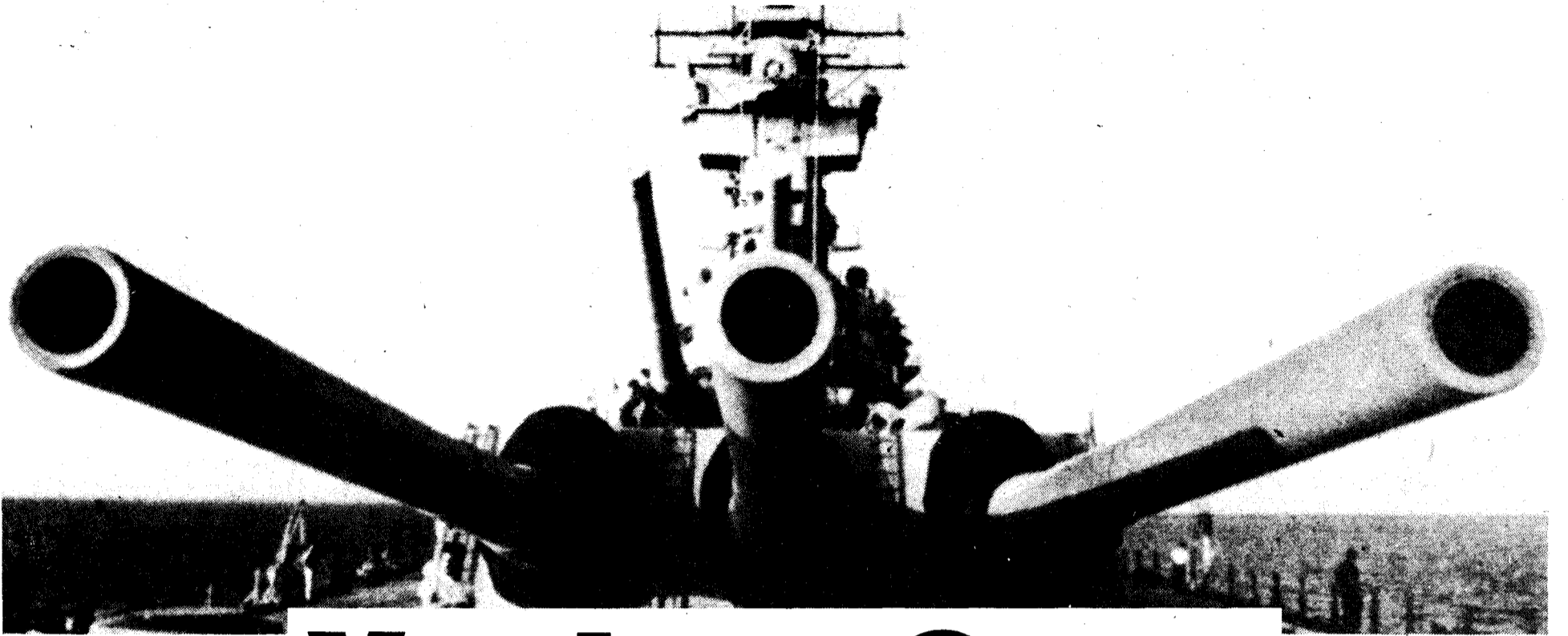


Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!



Nachtwey/Black Star

Yankee Guns Over Nicaragua

NOVEMBER 20—The riskiest time is going to be just after the U.S. elections, Fidel Castro reportedly wrote in a document circulated to top Cuban officials last July. That's when Reagan might be tempted into launching a full-scale invasion of Nicaragua, or even Cuba itself.

On the evening of November 6, just an hour after the TV networks declared Ronald Reagan re-elected, high White House officials were telling NBC's Marvin Kalb that the administration planned to follow a more "muscle" policy toward the Sandinistas. Also on election night U.S. intelligence officials

"leaked" reports to the press of Soviet MIG-21 jet fighter aircraft supposedly on their way to Nicaragua. "If those planes are on the ship," CBS reported, "one U.S. option being considered is a surprise attack."

There followed a week of ominous U.S. threats, manufactured "revela-

tions" and crass hypocrisy. Five times in four days the U.S. sent an SR-71 "Blackbird" swooping low over Managua at supersonic speeds in order to panic the Nicaraguan population. The Reagan administration did its best to sound like Teddy Roosevelt and the

continued on page 14

Black Freedom Demands Revolutionary Workers Party

Jesse Delivers, Blacks Shafted

Racial Polarization in '84 Elections

"Massive Black vote fails to stop Reagan—Leaders blame blitz on white backlash." This was the front-page headline of the *Amsterdam News* (10 November), and a lot of black people in this racist country have to feel shafted by the experience of the '84 elections. Mainly responding to Jesse Jackson's voter registration crusade, four million new black voters signed up, but all they got out of it for candidates were Walter Mondale, who endorsed Reagan's invasion of black Grenada, and Gerry

Ferraro, who opposed busing for school integration. Despite all this, blacks came out to vote in record numbers—and 90 percent of black votes cast went to the Democrats. In fact, the only electoral votes Mondale took outside of his native Minnesota were from the 70 percent black city of Washington, D.C. (They're in trouble—forget about statehood now, maybe black Washington ought to consider annexation by the Soviet Union.)

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Jackson was a shill in Mondale's losing game.



"Go Underground with Xandra the Red Avenger!"

Pages 7-10

Lanka Textile Strikers Fight On

Colombo, Sri Lanka
2nd November, 1984

The Editor,
"Workers Vanguard,"
New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

We were very pleased to read the news item appearing in the October issue with regard to the Magnum Garments' Workers' strike under the heading "Victory to Women Textile Strikers in Sri Lanka."

We are quite pleased for the publicity given to the strike and our Union members attached to the Factory have requested us to convey their warmest greetings and thanks to your paper. The Magnum Garment workers' struggle still continues with their stubborn employer to win the just demand of a salary increase.

In the meantime, the Minister of Labour of the Sri Lanka Government has referred the matter in dispute to be settled by compulsory arbitration under the Industrial Law of the country. As you have correctly stated, our Union's struggle is with the capitalist employers in the country with a view to improve the conditions of the workers of this country economically. We have been able to win a salary demand at two Garment Manufacturing Industries, which are export oriented firms, namely Maxim Ltd. and Helenluc Garments Ltd. The struggle continues in other Factories, too, for a wage increase, as the cost of living in the country is responsible for many hardships to the working class. As a result of the Ethnic problems in July, 1983, Factories such

as Hidaramani Garments Ltd., TATA Garments and Berec Batteries (Ceylon) Ltd. were destroyed. Some of these Factories have come back to normal operations after a long lay-off, causing hardship to thousands of workers, while Berec Batteries (Ceylon) Ltd. was closed down for ever, throwing 150 employees out of employment. Our Union is still struggling with Berec Batteries (Ceylon) Ltd. which is an associate Company of the Maharajah Group of Companies, which is a multi-national Company.

We are, indeed, grateful to your paper for your appeal to the leaders of the Workers Organisations to send in their contributions re. the Magnum Garments struggle. . . . We hope you will give us more assistance to fight for the rights of the workers in this country against their Employers.

The Bank Employees in Ceylon have given an ultimatum and have threatened Trade Union action if the demands made by them are not met by the Bank Employers and the J.R. Jayewardene Government has now declared the Bank Services of the country as 'Essential Services.'

We hope to send you more details regarding the struggles of the working class with private sector employers.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

S. Siriwardene, General Secretary
All Ceylon Commercial
& Industrial Workers' Union

WV urges our readers to send messages of support and contributions to the union at: 457, Union Place, Colombo 2, Sri Lanka. ■

Honor to Miyagi Yotoku

15 November 1984

To the Editor,

In *Workers Vanguard* No. 362 (14 September) a letter from one Paul Rierson repeated the vile slander that the Trotskyists during World War II had gone along with the racist herding of Japanese Americans into Roosevelt's concentration camps. As *WV* replied, Rierson's smear was an attempt to cover up the tracks of the Stalinist Communist Party, which not only supported this savage act of "democratic" imperialism, but even expelled from their organization each and every member of Japanese ancestry—and their wives! *WV*'s response documented the Trotskyists' proud record of defending the Japanese Americans from persecution and described the ordeals Japanese American workers underwent in the class struggle of the '20s and '30s. Readers will be interested in the fate of one of these cadres: Miyagi Yotoku. Miyagi didn't wind up in the Arizona desert camps—his lot was harder. His brief life gives another measure of the comrades the Stalinists betrayed.

Miyagi Yotoku became politicized in his early teens, subject to oppressive Honshu Japanese imperial rule of his native Okinawa. It was after he came to California in 1919 and experienced the postwar peak of anti-immigrant racist terror that he became a Marxist. He later pointed to "the inconsistency of American capitalism, the tyranny of the governing classes, and above all the inhuman discrimination against the Asiatic races. I came to the conclusion that communism was the cure for all these ills" (Charles Willoughby, *Shanghai Conspiracy—The Sorge Spy Ring*). Active in Marxist study circles after 1926, Miyagi joined some CP front groups in 1929 and finally joined the party in the fall of '31.

His membership, however, was registered secretly and under an alias and he was kept out of public work. This was not merely because he wasn't a U.S. citizen (many other Japanese immigrant workers participated militantly under threat of deportation). Miyagi was approached for a special assignment: Tokyo. There he was to meet a newly placed agent of the Soviet Red Army's Fourth Department: Richard Sorge. From the time Miyagi arrived in Tokyo (October 1933) he became a central figure in what was to become one of the most successful spy operations in history. *WV* No. 166 (15 July 1977) tells how Sorge positioned himself in the German embassy in Tokyo. As an irreplaceable source of information on Japanese affairs, Sorge came to counsel German Ambassador to Japan, Ott, on his every move. In the process, he would gather the highest quality information from the Third Reich.

"Because of the difference in race," Sorge wrote, "it is extremely difficult for a foreign agent to operate in Japan, and well-qualified Japanese assistants are absolutely necessary. I must admit that I owe my immense success to Ozaki [Hotzumi] and Miyagi. Enlistment of qualified Japanese assistants is not an easy matter, but the Soviet Union enjoys an advantage because, through communism, it can recruit on an ideological basis, while other world powers must attract agents with promises of monetary reward, political advancement, etc." Ozaki Hotzumi provided first-hand connections to the Konoye cabinets (even the prince himself!) while Miyagi took care of military and plebeian sources.

With this apparatus, Sorge was able to provide precise political/military information. Above all the Sorge network supplied supremely detailed

and accurate information about Hitler's impending invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. But, as Miyagi testified, "The Soviet Union ignored our report and did not prepare anything." At tremendous cost to the Soviet peoples Stalin criminally preferred to trust his pact with Hitler—right up *through* the attack! As the Wehrmacht tore into Russia, Sorge's vindicated warnings were studied anew. Sorge's network



Miyagi Yotoku

Ozaki Hotsuki

provided crucial intelligence that Japan would not attack Siberia (contrary to its assurances to Germany), at least until the spring of 1942. This made possible the stepped-up transfer by the Kremlin of vital Far Eastern Army divisions to the battle of Moscow in the fall/winter of '41. Those were dire hours—in mid-October sections of the government were evacuated from the capital. Alexander Werth reports in *Russia at War* (1964) that "[General] Rokossovsky stop[ped] the rout by throwing in the last reserves, including scarcely-trained *opolchentsy* [workers battalions], and troops from Siberia as soon as they disembarked from the trains." The battle of Moscow halted Hitler's blitzkrieg advance. Soviet power was saved, for the moment.

By autumn 1941, the die had been cast for Japan's role in the war. Sorge was preparing to close down his group when the Japanese police finally broke the ring. Miyagi was the first leader to be arrested. Tortured, he threw himself headlong out a second story window of the police station. This suicide attempt to protect his comrades failed. But his frail health was now broken for good. The whole apparatus was arrested in October 1941. Still awaiting sentencing nearly two years later, in August 1943, Miyagi Yotoku died in prison, a Communist. The following year, Ozaki Hotzumi and Richard Sorge were hanged on the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Sorge's last words, in Japanese, were "The Red Army! The International Communist Party! The Soviet Communist Party!" Earlier while rotting in prison year after year, Sorge and the others drew some satisfaction from the news of the Red Army's victory at Stalingrad. But their hopes for freedom through an exchange of prisoners were dashed—by Stalin! As then Japanese Vice-Minister of Defense Tominaga later revealed to Sorge's comrade Leopold Trepper: "Three times we proposed to the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo that Sorge be exchanged for a Japanese prisoner. Three times we got the same answer: 'The man called Richard Sorge is unknown to us.'" The problem for the Kremlin was that Sorge had proof of Stalin's treacherous defeatism on the eve of war!

So at the very time the American

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Engels on Insurrection

Elucidating the lessons of the German Revolution of 1848-1849 regarding the "art of insurrection," lessons that are indispensable for the strategy of proletarian revolution, Frederick Engels wrote:

Now, insurrection is an art quite as much as war or any other, and subject to certain rules of proceeding, which, when neglected, will produce the ruin of the party neglecting them. . . . Firstly, never play with

insurrection unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play. Insurrection is a calculus with very indefinite magnitudes, the value of which may change every day; the forces opposed to you have all the advantage of organization, discipline and habitual authority; unless you bring strong odds against them, you are defeated and ruined. Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small but daily; keep up the moral ascendant which the first successful rising has given to you; rally thus those vacillating elements to your side which always follow the strongest impulse, and which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known: *de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace!*

—Frederick Engels, "Insurrection," *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (1852)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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

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

No. 367

23 November 1984

Urgent Appeal for Striking British Miners' Families

The Partisan Defense Committee has issued the following call:

The PDC is launching a \$25,000 fund drive among American trade unions to aid the families of the heroic British miners, on strike for nine hard months against Reagan's bloody sister Margaret Thatcher. From the Arizona copper miners to black Detroit auto workers, from the West Virginia coal fields to Chicago's transit barns, the U.S. working class has an enormous stake in seeing Thatcher routed through a miners' victory.

Through their reign of terror against the National Union of Mineworkers, the guardians of moth-eaten British capitalism hope to wipe out this bastion of the working class. When Reagan went all out to smash PATCO, hundreds of thousands of unionists knew it would take labor solidarity *in action* to beat the government. And

international working-class solidarity can help defeat "Iron Lady" Thatcher's war on the miners.

With 8,000 miners arrested since the strike began, with union funds impounded by the capitalists' hired judges, and now miners' children killed scavenging for coal to heat their homes, the British miners have stood rock hard. They and their families must be defended! That's what union dues are for—a labor war chest! Thousands of dollars must come from union locals across this country. When it was announced that Soviet trade unions had sent over \$1,000,000 in food and donations to the miners' Hardship Fund, Thatcher tried her usual "reds under the beds" scare. The miners applauded the Russians' act of solidarity. Thatcher "quarantined" a shipload of food donated by Russian workers, but just let her try and steal

miners' money in a Soviet bank!

In the tradition of the early International Labor Defense, which defended and assisted strikers and class-war prisoners, and their families, the PDC—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—appeals to *WV* readers to support this fund drive. We invite socialist and defense organizations in the U.S. to organize efforts parallel to our own on behalf of the British miners. Given the enormous political differences between us and other groups, an attempt at a united-front campaign would create more problems than benefits for the miners, but we stand ready to coordinate with others to achieve the largest mobilization of trade-union support for the miners' side of the class war in Britain. If the Socialist Workers Party and the

Workers League can distract themselves long enough from Poland and Solidarność, if the staid old Communist Party is interested, if the Democratic Socialists of America have time on their hands since the Mondale campaign is over, we will make available our plans and access to union locals where we have friends.

The miners' strike has struck a deep chord in Britain, and has galvanized all those who have felt Thatcher's lash: Irish, blacks, Asians, women. The miners have staked everything on this strike. American unionists and minorities have a duty, and an opportunity, to strike a blow against reaction by coming to the aid of our class brothers and sisters. We appeal to unionists who want to mobilize their organizations in defense of the British miners to join us.

Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families; mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Contributors will receive numbered receipts; financial records of this fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization.

Break the Iron Lady!

British Miners Fight for All Oppressed

We print below remarks by comrade Eibhlin McDonald at a New York Spartacist League forum on South Africa, November 16.

I'm a member of the British section of the Spartacist tendency, and I'd like to take a few moments to describe to people particularly the British miners strike which has been going on now for about nine months, I believe. In fact, we had a demonstration recently in London organized by the Spartacist League on the question of South Africa, where a number of miners attended. And we raised the slogan, "African Gold Miners, British Coal Miners—Same Enemy, Same Fight, Workers of the World Unite!" [Applause.] And this slogan had a really powerful resonance—one which is very deeply felt in Britain, primarily as a result of the experience of these miners after nine months on strike. Because you have to understand, two miners have been killed on picket lines; several others have died on the way to picket lines; and most recently people have been killed trying to salvage coal from rubbish tips in order to heat their homes. If you imagine what it's like to have been without money for your family for nine months—no money for food, they have no heating, nothing like that.

However, they're pretty solid. They're not going back. Because they know that to go back means 20,000 jobs will be lost, and whole communities will be devastated. And, in fact, several thousand of them have been arrested, just simply for picketing. Thatcher has learned a few lessons from Botha's South Africa. They've recently adopted the tactic, instead of throwing people in prison—you obviously can't throw eight, nine, ten thousand miners in prison, because the prisons will overflow—so what they've started to do is to deport them within the country. People are sent off from English coal mines to the north of Scotland, and are not allowed to return home until after the strike.

