

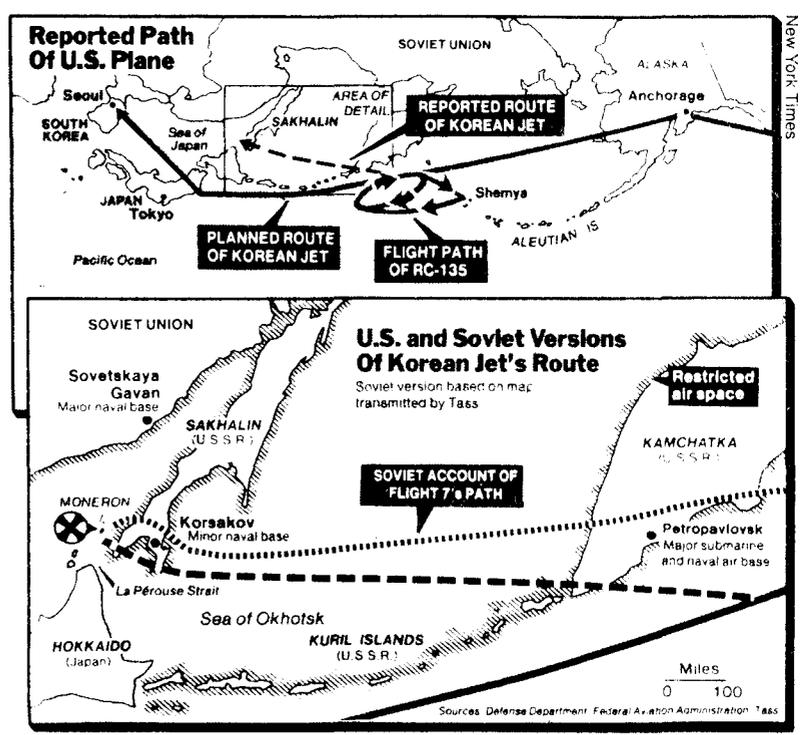
Reagan's Story Stinks!

Mission 007: Cold War Provocation!

SEPTEMBER 6—When Korean Air Lines Flight 007 took off after refueling in Anchorage, Alaska in the early morning hours of August 31, it headed southwest down the international corridor known as R-20, the closest of five air lanes to the Soviet peninsula of Kamchatka. Some time after it passed the last American radar checkpoint in the Aleutians, it apparently veered off to the right and thereafter followed a steady course some 300 miles to the west of its assigned path. According to ABC-TV, two hours after takeoff "it passed over one of Russia's most sensitive military installations, the submarine base at Petropavlovsk" on the southern tip of Kamchatka.

In response to this blatant violation of Soviet airspace, KAL Flight 007 was picked up by Soviet radar and pursued by Soviet fighter planes as it crossed the Sea of Okhotsk inside the Kuril Islands chain. Two hours later, shortly after 3:00 a.m. Japanese time, the plane overflew the Soviet island of Sakhalin passing near the Korsakov air and naval base. Continuing its course would have taken the jetliner over the port of Vladivostok, home of the Soviet Pacific fleet. But Western reports say that at 3:38 a.m. the South Korean Boeing 747 jet plunged into the sea just off Sakhalin, taken out by the Soviets.

Now Ronald Reagan accuses the Russians of the "Korean Air Line massacre," an "act of barbarism" by an evil society in which "shooting down a plane... with hundreds of innocent men, women, children and babies, is part of their normal procedure." What shameless hypocrisy! Who took the civilian passengers as hostages on this cold-blooded Cold War provocation in the first place? This criminal game of "chicken" by the Korean military pilots, with the cooperation (at least) of U.S. and Japanese authorities who were closely tracking Flight 007, was more heinous than any hijacking. A Soviet TV commentator compared it to the Nazis, pointing out that "when the Hitlerites



A deliberate anti-Soviet provocation. Map shows flight path of Flight 007 over most militarily sensitive areas of USSR.

attacked, they forced women and children in front of them."

It is highly suspicious that the U.S. government seemed immediately to know all about the incident while Moscow was patently still trying to figure out what the hell *did* happen. (P.S. So are we, and so is the rest of the world, except for the most rabid chauvinists.) The plane certainly didn't "stray off course," it deliberately *changed* course, and not just in any direction but heading straight toward Seoul and passing over a succession of military bases. Flying without navigational lights, KAL 007 refused to follow repeated

(continued on page 10)

New York Times

Stop the Racist Deportations!

Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!

Canadian citizen Cardinell Senior was away from his Toronto home August 26 when immigration agents kidnapped his 14-year-old daughter Annette and her brother Antony, 12. Refused permission to call their father or pack their clothes, grilled for hours by Toronto cops, the two were locked up for the night in a detention center and deported the next day to Jamaica to be made wards of the state. Their "crime"? They are black and "illegitimate."

Backing down in the face of protest from the Jamaican government and Toronto's West Indian community, a week later the government "allowed" Annette and Antony to return to Canada, where they have lived for five years! This obscene incident gives a taste of what lies in store for "illegal" immigrants who turn themselves in under the government's vague "amnesty program." The fate of those who can prove five-year residency will be decided by immigration officials who are chafing at the bit to enforce the "law."

Bourgeois press headlines "Control illegal aliens" and "Immigration cut to protect jobs" echo the government's vicious attempt to make foreign workers scapegoats for Canada's skyrocketing unemployment, officially pegged at 13.5 percent. Now the government has mandated South African-style internal passports for all non-residents entering Canada in a pilot project instituted at Montreal and Toronto international airports. This computerized identity system greatly strengthens the government's police powers, giving free rein to immigration agents to hunt down and deport anyone who has overstayed their departure date. The Trotskyist League calls on labor, minority organizations and all defenders of democratic rights to demand: Down with the apartheid-style immigration pass system! Stop the racist deportations! Citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!

It's not for nothing that Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke called Canada "the last bastion of white supremacy." Excluding Native Indians, non-whites comprise only four percent of the "great Canadian mosaic." And, in a 1982 government-sponsored poll a third of the respondents "more or less" supported the notion of an all-white Canada. White racism is an integral part of the Canadian "national identity" so near and dear to the hearts of the Canadian Labour Congress

tops and the right-wing social democrats of the NDP with their poisonous program of protectionism and clamor for immigration quotas to save the jobs of white Canadian workers.

Racism and Cold War anti-communism are at the heart of the current uproar over "illegal aliens"—who even according to the government's own statistics number only about 50,000. A country founded by United Empire Loyalists—the fugitives from the American revolution—in the present context of the drive to war against the Soviet workers state Canada has welcomed thousands of right-wing refugees from revolution, in particular from Indochina. No such luck for those fleeing right-wing terror from El Salvador to Haiti to Chile, of course. At the same time that desperate East Asians were locked up in detention centers awaiting a ruling on their "status," the government gave special permits to hundreds of Polish anti-communists to stay and work, no questions asked.

The Canadian government stands by its butchers. In late August 19 desperate Tamils fleeing J.R.'s terror in Sri Lanka were refused admittance. But the estimated 1,000 Nazi war criminals who found safe haven in Canada have no worries over deportation including one Jacob Luitjens, a convicted Dutch Nazi war criminal and today a botany instructor at the University of British Columbia. The government refuses to extradite Luitjens. He was also left alone by the fake-left on campus who were busy protesting the appointment of a Polish Stalinist professor at the university.

Homegrown fascists have also been emboldened by the official racism and anti-communism emanating from the highest sources of power. Hooded and robed KKKers have paraded openly in the streets of Vancouver. East Indians are brutally beaten and murdered, one shot with a needle reading "compliments from the KKK." Just recently the public bookstore of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) was burned to the ground, a deadly message to all opponents of fascist genocide. Last November 27 the Klan threatened to march in Washington, D.C. against "illegal aliens." But they were blocked by more than 5,000 overwhelmingly black workers, youth and leftists who came out to the call of our comrades in the Spartacist League/U.S. to "Stop the KKK!"

It will take a revolutionary party and a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement forged in struggle against the racist Cold War nationalists of the CLC/NDP to unite labor behind the internationalist perspective of fighting racist immigration policies, for jobs for all and for citizenship rights for all foreign workers. The social attitudes of even the most militant sectors of the English-speaking working class resemble nothing so much as those of the most unregenerate Southern redneck. It is the fundamental duty of communists to root out and combat this, implementing the program and values of proletarian internationalism in the Canadian proletariat. ■

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Free Abortion on Demand!

Defend Dr. Morgentaler!

Spartacist Canada is proud to print below a telephone interview with Dr. Henry Morgentaler conducted September 8 on behalf of Women and Revolution, journal of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee Commission for Work Among Women.

For over ten years this courageous man has fought Canada's reactionary abortion laws. In the early 1970s he spent ten months in prison and underwent six years of trials, despite three jury acquittals, on charges of performing illegal abortions. The recently opened Morgentaler clinics in Winnipeg and Toronto have been targets of vicious police raids with cops charging in in the middle of abortions, manhandling nurses and taking everything from medical records to valuable surgical equipment as "evidence." Morgentaler and members of the clinic staff face charges of "conspiracy to procure a miscarriage" which carry a maximum penalty of life imprisonment.

