of the world. With anti-Communist fanatic Reagan aiming straight for nuclear war with the USSR, defense of the gains of the Russian Revolution against imperialism is posed pointblank. Trotsky's call on the world proletariat at the start of WWII has perhaps even greater urgency today.




LENIN

The class conscious worker knows that a successful struggle for complete emancipation is unthinkable without the defense of conquests already gained, however modest these may be. All the more obligatory therefore is the defense of so colossal a conquest as planned economy against the restoration of capitalist relations. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones.

The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle. To teach the workers correctly to understand the class character of the state—imperialist, colonial, workers'—and the reciprocal relations between them, as well as the inner contradictions in each of them, enables the workers to draw correct practical conclusions in every given situation. While waging a tireless struggle against the Moscow oligarchy, the Fourth International decisively rejects any policy that would aid imperialism against the USSR.

The defense of the USSR coincides in principle with the preparation of the world proletarian revolution. We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

—Leon Trotsky, "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the World Proletarian Revolution" (May 1940)

WORKERS VANGUARD 

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No. 366 9 November 1984

Jimmy the Greek on Nuclear Winter

If we were in Jimmy the Greek's business, as the best known oddsmaker on events, we might give the following odds on a "nuclear winter" produced by a U.S.-Soviet confrontation over the next four years:

- If Reagan gets in—12 percent.
- If Mondale gets in—11 percent.
- If us reds get in—1 percent (with us, it would go toward zero percent as we clean out various local exploiters, parasites and bureaucrats).

We are now living through the third major U.S.-Soviet crisis. In the 1948 Berlin blockade airlift U.S. imperialism was entirely unprepared for a major war in Europe, as were the Russians. So it ended in a standoff. In the 1962 Cuban missile crisis the U.S. felt a perceived threat to its 10-15 years of strategic nuclear superiority, the big missile gap in its favor. The Kennedy boys were running wild as they enjoyed playing nuclear brinkmanship. Given the

American nuclear predominance, the Russians backed off. But it made them determined to close the missile gap, which they have done in the past 20 years.

America is no longer Number 1. The Reagan gang, which represents a particular wing of the American ruling class, is so blindly anti-Communist they do not want to see that the Soviet Union has achieved a rough nuclear parity. They want to believe that the Russians can be treated like troublesome Detroit blacks, to be overpowered by a massive use of force or maybe even just the threat of it. But it ain't so. The Soviet nuclear arsenal is pretty formidable and won't be taken out by an American first strike. There will be a Soviet second strike. So the sober rationalities of the situation go against nuclear confrontation. But is a president who believes in the biblical prophecies of Armageddon rational?

doubt satisfying tortures to be inflicted on the bad guys. It'd make a terrific X-rated sci-fi S&M video.

Ronald Reagan, however unfortunately, is real and not only a video, and wields very real annihilating weapons which make the biblical Armageddon pale by comparison—if those bombs go off, *nobody's* going to escape, let alone inhabit some "New Jerusalem." The liberal media and many religious figures were naturally upset about Reagan's deeply sincere remarks. It gives you an eerie feeling, almost as though suddenly transported back into the Middle Ages, to read the front-page headline "Armageddon View Prompts a Debate" in the *New York Times* (24 October). Reagan had replied, in his second TV debate with Mondale, to a question about statements he's made at least eleven times suggesting that Armageddon was indeed near, with the casually horrifying statement that, yes, he had had "some philosophical discussions with people who are interested in the same things. And that is the prophecies down through the years, the biblical prophecies of what would portend the coming of Armageddon and so forth. And the fact that a number of theologians for the last decade or more have believed that this was true... But no one knows whether... Armageddon is a thousand years away or day after tomorrow."

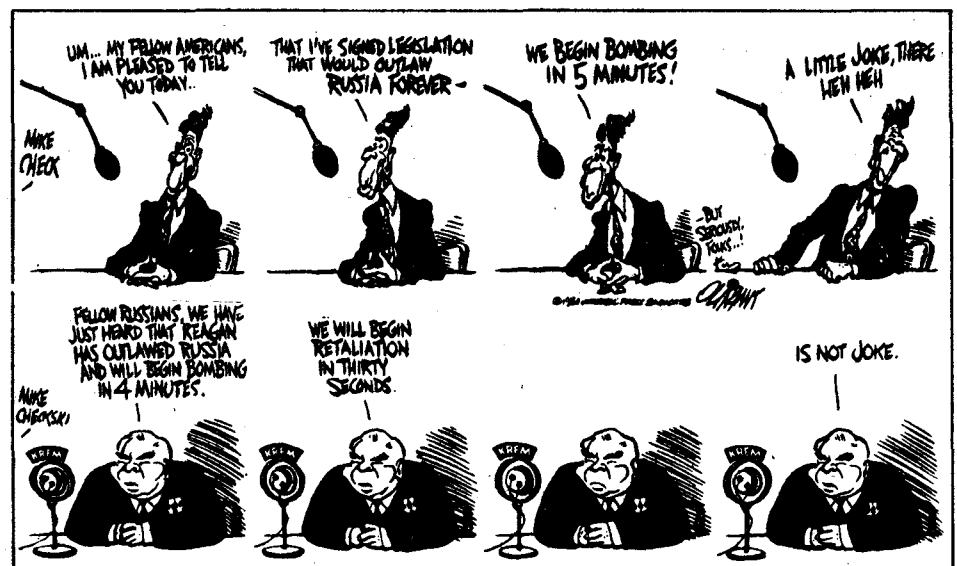
The *Times* noted, "The expressed belief of a number of television evangelists and other religious leaders who are supporting Mr. Reagan is that the present age is under the control of Satan and is rapidly approaching the time when Soviet, European, Iranian, Arab, African and Chinese armies will invade Israel; that their armies will be destroyed, possibly by a nuclear war, and that millions of Israelites will die but that a remnant will be saved to accept Jesus as Christ." The *Times* in its ponderous solemn way quoted numer-

ous Christian and Jewish leaders who condemned "the ideology of nuclear Armageddon"—some said "blasphemy," some said an inappropriate subject for a presidential debate—treating it all like some theological exercise.

There's a saying that the devil can quote scripture for his own purposes—and so can Reagan, and so can anyone. Because at bottom religion—including its various, more or less obscure ancient texts—is only worship of human fait accompli, or would-be accomplished facts, such as Reagan and the U.S. ruling class's desperate ambition to overthrow the Soviet Union, homeland of the first victorious workers revolution in history. But Reagan is sounding more and more like the Tsar and Tsarina, whose court soothsayer and mystic was the mad monk Rasputin. And Reagan's got his own Rasputin, Jerry Falwell, who believes that the Soviet "Anti-Christ" will be destroyed in a nuclear holocaust, and is all for it.

Who knows, maybe tomorrow Reagan will explain how little green men in UFOs told him to bomb Russia (maybe his soulmate the once and possibly future dictator of Grenada, Gairy, will introduce them) while he was driving down the California coast daydreaming about what message to put in a time capsule.

We Marxists are fighting for the future of humanity in *this* world. And we are determined that, just as the decadent, crazed and corrupt court of the tsars was swept away by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, so this increasingly bizarre and desperate ruling class must be swept away by workers revolution. Isn't it a "portent" that this capitalist ruling class has long outlived its usefulness that it has chosen as its leader a certifiable nut? To cite not scripture, but Euripides: those whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad. ■



WV Sub Drive a Success

Against the Stream in Reagan's America

Congratulations to all Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League locals on a successful WV subscription drive. The six-week drive reached 3,874 points, 131 percent of the quota nationally. This includes 861 subs to *Young Spartacus* and 541 to *Women and Revolution*. The 53 subs sold to Spanish *Spartacist* is a modest beginning to efforts to build a regular readership among Spanish speakers. All of the SL/SYL locals ended up meeting their quotas, but the chart below doesn't show that for most locals this year it was tough going.

A slow start meant that most locals had to run to catch up with their quotas this year. Last year, a large union-built black/liberal march for Martin Luther King, as well as Labor Day events, got our 1983 drive off to a flying start. But this year was presidential election time. The labor movement was being pretty passive as the bureaucrats sought to force the ranks to place their hopes on Mondale and the Democrats. The auto strike, for example, was short and tightly bureaucratically controlled; Labor Day marches were small. The reformist "left" (which normally

contributes a few decent-sized fall events where we meet potential subscribers) was similarly keeping its head down to avoid irritating the Dems. After Week One this year, we had 301 points, as compared with 1,181 at the same time last year.

Ultimately, though, it was probably the virtual invisibility of the rad-lib milieu on most campuses that facilitated high sub sales among college students. Certainly most students aren't left-leaning at the moment. Comrades report that many students were surprised that communists were openly selling papers; some said they were intrigued but afraid to subscribe. But while "Youth for Reagan" and the so-called "new patriotism" do predominate, a significant layer of students hate Reagan, can't stomach Mondale and are open to socialist ideas. This layer feels the pressure of Reagan reaction and is hungry for alternatives.

Individual comrades' observations from the sub drive work give a flavor of the polarized campus climate. Comrade Karen W. reported after the Bay Area locals' extremely successful tour of campuses in Oregon and Washington

With Spartacist candidate Richard Bradley at San Francisco State. *Workers Vanguard*, voice of labor/black struggle.



state: "Generally the political climate is lousy: Reagan, Christianity, environmentalism (one comrade characterized this as 'The me-generation with a social overlay, my environment'), young women who are 'not interested' in women's liberation, young men who want to fight for 'our country,' creeps who rat on you to the RA. You just have to keep moving, looking for those who are different and interested. They are there and they're very glad to see you."

A New York local comrade commented on a trip (89-1/2 points) to the University of Connecticut in Storrs: "Most comrades agreed that we sold well on the basis of our opposition to both capitalist parties—we're 'real reds' who don't lie that a vote to Fritz will make everything okay. I found it useful to sell on a hard line—both on the elections and on Russia. In particular, people listened to our views on KAL 007: we told the truth at the time, and a year later you can pick up some liberal magazine like the *Nation* and read a watered-down version. (So, if you get a Marxist newspaper you can be a year ahead of everyone else.)"

An Oakland comrade noted: "The regional campus trips were the best successes. At first, this came as a surprise. At Davis we noted that a large proportion of subs were sold to black and foreign students. The campus was polarized and the liberal activists were feeling the pressure of five or six different Christian groups setting up every day. Students were glad to see us. Comrades reported that many of the subs sold to black people were on the anti-Confederate flag victory, South Africa, a workers party. Also there was a lot of interest in KAL 007, Vanessa Williams and the controversy around church and state." Our 50 new subscribers at Howard University (68 points) came out of the SYL's activism in anti-apartheid protests. At Yale, where the SYL has been supporting a campus workers strike, we sold 115-1/2 points.