So there was a certain identification with some of the stuff that was described recently in South Africa among the

British miners. There is, of course, a scabbing operation, pretty well funded, we believe probably by the Vatican. Although if you listen to the news reports, then you could very easily be misled. Because as one miner told us recently in one of our meetings—according to the news reports there are now 3,500 scabs in his pit, which he finds very hard to believe, since only 500 people work there [laughter].

Now, there are two things that I want to draw out from the British miners strike. One is that such a hard-fought class battle against the Thatcher government has inspired whole sections of the population in support for the miners. It's particularly noticeable among the black and Asian community. Something that is very new in Britain—you have a situation where miners, when they come into the city of London from their areas in order to collect money, of course the cops hound them throughout London, and arrest them for trying to collect money and so forth. They go along to a pub in the black ghetto, and the cops come into the pub—"Where are these miners?"—they want to arrest them. But the word had gone out that the cops were arriving, so of course the local people had hidden them. You know: "What miners? There are no miners here." Now, this kind of thing never would have happened before, because capitalism fosters those kind of divisions, and given that the miners union is predominantly white, this solidarity is a direct result of the struggle against Thatcher.

Another aspect of it is that women, mainly miners' wives and families, who'd come from pretty isolated communities, have in fact become political and taken on a leadership role in the strike and have organized themselves into strike committees.

And the other thing that I want to draw out of it is on the Russian question. It comes up most concretely and revolves around the question of Polish Solidarność, in Britain, and it's very sharply felt. Because the background to this miners strike was in fact—the leader of the British miners, Arthur Scargill, happened to mention

Class war in British coal fields. Pickets at Yorkshire coal mine battle cops to stop van carrying scabs.



before a trade-union conference a year ago that Solidarność was an anti-socialist organization. For this he was witchhunted and hounded by not only the capitalist class, the Tory party and so forth, but by a whole section of the trade-union leadership. And it has now become very clear, the people who were most outraged by Scargill's statement are today urging their union members to cross miners' picket lines quite openly. The leader of the Solidarność movement in Poland has sent a message of solidarity... to the scabs. And so Solidarność is hated and despised, not just among the British miners, but among whole sections of the population. Which is actually quite a good thing, because it doesn't bode well for Thatcher's war preparations against the Soviet Union.

They do the same kind of thing there. Talking about the "evil empire" in Russia. Except that in Britain a lot of the population now doesn't believe it, because they have seen miners go off to the Soviet Union and have very nice holidays on the Black Sea, you know, for their families and so forth. And they see this on television, and say, well, this is "totalitarian Russia"... it really doesn't look so bad looking at it from Britain [laughter].

Now, just in conclusion. One of the things that is patently obviously missing from the situation is a revolutionary party with a policy directed to the

overthrow of capitalism. Because in order to cohere together the struggle, particularly in a situation where old frameworks are breaking down within the country, to cohere and direct that struggle requires a program for the overthrow of capitalism. And that's what the existing trade-union leadership and the Labour Party in Britain doesn't have. For example, twice in the course of the miners strike, the dockers were out on strike, and were sent back, having gained absolutely nothing. Because these leaders understand that in order to go all out and do what is necessary in order to win the strike, you must be prepared to at least play around with the question of power. And that's what they're not prepared to do.

That in a nutshell is the strategy and program that the Spartacist League has been fighting for there. Because simply in order to win this strike, it's necessary to spread it to other sections of the working class. We hope as the outcome of that kind of successful class battle that you will have the basis for building a revolutionary party. Because in Britain, in South Africa, in fact in the U.S., you can have very hard-fought class battles which may lose or in fact may be frittered away, if you're not prepared to go all the way and address the question of power, for the working class in power, like they did in Russia in 1917. ■

SAP Trips Over Defense of the USSR

Swiss USec Expels Trotskyists

This summer, four comrades of the Swiss Socialist Workers Party (SAP), section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), were expelled, in an explicit political expulsion, for fighting inside the organization for positions paralleling the Trotskyist politics of the international Spartacist tendency. In the expulsion statement, the SAP Central Committee commission which investigated the case concluded:

"The positions of the four comrades are in political agreement with those of the Spartacists who characterize the Fourth International as counterrevolutionary. This political orientation makes common work with the SAP impossible."

—CC Commission motion for expulsion, 15 August

A public justification of the expulsion was published in the SAP newspaper, *Die Bresche* (3 September). We print below the open letter which the Swiss comrades produced protesting their expulsion.

The politics of the USec section in Switzerland reflect some of the more unappetizing qualities of that country, a complacent, racist little capitalist bas-



West Berlin, 24 July 1981: German Trotskyists initiate protest demanding asylum for Tamil refugees.

tion. It doesn't take much to be a "progressive" in a country that is socially so backward that even now women are denied the vote in several Swiss cantons and only a few weeks ago the first woman deputy managed to get into parliament. At the moment the Swiss government is in the process of returning to the bloody hands of the Sri Lankan government 1,700 Tamils who, fleeing the murderous pogroms in their country, found their way into Switzerland in the last year. And Switzerland is notorious for its vicious abuse of foreign workers who make up a larger proportion of the proletariat there than in any other country in Europe.

When the comrades of the Trotskyist Faction began their fight in the SAP, centering on the Russian question and emphasizing the questions of special oppression, the leadership immediately branded them as Spartacist agents and finally resorted to bureaucratic expulsion, the first such expulsions in the 15-year history of the SAP. This was justified in a shamefaced public statement in their German and French language newspapers *Die Bresche* and *La Brèche* (which, however, omitted the mention of dreaded Spartacism).

"These comrades demanded that the SAP support Jaruzelski's coup in Poland because the 10 million workers organized in Solidarnosc are manipulated by the CIA, the Pope and the imperialist banks. They demanded that the SAP condemn the pacifist movement in East Germany because it would harm the defense of the socialist countries. They demanded that the SAP distance itself from the FSLN in Nicaragua and from the FMLN in El Salvador, under the pretext that both organizations are 'petty bourgeois' and would not uncompromisingly defend the interests of workers and peasants."

—"Incompatible Political Positions," *Die Bresche*, 3 September

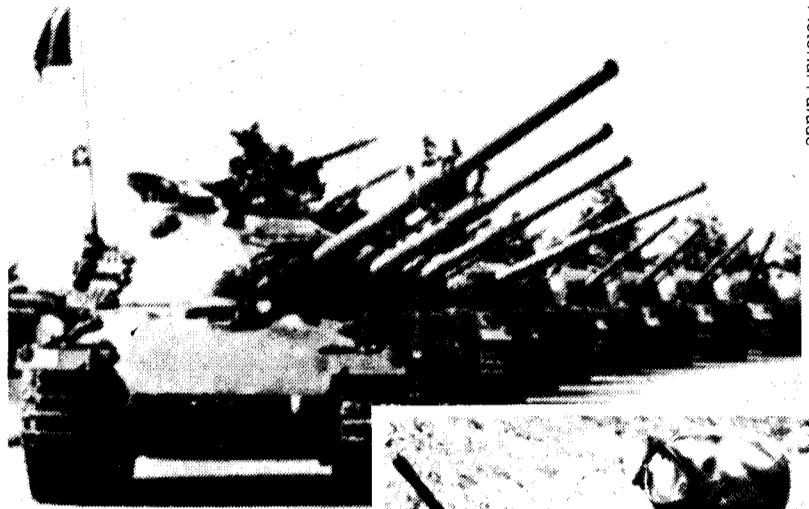
The CC drew the conclusion that these positions are in radical contradiction to the views of the SAP. Very true! Take for example the SAP's view of the imperialist anti-Soviet war threat:

"In the middle run the U.S. general staff certainly strives to attain a qualitatively

superior first strike force. But they leave no doubt that the possibility of the Soviet Union retaliating with nuclear weapons is great enough today that the American bourgeoisie—not being confronted with an extremely deep-going crisis—is far from considering such an adventurist military offensive in the coming years.... In the present period the main target of the U.S.A. is the

The Trotskyist Faction also fought around the centrality of the immigrant worker question in Switzerland. Against the complete indifference of the USec section to this key question, the comrades wrote:

"Full citizenship rights for foreign workers! For a mobilization of the



Swiss army protects gnomes of Zurich. Swiss USec group pushes utopian pacifist demand to abolish bourgeois armed forces.

Soldier of Fortune

colonial revolution, especially the Central American revolution."

—Reply to Comrades H., P., S., and B., SAP CC Commission

In this way the SAP attempts to simply erase the very issue of defense of the Soviet Union. But it is clear as day that the ultimate target of Reagan's threats against Nicaragua is the Soviet Union. In rejecting this truth, USec leader Ernest Mandel and his Swiss friends Duret and Bergmann are preparing the ground for explicit third-campist and outright state-capitalist positions to grow, as for example in the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire.

working class against the special oppression of foreign workers!

"... We want to state here that the masses of foreign workers do not regard us [the SAP] as playing a leading role in fighting against their oppression. So it is no wonder that this decisive part of the proletariat is only sparsely represented in our ranks. A party which takes the fight for proletarian revolution seriously would in fact base itself first and foremost on this part of the working class."

—Declaration of Faction

Meanwhile, positively exuding narrow Swiss neutralist-pacifist nationalism, the SAP has been deeply involved

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We print below the open letter issued 20 September 1984 by the expelled Trotskyist Faction of the SAP.

The CC [Central Committee] of the SAP [Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei—Socialist Workers Party] has felt obliged to publish a public statement on the expulsion of four comrades (*Bresche*, No. 252). The CC claims that we hold incompatible political positions. The question is: incompatible with what? Certainly not with the Trotskyist program.

In the face of Reagan's massive war preparations against the Soviet Union we do not shrink from our position: For unconditional defense of the Soviet Union. As Trotsky taught us in *In Defense of Marxism*:

"What does 'unconditional' defense of the USSR mean? It means that we do not lay any conditions upon the bureaucracy. It means that independently of the motive and causes of the war we defend the social basis of the USSR, if it is menaced by danger on the part of imperialism."

Instead the SAP calls for disarmament West and East and spreads pacifist illusions (as do preachers and social democrats). In its statement it even demands the withdrawal of Warsaw Pact troops from East Germany, which means nothing other than serving up a deformed workers state for dinner to the capitalists!

For a Trotskyist Party in Switzerland!

Trotskyists say: For defense of the workers states against imperialism! Only the armed workers will disarm the bourgeoisie! Victory to the Red Army in Afghanistan! (Declaration of Faction, p. 3).

In Poland as well, the SAP has abandoned the Trotskyist program of defense of the gains of October and of the proletarian political revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party: a sellout to Solidarność which is considered an anti-bureaucratic movement by the SAP (even Reagan is opposed to the bureaucracy....) There is no doubt that Solidarność has a program for capitalist restoration in Poland: decentralized self-management to restore market capitalism; trade unions, independent of the bureaucracy... but not independent of the AFL-CIO (better known as AFL-CIA on the South American left); establishment of the Catholic church as the state church and so on.

We support the preventive coup by the Polish government, which halted Solidarność' counterrevolutionary grip

on 13 December 1981. That is why the SAP tried to brand us as fans of Jaruzelski. Trotskyists can only be thankful that the bureaucracy, which constantly endangers the gains of October, has, at least for the time being, prevented without a bloodbath certain capitalist restoration.

This does not mean that we give political support to the bureaucracy. On the contrary: we sharply criticize it, because it economically undermines the country, favors the church and small peasants against the workers and thus is to blame for the workers being driven into the arms of Walesa, Wojtyla and Reagan.

Therefore, in Poland it is necessary to build a Trotskyist party. We need the Trotskyist program to cut the ground from under the feet of counterrevolution once and for all. We need a return to the authentic communism of Lenin and Luxemburg! Down with clericalism! For the strict separation of church and state! For collectivization of the land! For trade unions independent of

bureaucratic control and based on defense of socialized property! Cancel the imperialist debt! For international socialist economic planning! For soviet democracy, not bourgeois parliamentarism! For proletarian political revolution! Defend the USSR against imperialism! For revolutionary unity of Polish and Soviet workers!

Defense of the Soviet Union is also on the agenda in Central America. Masked behind the attacks against the revolutionary process in Nicaragua and El Salvador are Reagan's rollback plans: Nicaragua, Cuba, Warsaw, Leningrad and Moscow are supposed to fall. The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) is the only organization which stands for military victory of the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador! The SAP supports the FSLN and FMLN in such an uncritical manner that it is opposed to building its own organizations in Central America. The SAP stands with those who look for a political solution. This means nothing other than bargaining over the price of the revolutionary fighters' blood! We are not simply spectators, as the CC of the SAP wants to pretend. We took a clear position in our document of May 20: "Support of the Sandinistas' struggle and of the Salvadoran guerrilla fighters against U.S. imperialism and its local butchers

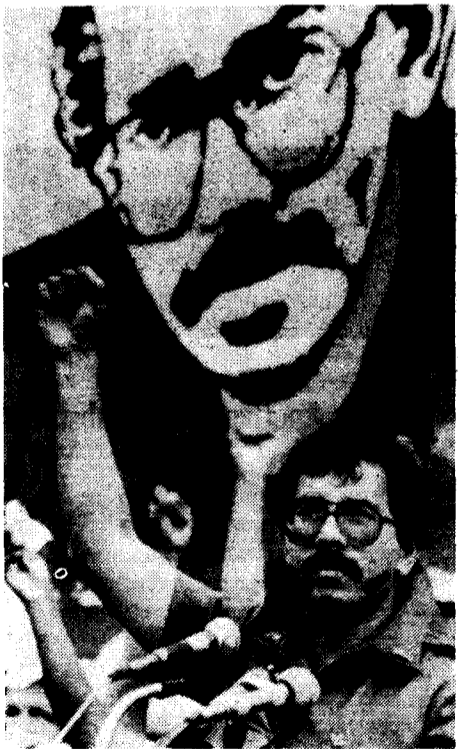
continued on page 11

Defend, Complete, Extend the Revolution!

Nicaraguan Elections and Yankee Blackmail

Over the last century more than 200,000 Nicaraguans have died fighting to liberate their homeland. American forces have intervened militarily in this Central American country 14 times in the same period. For 70 years, from 1909 to 1979, Nicaragua was almost continuously under occupation by the Marines or ruled by U.S.-installed puppets. And throughout this time they staged "elections." Back in the 1920s they made no bones about it: the electoral laws were drawn up by Washington, which also picked the candidates and the winner. While running Nicaragua as a private hunting preserve, the Somoza dictatorship understood that to please their "democratic" imperialist masters they had to periodically stage a fraudulent vote. Since the bloody dynasty was overthrown by a popular revolt five years ago, Ronald Reagan has repeatedly denounced the "unelected" Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) regime in Managua. But when the FSLN decided to beat the Yankee imperialists at their own game, the U.S. did everything it could to sabotage "the first free elections in Nicaraguan history."

A "Soviet-style sham election," says Reagan. Washington wants to discredit the Nicaraguan elections in order to pave the way for American intervention against "Sandino-Communism." And the conservative Nicaraguan opposition, liberal media in the United States and European social democrats chimed



Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega campaigning for president.

in, clamoring to postpone the vote until 1985. More than three quarters of Nicaragua's registered voters went to the polls, compared to barely half the electorate in the U.S., yet the State Department declared it "just a piece of theater for the Sandinistas"! Just about every different kind of party you can imagine participated, including three openly pro-capitalist parties. But the Americans dismiss it as "unrepresentative" because Uncle Sam's candidate—José Arturo Cruz, a banker who has

May Day in Nicaragua, 1984: Demonstrators declare "Every worker, a defender of the homeland."



lived for 30 years in Washington and speaks better English than Spanish—boycotted the vote on instructions from the CIA!

When Nicaraguans went to the polls November 4, it was in the middle of a war against a "made in USA" mercenary army of former Somoza Guardsmen. In the first three weeks of October there were 92 battles between the army and counterrevolutionary invaders, leaving 250 "contras" and 80 soldiers dead. And the day after the vote Nicaraguan postal minister Enrique Schmidt Cuadra was killed commanding a special detachment fighting the contras. The Somozist cutthroats Reagan calls "freedom fighters" explicitly targeted the elections as they carried out the instructions of the CIA murder manual for "selective use of violence" against the population. And to sow panic in the population, an American SR-71 "Blackbird" spy plane caused sonic booms in Nicaragua's cities.

The liberal media joined the Reagan administration in denouncing the Nicaraguan vote. "Only the naïve believe that Sunday's election in Nicaragua was democratic or legitimizing proof of the Sandinistas' popularity," editorialized the *New York Times* (7 November). The vote results belie this. Two thirds (67 percent) of the valid votes were for candidates of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, out of a field of seven parties. The Conservative Democratic Party (PCD) came in second with 14 percent, the Independent Liberals (PLI) third with 10 percent, the Popular Social Christians (PPSC) got 6 percent and three small leftist parties won slightly over 1 percent each. In addition, about 7 percent of the ballots were blank or write-in votes for the Coordinadora Democrática, the contra-endorsed, CIA-backed coalition which boycotted the election.