Anti-abortion reactionaries have launched a vile anti-Semitic campaign against the Polish-born, Jewish doctor. These "pro-lifers" want to kill! On June 15 a man lunged at Morgentaler with a pair of garden shears outside the Toronto clinic. Then on July 28 arsonists attempted to destroy the clinic, gutting the Toronto Women's Bookstore on the ground floor. The Trotskyist League demands: Defend Dr. Morgentaler and his heroic staff! Drop the charges!

On the thousands-strong Toronto demonstrations in defense of the clinics we have marched under the banner: "Free Abortion on Demand! Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" This together with our placards "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"—pointing to the Red Army as literally the only thing standing between Afghan women and their continued barbaric enslavement by poverty, illiteracy and the veil—and "Counterrevolutionary Solidarność—A Man's World. Defend the USSR! Hail Rosa Luxemburg!" drove the feminists berserk. On the July 6 demonstration, in an ominous escalation of previous failed attempts to exclude the TL, the driver of the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics (OCAC) sound truck deliberately attempted to run down TL members and supporters, accelerating into the back of the contingent and clipping one participant.

In an "Open Letter to OCAC" protesting this outrage the TL pointed out:

"Desperate to keep the demonstrations safe for Cold War social democrats like Ontario NDP leader Robert Rae, OCAC tries to censor, isolate and exclude the revolutionary Trotskyists. While trying to run us over OCAC provided a platform for Rae to announce that, like his buddies in the Manitoba NDP who administer the capitalist state by prosecuting Morgentaler and staging jackboot raids on the Winnipeg clinic, he 'cannot condone illegal acts!'"

The OCAC feminists are certainly not worthy of the man they purport to defend. Morgentaler has repeatedly stressed and demonstrated his commitment to access to abortion for poor, immigrant and working-class women. In contrast OCAC's main chant "Women have the right to choose" is a cruel joke for these women who more often than not are driven by their

financial and social conditions into the hands of back-alley butchers.

As revolutionary Marxists we honor Dr. Morgentaler's courage and determination. Our defense of Morgentaler and his staff and our call for "Free Abortion on Demand!" for all women is linked to our struggle for a vanguard party of the working class which alone can lead all the oppressed in the struggle for a socialist society where there will truly be choice for all.



SC Photo

Toronto, June 22—TL contingent at demonstration to defend Morgentaler clinics.

W&R: You have a long history of fighting against Canada's reactionary abortion laws, at great personal cost. Can you comment on your background?

Morgentaler: I was brought up in a socialist family in Poland. My parents both belonged to the Jewish Socialist Party, the Bund, when it was illegal under the [Tsarist] Russian occupation. My father was a union leader at the time when unions were struggling, he defended workers in court because they couldn't afford a lawyer, and had a long history of being involved with democratic socialism. Democratic socialism was in a sense the religion of my family. So I am very sensitized to social injustice, and personally, sensitized to injustice per se because I went through a German concentration camp. This is part of my background which gives me the passion to fight for justice.

W&R: Internationally the attack on abortion rights has been the rallying cry for all manner of reactionaries. Can you comment on some of the vicious anti-Semitism that you've been subjected to while setting up these clinics in Winnipeg and Toronto?

(continued on page 15)

Unchain B.C. Labor!

Milton Friedman, architect of the blood-soaked Pinochet dictatorship's mass-death economy in Chile, thinks B.C. Socred premier William Bennett's ideas are "splendid." On July 7 Bennett & Co. declared war on damn near everyone in B.C., tabling an unprecedented 26 bills to implement their union-busting, "let-them-starve-in-the-streets" budget. For 250,000 public-sector unionists: mass firings, wage rollbacks, elimination of bargaining rights. For the poor: a freeze on welfare benefits. For the sick: higher medical fees. For tenants: abolition of rent controls. For students: aid cutbacks and a government-dictated curriculum (no doubt to be inspired by the Bible-thumping lunatics of the Socred Women's Auxiliary). And for good measure: a tax hike. Friedman, brain trust to murderous capitalist regimes around the world, has a kindred spirit in the Socreds.

Within 24 hours Bennett & Co. fired 400 government workers. By August 1,500 were dumped, reportedly chosen from a "hit list" of "trouble-makers and union activists." The RCMP showed up at unionists' homes, dragged them to work and made them empty their desks. Now details of a draft Labor Code Amendment Act, 1983 have been leaked, giving the Socreds the power to legalize any strike, introducing the "right-to-scab" in the construction industry, attacking secondary picketing and easing rules for union decertification.

"Labor war could result" editorialized the *Vancouver Province* (21 July). And indeed it could. The B.C.

working class is the most combative in English-speaking North America. As we wrote in 1981 following the dramatic phone workers occupation of B.C. Tel and days after the one-day general strike in Nanaimo:

"What's needed is action, not pressure tactics. Pull the plug province-wide with a Vancouver-centered B.C. general strike...."

"The labor movement can hit back now and defeat the strikebreaking, union-busting courts and companies. And at the same time get something back of what's been lost over the past five years. Vancouver's got the ports and transportation, it's the center of commerce: shut it down now! The Kootenays' mines: shut them down now! The Island's pulp and paper, the ferries: shut them down now! "FOR A PROVINCE-WIDE GENERAL STRIKE!"

—"Bust the Union-Busters!" *SC Supplement*, 10 March 1981

This is what is so desperately needed today. What's lacking, then as now, is a leadership to wage such a class-struggle fight.

"A general strike is the last thing on my mind," says B.C. Federation of Labour chief Art Kube while he proclaims, "What [B.C.] desperately needs is labor stability, social peace and consumer and investor confidence" (*Vancouver Sun*, 10 August). Kube & Co. also want to build "investor confidence" in Poland, as they went all out behind Solidarność, that company union for the CIA and Western bankers. So appropriately the Fed has dubbed its all-purpose,

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electoralist popular-front opposition to the Socreds, "Operation Solidarity."

The NDP crushed strikes in 1975, the bureaucrats shoved givebacks and concessions down the throats of government workers last year, Woodworkers' honcho Jack Munro is all for a wage freeze this year. But it was only in support of Polish Solidarność, which aimed to bring the misery of B.C., Detroit and Sudbury to Gdansk and Warsaw, that the Fed rediscovered the picket line as they tried to whip up an anti-communist frenzy. Kube recently bragged that he stopped a unit of SEIU workers from going out on strike while SEIU representative Paul Storness-Bliss announced, "We wanted to show that we're not a bunch of crazy, left-wing radicals" (*Vancouver Province*, 5 August). For the labor lieutenants of capital, strikes against the capitalists are a "commie plot," while strikes by the only "union" Ronald Reagan and the pope ever loved are blows for "freedom." Nowhere is the labor bureaucrats'/social democrats' role as enforcers of capitalist labor discipline and as a labor cover for imperialist foreign policy clearer than in B.C.

In the hallowed halls of the Legislature the NDP denounces Bennett's "jackboot legislation" and asks "when do the brown shirts come out?" The Fed brass

bemoans the Socreds' abolition of the B.C. Human Rights Commission. But not a single one of these partisans of the "true North strong and free" have lifted a finger to stop the murderous nightriders of the KKK who wantonly maraud through downtown Vancouver. Indeed, the labor fakers and NDP stoke the flames of white racism with their poisonous program of protectionism.

The key to unchaining the power and militancy of B.C. labor is a revolutionary leadership that will bring this power to bear in industrial and political action against the capitalists and their government. The working class needs a party, built in struggle against the racist Cold War union tops and anti-Soviet strikebreakers of the NDP, to link the needs of the unemployed to the potential power of the employed workers, to unite the multiracial working class around its class interests through a struggle on behalf of all the oppressed, a workers party fighting for a workers government. Down with Cold War austerity—Defend and extend the gains of the Russian Revolution! For labor/minority mobilizations to smash Klan terror! Unchain labor—Oust the bureaucrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government! For North American socialist revolution!■

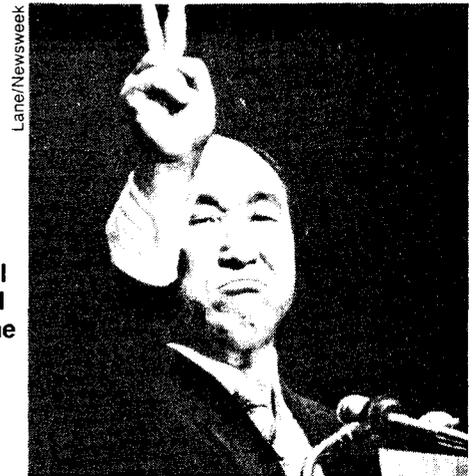
Money Needed to Fight Moonie Libel that Kills

The Spartacist League/U.S. (SL/U.S.), initiator and principal organizer of the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27, has been libeled and set up by the ultra-right-wing cult of Sun Myung Moon. The Moonies' *Washington Times* article on the massive protest falsely accuses the Spartacists as would-be cop killers and a "violent" criminal organization which should be outlawed. This is a libel that kills.