The Pacific Northwest regional trip by four comrades netted an impressive 285 points and made comrade San from Oakland the individual sub drive winner

with 177 points. A comrade's report on this trip said: "Students here did not have the extreme reaction we got at Davis, which is so conservative and crawling with fundamentalist Christians that the people who bought subs were frightened by the people around them. But the campuses we went to, except Reed, were conservative: Reagan/Bush signs predominated by far, the Mondale supporters were on the defensive. There is also a lot of political disinterest—if you ask someone if they're interested in politics they say no, and when you probe further you find this is true. There are others who are interested in the world

Final Totals

| Local | Quota (in points) | Final Totals | % |
|------------------------|-------------------|--------------|------------|
| Atlanta | 120 | 134 | 112 |
| Boston | 350 | 377½ | 108 |
| Chicago | 280 | 353½ | 126 |
| Cleveland | 170 | 194 | 114 |
| Detroit | 160 | 200½ | 125 |
| Los Angeles | 110 | 192½ | 175 |
| New York | 900 | 1,061 | 118 |
| Oakland | 500 | 632 | 126 |
| San Francisco | 250 | 399½ | 160 |
| Washington, D.C. | 120 | 146 | 122 |
| At Large | - | 183½ | - |
| National totals | 2,960 | 3,874 | 131 |

around them but see no option, and we sold to them."

She added: "I hope comrades do not just give up on people who say they're Mondale supporters. Most of the people we met who said they were, were so in the most halfhearted way, because they hated and were afraid of Reagan and had not been exposed to any program outside of bourgeois politics. A reply that Mondale is no good either will not get you far—most of them know that already—you have to get right down to class questions and why they should be interested in socialism."

Welcome to our new readers and resubscribers. ■

Chicago Police Told: Hands Off WV!



City of Chicago
Harold Washington, Mayor

Department of Law
James D. Montgomery
Corporation Counsel

City Hall, Room 511
121 North LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois 60602
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October 3, 1984

Mr. David C. Thomas, Esq.
Legal Services Center
77 South Wacker Drive
Chicago, IL 60606

Dear Mr. Thomas:

This letter responds to your correspondence regarding alleged police harassment of Spartacist League Members, dated August 3, 1984. You may be assured that we share your concern that the Spartacist League experienced difficulty in the exercise of fundamental First Amendment freedoms.

It is the considered opinion of this office that Spartacist League members distributing the *Workers Vanguard* and collecting donations to defray publication costs engage in activity protected by the First Amendment as long as no other law is being violated. Accordingly, I have advised Superintendent Fred Rice of the Chicago Police Department to permit the Spartacist League to distribute and to collect donations for the *Workers Vanguard* in an unfettered manner.

Very truly yours,
Robert W. Fioretti

Robert W. Fioretti
Senior Attorney Supervisor

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First Deputy Corporation Counsel

RWF:tw

On 7 January 1984 Spartacist League supporters were detained and searched by Chicago police while selling *Workers Vanguard* and the Spanish-language edition of *Spartacist* in the predominantly Mexican Pilsen area. The police harangued about "communist literature" being distributed in their district, warned that "outsiders" weren't welcome and threatened to give names to the "intelligence unit" and the FBI. They demanded we acquire "permits" to distribute WV, though no such permits are required. Our vigorous protest of this harassment and attempted intimidation has forced City of Chicago officials to issue the above letter recognizing our democratic right to distribute our Marxist press.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- \$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*) International rates:
 New Renewal \$20/24 issues—Airmail
 \$5/24 issues—Seamail
- \$2/4 issues of *Women and Revolution*
- \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)
- \$2/9 issues of *Young Spartacus*

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

SWAT Cops Blow Away Bronx Grandmother

"Her Life for Her Rent"

She was black, elderly, living in a housing project and behind on her rent. So they blew her away. "About a dozen" armed cops vs. one old lady. They came prepared, a special "emergency services" SWAT team equipped with mace, U-shaped steel "restraining bars," riot shields, bulletproof vests. And they were wearing gas masks. But that wasn't enough for them. They proceeded to take the door off the hinges, and as 67-year-old Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs was standing there naked, screaming "Get out of here! Leave me alone!" a cop with a 12-gauge shotgun leveled it at her chest. An eyewitness described it, "He pumped it and shot. Pow! He pumped it again and he shot. Pow!" They carried her bleeding, bullet-riddled body to Lincoln Hospital where she died. According to police deputy inspector Thomas Coyne, "It appears that the shooting was within department guidelines." That's what Koch's killer cops are all about.

The elderly black woman had been confined to her apartment. Obese,

suffering from arthritis and diabetes, she had even had to stop babysitting for her neighbors across the hall, the Garcias, because she could barely get around on her painfully swollen feet. Her building super, Angel Hernández, told *El Diario/La Prensa* (30 October), "She lived off Social Security and they raise the rent here every year, so maybe she couldn't pay." So they came to evict her that bloody Monday morning, October 29.

Eleanor Bumpurs' daughter Mary told reporters that the shotgun murder of her mother was "an assassination, plain and simple." And, as usual, the victim is being blamed. The cops "smelled something," they said, and thought she was "cooking lye" to throw at them (too bad she wasn't). They said she came at them with a knife, which can't be found. They said she was crazy, violent, but the neighbors tell it differently. Victor Garcia, a loading dock supervisor at Bloomingdale's, said, "This woman wouldn't harm a fly."

At a community meeting in the

Sedgwick Houses project the next night, hundreds of furious tenants jeered a Police Department spokesman when he stomped out saying he "wasn't there to hold a press conference," refusing to discuss the shooting. The crowd erupted with shouts of "Legalized gangsters—cold-blooded liars!" and began chanting "Murder! Murder! Murder!" On Friday night, scores of weeping neighbors and relatives held prayer meetings and scraped together contributions to help cover the funeral costs. Actress Ruby Dee, who attended the November 3 funeral service with her husband, Ossie Davis, recalled the evictions in Harlem when she was growing up. "The story has not changed that much," Dee said. Eleanor Bumpurs was buried in the Frederick Douglass Memorial Cemetery on Staten Island.

Hoping to head off an explosion, NYC mayor Koch ordered a "sweeping review" of the events. But as the cops have it, they were only following "standard operating procedure." In an instant, those shotgun blasts which

Mrs. Eleanor Bumpurs



blew away Eleanor Bumpurs illuminated the whole bloody terror which is routinely meted out to blacks and other oppressed minorities in Reagan's America and Koch's New York. Angry black residents drove racist pig Ed Koch from police brutality hearings in Harlem last year as anguished mothers yelled, "They killed my son!" And now the brutal murder of young black artist Michael Stewart by a transit cop lynch mob, who have gotten off, enrages not only the black community but all decent New Yorkers. There will be no justice for the oppressed at the hands of another grand jury, the courts or a mayor's or governor's investigation. What's needed is a massive mobilization of labor and blacks to stop mad-dog Koch's cossacks and bring down the whole racist capitalist system! ■

In Bed with "Quarantine" Mondale

Fake-Lefts' Fake Solidarity With Central American Struggle

With the arsenal of Yankee imperialism bearing down on the masses of Central America, the reformist and centrist left recently held a national "emergency" conference in Cleveland to plan for a nationwide demonstration... "after Election Day." Ronald Reagan sets the stage for a counterrevolutionary invasion of Nicaragua; Mondale tries to show he isn't soft on the Sandinistas by demanding that if they refuse to sell out, the U.S. must "quarantine" Nicaragua. And what does the Central American "solidarity" milieu do? They liquidate mass actions into an electoral campaign to "Dump Reagan"—i.e., vote Democratic.

For these phony leftists, "solidarity" means pressuring the liberal wing of their own bourgeoisie for a "sane" imperialist foreign policy. A major Central America protest before the election might embarrass the Democrats, you see. From the first El Salvador demonstration at the Pentagon in May 1981 we have insisted that the real purpose of these protests was to build an anti-Reagan popular front. As we marched with red flags and the Salvadoran FMLN banner, calling for military victory to leftist insurgents, the rad-libs set up "daisy chains" to "quarantine" the Spartacists. Soon they were resorting to thug violence and even calling on the capitalist cops to keep the "reds" out of their "anti-intervention" parades. Front men for the Democrats?—not us, they screamed. Yet today the CISPES cesspool is immersed in a campaign to "Vote for Peace in November"—i.e., for Walter "Quarantine" Mondale.

Consciously designed to mimic the Vietnam-era popular front "peace"

movement, the "Emergency National Conference" held in Cleveland, September 14-16, was largely the creation of Jerry Gordon, former honcho of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). And the 350 or so participants were the same NPAC crowd, 15 years older and deeper in the Democratic Party. Missing were the several thousand radical youth who might have turned out for such a conference 15 years ago—missing thanks to the reformist "leftists" who led potentially anti-imperialist kids back to capitalist politics by peddling the *bourgeois-defeatist* program of the Democratic "doves." The Spartacist League fought for a *revolutionary* program, demanding "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" and "Labor Strikes Against the War!"

The "Emergency Conference" call, while condemning Reagan, didn't even mention the Democrats, who have repeatedly voted millions in aid to Reagan's butchers. This omission was hardly accidental, for in true NPAC tradition the endorsers list included a ritual liberal imperialist politician, in this case Cleveland black Democratic Congressman Louis Stokes. The organizers kept groups with "socialist" or "communist" in their names off the endorsers list and even tried to outlaw socialist literature at the conference as "partisan." And while Reagan has declared Central America the front line of his drive to "roll back" revolution all the way to Moscow and beyond, *none* of the conference participants condemned the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive (much less call for defense of Cuba and the USSR against imperialism).

The Cleveland conference was a

sandbox for various opportunists, led by the mainstream reformists of Socialist Action and joined by the ex- and now openly anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (like the SA composed of recently expelled SWPers), Michael Harrington's social-democratic DSA and various CISPES activists. The Internationalist Workers Party, followers of Argentine would-be *caudillo* Nahuel Moreno, criticizes in its press the "leadership of the solidarity movement" for "seek[ing] the support of U.S. politicians, especially members of the Democratic Party" (*Working Class Opposition*, August 1984). Yet they went "All Out" with a full-page ad to "Build the Conference" endorsed by Democrat Stokes! In Cleveland, the Morenoites at first vaguely called on the conference to support "victory of the workers and oppressed of Central America," but then withdrew the main portion of their propaganda in order to present it as an *amendment* to the main conference resolution (which failed). IWP honcho León Pérez said on the floor: "We agree with the conference proposal; we feel it should be added [to]..." Some "opposition!"

The SA/SWP/DSA/CISPES bloc ganged up to defeat leftist-sounding resolutions at the conference. They even voted down a second mealy-mouthed call for "victory to the just struggles" of the Central American people! A motion to go on record as opposing the CIA-sponsored American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)—the U.S. labor bureaucracy's arm of counterrevolution south of the border—was beaten back in order not to "alienate labor."

Real solidarity with the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan masses means taking the side of our class brothers and sisters fighting around the globe. Anti-imperialism abroad is empty without sharp class struggle at home. Thus the SL and class-struggle unionists in the U.S. have fought for *concrete*, militant labor action against imperialist intervention: "hot-cargo" military goods to Central America, and political strike action against an American invasion.

For these professional tail-enders, "labor" means the bureaucrats, and it's quite a collection they came up with. Steel dissident Ron Wiesen who waves the flag for protectionism along with U.S. Steel and the Steelworkers tops; Stalinist Carl Edelman, who squelched the motion to denounce the CIA's AIFLD "labor" front; and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 president Al Lannon. During the conference, Lannon bragged that at the 1983 ILWU convention an El Salvador resolution "pushed by an active political faction in the union" was defeated because it "went further" than abstract "solidarity."