From the moment they were announced last February, the Nicaraguan elections have been subordinated

to the confrontation between the radical-nationalist Sandinistas and Reagan's America. Initially they were aimed at gaining "legitimacy" in the eyes of the Democratic-controlled U.S. Congress and in Europe. As pressure from Washington mounted to put off the vote, the fact that it was held at all became an act of defiance against Yankee imperialism. But in the end this brought no "breathing space" for the Nicaraguan revolution. Instead the elections provided a forum for the internal counterrevolution and created a bourgeois parliamentary institution that will be an obstacle to further revolutionary advances. If this were not enough, on the eve of the voting the FSLN hosted a "national dialogue" including the CIA-backed Coordinadora boycotters. And immediately afterwards the U.S. launched a war crisis over mythical MIGs to Managua.

At the Sandinistas' closing rally, junta coordinator (now president) Daniel Ortega cried out to the enthusiastic crowd estimated at 300,000: "We must be ready to fight in the streets of Managua against the Americans, with guns, with rocks, with machetes." The

crowd responded with the battle cry of the Spanish Civil War: "¡No pasarán!" They shall not pass! But in Spain the Francoists did get through, because the Stalinists blocked the proletarian revolution at every step, politically tying the workers to the bourgeois republic. The Sandinista vote and the clear evidence of popular support for the revolution won't stop the contra terrorists. What's needed is mobilization of the workers and peasants to defend Nicaragua the only way possible—completing and extending the revolution.

From Revolution to Election

The Nicaraguan revolution was sparked by the Sandinistas, but the armed struggle which finally overthrew "Somozalândia" went far beyond the few thousand guerrillas. The Spanish Republic had its Guernica—Nicaragua had four: the towns of León, Estelí, Masaya and Chinandega, which were destroyed under savage attacks by National Guard tanks and air force bombs. Victory was achieved when the workers and poor rose up in Managua, holding off the Guard for three weeks, carrying out a mass retreat of thousands and then returning to take over Somoza's infamous Bunker 24 hours before Sandinista troops rode into the capital. Referring to a poem by FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca Amador, billboards proclaimed, "dawn has ceased to be a temptation"—the new day has begun.

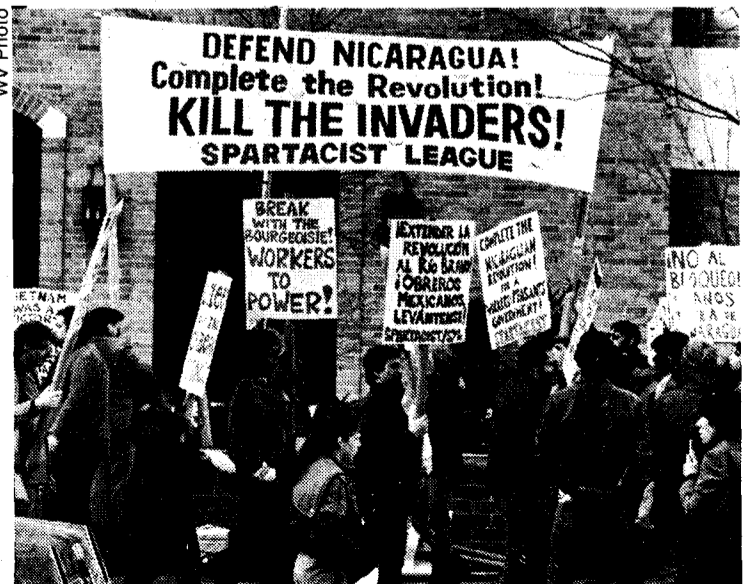
What took place in Nicaragua in July 1979 was a giant political revolution which overthrew a one-family regime, and thus had important social consequences from the start. The capitalist state was smashed as Somoza's praetorian guard hightailed it across the border to escape the wrath of their victims. In its place a petty-bourgeois government took power, committed neither to capitalist nor proletarian property forms. The former "opposition" bourgeoisie initially went along with the victorious Sandinistas. They were all pledged to the policy of "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment." But as the FSLN resisted imperialist pressure to strangle the revolution, its capitalist allies gradually left.

Alfonso Robelo, originally a member of the "government junta of national reconstruction" together with the FSLN, is now a contra leader. Arturo Cruz, another former junta member, became the CIA's "non-candidate." The PLI's Virgilio Godoy, who acted as a spoiler in the campaign, was labor minister until February of this year. None of these were prominent leaders before the FSLN made them into symbols of the "patriotic" bourgeoisie. The Sandinistas created this bourgeois opposition, in order to bolster their attempts at a "third way" between socialist revolution and bloody counterrevolution.

The American press claims the vote is "unrepresentative" and "a farce" because of the absence of "major opposition candidates," but Nicaraguans had

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New York City, March 1983: Spartacists march against CIA-directed contra invasion of Nicaragua.



Black Freedom...

(continued from page 1)

The vote dramatically showed the deep racial polarization in this country. It was Jesse Jackson, above all, who delivered the massive black vote for Mondale. But the result was a white racist backlash that more than canceled out the black vote, particularly in the South. The split was so stark that in Mississippi and Alabama, 90 percent of the black vote went to the Democrats and 80 to 85 percent of the white vote went Republican. In this mean, racist society, a black bloc vote guarantees that for each black voter another 13 whites will vote. Eighty-year-old quadriplegic white ladies will make it to the polls after getting the word there is a black bloc vote.

Richard Pryor, the black entertainer and astute social commentator, understands what this country is about. "What were Japanese people thinking in 1941?" he asks in his movie *Richard Pryor—Here and Now*. "They sat around and said, 'We bombed Pearl Harbor! They'll never fuck with us again'.... Cause they'd been to the University of California and shit, and saw white people were laid back. They hadn't been to the University of Alabama and Mississippi. I mean—I'm not lying—they got white folks down there they keep on a leash in the basement: 'Maybe in Central America we'll let you go, but not yet. Sit.'" Prewar Japanese students at UC Berkeley wouldn't easily grasp the all-American racist mentality that gloried in the firebombing of Tokyo.

This was a damn peculiar election. As a rule, different social groups vote for the party which claims to represent their interests. In Germany in 1932, the last elections before the Nazi takeover, reformist-minded workers voted for the Social Democrats, radical workers for the Communists, Catholics for the Catholic Center Party, and the large, floating vote of desperate petty bourgeois went to the fascists. In contrast, this election was marked by massive false consciousness. White trade unionists voted for an outright union-buster, white women for a president opposed to the ERA and the right to abortion, white youth were "standing tall" for an administration which may soon be bringing them home from Central America laid out flat in aluminum caskets. The only white folks who seem to have voted against Reagan as a group are the former PATCO air controllers, and also the usual breed of "lesser evil" leftists.

It looks like blacks are the only major section of the population not caught up in the wave of macho chauvinism (aside from the Hispanics who had to dodge *la migra* on the way into this country, and can't vote). Black people thought a vote for Mondale would help fight Reagan reaction. They were wrong—but at least they voted in their *perceived* social

interest. As for the economic upturn which helped win white workers for Reagan, it didn't help ghetto blacks, who are as ever the last hired and first fired. In a *New York Times*/CBS poll on the eve of the elections, 55 percent of blacks said they were worse off economically than four years ago. They know that the "new patriotism" is just the same old racist shit painted over in red, white and blue.

Black people have never shared the Cold War anti-communist and anti-Soviet sentiment. Blacks are incensed at the sheer hypocrisy of Reagan's "free world" crusade against Communism. Take, for example, a recent letter to the *New York Post* (9 November) about the police killing of a poor black woman who was being evicted from her apartment in the Bronx:

"I wonder if anyone in a Communist country would ever be evicted from an apartment the way Eleanor Bumpurs was.

"I suspect that if a Solidarity member in Poland was ever gunned down by police for no more than she was, there would be protests in our streets, and the U.S. President would be denouncing the Polish government for such a barbarous act."

For the capitalist order in Reagan's America, blacks are the *weak link*. Black people know that their main enemy is at home. Given half a chance, from the abolitionists and the Civil War to the rise of industrial unionism and the civil rights movement, black people have fought for their rights, and their struggle has been a motor force for social progress. That struggle, linked to the power of labor through multiracial *revolutionary* leadership, will be a motor force for shattering this racist capitalist system once and for all.

When Reagan's supporters in white sheets announced they were going to bring their racist terror to the streets of Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982, the Spartacist League's call for a mass labor/black mobilization to stop them evoked a powerful and determined response from black unionists and youth throughout the region. Of course the black Democrats from Congressional Black Caucus leader Walter Fauntroy to ex-SNCC leader and D.C. mayor Marion Barry did everything in their power to ensure the Klan would march with impunity. Instead, the SL-initiated mobilization, mainly black and more than 5,000 strong, drove the Klan out of town and gave a taste of black workers' *real social power* as it triumphantly marched the planned route of the firebombers and cross burners.

As the Democratic Party National Convention in San Francisco approached, Spartacist supporter Richard Bradley twice took down the Confederate flag from that town's Civic Center. SF's Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein arrogantly replaced that banner of chattel slavery and KKK terror, and like a Confederate officer she tore down the Union flag Bradley had put up. But wide support for Bradley's anti-racist actions forced "Dixie Dianne" to back down and when Bradley and Diana Coleman ran on a revolutionary program for SF



WV Photo

In SL-organized Labor/Black Mobilization, 5,000 largely black workers and youth stopped the KKK from marching through the nation's capital, 27 November 1982.

Board of Supervisors, the best fighters for that campaign were militant supporters of the Labor Black League for Social Defense.

"Where Is Our Party?"

Jackson's now complaining that blacks were the only part of the traditional Democratic Party constituency that remained loyal in this election. Anyone who thought that this massive (and lonely) display of loyalty would increase black influence in the Democratic Party is dead wrong. In fact, it is having just the *opposite* effect. Democratic Party leaders have concluded that they must go after the open racist vote to win back some of the constituencies they lost. That is the meaning of Democratic National Committee chairman Charles Manatt's statement that the presidential ticket must be "regionally balanced"—that is, from now on run a Dixiecrat racist. Likewise with Gary Hart's statement that the Democrats must put all this New Deal labor/minority coalition stuff behind them and appeal to the Yuppies (young urban professionals). Significantly, a quarter of the people who supported Hart in Democratic primaries ended up voting for Reagan. All the new code words for racism abound: ending the identification with "special interests," getting rid of the "image of the party of the needy." When Manatt says the Mondale/Ferraro campaign was "not getting across a message of economic opportunity," this is just doublespeak for attacks on social welfare programs.

So here you have this massive display of loyalty, with blacks the only sector of society which remained true to New Deal liberalism... and the result is that the Democratic Party tries to distance itself even further from anything which smacks of the black gains of the 1960s. The Democrats figure they've got blacks trapped, that they have nowhere else to go. And in *bourgeois* electoral terms, they're right. Blacks were cynically used as voting cattle by the Democrats, and will continue to be, until there is a break from the two-capitalist-party stranglehold, until a revolutionary workers party leads a fight to bring down this whole racist system!

Jesse Jackson sought to channel the potentially explosive black hostility to Reagan into Democratic Party electoralism. Thus he campaigned *against* the black militancy and mass action of the 1950s and 1960s. He spelled this out repeatedly, such as in his speech at a black community college in lower Manhattan a year ago:

"You cannot serve the age of those who sat in, you cannot serve the age of those who rode the flaming buses, you cannot serve the age of those who fought the Vietnam War....

"We need not explode through riots as we had to in '63 to be heard.... We can use the ballot to bring about change and transition through elections and not bloody revolution."

The only time the black masses got anything at all was when they shook up this country, like the mass struggles of the late '50s and '60s. It was the civil rights movement which exploded the Cold War/McCarthyite reaction of the

1950s and opened up a whole new political period in this country. The Montgomery bus boycott, the lunch counter sit-ins, the freedom rides, the early SNCC community projects, their defiance of redbaiting and the whole gauntlet of right-wing slander and intimidation sent the HUAC witch-hunters/Dixiecrat racists scrambling as the movement took on mass support.

This had its effect in terms of foreign policy as well—the young SNCC activists who visited Cuba helped to break down the anti-Communist hysteria in this country. Blacks who were up against the capitalist state—from the fire hoses and attack dogs of Bull Connor's Birmingham to the billy clubs and tear gas of Boss Daley's Chicago—played an important role in the growing opposition to the Vietnam War. As Muhammad Ali put it, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger."

In the South the black activists were able to win voting rights and access to public facilities (rights which had existed north of the Mason-Dixon line for years). But "the Movement" ground to a halt in the North, unable to change the hellish conditions of ghetto life—the mean streets, rat-infested housing, the last-hired/first-fired endemic unemployment, the whole cycle of black poverty, drugs, crime and desperation. Just as he is doing today, Jesse Jackson along with M.L. King and the rest of the SCLC liberal preachers channeled black anger and black activism into the party of the Dixiecrats and Vietnam War. Instead, what was needed was to link the demands for black rights to the organized power of labor.

It has to take *class* struggle, the integrated power of white and black workers, to do away with the racist oppression rooted in the very fabric of the American capitalist system. And here lies the strength of blacks—not diluted, 1 in 12 at the ballot box, but as workers, concentrated in the key strategic sections of the economy—steel, auto, transport, longshore, etc. Blacks, the most advanced sector of the proletariat, concentrated at the point of production, have in their hands the power to shut this country down!

The civil rights movement tried to confront the unfinished business of the Civil War. Black chattel slaves had been emancipated only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated. It will take a third American revolution—a workers revolution—for black emancipation, to smash the racism inextricably woven into every aspect of the American capitalist system, to uproot the racist rulers as a class and to expropriate the country's wealth on behalf of the working class and poor. The key to socialist revolution in this country is united struggle of black and white workers led by a multiracial vanguard party. The road of the class struggle, the fusing of the fight for black liberation and proletarian revolution—that is the program of the Spartacist League, a revolutionary Trotskyist organization dedicated to the construction of the multiracial vanguard of the working class. Join us! ■

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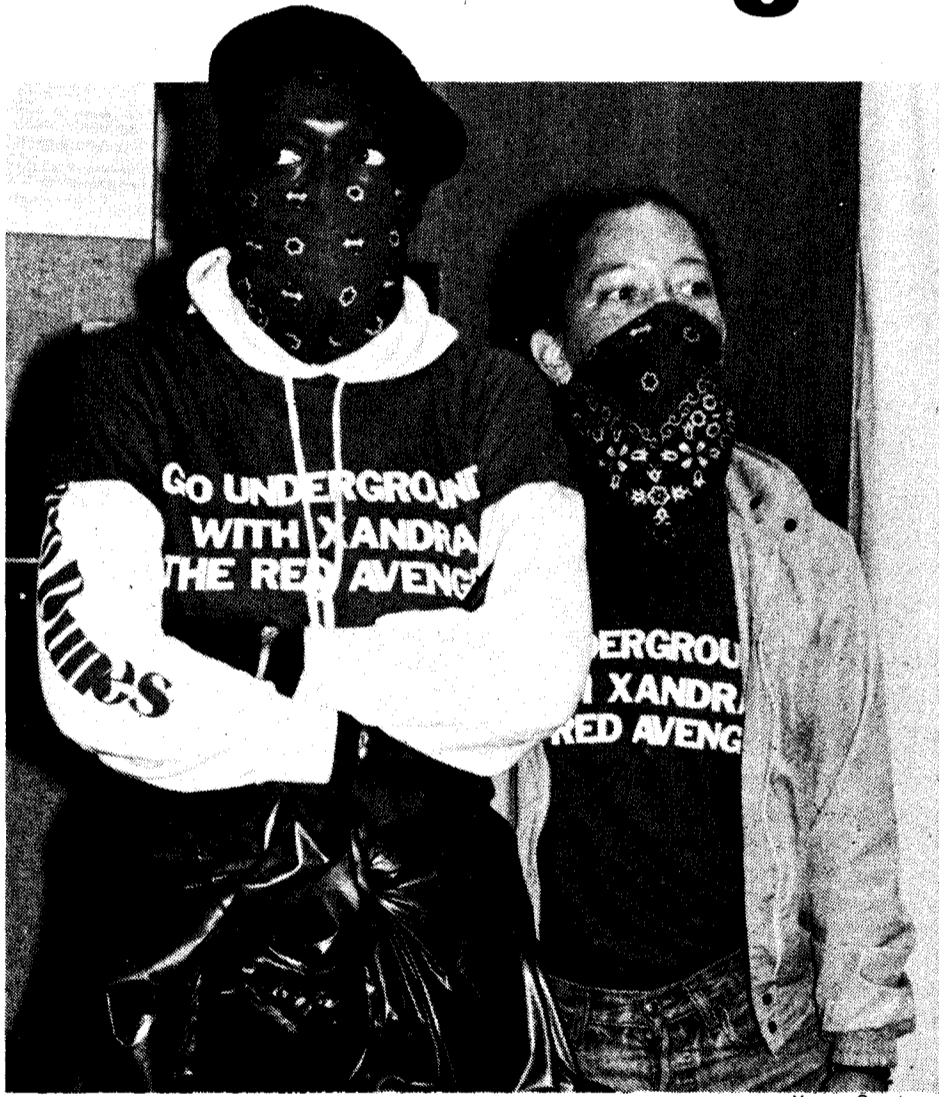
"Go Underground with Xandra the Red Avenger!"