To defend itself the SL/U.S. and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) filed a libel lawsuit on June 14 against the Moonies and their publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation which publishes the *Washington Times* (see SL/U.S. statement on the libel lawsuit, "Moonie Libel that Kills" and the legal complaint in *Workers Vanguard* No.332, 17 June 1983). The Moonies must not be allowed to get away with targeting the organizers and participants of the largest and most effective protest in decades against Klan racist terror. If the Moonies have their way, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against the KKK and fascist terror will be marked for destruction.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—has launched a campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle. Defeating the Moonies will help to protect all intended victims of the Moonies. This case can be the instrument to strike back against this ultra-right cult's most important thrust for influence and power in America, the *Washington Times*.

It will be a tough fight. We have the truth on our side, but it will take more than the truth to win against the Moonies. The cult seems to be made of money. It has legions of lawyers and



Moon: "I will conquer and subjugate the world."

right-wing connections in high places. From his giant munitions plants in South Korea to bilking his flower-peddling zombies to his big-money backers, Moon's "holy war" of reaction is well financed.

Everyone on the Moonie hit list has a stake in this case: parents who have seen their children twisted by the cult, the left and civil libertarians who are marked as "Satan" in Moon's drive for theocracy, clergy and professors deceitfully used to increase Moon's sinister influence, and decent people everywhere who hailed the November 27 anti-KKK demonstration as their own and want to see the fascist terrorists stopped.

Your financial support and endorsement are urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Please send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York City, N.Y. 10013

Demonstrations Protest Anti-Tamil Terror Massacre in Sri Lanka

Spartacist League/Lanka



Colombo: Police stood by as Sinhalese mobs burned and looted Tamil shops.

As the United National Party (UNP) government of J.R. Jayewardene unleashed a bloody reign of terror against the oppressed Tamil minority the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) launched an emergency campaign of protest to "Stop Anti-Tamil Massacre in Sri Lanka!" sponsoring demonstrations in six countries on three continents. In Melbourne, July 27, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) and some 60 supporters of the Tamil Association of Victoria demonstrated outside the Ceylon Tea Centre. In New York, July 28, 100 protesters came out to the call of the Spartacist League/U.S. (SL/U.S.) to picket the Sri Lankan Mission to the UN. In Paris on July 29, 400 Tamils joined a demonstration initiated by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF). The same day in Toronto over 100 answered the call of the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC). In London, July 30, a contingent from the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) participated in a mass march of some 4,000, mainly Lankan and Indian Tamils. And in Berlin on August 7, 150 militants came out to the call of the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD). Other demonstrations sponsored by or with contingents from the iSt have been held in Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Canberra, Sydney and Bonn. In the course of the campaign, thousands of copies of *Workers Vanguard*, the Tamil-language *Illangai Spartacist* and other iSt publications were sold.

J.R.'s Anti-Tamil Pogrom

Incited and protected by the government racist Sinhalese mobs went on a rampage burning and loot-

ing Tamil houses, shops and vehicles, their occupants given the "choice" of being burned to death inside or coming out and being beaten or axed to death. In desperate fear over 100,000 fled their burned-out homes and were herded into concentration camps where they found themselves at the mercy of the same army butchers who engineered and executed this pogrom. In Colombo's Welikada jail fifty-two leading Tamil activists were slaughtered by professional killers let into the prison by army men.

Long under military occupation the Tamil-populated Northern Province was sealed off by the government. Like a foreign army of conquest Sinhalese soldiers rape, burn, maim, pillage and brutalize the population in unspeakable

ways. Several reports tell of the fire-bombing devastation from army helicopters of whole Tamil villages and Jaffna University. In the east coast port city of Trincomalee 130 Sinhalese sailors broke from their barracks and burned an entire Tamil village.

The iSt demands "Smash J.R.'s Anti-Tamil Terror! Arms for the Tamil People!" Over 100 in the TL-initiated demonstration outside the Air Lanka offices in Toronto, July 29 chanted "Army and police out of Tamil areas! For the right of self-determination for Tamils!" The demonstrators, overwhelmingly Tamils, also carried signs in Tamil and English demanding "U.S. Hands Off Trincomalee! Out of Diego Garcia and the Indian Ocean!" A TL spokesman said, "You can see a complete and total link between the imperialists' drive to war against the Soviet workers state and the pogrom against the Tamils being waged by J.R. Jayewardene—which is that the U.S. wants access to the strategic deep-water harbor at Trincomalee. They want it to increase their hegemony over the Indian Ocean and they want it as a stepping stone for the encirclement of the Soviet Union. And we of the Trotskyist League raise the demands: 'Stop the terror against the Tamils! Down with Reagan and Trudeau's anti-Soviet war drive! For the military defense of the Soviet Union!'"

Among a frenzied mounting list of fake villains and alibis J.R. fantastically accused the Soviets of orchestrating communalism, mass murder and plunder as part of a plot to overthrow his government. It's not for nothing he became known as "Yankee Dickie"—J.R. is Reagan's man in the Indian Ocean. The

Reagan administration, its junior partners in Ottawa and their media mouthpieces have praised Sri Lanka as a model for Third World development, a free-enterprise paradise for the imperialists. For the Lankan masses it's dollar-a-day wages and slave-labor conditions for women workers in the "free trade zones" and the Tamil plantation workers. J.R. is willing to trade Trincomalee for access to U.S. markets for cheap goods produced in these zones. At the same time the UNP has pursued a conscious policy of Sinhalese colonization in Trincomalee, a previously Tamil area. Internationally Spartacist placards read: "Anti-Tamil Terror Prepares Way for U.S. Bases! Down with the Anti-Soviet War Drive!" and demanded "Full citizenship rights for stateless Tamil plantation workers! Full union rights for all workers! Equal pay/equal rights for women!"

The Canadian jackal imperialists have been funneling millions of dollars in foreign aid to the Jayewardene government and negotiating trade agreements to get their cut out of the super-exploited women workers in the "free trade zones." Demonstrators in Toronto demanded "Stop all Canadian aid to UNP butchers!" Addressing the demonstration Audrey Minton, member of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada, Local 1, called for a labor boycott of Sri Lankan goods. This demand was also made by militants in the U.S. And in Australia SL/ANZ leaflets called on Melbourne dock workers to boycott Sri Lankan cargo on the Indian ship *Vishva Kaumudi*.

J.R.: Sri Lanka's Pinochet

Echoing J.R.'s lies the bourgeois press attempted to portray this conflagration as a spontaneous outburst of communalist racial strife or a backlash against the Tamil separatist movement. This is obscene! The pogromist massacres were instigated and organized by the government. The stage was set when Sinhalese soldiers abducted and raped several young Tamil women from Palaly Teachers Training College near Jaffna. Two of them, hopelessly degraded by prevailing reactionary values, reportedly committed suicide the next day. Outraged by this atrocity, Tamil youth took to the streets and erected barricades. Two army vehicles of the occupying forces were ambushed; 12 soldiers and one army officer were killed. The army response was to unleash a bloody massacre. Eyewitness reports tell of army and police standing by for 12 hours as Colombo burned; of troops watching while nine Tamils were incinerated at Colombo's main railway station; and of army men supervising the pillaging.

J.R. is moving fast to consolidate a Pinochet-style dictatorship. The economic interdependence of the Tamil and Sinhala peoples has been systematically destroyed while the survivors of the anti-Tamil pogrom are being compacted in a South Africa-style bantustan in the North. The way was paved by J.R.'s phony "referendum" extending the life of his UNP-

dominated parliament until 1989, followed by show-piece local elections that were boycotted by 92 percent of all the Tamils in the North and East. He rounded up the most well-known Tamil leaders and threw them in jail, where many were tortured, then butchered. He shut down the Tamil paper *Sutantiran* and the English-language *Saturday Review*, both published in Jaffna, to muzzle the main voices of Tamil opinion in the North. Then he unleashed a bloody rampage.

At iSt-initiated demonstrations around the globe protesters demanded: "Free all victims of UNP terror! Down with the bonapartist J.R. regime!" Now J.R. has extended his repression to Sinhala leftist parties. The Communist Party, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) and Nava Samasamaja Party (NSSP) have been outlawed and many of their leaders thrown in Welikada Prison. On August 4 Parliament, with the main opposition party MPs of the Tamil United Liberation Front still in hiding in the North and with a declared



Toronto, July 29: TL-initiated demonstration protests anti-Tamil terror in Sri Lanka.

SC Photo

TULF boycott, voted a complete ban on separatist politics. The mere advocacy of Tamil Eelam, the formation of a separate Tamil state, now brands one officially an outlaw, threatened with loss of civil rights, life imprisonment or the death penalty. Like the ex-shah of Iran, J.R. has threatened to crush any opposition at home or among the more than 500,000 Tamils living abroad.