This resolution called for a 24-hour shutdown of West Coast ports to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador. It was endorsed by San Francisco longshore Local 10 and presented to the convention by ILWU Militant Caucus spokesman Stan Gow. Lannon knows well how this call to militant labor action was defeated, because he chaired the resolutions committee which sank it. Shortly afterward, the ILWU leadership tried to purge Gow by alleging "conduct unbecoming a union member" for picketing a ship carrying death cargo to El Salvador. But hundreds of Local 10 members defeated this vile purge attempt.

As we wrote last year: "In international 'solidarity' as in everything else the labor fakers draw the line at *what's acceptable to the liberal Democrats*, who have presided over every major imperialist slaughter from World War II to Vietnam, from the Bay of Pigs to El Salvador's 'human rights' junta" (*WV* No. 331, 3 June 1983). As the aftermath of Vietnam has shown, it is necessary to defeat the imperialists on the home front as well, by organizing workers revolution in the belly of the beast. ■

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

the capitalist order. These two capitalist parties just work different sides of the street.

The Democrats won't attack Reagan as a union-buster because the last thing they want is to incite class struggle. They won't condemn him as a deadly enemy of black people for they fear black militancy can get out of control. They won't warn that the U.S. is heading straight for war with the Soviet Union since they have their own plans to roll back Communism. And they won't denounce Reagan's preparations to invade Central America for they are just as committed to undoing the Nicaraguan revolution and preventing a leftist victory in the Salvadoran civil war. In short, the Democrats dare not encourage a fight against Reagan because his aims are substantially their own.

So Mondale looked like a blurred carbon copy of Reagan, a dull-as-dishwater Cold Warrior. While Reagan is spending a trillion dollars on weaponry so that he can start bombing Russia in five minutes, Mondale comes off like a penny-pinching accountant concerned with trimming a few billion from the Pentagon budget. He's worried about the burden of the federal debt on future generations. But the way the U.S. is going, there may not be any future generations.

What fundamentally unites Republicans and Democrats, liberals and rightists, "doves" and "hawks," despite differences in policy, is the shared conviction that the interests of American capitalism demand the crushing of social revolutions from Central America to the Soviet Union itself. The workers and oppressed peoples of the world must defend the gains of the Russian October Revolution, despite its degeneration under the conservative nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, against the bloody rulers of Wall Street and Washington.

Reagan and the Anti-Labor Offensive

Fed up with runaway inflation and severe recession under Carter/Mondale, in November 1980 about half of the white unionized workers voted for the right-wing Republican as a "lesser evil." They were soon disabused. Only seven months in office, Reagan fired an entire union, the air traffic controllers, for going on strike. Nothing like this had happened to organized labor since the rise of the CIO in the mid/late 1930s. The sight of PATCO leaders being taken away in chains, like pre-Civil War black slaves, enraged American workers, including conservative, white craft unionists, many of whom had voted for Reagan. The half million workers who marched in Washington on Solidarity Day I, September 1981—the largest



Labor's gotta play hardball to win! The will is there but not the leadership.

labor demonstration in the nation's history—wanted to bring the White House crashing down around Reagan's head. "Bring Down Reagan Through Labor Action!" declared a Spartacist League banner in Washington.

Impossible? Hardly. The Machinists, Teamsters or pilots could have shut down every major airport in this country in 24 hours. That would have set off a rip-roaring class battle. It could have been the beginning of the end for the union-buster in the White House. Remember how the Viet Cong's Tet offensive brought Lyndon Johnson to his knees. But the cowardly, legalistic labor bureaucracy fears militant class struggle like the plague. They *only* know how to sell out, and couldn't lead a winning strike if they had to. So when Reagan put the labor fakers up against the wall, they just let PATCO go down the tubes.

Reagan's smashing of PATCO became the opening shot in a major anti-labor offensive. Giveback contracts were negotiated in auto, steel, trucking and other major unionized industries. Greyhound broke a bitterly fought drivers strike through the massive use of scabs. The killing of strikers by scabs on the picket lines has become more common. Even so a wave of strike struggles was brewing earlier this year. Postal, auto and coal contracts were up for negotiation. There could have been a really hot autumn of class struggle. But the union misleaders called it off. They didn't want to embarrass Walter Mondale.

What has "friend of labor" Mondale to say about all this? Nothing. It's not just that he's beholden to the AFL-CIO bureaucrats who let PATCO be destroyed, allowed Greyhound to break the drivers strike and negotiated the giveback contracts. Democrat Mondale

is an *enemy* of labor struggle. Remember that he and Carter tried to break the great 1977-78 miners strike with Taft-Hartley injunctions. But the militant miners just tore them up. The only thing Mondale has to offer American workers is more trade protectionism, which fuels the cost of living and incites flag-waving jingoism and murderous racism.

The recent economic recovery, producing big profits, has spurred workers who want to take back the givebacks while the getting is good. Even those unionists who support Reagan, largely out of chauvinist, racist and religious prejudice, weren't voting for giveback contracts, strikebreaking, layoffs and cuts in Social Security/Medicare. All the Reaganites' demagoguery about "pride, patriotism and prosperity" cannot cover over the harsh realities of class struggle between labor and capital. To win this struggle labor must play hardball against the bosses and their state—mass picketing to stop scabs, plant occupations, secondary labor boycotts ("hot-cargoes") and other militant actions defying the cops and courts. Labor militants must fight to oust the die-on-your-knees union bureaucrats.

In white racist America the future of organized labor and the oppressed black masses is closely bound together. There will be no effective defense against union-busting until the labor movement becomes a powerful champion of black rights. Reagan's shock troops for his war on unions, blacks and other minorities are the fascist Klan and Nazis. The Spartacist League strategy of mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists—powerfully displayed in action when the Klan was stopped in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982 by 5,000 black and other working people under our leadership—heralds the kind of fighting labor movement and revolutionary workers party this country needs.

Down with the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

The Reaganites are celebrating their new-found popularity among student youth. The blather about "new patriotism" and "America standing tall" sells best on the campuses. Yet no more than five percent of the student population has a real material interest in the policies of the Reagan administration. How does one account for this massive false consciousness?

Today's student youth have never experienced war, even at second hand. They do not understand that Reagan's flagrant anti-Soviet provocations—the KAL 007 spy flight, the seizure of the Soviet embassy in Grenada—are playing with fire and they could get burned. It is not only we Marxists who recognize that the United States is on a straight-forward course for war with the Soviet Union. A sober-minded bourgeois thinker like George Kennan, former

ambassador to Moscow and an original architect of Cold War "containment" of Communism, warns of the

"almost exclusive militarization of thinking and discourse about Soviet-American relations that now commands the Washington atmosphere and a good deal of our press—a militarization which, it sometimes seems to me, could not be different if we knew for a fact that we were unquestionably to be at war with the Soviet Union within a matter of months...."

—*The Nuclear Delusion* (1982)

And we might add for the benefit of innocent Reaganite youth: your hero's Star Wars space weaponry will not protect you from the Russians' second strike.

It was the long, dirty, *losing* war in Vietnam which broke from anti-Communist militarism that generation who grew up in the Cold War climate of the 1950s. But Vietnam is *history* for today's youth, not part of their life experience. The same students who are now chanting "U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" will be singing a very different tune if they're drafted to fight in the jungles of Central America or in the Near East quagmire. As *Young Spartacus* (November 1984), newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League, put it: "So instead of kissing the ground, like the 'rescued' medical students in Grenada, some American youth may be kissing their asses good-bye."

There is not much sentiment in this country for foreign military adventures. Lebanon showed that. After one man drove a truck bomb into the center of the Marine headquarters at Beirut airport, killing 241 U.S. troops, the popular reaction in the U.S. was to "get the hell out before more soldiers get killed for nothing." So Reagan ignominiously withdrew the Marines early this year. He knew that if U.S. troops were still in the Lebanese deathtrap as the elections approached, after November 6 he might have been another one-term president.

But Reagan's re-election need not mean four more years of rightist reaction. Look at the fate of Reagan's ideological twin sister, Britain's Margaret Thatcher. A year and a half ago the Iron Lady won a landslide re-election due to the "Falklands factor," the jingoist mood produced by Britain's quick and easy victory over the justly despised Argentine junta in the Falklands/Malvinas war. However, the "Falklands factor" had about as much staying power as did the Argentine junta. Today the Iron Lady is in big trouble. The heroic, seven-month coal miners strike is bringing the hated Tory regime to its knees. As a sign of the changed political climate, much of the British populace was jubilant when last month an IRA bomb almost blew Thatcher and her minions to kingdom come.

Like Thatcher's "Falklands factor," Reagan's "new patriotism" can be exploded through class struggle. We cannot foretell exactly where the next battle line will be drawn, but Central America might well be it. Building toward an invasion of Nicaragua militarily and diplomatically, the Reagan gang is also trying to prepare public opinion. They may see re-election as the green light to send in U.S. combat troops. If the United States invades Central America, there must be a mass mobilization of organized labor, blacks and Hispanics, students and other sections of American society to deal the imperialist war machine a defeat *at home*.

The American working class and oppressed minorities have a direct and immediate stake in the victory of the revolutionary upheavals sweeping Central America. The number one enemy of revolution in Central America and throughout the world is the same man who destroyed PATCO, who is starving the ghetto poor, who is driving for nuclear Armageddon against the Soviet Union. Fight Reagan reaction through class struggle! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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South African Revolution: Black Unions the Key

Once again the flames of black revolt sweep across South Africa. Black township dwellers have risen up against the hated agents of their white masters. Thousands of gold miners—the main value producers for apartheid capitalism—have battled police on the Rand. Student strikes have shut down schools and universities throughout the country. Neither massive state terror nor “reforms” can stabilize white racist rule over 22 million black colonial slaves. The crisis of apartheid capitalism is there for all to see.

Unlike during the Defiance Campaigns of the 1950s and the 1976 Soweto uprising, there is today in South Africa a potentially powerful black workers movement. Since black unions were “legalized” in 1979, their membership has soared from 70,000 to over 300,000. The scope and solidarity of this movement was dramatically demonstrated in February 1982 after the police murder of Neil Aggett, a white organizer for the Food and Canning Workers’ Union. Within 48 hours of Aggett’s death 100,000 largely black workers, from every major industry and region of the country, downed tools in a political protest strike. Nothing like this had been seen in the South African police state for decades.

Capitalism is its own gravedigger, wrote Karl Marx, and even in Botha’s police state the requirements of modern industry are undermining strict apartheid. South Africa is the industrial powerhouse of the continent, laced with modern railroads, containerized ports, jet aircraft and large-scale factories. It takes black muscle to run this modern machine (over 80 percent of the workforce is “non-white”), and that is what makes Pretoria tremble. Last year an ABC documentary, titled *Adapt or Die*, vividly portrayed this new black power in South Africa. The commentator begins:

“After a siege of black labor unrest, the government in 1979 legalized black trade unions. It has exploded into a movement reaching now to the foundations of South Africa’s economy. Gold: a black union has signed up over 18,000 miners. The ports: a strike here by black workers could cripple South Africa. The automobile industry: it has become a front of black union battles for economic and political rights.”

The camera focuses on a sea of black workers joined in traditional song, but the refrain is new: “This is the workers union.” And at the end, the chant is “Power!”