SAN FRANCISCO, November 20—Young communists are being hunted down, chased, beaten and arrested for distributing Marxist literature. No, this is not Chile or South Africa, but the supposedly liberal "marketplace of ideas," San Francisco State University where the Spartacus Youth League has been driven underground and its literature banned.

The gang which is seeking to deny us all known democratic rights does not appear in the guise of Hitlerite totalitarians. Instead they partake of the "bean-sprout totalitarianism" of the "me"-generation on today's campuses, where it has become a crime to read pornography or try to buy a pack of cigarettes in a restaurant; where unescorted men are to be jailed as rapists if they're found on the streets after 10 p.m.; where anti-tank barriers are erected to protect children from cars. It's a nasty, cloying, ultra-parochial milieu where anything you don't like, like maybe seeing a piece of Marxist literature, becomes a form of "assault" called "you're invading my space." In willful mockery of this bean-sprout totalitarianism, the SYL will give them undergroundism bean-sprout style. The SYL at SF State becomes the Red Avengers of the Underground SYL, adopting the appropriate tactics like communiqués and guerrilla theater.

The communiqués received from the Red Avengers hold up for scorn the strutting little junior-grade book-burners who are replicating in the confines of their campus sandbox the panoply of sinister forces whose intent is to set up and destroy revolutionary Marxists with lies and cops. The whole thing has the stench of the FBI's COINTELPRO, the state's preferred undercover method of wiping out any perceived political opponents of the government, part of ideological regimentation of the population for war.

"Mellow" San Francisco has most recently been the scene of cop terror, from bashing the heads of demonstrators at last summer's Democratic Party National Convention to the cop rampage at a recent protest against "Defense" Secretary Caspar Weinberger. And the vicious Democratic Party mayor "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein must still burn with hatred every time she crosses Civic Center plaza and sees where her Confederate flag used to fly before the Spartacists removed and destroyed this offensive banner of



Young Spartacus

Introducing the Red Avengers. Venceremos!

slavery and KKK terror.

Exposed and wounded animals are dangerous and it appears these Democratic Party beasts have lashed back with a vengeance at SF State, an institution which enacts student conduct codes that prescribe who can and can't exist as if it were a feudal fiefdom that escaped the bourgeois-democratic revolution. How fitting that the attack dogs for this red-hunt are first and foremost the lady dobermans in the SF State Women's Center (WC), followed by the whole panoply of pro-Democratic Party aspirants and camp followers in the red-white-and-blue Rainbow Coalition, and the Associated Students (AS)—a nest of student careerist parasites eager to impress the powers that be. (A measure of the caliber of this "Women's Center," by the way, is that it has been accused of conducting "an unofficial boycott of homosexuals" [*Phoenix*, 18 October]—and this in San Francisco!) One week after Reagan's electoral landslide, these

popular-frontists, in frenzy and despair over their loser Mondale, began competing with Pinochet for book burning and rounding up the reds.

On October 9 the SF State Student Activities Office castigated the SYL for daring to organize a rally off campus against the South African apartheid butchers without first getting Big Brother's permission. But liberal totalitarianism really reared its ugly head in earnest at a November 1 debate sponsored by the WC, featuring SF Board of Supervisors candidates Diana Coleman of the Spartacist League, Sylvia Weinstein of Socialist Action and Julianne Malveaux, a former member of the Carter administration now representing Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. WC director Judy Moore (aka "Baby HUAC") decided that a table displaying Spartacist literature invaded her inner space and called the cops and the administration in to whisk away socialist literature (of course leaving intact the literature display of the right-wing

Lyndon LaRouche nut group). Student Activities Coordinator Russ Natson arrived on the scene and barked: "Student Activities considers this [Marxist literature] a counterdemonstration." The next day, Natson fired off a "Letter of Concern" to the SYL complaining of "two incidents involving literature distribution, when members of SYL were again the focal point of dissension" and stating that "this form of negative behavior is inappropriate for the safety and well being of students at SFSU."

Do Natson and Moore really have psychotic delusions of Marxist Bulletins, newspapers and pamphlets leaping off literature tables to "counterdemonstrate" and assault them? Probably not—but for the capitalist ruling class, which wants its wage-slaves and future wage-slaves docile, Marxist ideas being offered for scrutiny by youth and working people are dangerous (remember, it was once a capital crime to teach slaves to read) and the strutting would-be J. Edgar Hoovers and mini-Feinsteins at SF State are ever eager to do the bidding of their masters, the capitalist rulers. Anyone with a shred of decency should understand what's really going on. SFSU professor Sam Wellbaum, the SYL's faculty adviser, said flatly: "I don't believe they (SYL) are violent. They are loud and offensive, but that's their privilege" (*Golden Gater*, 20 November).

Meanwhile, the SYL is undergoing very real repression at the hands of the book-burners and their pals in blue. Thus far, supporters of the SYL have been subjected to six arrests; eight people were served with 72-hour bans from campus (including one person banned twice), four with 14-day bans; one student was warned his student status might be withdrawn if he was seen distributing SYL literature ever again.

A section of the bourgeoisie aims to criminalize political dissent as "terrorism," combining the ideological criteria of McCarthyite witchhunting with the direct-hit methods the FBI used to set up and destroy the Black Panthers. To them we are "terrorist" criminals guilty of "crimes" like: exposing the CIA's company unions like Polish Solidarność, leading masses of black unionists and youth in stopping the Klan, tearing down the Confederate flag of slavery, opposing war criminals on campus and recruiters for the murderous govern-

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Red Avengers...

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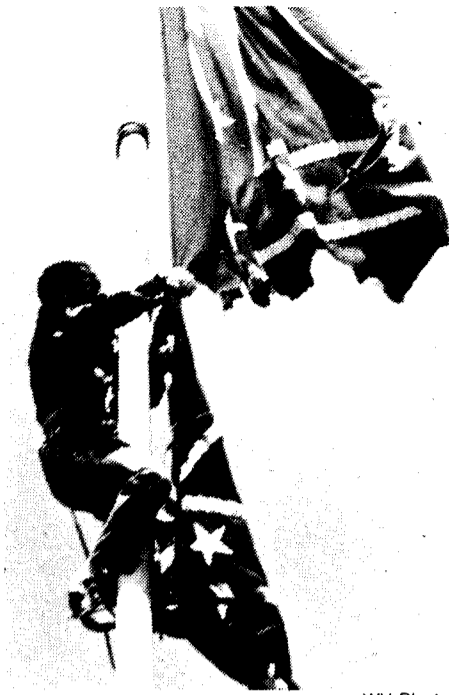
ment spy agencies, seeking to win youth to opposing imperialist war and recruiting them to socialism.

The anti-Soviet popular-front leftists take their cue from their bourgeois masters. To these frenzied, scared, demoralized pro-Mondale "leftists" we are "disrupters" whose crimes include: seeking to intervene like other members of the public in public meetings, carrying our own anti-Democratic Party revolutionary slogans in demonstrations, criticizing other organizations and recruiting youth to revolutionary Marxism. Both bourgeois and reformist components agree to bolster their intersecting respective cases with lying allegations of Spart "violence" to set us up for repression.

A vicious resolution passed November 15 by the Associated Students—yet another toothless body totally subservient to the administration, and which was dissolved during the '68-'69 strike—is a tissue of slimy lying allegations of SYL violence including the baseless claims that the SYL "belligerently and violently disrupt[s] the meetings and functions of other campus organizations" and "targets, harasses, and physically assaults members of the campus community."

This star-chamber Inquisition hearing included depositions submitted by Malveaux and various other dubious elements of the Democratic Party's "left" swamp. Malveaux reportedly claimed she had been assaulted by SYL supporters at a class October 23. One can't exactly take this lie seriously since the prevalent definition of violence by these birds centers on "assaults" on their "space" by Marxist literature. Indeed, Malveaux's whining about SYLers indecently approaching her with a microphone and tape recorder is nothing but poor-little-old-me cloying hypocrisy—the woman is a public figure trying to become more so: indeed, she was a candidate for public office at the time. But in any case, Malveaux never publicly raised any allegation of "violence" prior to the AS meeting nearly a month after the incident; why didn't she call the cops at the time, nor make the charge when she debated a Spartacist supporter at the Women's Center debate.

Another participant in the AS meeting reportedly tried to smear the SYL



WV Photo

April 1984—Richard Bradley, a leader of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, twice scaled 50-foot flagpole in San Francisco Civic Center to rip down the Confederate flag of slavery. Bradley's action earned him the vindictive wrath of SF's Democratic Party mayor, "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein.

with the criminal allegation of arson, that the SYL had set a fire in the student union. The slanderers have been unable to make this one stick at all. The firebug was in fact a right-wing woman who stood up on a chair and yelled, "God Bless America," ignited the Red Avengers' communiqué and dropped it to the floor. When a cop appeared asking "Who started the fire?" the woman confessed and the dismayed cop walked away.

It must have been a furious night of brainstorming—all but one of the depositions are dated the same day. That's the most political activity we've seen from these creeps since registering people to vote for Mondale. As for allegations of "violence," we wonder whether these stupid people ever looked at bodies—shot, knifed, burned, ripped—that is violence. Maybe "Baby HUAC" and her sisters get social and sexual excitement out of the seepages of a ruined human body, i.e., violence. We don't.

This is not the first time the SL/SYL or our supporters have been falsely accused of violence. In a series of remarkable-legal victories we have won apologies and retractions from the likes of the Secret Service, the California attorney general, the Moonies and various bourgeois newspapers.

On November 12, the Red Avengers made their first campus appearance in a variety of masks and disguises, including Groucho Marx noses and glasses, "Ms. Piggy" faces and a Red Devil or two. Communiqué No. 1 was distributed throughout the campus; when delivered to the WC, it was cop city with a nasty vengeance. WC "media director" Renee "Freikorps" Frye, hysterically flapping about like a rabid bat—striking WC people trying to restrain her and Red Avengers alike—called in some male-type cops against a black trade unionist supporter of the Underground SYL. The comrade's crime was distributing leaflets and stepping in Frye's way when she tried to assault Xandra the Red Avenger. Our comrade was then handcuffed, dragged off, chained to a chair for 45 minutes at the campus police HQ and finally charged with "assault" for invading Frye's "space."

On Thursday, November 15 the Red Avengers held an "illegal" rally in the SFSU Student Union to raise money for the urgently needed arms to Nicaragua in its defense against Yankee aggression. The rally site was draped with the flags of U.S. imperialism's enemies—those of the Nicaraguan FSLN, the Cubans and



"We Stopped the Klan!" WV supplement celebrates Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982. Reagan and the cops said KKK would march, but Spartacist-led demo stopped them. Now at SF State a repulsive "Spart-busters" wall poster mocks this victory, parodying it as "We Shopped for Spam!"

the revolutionary Fourth International. Four comrades were arrested, handcuffed and dragged off by campus security forces, then charged with being outside agitators and taken downtown. Racist scum disrupted the rally by hurling Klan-like epithets at black members of the Red Avengers: "They wouldn't want you in Russia, so you should go to South Africa" and "Why don't you go to Grenada?" In their crusade against communism, the Rain-

police report filed on him cites his "crime": "On campus/consent to remain withdrawn," and his "motive": "to pass out 'Spartacus' Nicaraguan support flyers."

Right-wing feminists, along with other "me"-generation "political" self-seekers looking for patronage from the powers that be, add a new element to the notion of "disruption" with the concept of "self-defense" against invasion of one's "space." Do these dobermans of the female persuasion have something like the maritime 12-mile limit so that Marxists intruding into this "space" with books and ideas constitute a form of physical assault? These anti-freedom feminists become genuinely violent and/or call in the cops to manhandle Red Avengers of all races and sexes, which certainly violates our "space" except they've determined we don't have any. We know what happens to people who become non-persons with no space. The Nazis set up camps for them.

So the WC has found allies. Their vicarious fear of the invasion of their inner space leads these little ladies to call out big, brutal, sweating, white male cops to stop people from explaining that Karl Marx understood a thing or two. Which leads us to a lesson in dialectics. A while back there was a reference in the San Francisco press referring to the "business end" of a female great white shark. (Here in the land of beansprout totalitarianism there is, of course, much touching eco-compassion for the plight of the great white shark.) We wondered... what is the business end of a female great white shark? The answer, you see, depends on whether one is a horny male great white shark or a deeply committed feminist skindiver.

So here, fräuleins of the WC, is the unfolding of the dialectic. It's similar to

Antiaircraft Missiles For Nicaragua!



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SYL raised money at SF State to help Nicaraguans clear skies of Yankee invaders. Above: Soviet SAM-7 anti-aircraft missile.

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Young Spartacus

Make payable/mail to: SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101

bow Coalition from Malveaux to Workers World Party has now unleashed this racist filth. The feminist WC in bed with white racist jocks.

The Red Avengers struck again that afternoon as the AS met to de-fund the SYL and recommend to the administration that it be banned. Ten Red Avengers burst into the AS meeting room and an Underground SYL spokesman denounced the student government as the agents of imperialist war and racism: "We stand on the other side! We're for black liberation through socialist revolution! We're for smashing apartheid slavery!" The Red Avengers refuse to accept a penny from the student government, junior-grade conduits of the ruling class.

While exiting the AS meeting, a female comrade was seized by a particularly deranged campus cop, thrown up against a wall, frisked and handcuffed. Red Avengers and some onlookers demanded "Let Her Go!" until she was released to the Red Avengers' cheers: "Venceremos!" The following day, in defiance of police "banning" notices, one Avenger supporter, a student at the University of California at Berkeley, was arrested for a second time: the

question of what is the business end of a great white racist sexist cop? He also has alternate business ends, depending, and you prefer to use the business end that compares to the toothed end of the poor, oppressed, Third World great white shark. Remember, pigs come in several forms, too. And one of them is spelled S-O-W.

As for the nasty children of the AS: we, as reasonable people, despite your lies about us, are always ready to make a deal. Relegalize us. No matter what we'll be damned if we ever take a dime from you. We don't want your bloody Yankee Amerikkkan dollars or the bonus that undoubtedly comes for unswerving service to this rapacious imperialist government whose running dogs you are. We promise to continue to promulgate our views in the way we have and to campaign against any political organization which sucks at the mammary gland of the bourgeoisie. In the words of the Red Avengers: "The battle lines are drawn... Down with the book-burners! Antiaircraft missiles for Nicaragua! Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! For the International Communist Revolution!" ■

November 15, 1984

WHEREAS the Associated Students Legislature recognizes the need for student organizations to exist; and

WHEREAS the Associated Students Legislature acknowledges the right of all student organizations to express their views while maintaining due regard and respect for the organizational integrity of other groups on campus; and

WHEREAS the Associated Students Legislature believes that this mutual respect fosters understanding and tolerance for the diversity of opinion inherent to the campus community; and

WHEREAS the Associated Students Legislature recognizes that the Spartacus Youth League's campus organizations have consistently violated the rights of

WHEREAS the Spartacus Youth League has frequently responded to this divergence of opinion by belligerently and violently disrupting the meetings and functions of other campus organizations; and

WHEREAS the Spartacus Youth League targets, harasses, and physically assaults members of the campus community — including students, faculty, and staff; and

WHEREAS the Associated Students Legislature believes that the Spartacus Youth League's policies are in direct violation of the laws of the State of California and its assistance with other organizations within the campus community;

THEREFORE BE IT

RESOLVED that the Associated Students Legislature does officially censure the Spartacus Youth League; and be it further

RESOLVED that the Associated Students Legislature withdraws all current monies allocated to the Spartacus Youth League and will not support future funding, space allocation, or any other benefits afforded student organizations by the Associated Students Legislature; and be it further

RESOLVED that the Associated Students Legislature strongly recommends revocation of the Spartacus Youth League's student organization charter.

The Associated Students' evil lies.



Young Spartacus

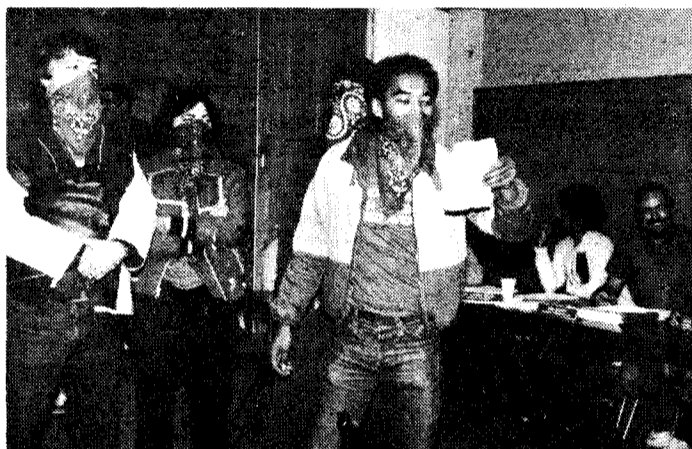
Guerrilla theater: The Effete Legal SYL bound and gagged by the Oh-So-Official Women's Center.



Seven little Ms. Piggies go to free market. Bottom right: Renee "Freikorps" Frye. Her "sisters": top, from left: Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Dianne Feinstein. Bottom, from left: Golda Meir, Hitlerite filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl.

Young Spartacus

Red Avengers at AS meeting: "Down with the Associated Student Stooges (SS)! Gag on your benefits! We won't take one dime from the agents of Amerikkkan imperialism!"