The wretched Sinhalese-chauvinist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of Mrs. Bandaranaike not only supported the ban of the TULF, they proposed an amendment to declare advocating separatism an act of treason! Mrs. B., whose popular-front government with the reformist parties of the Sinhala left massacred thousands of JVP-led rural Sinhalese youth in 1971, responded to the crackdown on the left by bragging that her own government had locked up the

(continued on page 8)

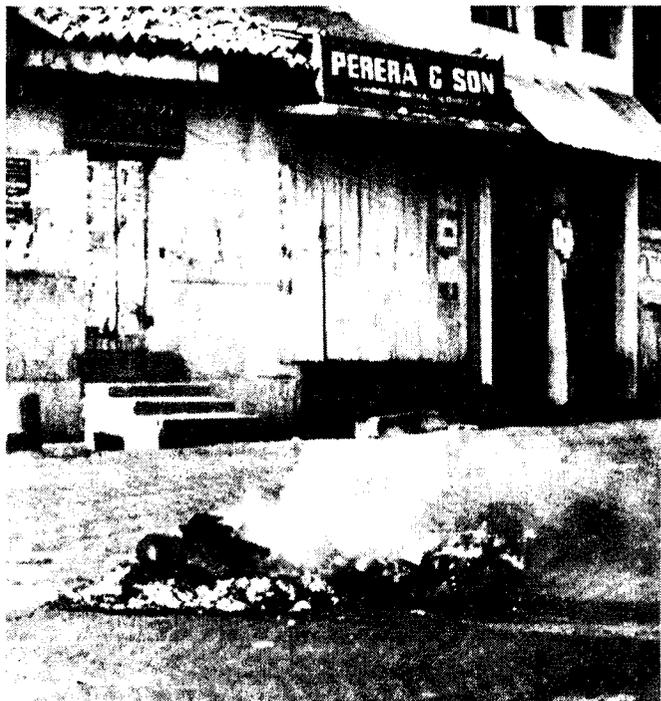
Sri Lanka ...

(continued from page 7)

JVP leaders and that "when he [J.R.] took over, he let them out" (*Times* [London], 1 August). The Communist Party, whose own members are being hunted and jailed, supported the ban on the TULF. After making this clear, however, the CP MP walked out of Parliament to protest only the outlawing of his own party!

No Faith in Indira Gandhi!

In desperation the leaders of Sri Lanka's Tamil community have appealed to India's Indira Gandhi to intervene on their behalf. One sign on the 4,000-strong protest demonstration in London captured the



AP

Tamil body burns in Colombo street, victim of hideous terror incited by J.R.'s government.

spirit, "Mother India Save Us!" In contrast the 100-strong, largely Tamil, SL/B contingent called for "No faith in Indira Gandhi—Remember the fate of the Mukti Bahini!" referring to the guerrilla fighters of Bangladesh slaughtered with Gandhi's blessings. Counterposed to reliance on Gandhi the iSt raised the call "Indian working masses defend your Tamil brothers!"

Gandhi draws significant electoral support from the tens of millions of Tamils in southern India. For six days, the state of Tamil Nadu was virtually shut down with strikes and demonstrations. Militant, daily demonstrations have been held in front of the Sri Lankan embassy in New Delhi. A 14-hour 45-million-strong protest strike paralyzed Tamil Nadu on August 2. Angry demonstrators shouted "Death to Jayewardene!" and urged Mrs. Gandhi to send the Indian army to Sri Lanka.

Gandhi's response was the declaration that she is "willing to send troops to Sri Lanka to reinforce the island republic's army" (*Daily Telegraph*, 1 August)! This should come as no surprise to those who recall that the Indian government sent helicopters and troops to help suppress the JVP-led popular insurrection in 1971. While we call for "patriation to the North of Tamils now in Sinhala areas, under the protection of the Indian army," we warn against any

faith in the bourgeois nationalist regime of Indira Gandhi which presides over its own prison house of peoples, from Assam to Kerala. Moreover an Indian intervention would surely result in a brutal reversal of the terms of oppression between Lanka's nationalities as did the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus.

At the SL/U.S. demonstration in New York July 28, a spokesman for the Tamil Eelam Liberation Council (TELC) called for a United Nations peacekeeping force to stop the anti-Tamil terror. But the SL warned that only a year ago these same imperialist armies set up the massacre of the Palestinian people in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. "No to UN peacekeeping force! U.S. out of the Indian Ocean!" the demonstrators chanted.

For a Socialist Federation of South Asia!

Everywhere, both in Spartacist-called demonstrations and in united-front actions with Tamil exile groups, the Trotskyists of the iSt have fought for proletarian internationalist defense of the Tamil people. On several occasions bourgeois elements have attempted to break Tamil militants away from cooperation with the communists. But significant numbers of Tamil youth rejected these intimidation efforts, and spoke out against the criminal attempts to divide the protest against Sri Lankan strongman J.R. Jayewardene's Cold War terror.

We have consistently upheld the right of the minority Tamils to form their own state if they so choose. In the wake of the government's anti-Tamil pogrom the bitterness and hostility between the Tamils and the Sinhalese has evidently become insurmountable at least in the short run. J.R. is carrying out the decimation and compaction of the surviving Tamils in the North. What is posed now as a minimal democratic demand is a plebiscite of the Tamil working people to decide on the formation of an independent state in the North. *For the right of Tamil Eelam!*

However even should a Tamil Eelam state come about, it can only be an isolated bantustan on the barren north coast of Ceylon, economically unviable, dependent for its existence on the overlordship of the Indian army. And what is to become of the horribly downtrodden remnants of the Indian Tamil plantation workers in the uplands after separation?

What is desperately needed is the building of an internationalist Trotskyist party in Sri Lanka, necessarily substantially based among the exploited

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Asylum for Tamil Refugees!

Fearing for their lives 19 Tamils fleeing the bloody government-instigated anti-Tamil massacre in Sri Lanka were denied admittance to Canada in the last week of August, hauled off their Paris to Montreal flight in Boston, and locked up in the Brooklyn Immigration and Naturalization Service detention center. Some of those presently detained are among the over 70,000 Tamils from the Colombo area alone who fled their homes in terror only to be driven into the squalid refugee camps. Now Canada's immigration minister John Roberts has announced that Sri Lankans must obtain visas to enter Canada. This is an outrage! The Trotskyist League demands: Stop anti-Tamil massacres in Sri Lanka! Political asylum for all Tamil refugees! Contributions toward the legal defense of the 19 Tamils can be sent to: Eelam Tamils Association of America, 66 Glen Street, Somerville, Massachusetts 02145. Protest telegrams and letters should be sent to: John Roberts, Minister of Employment and Immigration, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario.

Cops and Courts Out of the Labor Movement!

Down with People's Front

Anti-Trotskyist Provocations!

We reprint below a Trotskyist League statement protesting the use of the bosses' cops and courts by a supporter of the People's Front Against Racist and Fascist Violence against two TL supporters. The case has been remanded until October 28.

A supporter of CPC-ML's People's Front Against Racist and Fascist Violence, Doug Wahlsten, is using the bosses' courts in a deadly serious provocation against the Trotskyist League. On January 22 Wahlsten attended a TL meeting at the University of Waterloo where two videos were shown of the successful, thousands-strong, labor/black anti-fascist mobilizations initiated by our comrades in the Spartacist League/U.S. in Chicago and Washington, D.C. Wahlsten continually disrupted the meeting, harassing the speaker and other forum participants.

After supporters of the TL demonstrated our commitment to workers democracy by removing this thug from the meeting, Wahlsten went running to the campus cops. Now two TL supporters are to stand trial in the Kitchener court August 30, on charges of "assault" laid by Wahlsten. It is in the interests of all the left and labor movement that this provocation be defeated. Not only does it open up our organization to cop investigation, government persecution and disruption, it is a blatant attack on the rights of all in the workers movement to defend their meetings against harassment and disruption.

The TL has a proud record in defense of workers democracy and in opposition to violence in the workers movement such as the hooliganism and thuggery so readily employed by CPC-ML against its left political opponents. At the same time we have vigorously defended members and supporters of CPC-ML against persecution and harassment by the cops and courts. In 1977 when charges were laid against seventeen members and supporters of CPC-ML in Kitchener-Waterloo, including Wahlsten himself and CPC-ML National Chairman Hardial Bains, who was threatened with deportation, the TL fought for a united defense campaign to demand: Drop the Charges! No Deportations!

Obviously having learned from his own experience that the capitalist courts are a useful arena in which to wage an anti-communist vendetta, today Wahlsten is dragging supporters of our organization through the same court! It's elementary that principled leftists don't take other leftists to court. But then the Stalinists of Albania-loving CPC-ML slander Trotskyists as "social fascists" and "CIA agents." And here is what the Great Helmsman called a "primary contradiction"—what was Wahlsten doing at a meeting of "CIA agents" except to disrupt?