A black proletariat of more than five million is the Achilles’ heel of white supremacist South Africa. Within the last couple of years, mining companies have begun training blacks in skilled jobs previously reserved strictly for



Black gold miners—main value producers for apartheid capitalism—at union rally, 1983.

Peters/New York Times

whites (such as electricians and plumbers) as they ran out of white labor. Seeing the handwriting on the wall, the so-called “verligte” (“enlightened”) wing of P.W. Botha’s National Party government moved toward legalizing some black unions under tight restrictions. More far-sighted capitalists like gold and diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer supported this policy, hoping to create a black labor aristocracy with “privileges” such as the right to reside in urban South Africa. An article in the *New York Times Magazine* (8 May 1983) summed up Oppenheimer’s policy: “His hope seems to be that whites will have time to push through ‘reforms’ and narrow inequalities so that blacks develop a stake in the capitalist system.” But in the pressure cooker of apartheid South Africa, any concessions threaten to release a revolutionary explosion.

The rise of an independent black labor movement has radically changed the political map of South Africa. The unions have become far and away the

strongest organizations of black resistance. As the *New York Times* (1 August 1982) observed a few years ago: “There is no other secular sphere in the heavily regulated lives of black South Africans in which they are permitted to build national organizations.” For all its ruthlessness, the Afrikaner nationalist regime has had to tolerate illegal (i.e., unregistered) unions and illegal strikes by registered unions.

The black African nationalist opposition has in its own way recognized that the black union movement is a force in the land. The recently formed United Democratic Front (UDF), behind which stand the nationalist-populist African National Congress (ANC) and the pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party, has ardently wooed the black unions, and its spokesmen pay lip service to “the leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle.” The Black Consciousness movement, initially and for many years almost exclusively student-based, today speaks of “workers power.”

While the potential power of the black workers movement is clear to all, its political character—how this power will be used—is far from clear. What are the main issues dividing the various unions and union groupings? Which unions are on the left wing of this movement, which on the right? What is the relation of the various unions to the principal nationalist organizations, such as the ANC, or to the Communist Party? These are difficult questions to answer, especially from afar.

We are dealing with a movement which is elemental, spontaneous, fluid, fragmented and highly empirical in its political and organizational responses.

The organizational configurations are ever-shifting. Splits are frequent; so are mergers and blocs. Unions which had a substantial, militant base a few years ago have since stagnated; others have grown in importance. Police-state repression has severely affected the continuity of leadership. Many, if not most, of the leaders of yesterday’s major strikes are today in prison, detention or exile. Repression and censorship have impeded political debate among the leaders and militants of the black unions, and even more so our knowledge of such debates. Documents in publications such as the *South African Labour Bulletin* and *Work in Progress* may give only a partial picture of the situation and issues involved, and even this partial picture may soon become dated.

Amid all the uncertainties, however, one thing is clear: in the absence of a Leninist vanguard party the black union movement cannot play a genuinely revolutionary role. Many of the debates within the movement (e.g., community versus shop-floor organizing, affiliate or not with popular frontist UDF) have posed *false alternatives* of nationalism versus economism precisely because of the absence of a revolutionary workers party. There is naturally pressure within the black unions to go beyond just defending their members’ economic interests against the employer, to take on the entire apartheid system. At the same time, there is also a healthy resistance to liquidating or merging the unions, as workers organizations at the point of production, into transient and amorphous anti-apartheid formations. It is the Leninist vanguard party which can be the basic *link* between the economic organization of black workers at the point of production and all the many-sided struggles against apartheid rule ultimately leading the struggle for a black-centered workers and peasants government.

A Political Generation Gap

One key to understanding the black union movement of the 1980s is the fundamental *discontinuity* of black resistance in white-ruled South Africa. Following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre all organized opposition to apartheid was effectively destroyed. All the leaders and most cadres of the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and Communist Party were killed, imprisoned or driven into exile. Not since the early years of this century have South Africa’s blacks been as atomized, demoralized and defenseless as in the mid/late 1960s.

The first stirrings of a new wave of black resistance and of a new political generation occurred in the student milieu. Around 1970 the Black Consciousness movement was born out of the predominantly white, liberal National Union of South African Students. (For an analysis of this movement, see “Behind South Africa’s Black Consciousness Movement,” *Young Spartacus* No. 74, Summer 1979.) A few years later the black working class shattered the police-state calm of South Africa as the city of Durban was paralyzed by a mass strike in early 1973.

The new generation of black student militants and the rising level of workers struggle converged in the 1976 Soweto uprising. The role of student youth.



February 1982: Funeral of Neil Aggett, white union organizer killed by police. 100,000 workers, largely blacks, downed tools in nationwide protest.

hundreds of them massacred by the police, is well known. Less known outside South Africa are the mass stay-away strikes in solidarity with the rebellious youth. At their height, in August-September 1976, these work stay-aways embraced 70-80 percent of the labor force resident in Soweto, whose two million inhabitants make it the largest black city in South Africa.

Unlike the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the far greater bloodletting in Soweto did not usher in a period of effective repression. On the contrary, the past decade has seen a rising line of black resistance on almost all fronts, most importantly the emergence of a black trade-union movement. However, black struggle in South Africa during the past period has been marked by a real generation gap. This situation is compounded by the relative isolation of South Africa from the rest of the world. Here the regime's censorship is especially effective. Many black union organizers, student and other anti-apartheid militants have only a limited knowledge of the history of black resistance in South Africa and even less knowledge of the main political divisions within the workers movement and left internationally. We are thus dealing with a movement which is to a large degree politically uninformed and unformed.

The Debate Over Registration

By the late 1970s it was clear the development of a black labor movement could no longer simply be suppressed outright. The official Wiehahn Commission warned that black unions "can unite with other unions through affiliation (as is happening now) without government approval and thus embrace strategic industries which can be paralysed at any given moment" (*Wiehahn Commission Report*, 1 May 1979). The regime's answer: to impose a corporatist straitjacket on the emerging black workers movement. All black unions now had to register with the government. They were then subject to compulsory arbitration and other state controls, and banned from participating in political activity. Noting that it was unclear whether black unions were strong enough to defy the government on this question, we wrote at the time:

"For class-struggle militants, registration is strictly a tactical security question. Some unions may be forced into it as a legal cover to avoid victimization. But it must be just that—a legal cover, nothing more. Any black union leader who actually adheres to apartheid legality, who accepts umpteen stages of government arbitration without taking industrial action, who refuses to support anti-apartheid struggles, is betraying not only his own membership but the entire black people."

—"The Struggle for Independent Black Unions in South Africa," *WV* No. 248, 25 January 1980

For a time whether to register or not became the sharpest point of division within the black union movement. A number of unity conferences in 1980-81 foundered on just this question. Some militant black unions took an ultra-leftist position that registration amounted to collaboration with the white oppressor. The debate was soon resolved by life itself. The regime proved unable to suppress unregistered unions or force registered ones into a corporatist straitjacket. For example, the unregistered General Workers' Union (GWU) has organized black and "coloured" (mixed-race) dock workers in the major ports of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban, and won recognition from the South African Stevedoring Employers' Association. This alone makes the GWU one of the most potent unions in South Africa.

Various unregistered unions, such as the militantly nationalist South African Allied Workers' Union, have been the target of especially savage and effective repression. At the same time, major strikes have been organized by regis-

tered unions, for example, the path-breaking 1980 strike at Volkswagen in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape. This illegal action was carried out by the auto unions affiliated with FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions). It involved not only the 6,000 black and coloured workers at the big Volkswagen plant but became a local mass strike as neighboring factories went out in solidarity and for their own demands. In short, some unregistered unions function effectively while some registered ones are no less militant, and thus the registration debate has died out, and formal legal status does not define the political character of a given union.

While the question of registration proved to be a transient line of division within the emerging black union movement, a more fundamental difference is between those unions which espouse a nationalist ("community") orientation and those which are more narrowly trade unionist, tending toward economism. The U.S. imperialists, concerned that their anti-Soviet ally could be undermined by a black labor explosion, have tried to spawn a privileged anti-communist union bureaucracy. Thus in 1982, long-time CIA "labor" operative Irving Brown paid a visit to South Africa and met not only with the arch-racist Confederation of Labor and TUCSA, which sponsors "parallel" black unions under white control, but also with independent black labor federations like CUSA (Council of Unions of South Africa) and FOSATU. The latter have also received funds from the CIA-backed International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. But in the volatile conditions of South Africa, opening the door to unionization has often backfired against the imperialists. Recently the National Union of Mineworkers withdrew from CUSA protesting its ties to the ICFTU.

Economism vs. Nationalism: A False Debate

After a major strike shut down the big auto plants in Port Elizabeth in the summer of 1982, *New York Times* South Africa correspondent Joseph Lelyveld observed:

"...the so-called emerging unions—which still represent less than 10 percent of the black industrial work force—appear to be gravitating into two camps. One places its primary emphasis on building durable workers organizations; the other feels obligated to resist laws and regulations its members had no hand in shaping."

—*New York Times*, 1 August 1982

This analysis is too schematic, since many black unions cannot be placed in either camp. But it does indicate the



Smash apartheid terror! Brutal police attack breaks up women's meeting, Cato Manor township, 1959.

Peter Magubane

Pretoria, 1961: Women demonstrate outside trial of Nelson Mandela. Courageous ANC leader has been in prison almost a quarter century.



ideological poles within the black union movement.

When Lelyveld writes of those unions placing "primary emphasis on building durable workers organizations," he is referring in particular to FOSATU. With over 100,000 members in nine affiliated unions and a base in the big auto plants of the Eastern Cape, FOSATU is probably the strongest grouping within the new black workers movement. However, a Communist Party spokesman recently wrote, "FOSATU is frequently criticised because it is apolitical, keeps aloof from the 'community,' limits its activities to factory workers, adopts a timid approach to government and politics and allows white academics too much power" (R.E. Matajo, "Obstacles on the Road to Trade Union Unity," *African Communist*, Third Quarter 1984).

In answering such charges FOSATU's leadership speaks of the need for independent working-class organization. Addressing the federation's convention in 1982 its coloured general secretary, Joe Foster, described the ANC as "a great populist liberation movement," but then went on:

"All the great and successful popular movements have had as their aim the overthrow of the oppressive—most often colonial—regimes. But these movements cannot and have not in themselves been able to deal with the particular and fundamental problem of workers. Their task is to remove regimes that are regarded as illegitimate and unacceptable by the majority."

"It is, therefore, essential that workers must strive to build their own powerful and effective organisation even whilst they are part of the wider popular struggle. This organisation is necessary to protect and further worker interests and to ensure that the popular move-

ment is not hijacked by elements who will [in the] end have no option but to turn against their worker supporters."

—*South African Labour Bulletin*, July 1982

Foster's assertion of the need for independent working-class organization and his warning about the potentially treacherous character of petty-bourgeois nationalism—in themselves entirely valid statements—are used here to justify trade-union economism. Foster defines the task of trade unions as defending the sectoral interests of workers within the framework of apartheid capitalism. He assigns to the nationalist-populist ANC the herculean task of liberating enslaved black people from white colonial rule with perhaps incidental aid from the black union movement. But this is a task that petty-bourgeois nationalism cannot fulfill. The only way to ensure that national liberation movements do not turn against their worker supporters is for the workers movement to place *itself* at the head of the oppressed black people, to combat every manifestation of white racist rule—the disenfranchisement of the black majority, the bantustans, the pass laws, the enforced separation of urban black workers from their wives and children, the massive use of convict labor, etc.