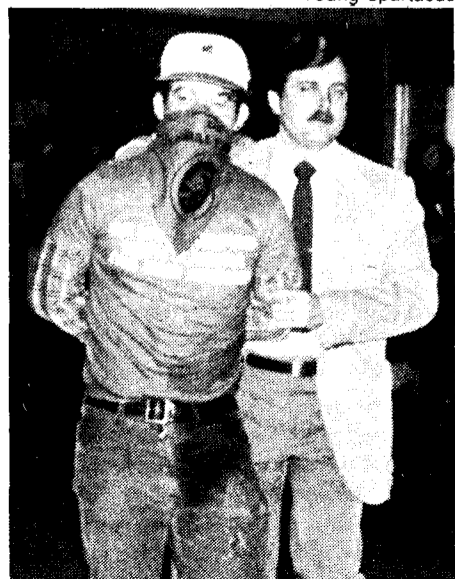
Young Spartacus

The Spartacus Youth League of San Francisco State University has been driven underground by gestapo persons and rabid doberman pinschers of the female persuasion crawling between the toes of the FBI. We go underground because sinister elements in the student government and the Women's Center, book burners inspired by sentiments at bottom not different than those of CIA tool Pinochet of Chile, leave us no recourse if we are to distribute our Marxist literature—especially our newspapers *Young Spartacus* and *Workers Vanguard* and the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

As an underground organization we will invite people to campus meetings to discuss Marxist politics. As for the female doberman agents of the bourgeoisie in the grip of anti-Soviet heat, they are going to have to face the just political rage of those driven underground. Beware of the Red Avengers!

Certainly the SF State student government and Women's Center have

Young Spartacus



Red Avenger "space invader" busted.

COMMUNIQUE NO. 1

Beware Lady Dobermans in Anti-Soviet Heat— Your Ass Could Be Bitten Next!

made a spectacle of themselves during the sorry events of the last few weeks. They would do well to ponder the Amerikkkan CIA's long tradition of using student governments as dupes and pawns in their global campaign of anti-Soviet disinformation and terrorism in the service of imperialism.

Perhaps we are witnessing the rebirth of something like the National Student Association, a CIA creature whose cover was blown in 1966. That's how Gloria Steinem got her start as a CIA spy on Communist youth. SF State's "Women's Center" may be the breeding ground for a new crop of Steinems. To find out, we might ask the local Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) chapter whose mentor, Michael Harrington, has a similarly "comfortable" history with the likes of the NSA.

As it is, events at SF State over the past period read too much like a William Buckley CIA spy novel about a mythical Midwest college where anti-freedom feminist CIA agents dupe the campus cops and student government into acting as tools to get the reds.

Behind the farce at SF State lie some fundamental points. The SF State campus is not the bourgeois state but a derivative of it. Money disbursed by student governments is thus only indirectly money of the state. But he who

pays the piper calls the tune. The power of the purse is the power to control or destroy. The Democratic Party-ensconced Harringtonite DSA, of the shabby history cited above, makes a career of living off this largess.

The underground SYL defends the struggle for legality, but refuses to take one dime from the paid agents of bloody Yankee imperialism. We demand the de-funding of all political organizations except those groups who are agents of the bourgeois state—e.g., Young Republicans will get their money from the FBI and the Young Democrats from the CIA. We note with satisfaction that the excellence of our proposal is only underlined by the fact that the Workers World Party/People's Anti-War Mobilization, Unity, John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, et al. are up to their ears in the imperialist filth of the Democratic Party. Amen!

For our part we happen to be old-fashioned Marxist-Leninists who don't think that smoking in an elevator merits being stabbed (as happened to black SF State student Doris Collum by an eco-freak in February, 1982) or that distribution of Marxist literature merits castration.

We know that this is an uncivil statement, we only wish that it was also inaccurate. It takes two to be civil. To

our rabid opponents we offer a deal: you catch the unwary looking for a good fuck and we'll catch the ones looking for an understanding of the world...you're bound to give yours a real screwing.

Speaking of which (witch?) Women's Center guru Judy Moore (a.k.a. Baby HUAC) informs us, "I'm not impressed with police brutality, nor do I care in the least what's happening in Nicaragua." But Moore likes to throw her considerable weight around, and doesn't want State students to read Karl Marx. Well, in lieu of Marx, we recommend that Ms. Moore read *Miss Manner's Guide to Rearing Perfect Children—A Primer for Everyone Worried About the Future of Civilization*.

To those students at State who do care about stopping U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary schemes in Central America the Red Avengers of the underground SYL invite you to a rally of the effete legal SYL on Thursday, November 15 at noon on the plaza for military defense of Nicaragua against Yankee imperialism. We will be soliciting funds for the Nicaraguan government to purchase the most advanced anti-aircraft missiles from the Soviet Union, especially the Soviet equivalent of the Stinger. Join the Red Avengers at the A.S. meeting at 4:00 Thursday to protest the two-bit Führers' attacks on the SYL (camouflage provided upon request).

Red Avengers—friends of the rights of the Underground SYL Vencereimos!

11/12/84

Address all correspondence to:

Red Avengers
c/o Underground SYL
Felix Dzerzhinsky Square
corner of Karl Marx Street at
Fourth International Avenue
SF State University
San Francisco

COUNTER-COMMUNIQUÉ NO. 1-1/2

The following counter-communicé (excerpted) from "Ms. Piggy" to "Good boys and girls" was circulated November 19 at SF State campus after it fell into the hands of the Red Avengers.

FROM: Ms. Piggy, Esq., Ph.D.,
Führette-in-Chief of the
Wombat Center

TO: Good boys and girls

RE: Totally unauthorized commie
literature and rally

1. It has come to my attention that completely non-permitted subversive Bolsheviki propaganda is being circulated on this campus by the self-designated "Red Avengers of the Underground Spartacus Youth League." My flunkeys advise me that some of these ignorant sluts and low-class riffraff have even gone so far as to impersonate Me. Further, these people reportedly held a commie rally at 12:30 PM last

Bureau of Insemination (FBI), c/o Wombat Center, J. Edgar Hoover Memorial Union. Repeated infractions may result in clitorrectomy and/or castration....

v. ...Now, commie weasels...if you won't "grow up" like those nice Human World Party people and Democratic Socialists it'll be more pig slop for you! Off with your heads!

2. The Thursday 12:30 Red Avenger rally to raise funds for the purchase of advanced Soviet anti-aircraft missiles for Nicaragua was an outrage and an intolerable affront to: Dianne Swinestein (aka the Falling Wonder), Phyllis Schlafly, Lady Di, Margaret Thatcher, the Queen of England, Jeane Kirkpatrick, the late lamented Indira, and all my other Sisters. You know what happens when you cross me and my girls, the direct descendants of Lizzie Borden and Carrie Nation....

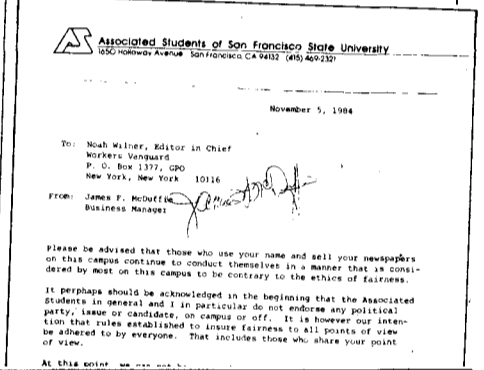
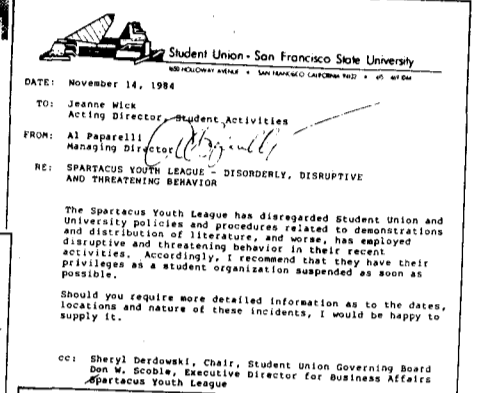
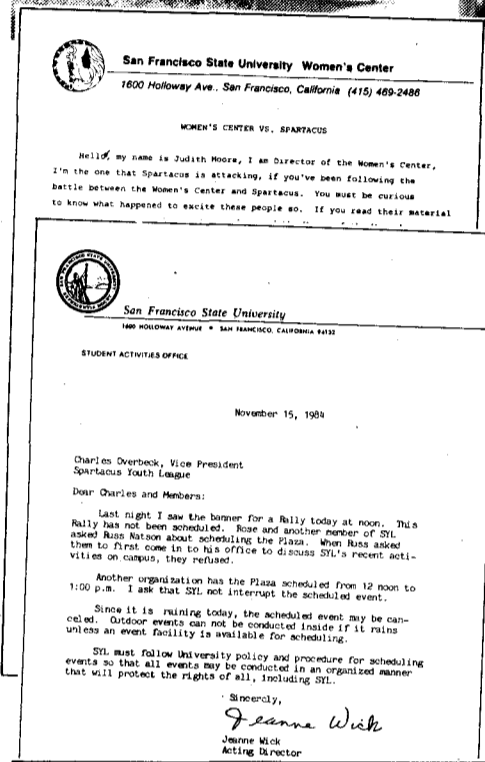
3. My colleagues and lackeyettes called the cops (how I love 'em!) to cart off those Marxist books at the Debate. Cross my heart and hope to die, those books assaulted me. Sociable Tea Biscuits and Red Revolution do not mix or match, as Miss Manners or Emily Post will tell you. Then Renee Frye called the cops to arrest a black trade unionist supporter of the Red Avengers after he aided that slutnik Xandra when Renee Freikorps attacked her. Yes, I do love the cops, but I'm still not satisfied. Be advised that My Administration is weighing the following additional measures:

- a. an invasion of SF State by the Marines (if Ronnie says OK);
- b. a quarantine by the 7th Fleet;
- c. getting Pres. Duarte to lend me some death squads...
- g. Korean Air Lines spy plane to buzz Red rallies, with simultaneous activation of U.S. RC-135 recon aircraft and other goodies.

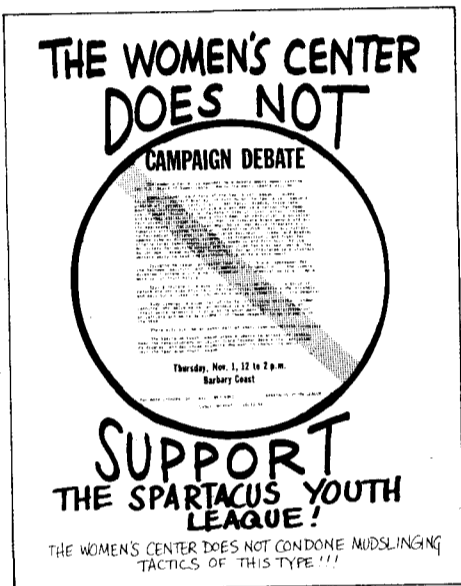
In any event, a Pot-Luck Book Burning and Doberman Beauty Contest will be held soon. Your friendly local American Anti-communist Alliance squad leader and Girl Scout cookie salesperson will advise you of the time and place.

4. Now, my children, never forget:
 - x. Communism saps precious bodily fluids and could lead to fluoridation.
 - ix. Communists fight imperialist war, racial and sexual oppression, unemployment, and other

Young Spartacus



Top: Ms. Piggy finds her pork barrel. WC honcho Judy Moore writes: "protect yourselves" against SYL's Marxist views "by any means necessary." Feminist beansprout totalitarians conspire with sandbox student bureaucrats, whine to cops and administration that our Marxist literature "invades their space"—the pretext to frame up and silence reds.



The feeling is mutual.

Thursday in the Student Union cafeteria.

ACHTUNG! NOW HEAR THIS!

- i. This Marxistic, Trotskyite trash is not stamped and counter-signed by Myself and Big Brother. This is prima facie proof that it is ipso facto (that's pig Latin) unlawful, unlady-like, unauthorized, prohibited, forbidden, not nice, naughty und sehr verboten. DO NOT READ IT! It is hereby CANCELLED.
- ii. Subversive Russia-lovers are definitely agents of the devil.
- iii. Those caught reading aforementioned smut will be punished. Report yourself to: Campus Frog



Head of Women's Center lectures.

Stackpole/Life



Judy Moore

Young Spartacus

Question: Which end of a female great white shark is the business end? Answer: It depends whether you're a horny male great white shark or a militant feminist skindiver.

- viii. In awful Russia there is free medical care, no unemployment, no slumlords, no Dixiecrats and in general no way of advancing Ms. Piggy's career in the Democratic Party.
- vii. Xandra comes from the Russian name Xandropova.
- vi. It is a proven fact that Marxism makes hair grow on your palms. It has been linked to impure thoughts, pleasure, masturba-
- tion, pornography, pleasure, taking your clothes off, heterosexuality, homosexuality, bisexuality, and other sources of bestial orgasms. It is a social disease.
- vi(a). These people, in their mad desire that you seek to change the world, could actually make it harder for you to be clean cannon fodder for invasion of Central America, WWII, and other worthy causes. Besides, there is mounting evidence that Karl Marx was a foreigner.
- v. There is no Point v.
- iv. Nancy Reagan is a Person too.
- iii. There is too a pot of gold at the end of the Rainbow. (I have a bridge to sell you, too.)
- ii. If I play my cards right, I might get to be U.S. Dictator of Grenada some day, or at least of Treasure Island. Today SF State, tomorrow the world!
- i. Revolution is definitely not authorized by the SF State Bondage and Disciplinary Review Board.

Are You Now or Have You Ever Been? You Better Not!
Down with Intelligence—Long Live Death! (My very favorite Francoist slogan)
MIGs No! Pigs Sí! Oink if You Love the Bourgeoisie!
Go Back to Russia, Commie SYL Perverts!

Ms. Piggy, Esq., Ph.D.
RSVP

Nov. 18, 1984

WORKERS VANGUARD

Hands Off Tamil Refugees in Switzerland!

The Swiss government has announced plans to deny political asylum to thousands of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees. The fate of these Tamils, threatened with imminent deportation to certain imprisonment and possible death in Lanka, now hangs in the balance. *WV* has received a letter dated October 16 from S. Janarthanam, on behalf of the World Tamil Youth Organization in Sri Lanka, requesting publicity and protest.

Following the July 1983 government-orchestrated anti-Tamil pogroms in Lanka, in which many hundreds were hideously massacred, tens of thousands of desperate Tamil refugees fled to India while thousands more managed to make their way to Europe and North America where they rotted for months in squalid detention centers. About 1,700 landed in Switzerland, the biggest such influx of dark-skinned political refugees Switzerland had ever experienced. (Remember that the Swiss denied asylum to Jews fleeing Nazi terror.)

In mid-August the Swiss government sent a delegation of two officials to Lanka. Their task, S. Janarthanam wrote to *WV*, was "to investigate the prevailing ethnic situation here in order to ascertain the possibility whether those asylum seeking Tamil youths... could be sent back to the island. After an

eight-day stay here [spending] only 5 hours in the troubled North... not even able to keep most of their appointments to hear representations [about] the Tamil youths, hunted, tortured and persecuted by the Sri Lankan security forces," the delegation returned to Switzerland to write its report.

Even before arriving in Colombo, the Swiss Director of the Federal Office for Police Affairs had claimed that "the Swiss authorities had no evidence that the Colombo government was responsible for Tamil repression"! The subsequent "report" reads like a press handout prepared by the rightist terror regime in Sri Lanka. Its claims are flatly contradicted by the daily testimony of journalists, which are available for all the world to read, in papers as diverse as the London *Guardian* and the courageous Jaffna-based *Saturday Review*. Claiming that the situation has calmed down "except for the most recent confrontations in the past few weeks in the North"(!), the report continues:

"The government seems concerned to contribute to stabilizing the situation by taking various measures—not allowing for the granting of certain of the Tamils' political demands. One cannot say there is a general discrimination aimed against the Tamils. "The present regime may have behaved clumsily for some time and overreacted

1,700 Tamil refugees in Switzerland face deportation into hands of bloody Sri Lankan regime.



with respect to the separatist tendencies among the Tamils. But today it seems to be making an honest effort to resolve the conflict peacefully."

—*Wochen Zeitung* (Zurich)
No. 42, 19 October

Meanwhile the draconian "Prevention of Terrorism" regulations and the censorship remain in force while in the Tamil north and east of the island the population reels under the attacks of a rapacious army of occupation.

As a result of the Swiss government's grotesque whitewash, thousands of Tamils face deportation back to communalist terror and government bonapartism. Other European governments, West Berlin for example, are now also threatening Tamil refugees with depor-

tation on the basis of the Swiss "report." Since the refugees lack identification papers, their imprisonment in Lanka is virtually assured. The jailers of the brutal Jayewardene government in Colombo must not get their hands on these refugees! Remember last year's massacre at Welikada prison where 53 Tamil prisoners were bludgeoned to death. These deportations must be immediately and vigorously protested! Send telegrams to: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Chemin Tulpiers No. 7, 1208 Geneva, Switzerland; Bundeskanzlei, Bundeshaus West, 3003 Berne, Switzerland.

Stop the Deportations! Political Asylum for Tamil Refugees! ■

Swiss USec...