CPC-ML is the consummate practitioner of the technique known as the Big Lie. Developed by Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels it was given status on the left by Stalin to slander, frame up and kill his political opponents which included virtually the entire leadership of the Bolshevik Party. In the 1930s Trotskyists were accused of being "agents of the

Mikado" and then murdered! In this tradition CPC-ML's long and sordid history of slander, gangsterism and thuggery serves to set up all the left for repression by the capitalist state. At the same time their crimes against other workers' organizations can only make CPC-ML a prime target for police infiltration. Who is Doug Wahlsten anyway?

The *Chevron*, a University of Waterloo student newspaper supported by CPC-ML (which in 1977 the TL defended against a McCarthyite witchhunt by the student government/administration), has taken up the cudgels for Wahlsten. In an article with the libelous headline "August 30 trial date set for Trotskyite attackers" (20 May) the *Chevron* says that Wahlsten was upset about our banner reading "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" Wahlsten hates the Soviet degenerated workers state. But this defender of CIA-backed Islamic reaction in Afghanistan looks to the Canadian imperialist state, its cops and courts to silence our defense of the gains of the October Revolution.

In its own small way CPC-ML's virulent anti-Sovietism fuels the political climate of Cold War North America which in turn has emboldened the fascists. So today former Western Guard members like Geza Matrai have resurfaced as the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee. At the April 23 "peace" demonstration in Toronto CPC-ML supporters took a courageous if adventurist stand against CASAC. The TL demands that all the charges against the six CPC-MLers be dropped! But the question CPC-ML cannot explain is why they share the CASAC fascists' slogans in denunciation of so-called Soviet "social imperialism" and in opposition to the Red Army in Afghanistan.

According to the *Chevron*, at the January 22 TL meeting Wahlsten denounced the SL/U.S.'s successful anti-fascist mobilizations, "as capitulation to the state because the trots [sic] were so fearful of being arrested by the police if they stepped out of line." This from the man who ran to his police protectors and the courts to get us! Indeed our program of labor/minority mobilizations to stop the fascists is counterposed to CPC-ML who despair of the revolutionary capacity of the working class substituting instead small-group-mock-heroics against the fascists. We have consistently defended CPC-ML members who usually land themselves in jail after these actions which in general only serve to embolden the cops and the fascists. In contrast, our program of mobilizing the power of labor to combat the fascists has been carried out with striking success: Detroit, November 1979; San Francisco, 1980; Ann Arbor, March 1982; Chicago, June 1982; and last November 27 in Washington.

Wahlsten is taking our supporters to court in an attempt to silence the only effective fighters against fascist terror. Here he is in a genuine "people's front" extending from the bourgeois press to Reaganites and liberals. They responded to the mobilization of

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Mission 007 ...

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radio and visual instructions by Soviet interceptors to land. When challenged over Sakhalin, it engaged in evasive action. Clearly this was a deliberate provocation, and if it wasn't a preplanned spy mission, it might as well have been.

If the government of the Soviet Union knew that the intruding aircraft was in fact a commercial passenger plane containing 200-plus innocent civilians, despite the potential military damage of such an apparent spying mission, if they deliberately destroyed the airplane and its occupants, then, to paraphrase the French, the act of shooting it down would have been worse than a barbaric atrocity, it would have been an idiocy worthy of the Israelis. But the piecemeal facts and obvious falsifications argue that this was not the case, and something resembling what really might have gone on is rapidly being pieced together internationally.

What are the Americans up to? As a statement by the Soviet news agency TASS put it, it "is necessary to find out the truth on who and for what purposes sent this plane to Soviet airspace." As the Russians have pointed out, Washington badly wanted an incident that would give it an excuse to break off or sidetrack arms control negotiations and undercut demonstrations against the stationing of new U.S. missiles in Europe this fall. Meanwhile, they would like to put the Soviets in a situation like in 1919: no trade, no communication, no transportation, a complete world blockade. This isn't 1919 and it won't work. But that's the meaning of the ban on Aeroflot landings, begun by Reagan's flunky in Canada. This deadly provocation is preparation for imperialist war.

The U.S. evidently needs about a two-year buildup for war with Russia. It's insane, but then the Reaganites are insane. And to whip up war hysteria, their battle cry will be "Remember the Korean Air Line Massacre," Reagan's version of Teddy Roosevelt's "Remember the Maine." As Trotskyists we unconditionally militarily defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack because it embodies gains of the first workers revolution overthrowing capitalism, despite the bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin and his heirs. We hailed the Red Army fighting against Islamic reactionaries. We have exposed Washington's "yellow rain" hoax and the phony "KGB kill pope plot." From the Caribbean to Poland, we have defended the Soviet bloc deformed workers states against counter-revolution, and today vigilance is more necessary than ever in defending the homeland of the October Revolution.

007 Big Lie

We offer below some of the innumerable contradictions in the American story. To begin with: how did the South Korean airliner get over Soviet airspace in the first place? Reagan suggests mistaken information fed into the plane's computer or machine malfunction. But the KAL 747 carried three state-of-the-art inertial navigational systems made by Litton Industries, which cross-check on each other. According to the *New York Times* (3 September) "the odds against more than one computer malfunctioning are enormous." While intentionally flying through Soviet airspace was "unthinkable" to experienced pilots, officials said other explanations like machine malfunction are "even more unlikely." And there can be no doubt that all pilots on the route are aware of the danger. The most widely used navigational map, the Jeppesen, carries a

specific warning over Sakhalin Island saying that aircraft flying over Soviet territory "may be fired on without warning." The pilots of Flight 007 knew what they were doing.

This was further demonstrated by the plane's actions after being pursued by Soviet interceptors. According to the U.S., Russian fighters scrambled to chase the plane as soon as it passed over Kamchatka, but at no time in the next 2½ hours did the KAL pilots radio to American or Japanese air controllers that they were in trouble. After having swerved directly across Korsakov naval air base, at 3:15 a.m. Flight 007 requested permission, again without reporting any problems, to climb to 35,000 feet, which it did without receiving permission. As a *Philadelphia Inquirer* (4 September) article pointed out, "...to interceptor pilots, who want to force the intruder to land, that is defiant action."

The Americans claim to know precisely when Soviet radar picked up the KAL plane, how many fighters were sent after it, what the pilots said to their ground control. The Japan Defense Agency said its radar showed the plane crossing Sakhalin Island. But, noted the *Washington Post* (2 September), "Despite the monitoring, there are no reports of anybody's warning the flight that it was badly off course. Nor is there any indication that the pilot radioed for help or sounded alarmed." And, as TASS points out, no one bothered to inform Soviet authorities either. So why wasn't there any attempt to notify anyone? One only has to recall the imperialist fury against Gary Powers, the U-2 pilot in 1959, for having brought his crippled plane down and lived, rather than dying in a fiery crash—which would have let Washington go on peddling the lie that it was only a "weather flight." These are supposed to be suicide missions if you get caught. The KAL pilot did his job.

Then there is the 22-hour gap between when the airliner went down and when it was reported by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz. Everyone remembers the Rosemary Woods 18-minute gap, of Watergate fame, but this is one of monumental proportions. The U.S. claims it didn't know the KAL jetliner was in trouble until after it was downed, and excuses the delay with the difficulties of translating from Russian to Japanese to English. Both of these claims are contradicted in press reports. The *Washington Post* (3 September) reports that "intelligence specialists...listen to air communications as they take place," and that "the information arrived in Washington sooner than has been publicly acknowledged." Besides which, if the evidence is so conclusive, why haven't the unexpurgated tapes been played for public consumption?

The Soviets say that they were not aware that the intruding plane was a commercial airliner. Whom to believe? In the first place, Reagan in his speech last night said "the 747 has a unique and distinctive silhouette...there is no way a pilot could mistake this for anything other than a civilian airliner." Wrong. There is a military plane which has exactly the profile of a Boeing 747, namely the E4B. Ronald Reagan is certainly familiar with this, since they are used as command-and-control centers for nuclear warfare. The Soviets have also said that their pilot might have mistaken the 747 for an AWACS radar plane. The AWACS has a bubble on the top; a 747 has a bulge. At 3:30 a.m., a Soviet pilot who probably had never seen a 747 before, since they aren't in the habit of straying into Russian airspace, might well have thought he had an AWACS in his sights, a particularly dangerous aircraft.

And the RC135, a U.S. spy plane that was admittedly in the area and even crossed the flight path of KAL 007? Washington said nothing about this until House Democratic leader Jim Wright inadvertently leaked that the Russians at first identified the South Korean airliner as an RC135. *Pravda* reported that the U.S. had seven RC135s flying off the Soviet Far East during this time period, in addition to three American naval vessels. "I'm sorry it was ever mentioned," said Senate Democratic leader Robert Byrd. So, no doubt, is Ronald Reagan. But the fact is that Washington does conduct aerial surveillance of the Soviet Union on a 24-hour basis. Spies-in-the-sky are not limited to satellites. Moreover, the United States now concedes that the one RC135 they admit to was tracking the KAL 747. Curiouser and curiouser.

"We Don't Spy and We Don't Lie" — Oh, No?