At the opposite end of the ideological spectrum from FOSATU within the black union movement is the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) with its nationalist-populist orientation. SAAWU's base has been in East London and the neighboring "independent" bantustan, the Ciskei, in the Eastern Cape, historically a stronghold of both the ANC and the Black Consciousness movement. The conditions driving the workers to political struggle in South Africa generally are even more marked in the Ciskei. It is poor even by South African standards. Half of its one million people are concentrated in the dormitory township of Mdantsane, which serves East London. Ciskei "President for Life" Lennox Sebe wields power through patronage distributed by the corrupt appointed chiefs and civil service and through vigilante terror with the backing of his white masters.

SAAWU has faced a more intense onslaught of raids, evictions and arrests than any other union. Its courageous president, Thozamile Gqweta, for example, has been detained at least nine times and tortured with electric shock and near strangulation. Yet SAAWU has survived. It has won 20 recognition agreements and its leadership claims 75,000 members (though many observers consider this an exaggeration). SAAWU originated in a break with the Black Consciousness-inspired leadership of Drake Koka and stands for multiracial unionism against the Black Consciousness principle of allowing *only* blacks as union leaders or members.

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Black Unions...

(continued from page 7)

But it still reflects the program of petty-bourgeois nationalist populism, hence its community orientation. SAAWU's basic premise was stated by its national vice president, Sisa Njikelana:

"Non-unionised workers and the unemployed constitute a vast portion of the working class. The community, women's, student, youth and other organisations based within working class communities, are also in a position to express the views of the working class and are also legitimate organisations of the working class."

—South African Labour Bulletin, June 1984

This "community" orientation obliterates the difference between organizing workers as a class and as part of the oppressed plebeian masses.

SAAWU has recruited many of its members through mass meetings in the townships as well as through industrial organizing. It is frequently criticized as lacking adequate shop-floor and industrial structures. Certainly, many of SAAWU's activities are commendable and indeed essential for effective trade-union struggle. It has sought to organize the unemployed to combat scabbing, and rejected stop orders (dues checkoff) in order to keep leadership accountable to the rank and file. All too often, however, SAAWU's activity on community issues has tended simply to add the union's voice of protest to that of civic, student and political groupings, not to mobilize for labor action in defense of political demands. The unions are uniquely important because the power of the working class lies at the point of production.

Under conditions of racial and national oppression rooted in colonial conquest, and given the historic capitulation to petty-bourgeois nationalism by the Stalinist Communist Party, decades of black struggle in South Africa have generated mass nationalist movements but no mass workers party. One result has been for black unions—in the past as well as the present—to take on the characteristics of populist movements or to join with them in popular-frontist formations. Thus SAAWU has, logically enough, affiliated with the United Democratic Front.

UDF: Popular Frontism, South African Style

Formed last year, the UDF has become the largest anti-apartheid political grouping in South Africa in decades. Its immediate aim was to oppose the new Botha constitution which gave token representation to coloureds and Indians while reinforcing the disenfranchisement of the black African majority, 75 percent of South Africa's population. More generally, the UDF is an attempt to revive in a new situation the Congress Alliance of the 1950s, which was likewise a bloc between the nationalist-populist ANC and the reformist Communist Party.

Thus to understand the political character of the UDF, it is useful to look back at the Congress Alliance. The Alliance organized a series of courageous campaigns against the consolidation of the apartheid system under the Afrikaner nationalist regime. These mass and often militant struggles, however, took place within a strategy of pressuring a non-existent liberal bourgeoisie. The CP advocated voting for the United Party opposition of English-speaking big business interests. The nature of this "liberal" opposition was captured in a contemporary saying: If the Afrikaner nationalists proposed a bill making it legal for whites to stab blacks in the back, the United Party would offer an amendment limiting the knife to six inches.

In order to appeal to white liberals the Congress Alliance stopped well short of

the fundamental bourgeois-democratic principle of one man, one vote. Instead it proposed a so-called federal solution in which each race would have a share of governmental power. The 1955 Freedom Charter, which remains the basic document of the ANC, states: "There shall be equal status in the bodies of the state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races." This implies that in a "democratic" South Africa the privileged white minority might have veto power over important legislation and policy.

Like the Congress Alliance, the UDF is based on uniting all "progressive forces" against apartheid. It brings together everything from trade unions to religious councils, traders associa-



Johannesburg, 1976—Black workers marched through city in solidarity with Soweto uprising.

tions to sports clubs. A student group affiliated with the UDF hailed it not as a means of class struggle, but for building the "unity of people of different classes" (SASPU *National*, September 1983).

To affiliate or not with the UDF has become a sharp point of division and debate within the black union movement, a debate which raises many of the fundamental questions of the South African revolution. One affiliated union, the Municipal and General Workers' Union of South Africa (MGWUSA), presents a classic Stalinist line of popular frontism and two-stage revolution. On the one hand, the MGWUSA leadership implies that unions which do not join the UDF are *ipso facto* guilty of economism. At the same time, they oppose the trade unions forming a workers party in order to lead this broader struggle for freedom:

"The other alternative would be for the unions to support/encourage the setting up of a 'Worker's Party' that will lead the workers in the struggle against the [constitutional] 'new deal'. This type of political grouping—it is argued—would ensure that the political goals of the working class are promoted. We disagree with this position...."

—South African Labour Bulletin, November 1983

They then set up the straw man of a workers party "going it alone." A revolutionary workers party is here defined as isolated from the broad anti-apartheid struggle when in fact only such a party can mobilize all of South Africa's oppressed masses (for example, overcoming ethnic and tribalist divisions and enmities) in struggle against white racist rule.

A somewhat more left apology for joining the UDF is made by SAAWU's Sisa Njikelana, who argues:

"The only way the working class can lead the broad democratic front as learnt in the experiences of other struggles, is through active participation within the organisations and structures of the broad democratic front."

—South African Labour Bulletin, June 1984

But the working class is *not* just another constituency within a "national democratic front." It is the *only* class in South Africa with the interest and *power* to abolish capitalist exploitation, which underlies the entire apartheid system. All the harsh laws of apartheid basically

exist to create a migratory, cheap labor force for superexploitation in South Africa's mines and factories. Only a proletarian revolution can, to take but one example, distribute the country's rich white-owned farmland to the hideously impoverished black toilers now confined to the bantustan hell-holes. And in general, *all* of the revolutionary democratic tasks can be realized only under a regime of workers power.

Black Workers and the Struggle Against Apartheid

In arguing for a "broad democratic front" (the UDF), SAAWU's Njikelana was polemicizing against David Lewis,

the white general secretary of the General Workers' Union. The GWU's refusal to affiliate with the UDF is important because it is both industrially strong and on the left wing of the black union movement. Lewis advances a number of left criticisms of the UDF. For one thing, he condemns its undemocratic structure which gives the same representation to small groups of anti-apartheid activists as to mass trade unions. But this is hardly a fundamental criticism, since the UDF organizers could well adjust its structure to induce the participation of more unions.

Lewis' criticism of the UDF cuts deeper. This is the core of it:

"... workers must have a special status in multi-class organisations. Workers must have the opportunity to lead the pace and style and tone and language—in fact the whole discourse—of the organisation. The reason why it's important, and the reason why I think that it's important to examine the questions raised with respect to the UDF, is that democracy in this country is inconceivable without the fullest participation of workers in the national democratic struggle. This is not merely because the working class is the largest and most muscular group in society. Simply put, they are the only social grouping with a class interest in democracy. Other social classes or social groupings might have an interest in relative or partial democratisation of society...."

—South African Labour Bulletin, November 1983

In a confused and highly abstract way Lewis poses the basic question of the South African revolution: the relation of the working class to the national democratic struggle. He poses the question but he does not answer it. In South Africa, as Lenin said of tsarist Russia, the working class is the *only* consistently democratic class. Lewis' call that the workers "have a special status in multi-class organisations" is—whether he intends it as such or not—a formula for a more laborite version of the popular front. In any such formation the program and actions of the working class are necessarily *limited* by other social classes which, as Lewis rightly says, have only a relative and partial interest in the democratic struggle. What is called for is a workers party based on the program of permanent revolution—that the democratic

and national tasks can only be solved by establishing proletarian power, a black-centered workers and peasants government. Only such a party can serve as, in the words of Plekhanov and Lenin, "a tribune of the people," whether these are township dwellers protesting rent hikes, bantustan women demanding the right to live with their husbands, or coloured students opposing the new apartheid constitution.

Lewis speaks of the national democratic struggle but does not indicate the *goal* of that struggle. What is to *replace* the white-ruled police state? As a *transitional* democratic demand in South Africa, Trotskyists call for a revolutionary constituent assembly based on universal suffrage—one man, one vote. But such a body, given the inevitable weight of the workers movement in any revolutionary upheaval, could only have a highly unstable and short-lived character. It would soon give way either to proletarian organs of power or to nationalist bonapartism aiming to suppress the workers movement. Thus the struggle against apartheid in South Africa must have as its aim a regime of workers councils (soviets) around which are drawn all other oppressed sections of society, from coloured workers in the Cape to women on the bantustans, from black students and youth to Indian traders. Forward to a black-centered workers and peasants government!

South Africa and World Revolution

The political direction of South Africa's black union movement is particularly important because South Africa is important. It is not just that the country is the world's largest producer of gold, key to the international financial system. Nor is it simply that South Africa is the dominant economic power in the region. Because South Africa combines many elements of an advanced capitalist economy with a colonial social and political structure, it is in a sense the *weak link* in the chain of imperialist alliances worldwide. Western, especially American, imperialism has an enormous stake, and not simply economic, in the preservation of white police-state rule in South Africa.

During the past decade southern Africa has become a major theater of the Cold War. In 1975-76 South Africa, actively encouraged and backed by Washington, invaded Angola aiming to crush the left-nationalist regime which had taken power after the Portuguese colonialists were driven out. The South African onslaught was turned back through the introduction of Cuban troops, armed and supported by the Soviet Union. Ever since, southern Africa has been a point of direct, almost constant military confrontation between imperialism and the Soviet bloc. The smashing of the apartheid state from within by the insurgent black masses would be a powerful blow against world imperialism.

Not only will the South African revolution alter the international balance of power, it will have a profound effect *within* the main bastion of world capitalism, the United States of America. One cannot imagine any event outside the borders of the U.S. which would more inspire and electrify America's 24 million blacks than the victorious rising of South Africa's black masses. For American blacks, the land of apartheid represents the most naked, brutal and totalitarian form of white racist oppression, which they, too, endure. The self-liberation of South Africa's blacks, led by the working class, will be the most powerful possible example for millions of black auto workers in Detroit, steel workers in Chicago, longshoremen from New York to New Orleans to the Bay Area. The South African revolution will truly shake the world. ■

Gandhi...

(continued from page 1)

even bloodier, as the reactionary legacy of British imperialist rule continues to wreak havoc upon the Indian masses.... "The storming of the Golden Temple has fuelled religious fervour and dramatically increased the base of support for the undisguisedly Zionist-style call for Khalistan [a theocratic Sikh state].... Such is the reactionary logic of nationalism. The demands for Khalistan and 'blood for blood' are an invitation for the 1947 Partition over again."