(continued from page 4)

in the fake-left-inspired referendum to "Abolish the Army" (which is about as likely to succeed as a drive to abolish Swiss chocolate). In one of their electoral brochures, they make the following "startling" revelation: "It is guaranteed that an atomic war in central Europe would not spare Switzerland..." In addition to this referendum (in Leninist terms a vote to abolish the bourgeois state!) the SAP proposes that Switzerland distance itself from NATO. In other words—let's have *real* neutrality so we can devote ourselves exclusively to making lots of money out of the blood of the workers in the *next* war too! SAP politics have more in common with those of their countryman, the social-patriot pacifist Robert Grimm (whom Trotsky described as "a hopelessly dull bourgeois from a godforsaken Swiss village"), than those of Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the first revolution to rip the means of production from the hands of the rapacious warmongering bosses. Every self-respecting worker wants to see the gold of the gnomes of Zurich liberated too, and put into the service of world revolution.

The international proletariat has plenty of reason to despise the Swiss bourgeois state which profited from two

devastating world wars while remaining "neutral." Switzerland is a solid anti-Soviet bulwark whose "neutrality" is based on its banks and strong military establishment. Ex-banker Paul Erdmann, who ought to know, wrote about the Swiss in his novel *The Crash of '79*:

"The secret of Switzerland's amazing record of non-involvement in the destructive conflicts of our century lay not in its declared policy of neutrality. Who cared? Rather, no one had invaded Switzerland because the power elite of that nation had always made sure that the country maintained a very effective military deterrent—combined with the willingness to 'do business' with both sides in any major conflict. In World War Two, for instance, the Swiss in effect told the Nazis: Invade us, and every Swiss male between seventeen and fifty will hole up in the Alps and fight an endless war of attrition, Tito-style. On the other hand, if you are smart enough not to invade us, we will be most happy to supply you with the best our highly developed industry can produce. Against cash, of course."

Before World War II, Trotsky wrote about Swiss neutrality and national defense in "War and the Fourth International" (1934), one of the fundamental documents in the foundation of the new international in 1938:

"Just as the preceding war swept away the neutrality of Belgium, so the new war will leave no trace of Swiss independence. Whether after the war Switzerland will retain its entity as a state, even though without its independence, or whether it will be divided among Germany, France and Italy depends on a number of European and world factors among which the 'national defense' of Switzerland will occupy an insignificant place."

The Fourth International was destroyed in 1953 by a revisionist current, Pabloism. Following an impulse to abandon the perspective of forging proletarian vanguard parties on the national terrain and a democratic-centralist international, this tendency advocated the substitution of other social forces—Stalinism, social democracy, later "third world" nationalism—for the Trotskyist party. The fight against Pabloism then, though belated and partial, was carried out by the American SWP along with factions of the English and French sections, and the Swiss section. Evidently there is not a shred of memory of this fight in the current hopelessly petty-bourgeois SAP, which is itself quintessentially Pabloist today. The international Spar-

tacist tendency was born in the struggle against Pabloist revisionism. The iSt carries forward the fight for genuine revolutionary, proletarian internationalism. The Swiss comrades' struggle for Trotskyism led the SAP to push these young comrades toward us, and we welcome them to the iSt. ■

Trotskyist Faction...

(continued from page 4)

is a necessity of revolutionary policy. It is necessary to defend the Nicaraguan revolution and to complete it by the proletarian conquest of power, and to assure that it does not remain limited to Nicaragua." This is the only road to victory.

The Sandinistas' policy of maintaining blocs with the patriotic bourgeoisie and of making deals with the imperialists aims at a third solution between capitalism and socialist revolution and at preventing the completion of the revolution. To really win, the masses need a Trotskyist party.

Defend the Nicaraguan revolution! Expropriate the bourgeoisie! Complete the revolution!

Why We Were Expelled

In its statement the SAP has kept quiet as the grave about the iSt, although they labeled us iSt U-boats from the moment we started our fight, and expelled us for it.

Upon being confronted with Trotskyist positions, the SAP was so fearful that it tried to avoid political discussions by means of bureaucratic maneuvers. That's why they suspended us and threatened to expel us. Then they looked for a pretext to justify this measure which contradicted the organizational rules—and they found it when we sent our first document to members of the SAP. But, as even the Control Commission itself had to state, in no way does this violate the party's rules. This is why the CC in its statement omits where exactly we supposedly violated the rules. However, the reason for our suspension and expulsion had nothing to do with the rules. Maybe the SAP has reason to fear the iSt... It is true that in several countries USec members, truly

SAP stolpert über die Verteidigung der UdSSR

Dokumente des Kampfes der trotzkistischen Fraktion der SAP

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON DER TROTSKYISTISCHEN FRAKTION DER SAP IN ZUSAMMENARBEITUNG MIT DER INTERNATIONALE TROTSKYISTISCHEN TENDENZ.

Bulletin documenting the fight for Trotskyism in Swiss USec group.

looking for Trotskyism, have been drawn to the iSt. In the U.S., the formation which was expelled from the SWP in 1963, now called the Spartacist League/U.S., has today become the recognized Trotskyist party of the American left.

We were young, loyal comrades who wanted to discuss some Trotskyist positions which were also held by the iSt. The leadership's witchhunt drove us into the arms of the iSt. For this we can only be grateful. Thus we found our way from the national narrowness of Switzerland to proletarian internationalism. When 5,000 black workers, led by the SL/U.S., drove away the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, then this is our victory as well! When our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka fight against anti-Tamil pogroms this is also our fight against anti-Tamil terror in Switzerland!

We call on all those who really want to build a Trotskyist party in Switzerland, part of a real Trotskyist international. The SAP cannot escape concrete class conflict by means of bureaucratic expulsions. We will pursue our struggle and therefore are publishing all the documents of our faction fight in the SAP.

Trotskyist Faction of the SAP (expelled)
Now members of the iSt
20 September 1984

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

Nicaraguan Elections...

(continued from page 5)

ample opportunity to vote for "democratic" counterrevolution. The Independent Liberals, a split from Somoza's party dating back four decades, campaigned for "national reconciliation" including with the contra mercenaries. The Democratic Conservatives openly act as a voice for capitalists, stating that Nicaragua "should be run by business people in their own interests." The PCD baldly appealed to war weariness, saying that "Mr. Reagan, or any other Reagan who becomes president of the United States, will continue the war" until the FSLN is removed, but that if the Conservatives were voted in the fighting would end overnight (*Barricada Internacional*, 11 October).

Meanwhile, the U.S. embassy in Managua was twisting arms and offering to buy off anyone who was for sale. In late October, PLI standard-bearer Godoy quit the race the day after receiving a visit from the American ambassador urging him to drop out. However, the PLI vice presidential candidate refused, party activists objected and no other candidates resigned. A week later, Democratic Conservative party leaders tried to pull the same maneuver but were rebuffed by the party convention. PCD leader Córdova Rivas, a member of the ruling junta, said the U.S. had offered the boycotters "all the money they wanted" to pull out of the campaign. Accurately taking the measure of these motley bourgeois puppets-for-hire, the Sandinistas offered to increase their bribe, upping the government election subsidy by a few thousand dollars.

Sandinistas Try to Walk the Middle Road

In the recent elections, the FSLN campaigned on a "Plan of Struggle" centered on defending Nicaragua's sovereignty and "institutionalizing" the revolution. This program vainly attempts to bridge the fundamental alternatives: social revolution or bloody counterrevolution. While talking of "people's power," they have just elected a parliamentary assembly in which right-wing reaction is well represented. The FSLN platform commits itself to "deepen the social and economic revolution that has already been launched," and in the next breath talks of "consolidating our model of independent economic development." Yet only by expropriating the bourgeoisie, replacing the "mixed" capitalist economy with socialized production, can the power of the capitalist fifth column be broken.

To date the Sandinista land reform has not gone beyond the 20 percent of

the agricultural land held by Somoza and his pals as well as the few landowners who fled the country. The large landowners, particularly cotton planters, and the kulak producers of coffee and tobacco have not been touched. These layers are simultaneously the main producers of Nicaragua's foreign exchange, and the main support for the contra terrorists in the countryside. In the cities, most industry is still in private hands. As a result of contra terror and imperialist boycott, shortages are everywhere, and inflation has cut the workers' standard of living drastically (down by 13 percent in 1982 and another 25 percent in 1983). Meanwhile, wages were frozen for the last five years. The result has been discontent, not only among middle-class housewives who can afford to send their maids to pay exorbitant prices on the black market, but also in the working class. This was forced underground by the prohibition of strikes under the state of emergency

Militant (2 November). "Nicaraguan Workers Enjoy the Highest Standard of Trade Union Democracy," declared the ex-Maoist *Frontline* (29 October). Try selling that line to the Victoria Brewery or METASA workers!

The Sandinista platform seeks to defend the anti-Somoza revolution by freezing the present totally contradictory social conditions. Today student volunteers are picking coffee, protected by militiamen armed with Soviet AK-47 assault rifles, for private landowners who finance contra terrorists with their profits, so that the FSLN government can earn dollars to pay off the debt to New York banks largely inherited from the Somoza dictatorship! This situation cannot last. Inevitably it means conciliating social reaction. Thus while the head of the Nicaraguan Catholic church hierarchy, Bishop Vega, condemns the Sandinista regime in scarcely veiled anathemas, the government last month pardoned Father Peña who was caught

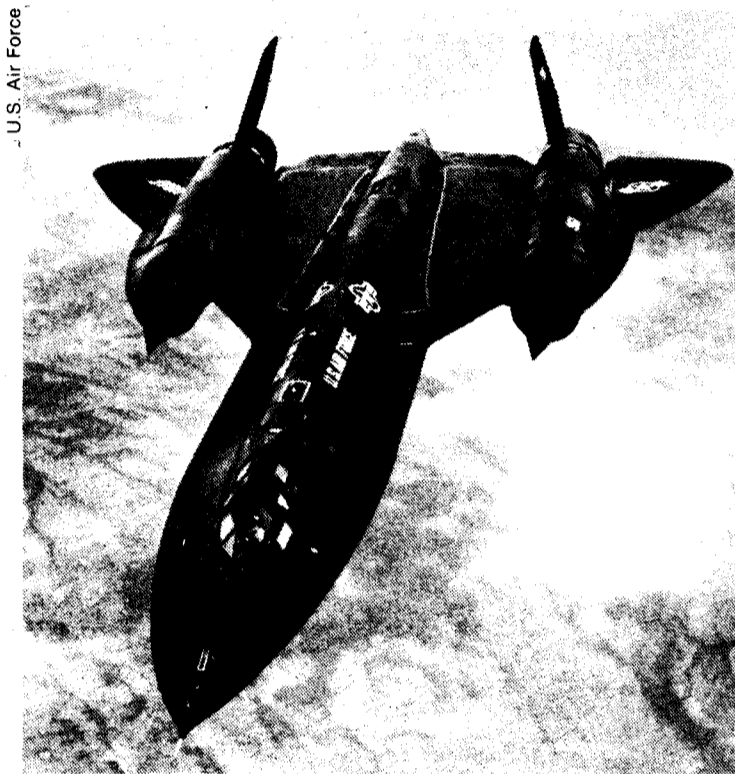
exactly what it says it is: a radical nationalist liberation movement, forced into a corner. Simply out of an instinct for self-preservation, the Sandinistas may be constrained to go further than they intended under the murderous pressure of Yankee imperialism. Even then, at best the result would be a bonapartist, nationalist regime—a bureaucratically deformed workers state on the Cuban model. And today every concession to capitalist reaction threatens the very survival of the revolution. For there to be a "new dawn" for the Nicaraguan masses, an internationalist communist vanguard must be forged, a party built on the program of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky. What, then, of the several self-proclaimed socialist parties who challenge the Sandinistas' claim to hegemony?

The Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), the historical pro-Moscow Stalinist party in Nicaragua, actually stands to the right of the Sandinistas. The PSN campaigned on a platform remarkably similar to that of the right-wing bourgeois opposition: abolition of the draft, down with Sandinista block committees and end food rationing. "The Revolution is not in a position at this time to abolish social classes, and this is why mixed economy must continue," PSN leader Domingo Sánchez Salgado told *Barricada Internacional* (10 September). Apparently Sánchez Salgado seeks to rival Cuban Stalinist Blas Roca, who in August 1960 (on the eve of Castro's expropriation of the Cuban and imperialist bourgeoisie) declared: "Private enterprise...is still necessary."

The Communist Party (PCN) is a split-off from the PSN which follows a pro-Moscow line (although Moscow favors the FSLN and PSN). While making some left criticisms of the FSLN's land reform, the PCN calls only for a "democratic and patriotic government"—i.e., as dyed-in-the-wool Stalinists, they stand for "two-stage" revolution, and rigidly confine the present stage to bourgeois reforms. "Nicaragua is a capitalist country, and the Constitution we write is going to have to reflect that," one of the PCN's two deputies declared (*New York Times*, 18 November). This, while every day the logic of the class struggle is pushing toward a showdown with the supposedly "patriotic" bourgeoisie that is more and more acting as a tool of the CIA!

While the "soft" Stalinist PSN makes common cause with the bourgeois liberals, the "hard" Stalinist PCN opposed the elections, saying that they responded to demands by "U.S. imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and local reactionary forces." This view coincides with that of various "hards" within the Sandinista Front as well. It is certainly true that the November 4 vote was called in order to placate imperialist bourgeois opinion. Leninists insist that the class question is key. What's needed in Nicaragua is a soviet regime based on workers democracy, which will carry out a socialist revolution. As Trotskyists and Leninists, we fight for a program of permanent revolution throughout Central America, for workers and peasants governments that expropriate the bourgeoisie.

The tiny Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR), followers of Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno (who staged the short-lived Simón Bolívar Brigade escape around the time of the 1979 insurrection), has complained that they were kept off the ballot. Marxists oppose any exclusion of working-class tendencies in the Nicaraguan elections just as we have protested the arrest of leftist militants by the Sandinistas. The Morenoite LMR has had a checkered political history, earlier calling for a "constituent assembly" at the same time that this was being raised as a battle cry by the right-wing capitalist opposition



U.S. Air Force

"Blackbird" of death: SR-71 spy plane prepares U.S. attack on Nicaragua. Sandinistas need advanced antiaircraft missiles!

in force during the last three years.

When the ban was lifted during the election campaign, there was a flurry of walkouts. The largest was a five-day strike in late August by 1,600 workers at the state-owned Victoria Brewery where strikers demanded a 100 percent pay increase. The brewery strikers went back to work after the minister of labor threatened prosecution. At the same time metal workers at the METASA plant in Managua also struck. In response, the Sandinista union federation held a meeting of several hundred union activists to denounce "economist" attitudes among the workers and to oppose strikes. Meanwhile, the FSLN's cheerleaders abroad become apologists for strikebreaking. "Labor assembly discourages strikes in industrial conflicts," says the Socialist Workers Party

in June with a suitcase full of contra propaganda, plastic explosives and a Vatican flag. And while women have taken the lead in mobilizing mass action—such as the Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs who insistently chanted "We want peace" during pope John Paul Wojtyla's visit last year—the FSLN "Plan" calls for "defending the nuclear family," the primary instrument of the oppression of women.

An important part of the Sandinista election campaign, directed at the imperialist liberals, was Nicaragua's acceptance of a "peace" treaty worked out by the Contadora group (Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela). Rightly fearing that a U.S. invasion could put Central America in turmoil, these bourgeois regional powers seek to contain the revolutionary conflagration peacefully—offering the FSLN an opportunity to stay in power by selling out the Salvadoran revolution. The Sandinistas are only too willing. Daniel Ortega even called for "joint patrols of the Honduran army and the Nicaraguan army" to "contain the trafficking of arms and men from Nicaraguan territory to El Salvador as well as from Honduran territory into Nicaragua" (*Wall Street Journal*, 13 August). Ortega makes this offer knowing full well that Nicaragua has cut off all arms shipments to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents since 1981. But that itself is a betrayal—not a virtue as the imperialist liberals would have it—and a suicidal betrayal.

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

The Sandinistas are a far cry from the "Sandino-Communists" imagined by the Reaganites. Not by a long shot do they call for "revolution without frontiers" as America's Madame Nhu, Jeane Kirkpatrick, claims. The FSLN is

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WV Photos

November 8: SL contingent at SF protest against war criminal Weinberger (left). Feinstein's cossacks rioted against radicals, media (right).

S.F. Cop Riot at Anti-Weinberger Protest

SAN FRANCISCO—As 1,000 demonstrators protested the appearance of imperialist war secretary Caspar Weinberger at the posh St. Francis Hotel November 8, the San Francisco cops ran amok. While Weinberger was honored as "man of the year" by the USO at a \$125-a-plate dinner inside, the police launched repeated orchestrated forays into the crowd of protesters outside. The cops sent one woman to the hospital unconscious and arrested 28 on phony charges ranging from disorderly conduct to assault on a police officer. But this time the SFPD tried to take on a little more than they could get away with. As cops waded into a group of "punks" staging a "die-in" in front of Saks Fifth Avenue they roughed up TV news cameramen and smashed out the camera lights of all the news crews covering the demonstration. The police not only wanted to cover up their dirty work but also deliver a warning and a "payback" to the media for some of the "bad press" the scandal-racked SF police department has been getting of late.