The 2 September *New York Times* quoted Major General George Keegan, former chief of Air Force intelligence, saying:

"I have never failed to be surprised at how careless the Koreans are, despite the risks of flying near Soviet airspace. Despite all that the Soviets had there, the Koreans continued to fly too close. The Koreans continued to bruise the Soviets on this. What happened today they invited."

A Korean predilection for playing with fire, perhaps? There is indeed a precedent of another KAL flight, in April 1978, which belligerently intruded on Soviet airspace and was shot down. That time, as well, the South Korean pilot took evasive action...and received a blast of machine-gun fire from Soviet fighters. An "enormous navigation error"?

Washington is pretending that civilian airliners never spy, or at least not for the "free world." Ha! In the first place, there are the "routine reconnaissance" flights of the U-2 or SR71s. Then there are the more than 400 American "listening posts" surrounding the Soviet Union, from Helsinki to Hokkaido. And the use of commercial flights for espionage against the Soviet bloc is hardly novel. Then there are the repeated references to Soviet "paranoia" about intrusions into their airspace. Paranoia, but explicable paranoia. What Hitler's Germany did to Soviet Russia was Pearl Harbor on a giant scale, the equivalent of seizing and destroying all of the U.S. east of the Mississippi. Meanwhile, the USSR is besieged by American imperialism in every known malicious way, forced into a giant arms race, penetrated, damaged, you name it.

And then the 747 is supposed to be the preeminent civilian aircraft. Never mind that it was originally designed as the world's largest military transport with a cargo capacity of 75 tons (almost double any other commercial plane). It's not hard to imagine KAL's Flight 007 with 30 Korean military men down in the freight compartment with various kinds of sensing devices: who would know the difference? And the South Koreans are not novices at this game. Ernest Volkman, "national security editor" of *Defense Science* magazine, said in an interview broadcast by the Canadian CBC network on September 2 the Korean Air Lines, among others, was "notorious" for placing "special sensors and photo equipment" on board their planes. He also noted that "the pilots and crews of Korean planes are all military personnel." In fact, the pilot of KAL Flight 007, Colonel Chung Byung, was the airline's senior 747 skipper, who piloted Korean dictator Chun Do Hwan to Washington when he visited the U.S. in 1981.

But it's not some kind of Korean specialty. The *New York Times* (2 September) noted that "this week's incident came against the backdrop of an aggressive American effort to develop technical intelligence penetration of the Sea of Okhotsk over more than 30 years and after more than a score of such incidents...." The purpose of aircraft penetration would not only be for surveillance but also to test Soviet responses.

In particular, the Pentagon and NATO strategists are concerned to thwart a supposed primeval Russian drive to conquer access to "warm water ports." The imperialists seek to close off the Soviets' four main strategic routes to the high seas.

This military-strategic calculation underscores the importance of the Soviet naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam (and explains Washington's obsession with it). Likewise, it highlights the importance of opposing the U.S. imperialists' attempts to forge a string of anti-Soviet naval bases from the Cape of Good Hope through Diego Garcia, Trincomalee (Sri Lanka) and Singapore to Japan.

South Korea: Launching Pad for World War III?

The Koreans have acquired a pretty bad odor in Washington, what with the stench of corruption over "Koreagate" and the issue of maintaining U.S. troops at a cost of a few hundred million dollars a year or more. Moreover, Reagan is due to meet President Chun in November (on his Asian tour which includes a visit to murderous Philippines dictator Marcos). Perhaps the provocation-minded quislings in Seoul decided they could hand their American godfathers a present. Engineered by the KCIA, seconded by the CIA, no doubt they could bring in the Japanese as accomplices—after all, it would take place over the Kurils and southern Sakhalin, both claimed by Tokyo. The South Koreans evidently aspire to play the role of Israel in the Far East. KAL pilots, like those of El Al, are on military service, whether openly or "in reserve." Such local allies of U.S. imperialism can play an explosive role.

As the *New York Times* (3 September) noted in passing, "The airliner incident could hardly have come at a worse moment for Soviet efforts to generate support for the Western antinuclear movement and the campaign to halt American missile deployments in Western Europe this year. This fact alone makes any Soviet motivation for the incident inexplicable...." In contrast, Reagan's interest in generating an "incident" to show that the "godless Communists" lie, cheat and steal is self-evident.

Reagan's efforts to use the shooting down of KAL Flight 007 to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria have encountered increasing skepticism, especially outside the United States. If Reagan is holding back from major new economic sanctions against the USSR, it is because he knows that the West Europeans and Japanese won't go along. But whether or not the Korean plane provocation succeeds in further inflaming anti-Soviet sentiment here and abroad, the rulers of U.S. imperialism are on a headlong war drive against the Soviet Union. They have in their hands the means to destroy civilization and they will not be restrained by the universal horror of nuclear war. Only socialist revolution—by disarming the capitalist class—can prevent imperialism from unleashing its awesome technology of death. Meanwhile, over 200 innocent civilian travelers are dead, not the first and, surely, not the last in this mad game on the road to the threatened nuclear holocaust engulfing us all. ■

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 337,
9 September 1983

South Africa ...

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the Natives Land Act which took 87 percent of the land away from the black population and made it a preserve of the whites. Within this 87 percent blacks would have no rights, no right to vote, no right to residency, no right to work except at the command of white capital. Within the 13 percent reserved for the black population the bantustan system was created and a whole ideology of apartheid grew up to account for these brutalities. All of this was an effort to drive down the cost of labor, to create cheap black labor to exploit the discovery of valuable raw materials, diamonds and gold, in the



Workers Vanguard

SL and Labor/Black League picket South African-bound ship, Nedlloyd Kimberley, Oakland, June 9.

late 19th century. And this has conditioned the development of the South African apartheid state, white supremacy, since then.

Furthermore within southern Africa, South Africa has become a regional imperialist power in its own right, turning the ex-colonies of Europe into economic neo-colonies. As much as South Africa is hated and reviled throughout Africa it has come to economically dominate it. For example, after independence from Portugal, Mozambique was forced to strengthen its economic ties with South Africa. To this day Mozambique's major export is 100,000 miners who every year go to toil on the Rand. Even after the Angolan revolution and the introduction of thousands of Soviet-backed Cuban troops the major mines in Angola are still owned by South Africa.

Not only is South Africa a regional imperialist power, it desires to play an international role. This has shown itself most prominently in a U.S./South Africa anti-Soviet axis, which is both regional and international. Regional because of the question of the so-called "Russian penetration," expressed in the Cuban troops in Angola which have served as border guards against South African colonialism. But by "Soviet influence" is meant something else, which is the fear that the expectations unleashed by formal independence for the European colonies in southern Africa will translate themselves into social revolution.

Black Labor Shakes South Africa

As Marx said, capitalism creates its own gravedigger, the proletariat. And nowhere is this clearer than in South Africa where the white population is too small to recruit from it an indus-

trial proletariat. Decades of white supremacy have created a situation where class corresponds to race. The white working class was transformed into a labor aristocracy, doing only the most skilled and privileged jobs in the industrial infrastructure. So the dictates of imperialism for a large industrial working class as well as for a domestic market have run smack up against apartheid, laying the basis for a labor explosion in South Africa which began as early as 1973. Since that time the Spartacist League has been unique in calling attention to this development as an important, if not the decisive, factor in the struggle for social emancipation in southern Africa, as well as the particular question of black self-organization of the workplace, of independent black unions.

In 1973 there was a strike wave concentrated in Durban that involved more than 100,000 workers. It was brutally suppressed, and the next wave was to come around Soweto. By that time the black workforce alone had grown by more than 30 percent and the strikes could not be repressed. They were too massive and rapidly got out of hand resulting in the beginnings of black unions. And this has produced in South Africa today the question of so-called "reforms" in apartheid. In 1979 the Botha regime set up two commissions whose reports resulted in an attempt to create a legal black labor movement, strongly tied to the state, where strikes would be illegal and the so-called privilege of belonging to a recognized labor organization would extend to a very small minority of the workers.

Within the labor movement that sprang up in the last decade an important debate has been sparked over the question of pure trade unionism versus political trade unionism. But in the conditions of South Africa every struggle is necessarily a political struggle. The struggle for universal suffrage clearly entails a struggle which would bring down the whole white supremacist apartheid system, and, smashing that, it would be only a few more steps until the question of political power for the working class was on the agenda. Just the basic democratic demand for the vote upsets the whole system of class exploitation in this country. The demand for trade union rights, the right of trade unions independent from the state, with the right to strike, is a mortal threat to the apartheid regime because it would change the whole character of this five-million-strong proletariat which has in its hands the power to overthrow this system.

South Africa is a microcosm of the situation of labor struggle under imperialism where every effort is made to incorporate the trade unions into the bourgeois state through a whole labor machinery of arbitration, of intervening into the internal affairs of the labor movement, a whole series of reactionary labor laws. But it is not simply a matter of government intervention, but of an imperialist-bribed labor bureaucracy which identifies its interests with its own imperialist power, rather than the membership it purports to represent.