—Spartacist Britain No. 60, August 1984

As jubilant Sikhs in London's Southall area sang, danced and set off fireworks to celebrate the death of their hated enemy, the words "blood for blood" were everywhere to be found scrawled on walls. But "blood for blood" was also the cry of the pogromist mobs, frequently led by thugs called "goondas" of Gandhi's Congress (I) Party and other even more right-wing Hindu chauvinist parties, who took to the streets of northern India in search of Sikhs to butcher. Even before the newly installed heir of the dwindling Hindu Gandhi dynasty could issue his feeble appeal for calm, enormous mobs of Hindu chauvinists—armed with clubs, chains, iron bars and swords—had already embarked on their bloodcurdling reign of terror.

Sikhs were grabbed from the streets or dragged off buses and trains, their turbans and clothes torn off, their beards set on fire. They were beaten up, chased, chained, hacked to pieces, burnt alive. The police, who often overlap with the Hindu chauvinist goondas, aided the anti-Sikh pogromists or at best stood by and watched; sometimes they fired indiscriminately into the crowds, killing and injuring scores. Hundreds of Sikh homes and shops were looted and torched. Sikh temples were besieged by mobs of thousands. Black smoke billowed across the sky. The corpse-laden trains of death rolling into New Delhi evoked the memory of the 1947 Partition slaughter.

But the Sikhs are not about to take it lying down. In one suburb of New Delhi, a retired Sikh army captain opened fire with a submachine gun against the invading Hindu mob, killing 20. Meanwhile Sikh fundamentalists talk of getting their own back in the Punjab, where Sikhs are a slight majority. Today many Sikhs identify with and continue to adulate Sant (Saint) Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the extreme fundamentalist who once threatened to kill 5,000 Hindus, and who was among those killed in the Golden Temple massacre. In the country as a whole Sikhs form only 2 per cent of the total population of over 700 million; they will pay a high price for the

New Delhi in flames as Hindu mobs, often led by Congress (I) Party thugs, rampage against Sikhs.



vengeance taken against the butcher Gandhi. Still, the Sikhs have a substantial measure of social power, considerable military expertise and a border with India's arch-enemy Pakistan, with its already established CIA network for supplying the reactionary Islamic insurgents in Afghanistan.

Gandhi's funeral attracted an imposing assemblage of world leaders. Under her, India became acknowledged leader of the so-called "nonaligned movement" of neocolonial countries and is a major sub-imperialist power in the region and now a diplomatic ally of the Soviet Union. (Of course, as Sadat's Egypt demonstrated, capitalist allies of the Soviet Union are never reliable.) It is one of the few capitalist countries not to fall into step with the vicious embargo against the Indochinese workers states. It recognised the Heng Samrin government in Cambodia and, in September, was visited by Vietnamese leader Le Duan on his first visit to a capitalist country. Pakistan's General Zia and Sri Lanka's bonapartist anti-Tamil butcher J.R. Jayewardene immediately declared official mourning periods, despite their enmity for Gandhi and India. But J.R. in particular doubtless hopes that in the short term India's instability will free his hand in savagely dealing with the largely Hindu oppressed Tamil minority struggling for self-determination.

Arch-terrorists Reagan and Thatcher predictably responded to the assassination with a denunciation of terrorism. But the crowd that gathered outside Gandhi's hospital chanted, "Down with the CIA!" And the Soviet leadership issued a strongly worded statement implicating the CIA in the assassination. One need not accept the Stalinist/nationalist CIA-mongering at face value to recognise that the Sikh fundamentalists' anti-communist agitation leaves them open to being pawns of the CIA and imperialists in their designs to break India from its diplomatic and military relations with the Soviet Union. The oppressed Sikh masses have nothing to gain from being pawns of the imperialists' anti-Soviet designs. But the Soviet bureaucracy's political support to the "progressive" despot Gandhi is a treacherous obstacle to the revolutionary mobilisation of the Indian proletariat which can truly act in defence of the deformed/degenerated workers states.

Gandhi has ruled India single-handedly and with an iron fist for nearly half of its post-independence years. Though she liked to posture as the embodiment of secularist, national integrity, this "Mother of India" was a conscious and calculating Hindu chauvinist. We noted in August: "The thin veneer of Indian nationalism (which in fact reflects the overwhelming preponderance, 80 per cent, of the Hindu majority), despite its occasional secular pretensions, could easily shatter into a myriad of competing national, ethnic and language groups."

The Sikhs are not just a religious grouping but form a distinct community inhabiting a particular territory with a

common language (Punjabi) and customs. And while the Sikhs may not yet be a nation, the present dynamic points to their further national consolidation. Nations are not born fully fledged but are consolidated in struggle (generally by expelling or destroying other peoples). Undoubtedly, and more emphatically since the bloodbath at Amritsar, many Sikhs see themselves as a nation. But within a capitalist framework, the Sikh fundamentalist dream of Khalistan ("state of the pure") or some other form of self-determination would entail a reactionary reversal of the terms of oppression for the Punjab's large and interpenetrated Hindu minority. Only within a socialist federation of the Indian subcontinent can the oppressed peoples and nations find their emancipation.

In the epoch of imperialist decay capitalism brings to the neocolonial world only the chains of imperialist



Sikh youth flee Gandhi's security forces in Amritsar last April. In June 2,000 were killed in Golden Temple massacre.

exploitation, the stench of communalist slaughter and the jackboot of dictatorship. This murderous "divide and rule" of the British Raj, whose victims numbered in the millions, is today well practised by the Indian ruling class. Gandhi's vacuous son Rajiv, who succeeded her instantaneously in the manner of a traditional monarch, is best known for the recent failed, autocratic manoeuvre to overthrow the elected government of Andhra Pradesh. He was well trained in his mother's school to cynically use national and religious divisions to further political goals and baldly suppress all political opposition.

And in the wings waits the million-strong Indian army, which prides itself on maintaining all the trappings imposed by its former colonial masters. Ominously, for the first time since independence the army has been brought into the capital to "restore order." Troops have been deployed in most major cities with orders to "shoot

to kill." A significant section of the army, particularly of the officer caste, remains Sikh. No doubt the army is feeling the temptation to slam a preventive lid on the situation, not least to preserve its own unity. Down with the martial law measures!

Notwithstanding the myth of this "most populous democracy," for the multimillioned masses "democracy" and "independence" have meant the continuation of mass starvation, forced sterilization, grinding exploitation and pervasive state terror, particularly against the small but strategic Indian proletariat. The only progressive answer lies in this class, which has historically demonstrated militancy and organisation. In the face of bitter state repression, the solid 300,000-strong port workers strike last March/April united workers across national, ethnic, religious and caste lines. Only the proletariat in power can carry out the belated tasks of the bourgeois revolution, as part of a programme of socialist revolution. As we wrote last August:

"Under the rule of the Indian bourgeoisie the acute problems of land, poverty, caste and national oppression are incessantly recreated. And every new outburst of communalist violence retards the only class on the Indian subcontinent which can lead the oppressed masses on a consistently progressive course. Communalism not only destroys working-class unity in general, but in India it is often particularly the working class that is the main target of communal terror, since it is frequently drawn from local and migrant minorities....

"If India is not to be wracked by another convulsion of communalist slaughter in the interests of imperialism, what is needed is a mass proletarian party rallying behind the banner of Permanent Revolution the myriad minorities, the agrarian masses and the multitudinous victims of caste and sex oppression....

"The problems of South Asia are interrelated and will not be solved separately. Only the working class can guarantee the right of self-determination to the oppressed nations from the Baluchis in Pakistan to the Tamils in Lanka, the liberation of women from bondage and backwardness, and land to the tiller."

Not communalist terror but class struggle! For workers revolution to overthrow the Indian bourgeoisie! For a socialist federation of the Indian subcontinent! ■

CORRECTIONS

A picture caption accompanying the article, "Margaret Thatcher: Enemy of the People," (*WV* No. 365, 26 October) incorrectly dated the bomb blast which ripped the Grand Hotel in Brighton as October 3. The correct date is October 12. Also in that issue, the article, "Reagan, Mondale Mean War on Central America!" refers to the Reagan/Mondale foreign policy debate of October 20. That debate occurred on October 21.

A picture caption in the article "Victory for Black Freedom!" (*WV* No. 359, 20 July) refers to "Longshoreman Peter Woolston and Richard Bradley celebrat[ing] the destruction of Confederate flag of slavery and racist terror." Brother Woolston is a warehouseman and executive board member of Local 6, of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

Spartacist Forum

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NEW YORK CITY

Former FBI Agent Admits Panther Was Framed—New Hearing Ordered

Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!

For 14 years Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, a former leader of the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles, has been behind bars for a crime he did not commit. First they tried to kill him. When that didn't work, they railroaded him to prison on a phony murder rap. They tried everything they could to break this staunch fighter for black liberation, even keeping him in solitary confinement for *six years* in hellholes like Folsom and San Quentin. For many years, Pratt and his lawyers have been



UPI
Black Panther Geronimo Pratt led to jail in chains, 1969.

fighting to get the case reopened, on the proven grounds that it was a government frame-up. Now retired FBI special agent Wesley Swearingen, formerly of the Los Angeles office, has come forward to say, straight out, "Pratt was set up." And on October 18, federal magistrate John R. Kronenberg ordered a new evidentiary hearing into the charges.

Geronimo Pratt was a prime target of the FBI's notorious murder and frame-up COINTELPRO operation ordered by J. Edgar Hoover to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize the activities" of the Black Panther Party. On 8 December 1969, hundreds of LAPD Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos armed with M-60 machine guns, tear gas launchers and dynamite surrounded the L.A. Panther headquarters where Pratt was living, and as helicopters circled overhead they subjected the house to a five-hour barrage. The pre-dawn attack came only four days after the FBI/cop raid in Chicago which murdered Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. It was all part of the massive attempt to physically destroy the Panthers in America. Pratt's bed—its location pinpointed by an informer's blueprint—was riddled with bullets. Only because the Panther leader, a decorated Vietnam War veteran, slept on the floor due to war wounds did he survive.

That same year Pratt's wife Sandra, eight months pregnant and also a Panther member, was mysteriously shot in the head and her body dumped on an L.A. freeway. No arrest was ever made. In 1971, while in jail on a weapons charge stemming from the cops' commando raid, Pratt was framed for the brutal and senseless murder of a schoolteacher in Santa Monica in 1968. This despite the fact that the murdered woman's husband had earlier made a positive identification of another man. FBI documents later released through the Freedom of Information Act revealed that key prosecution witness Black Panther Julio Butler was an FBI informant, which he lied about at the

trial. Now seven current or former FBI agents have been ordered to testify at the upcoming hearing, six of them members of the Los Angeles FBI "Black Extremist Squad 2" assigned to disrupt the Black Panthers in Southern California.

Pratt was in Oakland attending party meetings at the time of the Santa Monica murder, a fact that has not only been sworn to by Panther leaders such as Kathleen Cleaver and David Hilliard, but could be demonstrated from wiretaps by the FBI on Panther headquarters in both L.A. and Oakland. But the wiretap logs from that two-week period in December 1968 are "mysteriously missing"—the *only* ones missing from the huge volumes in the FBI's Los Angeles office. Significantly, a legal aide working with Pratt's defense counsel, Stuart Hanlon, has discovered the existence of a secret CIA report on Geronimo Pratt, sent by then-CIA director Richard Helms to the Nixon White House in August 1970. While the defense was only able to obtain a part of the cover letter (the report itself was censored to the point it consisted mainly of blank pages), this is further proof of the orchestration at the very highest levels of the conspiracy against Pratt and the Panthers.