Once again Feinstein's cossacks

were led by deputy chief George Eimil, who also presided over the cop riots at the 1981 anti-Duarte demonstration and last April's anti-Kissinger demonstration. After the Kissinger demonstration the local media read and sounded like the "Police Gazette," retailing lurid tales of "left-wing violence" being wholesaled by the cops. They reported, unquestioned, the slanderous assertions that the Spartacist League and a number of other left groups were planning violence at the Democratic convention—lies spread by the police to cover their own plans for terror at the convention. The "Fourth Estate"—the world's oldest profession. Now the prostitutes of the capitalist media are squealing because they were on the receiving end of a small sample of the kind of cop violence and cop lies that are routinely inflicted on minorities, labor and leftists in this country.

This consciously planned and executed assault speaks volumes about the sinister mood of cop bonapartism that has been rapidly escalating in SF since Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein authorized the siege-like "security"

preparations for the Democratic convention last July. Herb Caen in his 8 November *San Francisco Chronicle* column caught the mood among the police. At 2 a.m. the morning after the election, cops patrolling Clement Street announced over their cruiser's loudspeaker: "Ronald Reagan has just been re-elected president of the United States. Martial law has been declared. Please clear the streets!" According to Caen, "The car then drove off amid gales of laughter from its two occupants." Like Reagan's "we begin bombing in five minutes" this was no "joke"—it's a program.

The November 8 protest against war criminal Weinberger came amidst the escalation of war threats from Washington, beginning on election night, over mythical Soviet MIG-21s supposedly bound for Nicaragua. A spirited 50-strong Spartacist contingent raised the call: "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in Central America—Nicaragua Needs MIGs! Russia, Cuba—Arms to Nicaragua!" Other chants included "Defend Nicaragua—Kill the Invaders!" Whether it was because of their

dejection over the miserable showing of their darling Fritz "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale, or the pot of shit at the end of Jesse Jackson's rainbow, CISPEs and the other assorted reformists were plainly demoralized, straggling up to the hotel to be met by our militant Soviet-defensist chants.

While the Spartacus Youth League is out at SF State collecting money for SAM-7s so Nicaraguan soldiers and Salvadoran leftist guerrillas can shoot down Yankee planes, the reformists consider this a "provocation." (What does that make Daniel Ortega, who's trying like hell to buy every SAM that he can get his hands on?) For these fakers, solidarity with Central American struggles is to get people to pull the lever for Mondale. But the capitalists, both Democrat and Republican, are mobilizing for war against the Soviet Union and war on labor and blacks at home. We say: those who really want to oppose U.S. imperialism will join the fight for labor strikes against the capitalist war drive. As "Feinstein's finest" showed with their swinging riot clubs: the main enemy of all mankind is here at home.

to the Sandinistas. However, according to its cothinkers in the U.S., the LMR currently advocates a "workers government formed by councils of delegates from factories, the peasantry, soldiers and the militia" (*El Bolchevique*, September-October 1984).

The last of the left parties that participated in the Nicaraguan elections (receiving 11,000 votes), the Popular Action Movement (Marxist-Leninist), reportedly campaigned on a platform for the dictatorship of the proletariat to replace the Sandinista regime which it characterizes as a petty-bourgeois government. Often mislabeled Trotskyist, the MAP came out of the Maoist brand of Stalinism and until recently supported the positions of Albania. It has evidently rejected the dogma of revolution by stages, at least for Nicaragua, and calls for a "government of workers and peasants" that would be a "transitional regime that would... set us on the road toward building socialism" (*Barricada Internacional*, 24 September).

Through its union group, Frente Obrero (FO), MAP led several militant strike actions and occupations of rich landowners' lands during 1979-81, and had their newspaper shut and MAP/FO leaders jailed as a result. Unlike the PCN and PSN, which both sat out the 1979 insurrection and even denounced the FSLN as adventurist, the MAP participated in the armed struggles through its Anti-Somoza Popular Militias (MILPAS). While it calls repeatedly for "deepening the revolution," MAP propaganda known to us is vague on how to do this. In fact, its various pronouncements cry out for the Trotskyist Transitional Program. But clearly they have not yet come to grips with the

deeply anti-Leninist, Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country."

On the question of the elections, MAP protested the participation of the bourgeois parties and objected that mass organizations will not be represented in the new National Assembly. But what is proposed in its place? Trotskyists call for the creation of Nicaraguan *soviets*, for a government of workers and peasants councils, which can mobilize the revolutionary energies of the exploited masses to take and hold state power, like in Russia in 1917. This was the Bolsheviks' answer to bourgeois parliamentarism, the banner of reformist fake socialists (the Mensheviks) and White Guard generals alike. The program of soviet power retains its full validity today.

The issue of the draft has become a major issue in Nicaragua during the last year, as right-wingers sought to mobilize middle-class opposition to military conscription in defense of the revolution. The Popular Action Movement calls for the working class to "put its class stamp on the Military Service" (*Prensa Proletaria*, June 1984). But how? While the Sandinistas appeal to patriotism, building a republican army as in the Spanish Civil War, Trotskyists insist that it is necessary to construct a proletarian army to defeat the counter-revolution. Communists and class-conscious worker militants must call for *military training under trade-union control*, for the formation of *workers militias* based on the factories, for *soldiers committees* in the army and the *election of officers*.

The key is the struggle for state power. The class character of the army is determined by who commands it. And

to achieve a genuine workers and peasants government in Nicaragua it is necessary to mobilize the working masses in struggle for their class interests. Communists must fight in the unions, including in the Sandinista-controlled CST, to impose *workers control of production* and to demand the *expropriation of the capitalists*. Instead of a national assembly modeled on West European bourgeois parliaments they must fight for a *soviet regime of workers and peasants councils*. Above all, the key to completing and extending the Nicaraguan revolution is the fight for a Leninist, Trotskyist party as a resolute internationalist communist vanguard to replace the vacillating petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas.

The ex-Maoist, ex-Albanian "MLers" oppose the FSLN's conciliation of the domestic bourgeoisie, but they have not broken with the nationalism common to the Sandinistas and all brands of Stalinism. A Frente Obrero May Day poster reproduced in Marxist-Leninist Party USA newspaper *Workers' Advocate* (10 February) concludes: "Only with the working class in the vanguard will the socialist homeland be built." The Trotskyists know socialism in one former banana republic is *impossible*. Nicaragua is a small, dirt poor, predominantly peasant country with a tiny working class. To lay the economic basis for advance to socialism, a classless society based on abundance, it is indispensable to link up with the big battalions of the proletariat, beginning with Mexico and ultimately, in the belly of the beast, the American working class. Simply to defend against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution, Nicaragua must join with

the leftist insurgents in El Salvador in waging revolutionary war throughout Central America.

The Yankee imperialists, both Republican and Democrat; European Christian Democrats and social democrats; Latin American bourgeois governments of every hue; Stalinist regimes from Moscow and Peking to Havana; Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale, Fidel Castro and Willy Brandt, Ortega and Duarte, the Sandinistas and the CIA's Coordinadora, nationalists and reformists everywhere—they all support the Contadora "peace process." What this unholy alliance expresses is their *common fear of international revolution*. Such a "peace" treaty would place a noose around the Central American masses. In reality, it is "Contra" dora—a stab in the back against the Nicaraguan revolution.

Besieged Sandinista Nicaragua recalls Soviet Russia in the early months of 1918, facing imperialist "quarantine" from without (soon to become direct military intervention) while the country polarizes internally. What's different is the absence of a communist leadership. Where the Sandinistas seek to paper over fundamental class divisions, the Bolsheviks stood at the head of the working class and united Russia on a new basis, spreading soviets throughout the land. It was this political program that enabled Trotsky to construct a powerful Red Army that won the civil war. In Lenin and Trotsky's Russia, unlike Spain, the "contras" did not pass. This is the program of the Trotskyists today: for workers revolution throughout the isthmus and beyond, led by a world party of socialist revolution, a reborn Fourth International. ■

Yankee Guns Over Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

Kaiser whipping up war fever: bluster loudly and wave a big stick. "The MIGs are coming! The MIGs are coming!" they screamed, so that gives them the right to destroy Nicaragua. Seventy-two hours later they admit the MIGs aren't coming and never were, but they're going to obliterate Nicaragua anyway, supposedly because of the Sandinistas' arms buildup. It was a war of words, all right, but don't just watch their mouths—keep an eye on their aircraft carriers.

The day after the American elections, the Pentagon launched three exercises in Honduras; a fourth began November 8. A major naval exercise (unannounced) involving the battleship *Iowa* and two dozen other U.S. warships was being held in the Caribbean "in striking distance of Nicaragua," as the early edition of the November 9 *New York Times* reported. Maneuvers codenamed "Quick Thrust" and involving precisely those infantry and paratroop units that would be involved in an invasion of Central America are scheduled to begin at the end of the month. And somewhere in the Pacific, an exercise involving five American carrier battle groups is under way with a blackout by the U.S. media.

"We have not received, we are not receiving, and there's no boat on the way with any MIGs," Nicaraguan foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto told ABC's "Nightline" (7 November). But after this categorical denial, he defiantly added:

"We believe that we have the right to get whatever we need for our defense, and if ever we came to believe that MIGs were needed, we would get them, and we would have no difficulty in telling you that we are getting them."

(Subsequently Sandinista spokesmen have said that they are negotiating for SAM anti-aircraft missiles.) D'Escoto said the phony MIGs affair was intended to discredit the Nicaraguan elections, and to "punish" Nicaragua for agreeing to the Contadora "peace" proposals.

The Nicaraguans did not limit themselves to verbal denunciations of the Yankee provocations. On Thursday, November 8, Sandinista commander Jaime Wheelock told 20,000 student volunteers in Managua's Plaza de la Revolución that they would not be sent north to the mountains to pick coffee but instead would be mobilized to defend the capital. "A rifle will be given to every young person and all the people of Managua.... We would rather let the coffee fall than let the country fall," he declared. The crowd replied: "They shall not pass!" The next morning, more than 100 tanks and armored vehicles took up positions in Managua as the defense ministry issued "emergency communiqué No. 1" announcing a nationwide alert against the threat of a U.S. attack. Sandinista defense committees stockpiled food, militias redoubled weapons training and soldiers reopened trenches dug after Reagan's invasion of Grenada last fall.

The Soviet news agency TASS (9 November) issued a statement saying: "The aim of this provocative undertaking is obvious—preparation of ground for armed attacks on and invasion of Nicaraguan territory by U.S. troops" as a "pretext to destroy the Sandinista revolution." Pentagon officials accused the Nicaraguans of being "paranoid." "They're absolutely convinced that we're coming, and they're preparing for the D-day invasion" (*New York Times*, 10 November). But anyone might get more than a little paranoid seeing battalions of the 82nd Airborne Division, the 101st Airborne Division and the 24th Army Infantry Division (15,000 men) mobilized for "exercises," the *Iowa* with its

16-inch guns cruising off the Caribbean coast, and half a dozen U.S. aircraft carriers lying in wait "somewhere in the Pacific."

The American working class and oppressed minorities have a direct stake in the victory of the revolutionary upheavals sweeping Central America. If the United States invades Nicaragua, 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*.

Follow That Fleet

The Reagan administration is mobilizing, destabilizing and jerking the Nicaraguans around in every known way. What are the Yankees up to? Clearly Washington has a hit list: yesterday Grenada, today Nicaragua, then tomorrow on to the big one, the Soviet Union. (And if the wind is right, maybe the fallout will wipe out America's Chinese allies and there won't have to be a No. 4.) Secretary of State Shultz, currently posturing as the administration's soft cop, says that the flap over the MIGs "strategically" involves the Soviet Union, and talks of "punishing" the Russians elsewhere (*New York Times*, 9 November). Meanwhile, "hard cop" war secretary Weinberger talks of reversing the Kennedy administration's 1962 agreement not to take military action against Cuba. This confirms, as we have repeatedly insisted to the consternation of the rad-libs, that *defense of Cuba, USSR begins in Central America*.

The U.S. is trying to wear down the Nicaraguans by provoking a constant mobilization. But ultimately it comes down to a question of timing. The Americans have already exhausted their other alternatives. In three years of gruesome terror the contras have not been able to take a single town. Nothing suggests that if Congress turns on the dollar spigot again things will be any different. A "surgical air strike"? But there's nothing for the air force to take out. A naval blockade would only make somewhat worse the already desperate economic crisis: a "quarantine" only makes sense as the first step of an invasion. So Reagan is faced with the alternative: live with the Sandinistas or try to overthrow them. And by now, if the Americans seek an accommodation with Managua they really will look like paper tigers.

Is a Yankee invasion imminent? Is this a war of nerves, or is it the real thing? From a perusal of publicly available information on the various military exercises now going on, the U.S. is clearly building up forces for something. Aside from the several smaller operations in Honduras, there are two major naval maneuvers. COMPTUEX I-85 in the Caribbean involves 25 U.S. warships (cruisers, destroyers, frigates, minesweepers, attack submarines) plus other NATO craft. Most worrisome are the massive FLEETEX maneuvers, involving the carriers *Carl Vinson*, *Constellation*, *Enterprise*, *Independence* and *Midway*, in the Pacific. A total of 65 ships plus an amphibious ready group and a surface combat group are included. "We don't normally have access to that many carriers over such a short time for an exercise," a U.S. Navy spokesman told the *Navy Times* (5 November).

The *New York Times* (9 November) report on the Caribbean maneuvers seeks to calm fears by mentioning that there are no aircraft carriers nor Marine amphibious units involved in COMPTUEX I-85. They're somewhere on the Pacific side of the Central American isthmus. There have been no published reports of the whereabouts of FLEETEX, which was first mentioned in the Sandinistas' *Barricada* of October 20. An ominous silence? We recall that prior to Pearl Harbor the two main carrier groups of the Japanese fleet disappeared from sight. The Americans

assumed they had returned to Japan, but instead they holed up in Takan Bay and then proceeded under radio silence to Hawaii.

The *New York Times* in reporting these various maneuvers included the following ominous paragraph (dropped from the late edition): "In addition, senior naval officers have long asserted, when arguing for increased funds and support for their service, that warships at sea are always prepared to suspend training exercises to undertake a 'no notice' contingency operation." And last week the nuclear carrier *Nimitz* sailed to Guantánamo, Cuba.

Meanwhile, "high administration officials" are gratuitously recalling the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. While it's ludicrous to pretend that MIG-21s (range 680 miles) are equivalent to nuclear IRBMs (which the Cubans had every right to have, to protect themselves against U.S. invasion threats), American actions in the recent Nicaragua MIGs crisis are ominously familiar: spy planes spot suspicious crates; accusations of Nicaraguan (Cuban) invasion plans as a pretext for a U.S. attack; President Reagan (Kennedy) threatens grave consequences if the "Soviet surrogates" obtain "significant offensive capability," etc. And don't forget the Monroe Doctrine.

Nicaragua Needs MIGs, SAMs...

In Nicaragua, it's not "who blinks first"; rather, the question is: once the U.S. gets in, how does it get out? No doubt some Reaganite Cold War crazies coming off a "Grenada high" in the White House basement may think they can take Nicaragua in a couple of weeks. But in a country where the masses are ready and willing to defend their revolution, the "Vietnam syndrome" could easily become a "Nicaragua syndrome."

The lesson drawn by the American military machine from their ignominious Indochinese defeat was not to get "sucked into a Vietnam-type thing where we get nibbled to death" without popular backing. The corollary was put forward in a policy paper by Pentagon systems analyst Mark Cancian: "Everything must be accomplished during the initial period of public support" (quoted in Allan Nairn, "Endgame: U.S. Military Strategy in Central America," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, May/June 1984). The White House strategists doubtless figure that if ever there is going to be public support for a Reagan intervention, it is now, following the landslide '84 election.

But will they be able to take the casualties? The soft underbelly of Yankee imperialism is the lack of masses of troops ready to fight to the death against "communism." In fact, over a quarter of the U.S. Army today is made up of black and Latin minorities, who are not about to die for the greater glory of El Salvador-style death squad "democracy." As a substitute, the Pentagon relies on an impressive array of weaponry—from high-altitude bombers to the 16-inch guns of the *Iowa*. In purely military terms it's possible to seal off Nicaragua and take it, although it would probably require all the shock troops at the Pentagon's disposal. But it would be bloody hell. Are the Americans prepared to take the 25,000 or so casualties which it is conservatively estimated the operation would cost? If in their imperialist arrogance the Yankees do invade, they must be made to *pay*—in their "back yard" and at home.

The Nicaraguans vow to fight for every inch of their territory, and it is clear they have the will to do so. But they need the means. MIGs might not last more than 15 minutes against the U.S., but they would counter the Honduran, Salvadoran and Guatemalan air forces, which have almost 100 jets while Nicaragua has virtually no air force at all. Above all they need hand-held

SAM-7 anti-aircraft rockets, and sophisticated mobile SAM-8s to knock down an airborne U.S. invasion force. It is the internationalist obligation of the Soviet Union to supply *and resupply* these weapons to Nicaragua, which it has been reluctant to do. But even without such equipment, the Nicaraguan army numbers more than 50,000, with an equal number of members of standing militias, and the Sandinistas say they will have *hundreds of thousands* of armed Nicaraguans waiting to shoot down those paratroopers, from the beaches to the cities and the hills.