In the United States the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has been in the vanguard of the war drive against the Soviet Union. In fact they were beating the drums for this war drive while Reagan was still making movies. And they have taken a great interest in what's going on in South Africa. After the 1979 commission reports were issued the AFL-CIO sent a delegation to South Africa which included the sinister figure of Irving Brown, well-known collaborator with the CIA since World War II in breaking unions and murdering mili-

tants throughout Europe and South America. Brown endorsed these various efforts to create a black trade-union bureaucracy. This very sinister development goes under the guise that these trade unions must be kept pure and simple trade unions, that you should not raise political demands.

Many organizations have sprung up in South Africa which present competing strategies on how apartheid is to be fought and overthrown. The most important, in terms of its long history of opposition to apartheid, is the ANC. It is a nationalist organization that is rather unique in Africa in making one of its principles the struggle for a multi-racial democratic republic, because South Africa is a mosaic of different races and peoples, including coloreds and Asians who are also deeply exploited and oppressed by apartheid. The ANC has also sought the support and membership of those whites who can break with apartheid.

Counterposed to the ANC is a black nationalist movement which is more characteristic of what you see in the rest of Africa and in North America: a split away from the ANC in 1959, the Pan Africanist Congress, and a black nationalist split from the student movement in South Africa in 1969, led by Steve Biko. In part these splits were nationalist, in part they represent disenchantment with the other side of the ANC's multi-racialism which is a kind of popular frontism. In the '50s the ANC actively participated in building support for the political party of Harry Oppenheimer who is South Africa's most powerful and richest capitalist. Oppenheimer was called a "progressive" because he saw that there had to be some slight reforms in apartheid in order to better exploit black labor and to strengthen South Africa as an imperialist power.

So part of the split with the ANC was certainly motivated by disenchantment with this kind of class-collaborationism with white capitalists in South Africa. As Steve Biko said in 1969 when he created the South African Student Organization, "It is rather like expecting the slave to work together with the slave-master's son to remove all the conditions of the former's enslavement."

But, as very often happens, nationalism turns into an attempt to find an accommodation with the existing imperialist regime. Without a social and class viewpoint of overthrowing the regime, it is simply providing for its own. So Biko came up with a series of schemes for so-called community self-development, community control and community self-government in regions like Soweto, which were both utopian within the framework of apartheid but also reformist in thrust. Nevertheless Biko was an outspoken opponent of the apartheid regime and it was for this he was murdered, not that he was a nationalist, pacifist or reformist. And we hailed him as a martyr in the struggle against apartheid.

Break the Chains of Apartheid Slavery!

Nationalism grows out of a deeply felt need that one of the basic tasks for the oppressed peoples of Africa is nation-building. The right of tribes to compact and form modern nations is an organic part of breaking the chains of pre-capitalist, barbaric social conditions. And imperialism has fostered the tribalism which has been so devastating throughout Africa. This is most evident in the South African state where tribalism is the official policy of apartheid. Blacks are artificially assigned to different tribes, forced to live in the tribal lands under tribal chiefs who have been more or less manufactured for them.

The importance of the ANC is that they have sought to transcend tribalism, to make an appeal to all of the peoples of South Africa. But the ANC is locked into a liberal strategy, that the struggle must first be won for a so-called democratic, i.e., bourgeois republic to lay the basis for the struggle for socialist revolution. It is illusionary and utopian to think that you can smash apartheid and maintain capitalism in South Africa. The smashing of apartheid will pave the road for workers revolution and can only come out of proletarian revolutionary struggle.

The development of independent black trade unions is an important opening for this development. But the ANC, even given the heroism of their struggles, has basically avoided mobilizing these unions for the struggle against apartheid. As left critics of the ANC and the South African Communist Party (which is the hegemonic organization within the ANC) have said, the ANC has turned the South African Confederation of Trade Unions into a mere agency for the recruitment of individuals for guerrilla training.

The ANC has carefully chosen the targets of its military struggle to be real institutions of South African imperialism and apartheid repression. It had a campaign in the late 1970s/1980 against police stations around Soweto for which the three ANC militants were hanged. These actions had enormous support among the South African black population and working class. Each funeral for one of the ANCers killed in action was a huge demonstration of thousands mobilized in the face of massive police repression. But it left Soweto completely unorganized and to this day except for the remnants of small committees that came out of the '76 uprising, there is no organization of blacks to speak of in Soweto. At the same time workers, the best organized and most courageous, who dedicate themselves to these armed actions are a loss as they have left the point of production where the power is to change the situation, to smash apartheid, to fight for workers revolution.

As Trotskyists we insist that in countries where the development of nation-building has been retarded by imperialism, it requires proletarian revolution resting upon the oppressed masses, especially the peasantry, to bring about an all-sided and genuine national and social emancipation. And throughout Africa this has been the lesson of the nationalist-led independence struggles that have failed the expectations of the masses. In Zimbabwe, a heroic military struggle against Ian Smith's white colonialist state resulted in the creation of a British-brokered neo-colony which is gradually becoming a shared neo-colony between Britain and South Africa. When Mugabe took power he made the commander in chief of his armed forces the former commander in chief

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South Africa ...

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of Smith's armed forces that had massacred and killed thousands of Mugabe's comrades in battles. Furthermore he insisted that the guerrillas be integrated in Smith's army. And here you see what an imperialist-brokered "negotiated solution"—like that being called for in El Salvador—means. Moreover, as opposed to nation-building what happened when Mugabe took over was a genocidal emergence of the old tribalism directed against the Ndebeles.

Defend the Gains of October!

It takes the working class in power to emancipate the oppressed nations from imperialist domination. All you need to do is look at a country like Russia, the chattel house of nations of the tsarist empire. Then look at the situation in Soviet Central Asia today as opposed to across the border in Afghanistan. In Central Asia the nations were emancipated by the Russian Revolution from feudal backwardness. Women are permitted to read and write, have access to the vote, professions, hygiene and education. Afghan women have historically been deprived of these basic rights, relegated to chattel to be bought and sold like cattle, to be ruined in their youth through the exploitation of child labor, to be subjugated to the veil.

In Soviet Central Asia you can see the degree of emancipation that has taken place under the impact of a working-class socialist revolution. But because of the national isolation of the Russian Revolution, the devastation of World War I, a four-year civil war, the failure of the revolution to spread internationally, there arose in the Soviet Union a bureaucracy which seized political power from the working class. Just as the revolutionary struggle of workers to build industrial unions in North America was usurped by a trade-union bureaucracy that serves, to use the classical Leninist phrase, as "the lieutenants of capital, of imperialism, within the labor movement," so you had this same kind of contradictory development in the USSR: a proletarian revolution, the political gains of which are usurped by a narrow conservative bureaucracy.

So the Soviet-backed troops in Africa serve not only the cause of national liberation in Angola, but national oppression and genocide in Ethiopia because they are there to serve a counterrevolutionary bureaucracy. Pitted against imperialism, the bureaucracy itself would be destroyed if the social gains of the October Revolution were overturned. But if these social gains were extended internationally, especially in the dominant imperialist powers, the bureaucracy would also be destroyed. So it attempts to serve as a buffer and to create buffer countries as military clients of the Soviet Union. And this accounts for its contradictory policies in places like Angola and Ethiopia.

The Russian question is extremely important to the question of revolution in Africa, Central America, North America and internationally. Those who do not defend the social revolution that was made in Russia in 1917 will not extend that revolution against their own bourgeoisie but will soon find their place beside their own bourgeoisie against that revolution. At the same time, the apologists for the Stalinist bureaucracy, for its betrayals and crimes, are incapable of being proletarian revolutionists in their own country.

The question of permanent revolution is decisive in South Africa. Only the working class and centrally the black industrial proletariat, which has now raised

its head and its fist so powerfully in South Africa, can take the leadership of the struggle not only for the emancipation of South Africa but the whole continent which this country dominates.

Much of the North American left and so-called liberal opponents of apartheid have put forward the scheme of divestment, based on the belief that if you simply stop the U.S. and other imperialist powers from investing in South Africa somehow this will undermine the cause of apartheid. This is not only utopian, but puts faith in the American imperialists, who are far more reactionary than their cousins in Pretoria and have shown the way for each action of racism, racial oppression and imperialist subjugation to their South African colleagues. Very analogous to divestment are the various consumer boycott schemes: that if you don't eat South African oranges, Israeli oranges, Chilean grapes, the reactionary regimes will fold one by one.

Not only are these schemes utopian, they are counterposed to a proletarian strategy. In contrast what we have sought to do is implement labor boycotts, showing the workers of South Africa the kind of international labor solidarity that is mandated by the very nature of the struggle. The main enemy is at home! The Reagan/Botha anti-Soviet axis was paid for with the blood of these three martyrs. Their blood will be avenged by proletarian revolution in South Africa and in North America. The class struggle at home is the best pursuit of anti-imperialism.