The FBI didn't just want Pratt in jail. They wanted him broken...or dead, like imprisoned Panther George Jackson—"shot while trying to escape." COINTELPRO even followed Pratt to jail—an FBI agent phoned Folsom prison after the trial, concocting a story that Panther supporters were planning to spring him by kidnapping schoolchildren and then demanding his release. So Pratt was immediately placed in isolation. After being transferred to the maximum security block at San Quentin, he was again put into the hole: "There was no toilet, no sink, nothing...there was just a hole in the floor. It backed up a lot. It was a cell within a cell, and the only light was on the outside" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 October).

They only allowed him a dictionary in the cell. "They handed me three pieces of paper a day. I kept asking for more, and sometimes the guard would give me five. I wrote word after word from that dictionary. I got very familiar with etymology. Those were the dog days—for years." Six years later, a suit against prison authorities finally won Pratt placement on the main line, as part of the general prison population. He has steadfastly refused to seek parole or pardon, both of which require that he admit guilt. As Pratt says, "My mother didn't raise a murderer.... I'm going to survive, and I'm going to expose the truth. I'm going to be completely exonerated."

"We're finally going to get to the truth of what Cointelpro was and what it did," Pratt's lawyer Stuart Hanlon told the *Chronicle*. There were more than 295 FBI "operations" mounted against black groups during COINTELPRO, 233 of them against the Black Panther Party alone. In 1968 and 1969, 14 Black Panther leaders were killed, countless others spent years in prison on frame-up charges, while many were forced into exile. Exposure of the capitalist state's murderous campaign against the Panthers is crucial today as the FBI's 1983 "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" aim to set up all opponents of the government as outlaws to be shot down in the dead of night. The Spartacist League has been fighting this new "anti-terrorism" witchhunt, which we have labeled "McCarthyism with a drawn gun," and we are presently pursuing

a court suit against the new FBI guidelines.

In a statement to *WV*, Richard Bradley, Spartacist candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, denounced the hideous racist frame-up of Pratt:

"Blacks in this country were watching King and the civil rights movement in the South, seeing them getting their heads busted in. And when the Black Panther Party came around, they supported it basically around the right to be armed, to defend themselves. Like Robert Williams in the Carolinas, where I grew up. The Panthers were seen as an organization that finally was going to liberate blacks.

"They tried to murder Geronimo Pratt every way they knew how. There *must* be labor/black action against this racist persecution. Geronimo Pratt is pursuing every legal avenue open to him. We must mobilize blacks and labor, nationally and internationally, to fight for his freedom, to expose the police terror and the capitalist state behind it, and

organize for workers revolution to put an end to it once and for all."

Geronimo Pratt's "crime" was to be a leader of the Black Panther Party, which though it never transcended black nationalism was the best and most militant expression of the "black power" movement, which the government sought to "neutralize"—that is, to wipe out. The fake-leftists who for years uncritically cheered on the Panthers' every word and deed have now criminally turned their backs on Pratt, while their former black nationalist heroes like Newton and Seale have made their peace with the racist establishment and crawled into the Democratic Party. But Geronimo Pratt, who refuses to renounce his radical nationalist past, is still behind bars. We have fought to publicize and help to keep alive the case of Geronimo Pratt. Today we urge the most concerted campaign to win his freedom. ■

Black Marine: "I Refused to Go"

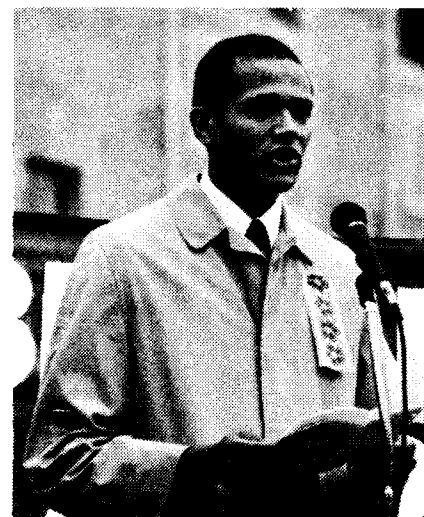
Protest Reagan's Rape of Grenada!

First they invaded the tiny Caribbean black island of Grenada, the first new American colony since 1917. Then on the anniversary of their crime, Reagan & Co. staged an arrogant outrage, arresting former Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States Dessima Williams. The charge: she has been declared an "illegal alien"... because 7,000 American troops took over her country! Williams was arrested at Howard University after giving a public speech denouncing Reagan's pirate invasion. Demonstrators picketed the next day on the black campus in Washington, D.C. to protest this racist atrocity, and the Partisan Defense Committee fired off a telegram to U.S. attorney general William French Smith declaring:

"Seizing last legal ambassador of Grenada is juridical and human outrage. Unhand Dessima Williams. You stand condemned before the entire world. The American people have the right to hear her indict your rape of Grenada."

From Republican Reagan to Democrat Mondale, the Yankee imperialists want to use the impoverished ghetto masses as cannon fodder for their anti-Soviet war drive. But the Pentagon's strategic planners worry that their heavily black army may not fight against revolutions from Cuba to Nicaragua and El Salvador. Indeed, when a single black Marine, Corporal Alfred Griffin, a two-year member of the Presidential Honor Guard, stood up and refused to fight for his slave masters in Lebanon and Grenada last October, the USMC threw the book at him—four months at hard labor and a bad conduct discharge. The Spartacist League hailed this courageous soldier who said, "I won't go!" (*WV* No. 355, 25 May).

Upon emerging from the stockade, Griffin gave a defiant speech at an October 27 New York protest against



WV Photo
Ex-corporal Alfred Griffin

the Grenada invasion:

"I have spent four months in federal prison for my refusal to serve in Lebanon and Grenada. I was in prison because I said no. No, I will not go to Lebanon and fight against my Muslim brothers and sisters. No, I will not go to Grenada and fight against my brothers and sisters. I entered into the service looking for technical training and educational advances. I did well in the service and was labeled a model Marine. I never expected that one day I would be called upon for political reasons to go take the lives of my people. I came to realize that I and my comrades were and are only tools used to play a deadly game. I came to realize that our lives are of no value to my superiors. Today I stand before you a different type of soldier. I am a soldier for the people's struggle. I remain your brother in solidarity. Peace be with you."

Griffin expresses the outrage of millions of blacks at Reagan's racist rape of Grenada. It is the social power of black workers, united with their white *class* brothers and led by an authentic Bolshevik-Leninist party, which can bring down the slave masters, colonial bosses and anti-Communist Cold Warriors. Then the death knell of Yankee imperialism will be at hand:

Spartacist Campaign...

(continued from page 12)

evil" (he calls for example for a "quarantine" of Nicaragua and endorses Reagan's rape of black Grenada)—has driven the popular frontist "lefts" into an anti-communist, race-baiting frenzy.

For the reformist left, it's not a big step from supporting Jesse Jackson's hustle of black votes for Mondale (including his glad-handing of arch-segregationist George Wallace, his pronouncement from the floor of the Alabama statehouse that "the South will rise again!" and his racist protectionism) to openly apologizing for and adapting to the racism of the Democrats. Local black Democrat Julianne Malveaux, an ardent Jackson supporter running for Board of Supervisors and endorsed by the reformist Communist Party (CP), neatly captured this when she stated: "We must fight to make sure... that Walter Mondale is elected to make sure we can at least struggle against the limited racism of the Democratic Party," at an October 9 rally at SF State University. From "lesser evilism" to "limited racism" is the logic of the pro-Democratic Party popular front, although there has never been any "limit" to the racism of the party of Jim Crow, Hiroshima and the genocidal war against the Vietnamese people.

As Richard Bradley explained at an SF State class taught by Reginald Majors, author of *A Panther Is a Black Cat*: "To the students today I would say: if you think there's an American dream awaiting you, forget about it. Look at the 'Rainbow Coalition'—there's supposed to be a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow? Well, there ain't shit there waiting for the working class and students of this country." For those with the unenviable task of prettifying the Democrats' crock of shit, the Spartacists' insistence on the political independence of the working class and oppressed from both capitalist parties is anathema. And in the San Francisco Bay Area, Bradley's heroic action in removing the Confederate flag has earned for us the simultaneous admiration of much of the population and the frenzied hostility of Feinstein's fake-left camp followers.

Thus, Malveaux sneered that it only showed Bradley had "strong thighs." President of TWU Local 250-A (Muni workers) baited Bradley to "find another flagpole to climb" while the Spartacists were campaigning among transit union members. But the Muni workers had quite different responses than their misleaders: this overwhelmingly black union has been on "Dixie Dianne's" hit list for ten years and her current nasty little witchhunt against the Muni drivers is part and parcel of the city's overall union-busting assault, from the local Greyhound bosses who enlisted city

cops for head-busting during the Greyhound strike to the arrogant owners of posh restaurants and hotels (including Feinstein herself). Greeting Bradley warmly, one black driver spoke for many fellow workers when he said, "You're the guy that pulled the flag down! It was on the news. I'll give you a vote." Over 950 copies of *Workers Vanguard* have been sold in the last week of campaigning alone, 50 of them to Muni workers. A number of drivers also took stacks of campaign brochures to distribute to their passengers.

In league with the Democrats and labor skates is the small, eccentric black nationalist sect, the African People's Socialist Party (APSP). The APSP likes to posture "left," denouncing the Democrats and African neocolonial regimes;

stained the whole South with the warm blood of your people, and loaded its air with their groans."

—*The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, Vol. 3

Marxists say that it will take a third American revolution—workers revolution—to complete the task of black emancipation left unfinished by the betrayal of radical Reconstruction after the Civil War. Black workers are strategic to that revolution and it is our deep-felt conviction that, as Bradley stated on October 26 at the Spartacist campaign forum: "The working class in this country needs black leadership to fight for that socialist revolution." The APSP, claiming the heritage of Marcus Garvey—the despicable advocate of abandoning the fight for black freedom

suggest to Sylvia Weinstein that she ask the anti-apartheid militants of South Africa who are fighting the repressive regime there what they think of Polish anti-Communists who go to South Africa to live off the superexploitation of blacks."