Denouncing "Mr. Allpowerful in the White House, who believes he has been anointed with special powers to decide the destiny of Nicaragua," Sandinista commander Tomás Borge last April vowed: "Neither mines, nor aircraft carriers, nor mercenaries, nor marines, nor hardships, nor lies, nor traitors will turn back the Nicaraguan people, a people who made a revolution to audaciously explore new horizons." He added:

"We are certainly paying a high price in defending our homeland. But our enemies will pay the price of a historic defeat of unpredictable consequences, perhaps the price of the liquidation of the injustices that still travel along the impoverished roads of Latin America."
—*Barricada*, 14 April

The struggle to defend Nicaragua means to complete and extend the revolution; it means a revolutionary war mobilizing the hundreds of thousands of hideously oppressed peasants, linking up with leftist insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala, and getting the Yankees bogged down in an indecisive conflict as the number of U.S. casualties mounts.

The task of socialists, unionists, black militants in the United States is to take up their place in this fight to stop Reagan before he blows up the world in the insane *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive. This means breaking from the Democrats, who have pledged in advance their support for a U.S. "quarantine" (was Mondale informed of impending American plans?), breaking from both capitalist parties, in order to fight for a workers party. It means "hot-cargoing" of all U.S. arms shipments to Central America, and political strikes against an American invasion. It means a class struggle against Yankee imperialism "in the belly of the beast." ■

Miyagi Yotoku...

(continued from page 2)

Communist Party hacks were heaping racist abuse on their imprisoned ex-comrades as supposed collaborators with Tojo—Sorge, Ozaki and Miyagi were being pushed to their deaths in Tojo's jails by the Kremlin! The U.S. Communist Party *knew* that Japanese American workers on the West Coast had no loyalty to Japanese imperialism. Browder & Co. simply sold their comrades' skins to buy their own way into Roosevelt's racist war machinery. An accurate capsule description of what motivated Miyagi's generation was given by General MacArthur's sinister chief of intelligence, Major General Willoughby:

"It will be noted that Miyagi arrived in California at the height of the anti-Japanese agitation as well as during the period of the Russian Revolution. It is likely that he suffered keenly from the discrimination against all Asiatics, but especially against Japanese, then common in the State of California, and in turn looked to the embattled armies of Lenin and Trotsky as the hope of a free and happier society."
—*Shanghai Conspiracy*

Stalinism threw that generation away and now they want it forgotten. But Trotskyists remember this hideous crime and we remember immortal services like those of Miyagi Yotoku.

Comradely greetings,
Victor Gibbons

Racist Terror Island in Chicago

CHICAGO—In the early morning hours of November 7, a racist mob laid siege to a black family that had just moved into a lily-white West Side enclave, called "The Island," next to the notorious Jim Crow suburb of Cicero. Around 2 a.m. the racists poured out of two bars on the borderline, Roosevelt Road, and more than 20 of these scum started throwing bricks, rocks, tire irons and anything else they could find through the family's second floor window. Some waved handguns at the apartment.

For six hours of terror, Spencer Goffer, a 32-year-old mechanic, his wife and their son huddled in a hallway, the doors barricaded with furniture. Michael, eight, was almost killed as the attack began—a brick crashed through his bedroom window and landed where he had been sleeping a moment before. Throughout the night the family was unable to make contact with the outside world since the phone had not yet been connected. At 9 a.m. they left their belongings behind and escaped out a back door.

For six uninterrupted hours a mob stood on a main commercial thoroughfare and hurled bricks at the Goffers' apartment. Any Chicagoan knows you can't stand on a street for six minutes without seeing a squad car. So where were the cops? Answer: they were in the thick of the lynchers. In fact, Cicero police participated in and possibly organized the attack! Around 3 a.m., Goffer says he saw a Cicero cop, later identified as Patrolman Jack Oden, pull up in a squad car. Before leaving, Oden talked briefly to two men who had arrived earlier in an orange Chevrolet Nova with a trunk full of bricks. This pair spent the night pointing their guns at Goffer's apartment. Luckily, Goffer

got part of the Nova's license plate, and its owner turns out to be... the Cicero Police Department!

What about the Chicago cops? Chicago district police commander Sanford Neal claims his squad cars never cruised down Roosevelt Road that night because they were busy "fighting crime" over on the other side of the Eisenhower Expressway (where blacks live). In other words, the task of defending "The Island's" "ethnic purity" is left to Cicero cops, while Chicago's racist gun thugs in uniform terrorize the black population in its neighborhoods.

On November 10, an integrated protest rally of about 40 people gathered on Roosevelt Road at the site of the attack. The marchers were kept on the Chicago side of the street by a line of cops, while a racist crowd about twice that size hurled threats, and waved hand-lettered signs scrawled with their racist filth from the Cicero side.

The continuing racist backlash to the

1983 election of black mayor Harold Washington has meant an increased level of terror by the bonapartist cops against minorities in and around Chicago. Frequent and unbridled police violence is a daily occurrence in the ghetto, despite Washington's appointment of a black police superintendent. Blacks who wander into suburbs like Blue Island and Berwyn are truly in peril if they happen to cross paths with a cop. But the attack on Goffer and his family was no random event. It was premeditated, officially sanctioned mob terror. The poor family hadn't even realized they would be in trouble. They didn't know about the "understanding" that "The Island" is under Cicero military rule, i.e., *no blacks*.

Although its residents would love to secede in a confederacy with lily-white Cicero and Berwyn, "The Island" is part of black alderman Danny Davis' ward. The day after the racist mobilization, Davis, a key Washington supporter,

showed *he* sure as hell wasn't going to upset the apple cart. He went out of his way to praise the "solid citizenry in that area" and placed blame on outsiders who "had a little too much to drink" (despite interviews with local residents in the *Chicago Tribune* and *Defender* which show overwhelming community support to this racist mob)! Even Chicago mayor Harold Washington, who doesn't know if he is safe from "his" cops as he walks down the street in "Segregation City," has gone out of his way to appease the racist "save our neighborhood" coalitions. Here is a classic case of the interlocking of racist terrorists in white sheets with those in blue uniforms, yet the Democratic "BEOs" (black elected officials) preach reliance on a government whose armed enforcers are aiding and abetting and organizing the lynch mob segregationists!

Meanwhile the Cicero cops are stonewalling—according to the *Chicago Defender* (12 November), a "gag order" has been imposed on police. The FBI is supposedly "investigating" (like they did the police/FBI murder of Chicago Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark?) while a federal grand jury says it will subpoena three Cicero cops about possible "civil rights" violations in the attack. Don't hold your breath.

From the 1966 "open housing" march attacked by fascist hoodlums to the terrifying ordeal of the Goffer family, it's clear that the forces of "law and order" are enemies of the oppressed. Black people will not be defended by the party of George Wallace, but by thousands of black and white workers from foundries, mills and machine shops throughout Chicago—and Cicero. Such impacted "islands" of white racist terror cannot be reformed—they must be conquered. It will take a proletarian army, fighting for socialist revolution, to root out the lynchers and make the streets of Cicero safe for human decency. ■



Gero/Chicago Tribune



Hanes/Chicago Tribune

Chicago: Racist terror siege of black family (left) sparked protest demonstration on November 10.

Chicago...

(continued from page 16)

and teachers. We say it's *time to fight!*

This city has always been a Democratic Party stronghold—and a stranglehold for blacks and the entire proletariat. But confidence in the Democrats has been shaken by Democratic-administered cutbacks and takeaways. This year fewer Chicagoans voted than in any presidential election since 1944. And this in Jesse Jackson's home town! Down at City Hall, the Democratic Machine is split between the liberal and black forces of Mayor Washington and the lily-white City Council majority ("the 29") of Cook County Democratic Party chairman Ed Vrdolyak. Vrdolyak's "29" have led a racist backlash which targeted Washington and threatened to prevent him from taking office with all the normal prerogatives of a mayor. To date, Washington's veto power has enforced a stalemate, although his backers are grumbling about sitting at the table and not being allowed to eat. One thing in Chicago stays the same: it's racist, it's segregated and it's mean.

Reagan reaction means cutbacks. And the Democrats who run this city are doing their part to help finance a war drive against the USSR and the working masses of Central America by going after essential services needed by the working masses here—transit and education. They are targeting the city's most powerful labor organizations, the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) and the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU), demanding hundreds of millions of dollars in immediate givebacks.

Teachers already hire in at the poverty level and this year the 28,000 teachers and all 11,000 members of 17 other Chicago school system unions are working without a contract as the

school board demands \$40 million in cuts, including a 25 percent health care deduction and a reduction in the school year. Five hundred teachers were already laid off November 1 when the federal government slashed over \$100 million in desegregation funds. The CTU House of Delegates voted overwhelmingly to strike if the cuts go into effect, and last Friday the board began taking medical payments out of the teachers' checks.

The contracts for ATU Locals 241 (bus) and 308 (train) expire November 30. The Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) is going right for the throat of the union, armed with HB 1805, which was enacted last year. This remarkable piece of anti-labor legislation immediately looted the union's pension fund of \$100 million and "postponed" repayment of \$33 million "loaned" by the fund to former mayor Jane Byrne in 1981. It prohibits any cost-of-living clause, gives veto power over all contracts to the Regional Transit Authority and gives the CTA the unrestricted right to hire part-timers. Moreover, the CTA is demanding a 5 percent across-the-board wage cut, and the slashing of new hires' pay to 65 percent of the top rate, with a nine-year pay progression! At a meeting earlier this month, ATU members cheered militant transit worker Kevin Quirk, who said:

"We've got the power to turn 1805 into a harmless scrap of paper. We've got to prepare this union for a fight and use that power come November 30 and shut down this city!"

Enough is enough! Teachers and transit workers must strike together to smash this anti-labor offensive, reduce HB 1805 to ashes and win urgently needed pay raises. Out together—back together! To hell with the strikebreaking injunctions of the bosses' courts and their crooked judges! A joint teachers and transit workers strike in Chicago

could be one of the most powerful displays of social power by the organized working class in this city in a long time. It could quickly break the back of this Reagan-style austerity, givebacks and union-busting. And because of the total interpenetration of these unions with the black and urban poor of Chicago, an effective and militant strike could be the springboard for a mobilization of all the oppressed against the social rot and destruction of essential social services that is the brutal reality under decaying racist capitalism. Teachers and transit workers: strike together and shut down Chicago! Smash HB 1805!

When Harold Washington was elected, *Workers Vanguard* warned:

"As a Democratic Party mayor of Chicago [Washington] has to maintain capitalist law and order. That means, just like Coleman Young in Detroit, he's going to break strikes. He's going to slash social services. He's going to lay off city workers. And he's going to have the racist cops break up protests by trade unionists, blacks and others who can't take it any longer. That's Harold Washington's job."

—Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago," *WV* No. 328, 22 April 1983

And that's the job he's doing. Every transit worker knows it was Washington who almost single-handedly forced passage of HB 1805 in return for a couple of appointments to the RTA board. When he tried to sell this swindle at an ATU Local 241 meeting last January, he was hooted down and forced to leave by the rear door by angry black transit workers. And the black Democratic honchos at Washington's side used every trick in the book to smear the mostly black teachers union which struck for 15 days last fall. Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH organized scab schools, while the black *Chicago Defender* declared that the CTU was in a "conspiracy with the racist '29'."

With his anti-labor attacks, Washington goes after the only force that can put a stop to race-terror, and its shock troops the Nazis and the Klan. Solid picket lines that nobody crosses can be mobilized against the racist thugs and nightriders. Workers defense guards will be desperately needed to wage a serious fight for school integration and integrated housing, which in Chicago means busing to schools in the lily-white suburbs and defense of black families' homes attacked by Klan and Nazi terror. But the class battles necessary to defend labor and blacks in Chicago will not be won with trust in Harold Washington. He postures as "neutral" and a defender of black Chicago, while his hatchet men like Ruth Love try to carve up the CTU with Washington's budget cuts, first in 1983 and again now. And it will be Washington's orders which send the brutal, racist Chicago cops against picket lines of black unionists.

The pro-capitalist union misleaders are the ones who want labor and blacks to lie down for the Democrats. Oust these bureaucrats! Labor must break with the capitalist Democrats and build a *workers party* that will lead the struggle for black liberation and a planned economy under a workers government. What kind of union leaders are needed to bring this fight to life? That question was answered by militant ATU members in a leaflet last January in response to the HB 1805 rip-off:

"In our union, we need leaders armed with an anti-capitalist program. That is the only guarantee against selling out to the capitalists who run this society. A class struggle leadership must be built in our union—one that stops kissing the ass of the CTA and the Democrats, a leadership that can weld the struggle of our union to the ghetto masses, to the unemployed and to all the oppressed. That's the way forward to fight for real power for workers and blacks." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

For International Labor Action— Free All Victims of Apartheid Terror!

Black Workers Shake South Africa

"We have proved to the government that we have the power... We cannot go back any more."

—Thami Mali, black unionist and work stay-away leader

NOVEMBER 18—The current wave of anti-apartheid struggles sweeping South Africa has brought into direct conflict the two fundamental antagonists: the increasingly organized and combative black working class and the white masters with their machine of state terror. On November 5-6, hundreds of thousands of the superexploited black workers in South Africa's industrial heartland, the southern Transvaal, came out together with a 250,000-strong black student strike, in a political general strike demanding the withdrawal of troops and police from the black townships, release of all political prisoners and detainees, and the reinstatement of fired workers. According to the government's own broadcasting service, *two thirds* of black industrial workers in the Johannesburg area struck and in some industries the figure reached 95 percent. "Widening Black Protests in South Africa Could Pose a Challenge to Rule by Whites," ran the headline in the *Wall Street Journal* (7 November). America's own white racist rulers see their anti-Soviet "free world" ally in crisis as the black unions throw their weight into the struggle.

The apartheid regime is attempting to quell the widening black revolt through massive police-state measures. The leadership of the Transvaal Regional Stay-Away Committee, the coalition of black trade unions, political organizations and student groups which called the strike, has been detained. Among the trade unionists arrested are Piroshaw Camay, secretary general of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), and Chris Dlamini, president of the Federation of South African

After mass black stay-away strike in early November, 6,000 workers at strategic Sasol synthetic oil plant were shipped back to bantustan hellholes.



Trade Unions (FOSATU). The main anti-apartheid political formation, the United Democratic Front (UDF), is in imminent danger of being banned. Already many UDF leaders are detained and its principal spokesman, the Rev. Allan Boesak, could face five years in prison for denouncing police terror.

State terror is being directed not only at the leaders but also the rebellious black masses. After the stay-away at the strategic state-owned synthetic oil plant at Secunda, management fired 6,000 strikers and deported them to the poverty-stricken bantustans. Then on November 14-15 police rounded up 2,300 black workers in the militant township of Sebokeng south of Johannesburg.

The Transvaal general strike was part

of a chain reaction of anti-apartheid struggles set off in August when the "coloured" (people of mixed race) and Indians protested and boycotted elections to new segregated puppet parliaments designed to line them up against the black majority of 22 million. In early September townships in the southern Transvaal exploded in demonstrations against rent increases which, met with police terror and the unprecedented use of the army for domestic repression, soon turned into attacks on local black government collaborators. Next, South Africa's main value producer, the black gold miners, waged a bloody strike over wages and union recognition. And for much of the year hundreds of thousands of black student youth have shut down the schools in protest. The regime

responded as usual with batons and tear gas, rubber bullets, machine guns and armored cars. But even killing over 160 and detaining thousands, the racist rulers cannot keep the lid on.

"Our members wanted to demonstrate their discontent and it was impossible for the union to just stand by any longer," said a spokesman for FOSATU (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 November). In the past FOSATU has had a reputation for being economist, avoiding political issues. Likewise, CUSA, the other main force in the mass work stay-away, has been a relatively tame union grouping. But the black workers' hatred for apartheid impelled even these moderate unions into battle.

This is a critical moment for the black revolt in South Africa. The Transvaal general strike marks the highest level of struggle to date. The racist regime has responded with escalating repression. Here *international* labor action in solidarity with the embattled black toilers can be decisive. Boycott all shipping and cargo to and from South Africa! Free the black trade unionists and all victims of apartheid terror!

In South Africa, where 22 million black people are treated like foreigners and chain-gang labor in their own country, every struggle for democratic rights, social equality and national emancipation points toward the destruction of apartheid capitalism. In the past months the black masses have displayed incredible courage and combativity in confronting unarmed the bloody police-state regime. What is needed, above all, is a Leninist vanguard party which can mobilize the enormous power of the black proletariat for all of the many-sided struggles to smash apartheid, and open the road for a black-centered workers and peasants government. ■

Harold Washington Pushes Cutbacks, Layoffs, Wage Slashing

Chicago Teachers, Transit Workers: Strike Together!

CHICAGO—On the eve of a confrontation between City Hall and Chicago labor, the reality behind Reagan's superficial recovery is laid bare—the "city that works" isn't working for blacks, Hispanics, working people. Poverty, malnutrition, evictions and unemployment are ravaging the black and working masses, while the furnaces and mills of U.S. Steel's South Works, where 8,000 USWA members worked for decades, are scrapped. Today,

almost half those workers—and 61 percent of those are black—don't have any jobs at all. Like hundreds of thousands of their union brothers and sisters across the region, these workers were told by their union leaders, "Don't fight, vote Democrat." They didn't fight and they lost big. Now a showdown is brewing between black Democratic mayor Harold Washington and two big, mainly black unions, transit workers

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Chicago teachers, other school unions rally November 13 as labor gears up for showdown with city.