This must be embodied in a revolutionary organization that unites the advanced workers around the world in the struggle against their own ruling classes and for international proletarian revolution. This is the struggle for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International, based on the lessons of the October Revolution, on the defense of the gains of the October Revolution and the necessity for a proletarian political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy in that country. In the United States it is the recognition of the centrality of the black question to proletarian revolution. It is the struggle to break the labor movement from a labor bureaucracy that ties them to their own ruling class, to build a leadership that, as Lenin said, is the genuine tribune of the people, that can make the labor movement an instrument for proletarian revolution. These are the tasks we set ourselves to. And these are the tasks we ask you to join. ■

People's Front ...

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thousands of black workers and youth led by Trotskyists that stopped the Klan in Washington, November 27 with lies, racist slander and violence-baiting. Also included in this number are the dangerous anti-communist Moonies who have libeled the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League in an attempt to destroy the leadership and discredit the strategy which works: militant black and white workers and other oppressed people in mass mobilizations to stop the fascists.

We call on all those who are committed to the defense of the workers movement and the rights of workers democracy to help us in fighting this provocation. Statements of support and/or contributions to help defray legal expenses can be sent to: Trotskyist League of Canada, Box 7198, Station A, Toronto M5W 1X8. Make checks payable to Trotskyist League, earmarked Waterloo Defense Fund.

23 July 1983

Morgentaler ...

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Morgentaler: Usually, although not always, reactionary forces use anti-Semitism. It's been so in the past, and at the present time as well to a certain extent. But there are many other elements there. So anti-Semitism is just sort of a by-product of people who are in general against everything that's progressive. Reactionary, quasi-fascist or whatever—they are also likely to be racist, and against minorities, and against blacks, and against Jews, and against women.

W&R: You've spoken of the need for poor and native and immigrant women to have access to abortion. We call for free abortion on demand and couple that with free quality health care for all, demands that address the needs of such women. Can you comment on this, that is, addressing these women in relation to the present campaign for abortion rights?

Morgentaler: [The present abortion] law, like most laws which are discriminatory, is a law which is good for rich people and middle-class people in Canada, and for women who live near big cities, near to hospitals which have liberal abortion policies. Those who suffer most under the present law are women who either don't know where to go, or women who live in certain areas where no hospitals perform any abortions at all, like in the Maritimes; women who live far away from the metropolitan centers, working-class women, native women—all those who are really outside of the scope of the present legislation. The present legislation favors middle-class women in the big cities and there's a terrible injustice going on here.

W&R: You've said that the Winnipeg police "double-crossed" you and used "fascist-style" techniques in their two raids on the Winnipeg clinic. Can you expand?

Morgentaler: They double-crossed us in the sense that I had requested that there should be no raids on the clinic on humanitarian grounds. I was promised that there would not be any raids, and in return I said that we would keep everything above board, keep records. It wasn't necessary for the police to raid and disturb and frighten women, and put their lives in danger. They didn't keep their word. So they did double-cross me.

As for the tactics which I described as quasi-fascist, I think that to come in in the middle of an operation where a woman is on the table being operated on and cause her possibly to hemorrhage, or to have her life endangered, I think that is a terrible thing. And the fact that the Winnipeg police raided the clinic twice—twice when operations were being done—they were really quasi-fascist acts, somewhat like a police state. It's never happened before anywhere and I think that the prosecution in Winnipeg is probably one of the most vicious that I've seen. And it makes me wonder why it happened.

W&R: The New Democratic Party has a paper position in favor of abortion, and yet it's Howard Pawley's NDP government in Manitoba that's allowed these two raids against the clinic, that laid the conspiracy charges against you and the staff there. And then you have Joe Borowski [a fanatical anti-abortionist], a former NDP cabinet minister. And they have a "pro-life" caucus.

Morgentaler: I am very disappointed in the NDP government in Manitoba. I think they put expediency above principle. I think that they have allowed the most vicious of prosecutions. I'm really saddened and angered by what's happened in Manitoba. I expected much better of the NDP. They've alienated

their most progressive and most dynamic elements in their own party. And it's just sad to see that. You'd have thought that they would act in a different manner altogether.

W&R: And then you have Bob Rae too, at the rally to defend the clinic to protest the raid here...

Morgentaler: Well, I think Bob Rae finally came across with a good position. So obviously the NDP is the only party to have a pro-choice program—it's clear—the majority of the people in the NDP at the convention had pro-choice sentiment. It's just an irony of sorts that the Manitoba NDP government is acting in such a reactionary manner in this case, and I hope that somehow, someday they'll change course.

W&R: The conspiracy charge is much more serious than anything that's been done in the past.

Morgentaler: Well, it's an irony that the NDP government should bring conspiracy charges. The NDP people, and leftists in general, people left of center, are always targets of conspiracy charges. The fore-runner of the NDP itself, the founders of the CCF, in the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, were tried on conspiracy charges, treason charges and all this kind of crap. So it's really a supreme irony that this should happen.

W&R: My last question is about international support. It would be of great interest to readers of *Women and Revolution* to know if you've received any support outside of Canada, North America, for your work.

Morgentaler: Well, no. So far we haven't received any support from international socialists. For some reason I believe that in the States they don't know too much about what's going on in Canada on this issue. International support would be welcome, of course, especially financial support, because we are running into enormous legal costs and this is going to be a tremendous drain on our resources for a very long time. Besides the symbolic value, the material value of support would be very great.

Contributions to the legal defense of Dr. Morgentaler and other clinic staff can be sent to: Pro-Choice Defense Fund, Box 935, Station Q, Toronto, Ontario M4T 2P1.■

Sri Lanka ...

(continued from page 8)

Tamil masses. The struggle against the hideous national oppression of the Tamils and communalism is central to forging such a party. Lasting national and class justice for the Tamils will only be secured through permanent revolution—rule by the workers and peasants—and a socialist federation of South Asia, which can liberate all the many oppressed peoples of the region, including the almost 60 million Tamils in India.

This is the proletarian internationalist perspective championed by our comrades in the Spartacist League/Lanka as expressed in their greetings sent to the seventh national conference of the SL/U.S.:

"Comrades, Colombo is filled with guns, bayonets, barbed wire, fire, ash and burnt remains, and refugee camps. And from this city, with deep comradely feelings we hold your hand that is raising the red banner of struggle in the conference today.

* The main enemy is at home!

* Indian/Lankan workers key to the socialist revolution in South Asia!

* For the rebirth of the Fourth International!"

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard*

Smash Apartheid!

For Workers Revolution in South Africa!

On June 9 the savagely racist South African regime lynched three militant anti-apartheid fighters of the African National Congress (ANC). The murder of Thelle Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Thabo Motaung evoked outrage and protest dem-

Avenge Black South African Martyrs!

onstrations in South Africa and around the world. Printed below is an edited transcript of a Toronto July 16 Trotskyist League Forum presented by Reuben Samuels of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee entitled "Avenge Black South African Martyrs!"

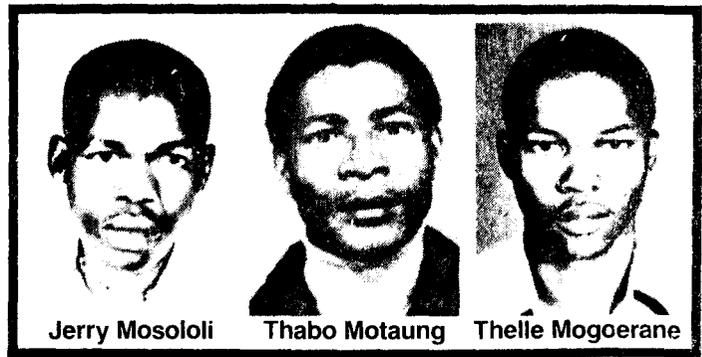
In New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and the Bay Area we took a very active role in demonstrations called by the ANC and in initiating our own demonstrations which were very successful. Our slogans were "For International Labor Action to Stop Apartheid!", "For Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!" and "For International Labor Action to Stop the Hangings!" and slogans dealing with the U.S./South African anti-Soviet axis. These slogans contain in essence our program and strategy for revolution in southern Africa.

Of vital importance was the struggle by militants within the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in the Bay Area to organize a boycott of a ship destined for South Africa on the eve of the hanging. This was organized by a caucus with a decade of history of struggling for international labor solidarity against apartheid. In 1976/77 when revolt swept South Africa beginning in Soweto, spreading throughout the Rand and down to the Cape--from the schools to the factories--these brothers in the Militant Caucus were instrumental in



Financial Mail

Striking black Ford workers in Port Elizabeth, 1980 (top). Black labor key to avenging murder of heroic anti-apartheid fighters (below) through workers revolution.



AP Photos

fighting for a struggle to demonstrate international labor solidarity through a boycott of cargo destined for South Africa.

The history of South Africa contains the reason why such a regime has come to be, which encapsulates the very essence of the imperialist relationships, the modern relationships of exploitation and domination throughout the world. In South Africa an entire population was turned into an industrial reserve army, the black population. They were deprived of their land and every basic, not just political, but human right. In 1913 the South African regime created

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