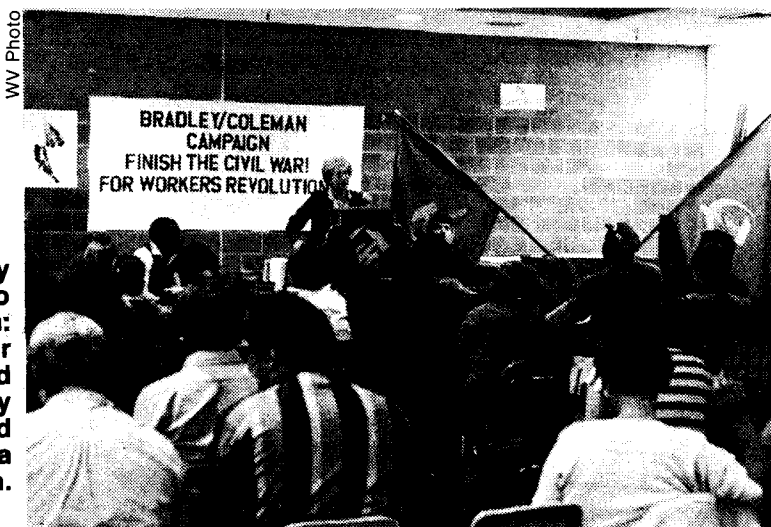
"Anti-totalitarian" (that is, pro-imperialist) social democrat Weinstein had no trouble defending the Polish émigrés, snapping back "don't give me any crap about what you think of the Polish members of Solidarność who are going to South Africa, or would probably go to any other country, to escape the prisons and the oppression of the Soviets and the Stalinist bureaucracy of Poland." As we noted previously, for Weinstein, credentials in "anti-Stalinism" apparently cancel out anything. And for Gus Hall?

As for the black revolt against apartheid, the reformists are lined up behind ballot Proposition J in San Francisco—an appeal to U.S. imperialism to "clean up" its South African junior partner through divestment. While the Spartacist campaign advocates mobilizing concrete labor action—including an international labor boycott against shipments to and from South Africa—the radlibs find themselves in strange company around "Prop J." Under the protectionist slogan "Invest in the U.S.A. Not in Apartheid," the proposition (sponsored initially by Julianne Malveaux) has garnered the support of the district attorney who prosecuted Richard Bradley (unsuccessfully) for tearing down the Confederate flag, the Democrats and local Republicans who candidly proclaim in the voter information brochure that they support it as a means to "protect American interests and to halt the spread of Communist influence into South Africa."

This repulsive melange of apologists for the Democrats let it all "hang out" at a November 1 debate sponsored by the SF State University Women's Center. The event pitted Spartacist Diana Coleman, Julianne Malveaux and Sylvia Weinstein in a supposedly public political confrontation. However, the Women's Center feminists grew increasingly hysterical at the prospect of providing a forum for revolutionary communist views. First, they issued leaflets announcing that "The Women's Center Does Not Support the Spartacus Youth League" (and, we can assure them, the desire to be clear on this is mutual); at the onset of the debate, the established "rules" were quickly subverted as the microphone provided for floor discussion was unplugged and the audience informed that only "written questions" could be submitted. Campus security was called in to censor the literature available at the Spartacist and Socialist Action tables, leaving unmolested the literature of the rightist nut group of Lyndon LaRouche. Protesting these McCarthyite tactics from the debate podium, Diana Coleman additionally denounced the male exclusionist policy that refused a platform from Richard Bradley: "My conclusion from this is that the Dianne Feinsteins, Jeane Kirkpatricks and Margaret Thatchers of the world... are invited. But a man who fights for a revolutionary program, in particular the liberation of blacks and women, is not welcome."

Feminists, black nationalists, phony socialists and phony Communists: they're all crawling under the Mondale rock. That means race-baiting, anti-communism, anti-internationalism and accommodation to the deeply racist nature of this sick system. And it means anti-Spartacism; as Ritchie Bradley put it at an October 26 Spartacist campaign forum at the Ella Hill Hutch Community Center in the predominantly black Western Addition of San Francisco: "At bottom what they hate is that we defend the Soviet Union. Because you can't lead the working class to any victories if you don't defend what we've already won. And the Russian Revolution of October 1917 is the greatest victory the working class has won so far." ■

Revolutionary opposition to imperialism: rally for Richard Bradley (seated) and Diana Coleman.



its practical work is devoted to developing such "dual and contending power institutions" as Black Star Vitamins ("Starch free, no preservatives or additives, the vitamin of the African Revolutionary") and petition campaigns against the Oakland cops. In language more appropriate to a white racist rag, their newspaper *Burning Spear* (July 1984) captioned a photo of Bradley tearing down the flag: "Flag pole climbing proves once again what great athletes Negroes are." In fact, *Burning Spear* proves how removed from and hostile to the reality of black struggle in this country it is. In race-baiting, patronizing fashion, it claims that Bradley's "integrationist leaders have forced him to dress up in a Union Army uniform, the military clothing of the military force of U.S. capitalism." (Abe Lincoln and Walter Mondale, equated in *Burning Spear*, are separated by the fact that Lincoln served the American bourgeoisie in its last progressive act—i.e., the Civil War which ended chattel slavery—while Mondale serves the retrograde imperialists in their death agony.)

Similar to other black nationalists who take no side in the Second American Revolution, the Civil War, the APSP attacked the Spartacists for hoisting the Fort Sumter garrison flag rather than the nationalist red, black and green, charging that the Union flag is "the flag of the Democrats or bourgeoisie white people." At an October 23 meeting of the SF City College Black Student Union, comrade Bradley replied: "There's something you'd better learn about history: the Fort Sumter garrison flag was the flag that was hoisted up when the North defeated the Confederacy who wanted to continue slavery." Bradley concluded, "It's going to be the red flag that's going to represent workers internationally. Not the red, black and green flag."

Another black Spartacist supporter noted that the APSP's rejection of support to the North in the Civil War is a contemptuous dismissal of the hundreds of thousands of black Union troops who were decisive in the Northern victory. Frederick Douglass wrote in his impassioned appeal to blacks to join the Union ranks (April 1863):

"One black Brigade will... be worth more than two white ones. Enlist, therefore, enlist without delay, enlist now, and forever put an end to the human barter and butchery which have

in the U.S. and instead going "back to Africa," who had no trouble openly allying with the likes of the Ku Klux Klan on such a platform—accepts the racist status quo as irrevocable. To the black masses, they offer only a piece of the racist, segregated pie.

Racist reaction is the domestic reflection of Reagan and the Democrats' anti-Soviet war drive; if you toe the Democrats' line you are bound to betray both the fight for black liberation and the defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against U.S. imperialism. The pro-Moscow Communist Party's avowed strategy can be summed up by CP non-candidate candidate for vice president, Angela Davis, who stated: "Reagan can only be defeated by (Walter) Mondale and (Geraldine) Ferraro so that we have to build mass movements to pressure them" (*People's World*, 13 October). But, no less than Reagan/Bush, Mondale/Ferraro mean backing anti-Communist reaction from Central America to Poland. Indeed, Gus Hall—the CP's non-candidate candidate for president—took his party's shameless dives on Afghanistan, Poland and the KAL 007 U.S. Cold War provocation several steps further in a recent article in the *New York Times* (2 November):

"[Hall] said he welcomed the Solidarity movement in Poland as a 'positive step,' and added, 'The other socialist countries should learn a lesson from it; they need more independent unions that reflect people's feelings.'"

Perhaps the CPUSA is, in its adulation of Cold Warrior Mondale, suffering from more than a twinge of "Eurocommunism"? Counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność reflected the "feelings" of the CIA, Vatican, Western bankers and anti-Communist Polish reactionaries and was able to draw in significant sections of the Polish workers thanks to the corrupt mismanagement of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Its aim was the restoration of capitalism, i.e., the reinstatement of wage slavery and bloody counterrevolution as well as the establishment of a new NATO Eastern front. Too, as Spartacist candidate Diana Coleman pointed out at San Francisco State, in remarks directed to Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Action's candidate for Supervisor:

"I think it is revealing that Solidarność activists who have tired of trying to restore capitalism in Poland are now emigrating en masse to South Africa, the bastion of the 'free world.' So let me

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

Chicago

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

New York City

Tues.: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 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

WORKERS VANGUARD

For International Labor Action Against Apartheid Terror!

Black General Strike in South Africa

NOVEMBER 5—Defying Pretoria's massive police-state terror, the black revolt against white rule in South Africa continues to spread. As columns of smoke rose above the townships around Johannesburg, black youths clashed with police today while hundreds of thousands of workers went on strike in the Transvaal. The Transvaal Regional Stay-Away Committee, a coalition of black trade unions, political organizations and student groups, called the two-day strike to press demands for a withdrawal of troops and police from the black townships, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, and the reinstatement of fired workers. At the same time, education officials reported that more than 250,000 high school students boycotted classes.

Even among the unsavory right-wing despotisms of the "free world," white-ruled South Africa—that vast prison camp for 22 million blacks—is especially hated. Decent people throughout the world solidarize with the black struggle against apartheid. When the black revolt began a few months ago, we raised the demand: For International Labor Action Against Racist Terror!

There is widespread support for such action within the international labor movement. The *Daily Commercial News* (10 October) of Sydney, Australia reported: "Seamen in Western Europe

and several countries outside it have begun a campaign to cut oil and arms shipments to South Africa, a spokesman for Britain's National Union of Seamen said." This decision, he said, was taken in support of the African National Congress, the main opposition to white rule. The Johannesburg *Sunday Express* worries that the seamen's campaign "threatens major disruptions to South Africa's vital oil trade."

In the U.S., Stan Gow, a local executive board member in the Bay Area International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, is calling for a boycott of all South African shipping. The union bureaucrats sabotaged this demand, approving instead a one-shot *token* action, but Gow and his supporters continue to fight for actions with real teeth.

Real solidarity with the heroic black struggle against apartheid terror lies in

timely, powerful labor actions, not in liberal moralistic divestment schemes, consumer boycotts or campaigns for a permanent economic quarantine of South Africa. In particular, trade unions in North America and West Europe must use their muscle to force multinational outfits like GM, Ford and Volkswagen to recognize black unions and to abolish the color bar and all forms of apartheid in their South African operations. ■

UPI
Black revolt flares in township of Sebokeng near Johannesburg.



Spartacist Campaign in S.F.— Fight for Workers Revolution!

SAN FRANCISCO, November 5—There is a choice—build a workers party! Spartacist candidates for SF Board of Supervisors Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman have campaigned among the workers, youth, black and Hispanic populations of the city offering a class-struggle program against both capitalist parties of war and racism. For those repelled by the "choice" of anti-Soviet nut Reagan and Cold War hawk Mondale, the Bradley/Coleman campaign has told the truth: you can't fight Reagan with Democrats and you can't bring down this racist capitalist system through the ballot box. What's needed is revolutionary class struggle and a multiracial workers party to lead it; a party that will stop at nothing short of workers state power, a party that staunchly defends the Soviet Union against the U.S.' war drive, that fights uncompromisingly for black liberation, *takes a side* for the victory of the Central American working-class and peasant masses against Yankee imperialism and its puppets, and can

lead the labor movement in a "hardball" offensive against the bosses from San Francisco to Alabama.

Under the central slogan "Finish the Civil War! For Workers Revolution!" the Spartacist campaign has thrown a searchlight on the anti-Soviet, pro-Democratic Party politics of the whole "rainbow" of the fake-left, including their repetitive and vile capitulations to the racism so integral to bourgeois electoralism. Spartacist candidate Richard Bradley was applauded by every decent opponent of racist terror in the Bay Area when twice last April he scaled the 50-foot flagpole in San Francisco Civic Center and tore down the Confederate flag of slavery and the KKK. Bradley's courageous action against Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein's official display of racism touched a chord of anger and pride in black and working-class neighborhoods while humiliating the Democratic city administration. That exposure of "Dixie Dianne"—and of Mondale as no "lesser

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SL candidates Diana Coleman and Richard Bradley say: Black liberation through socialist revolution!