

Cuban Troops Defend Black Angola

U.S. /South Africa: “Free World” Butchers



Lee MacGregor



Newsweek

Proxy war in Angola between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union: White supremacist South African army (left) held at bay by Cuban troops.

Nowhere is the link between the Cold War against Russia and racist terror against black people clearer and bloodier than in southern Africa. In his pre-summit anti-Communist rantings at the United Nations, Reagan singled out Angola as one of five cases of “Marxism-Leninism’s war with the people.” “The people” Reagan is talking about here is the *South African army* and apartheid’s hired terrorists of Jonas Savimbi’s UNITA. And at a press interview on the Geneva summit, the commander in chief of U.S. imperialism announced a decision for “covert aid” to the Angolan contras:

“We all believe that a covert operation would be more useful to us and have

more chance of success right now than the overt proposal that has been made in Congress.”

—*New York Times*, 23 November

For a decade Angola has been a front line of the Cold War. In 1975 the U.S. encouraged South Africa to invade Angola, which had just gained its independence from Washington’s NATO ally Portugal. The Washington/Pretoria axis aimed to crush the black African nationalist regime in Luanda and once again make Angola part of the “free world.” A South African armored column swept up the coast coming within a hundred miles of Luanda before it was halted by the introduction of several thousand Cuban troops

backed and armed by the Soviet Union and East Germany. (West Germany, it’s worth pointing out, is the main supplier of nuclear arms technology to South Africa.)

Since the Cubans turned back the South African invasion a decade ago, the apartheid butchers and Savimbi’s terrorists have ravaged the country—killing and torturing hundreds of Angolan villagers, driving thousands from their homes, laying waste entire regions and destroying billions of dollars worth of economic resources.

Standing amid the rubble of a town razed by the South African army last year, a young Angolan commander exclaimed: “We have no complaints

against the Cubans—they’ve been our friends. Apart from anything else we cannot defend our long southern border without them” (*Sunday Times* [London], 15 September). Were it not for the 25,000 to 30,000 Cuban troops and Soviet-bloc arms, the South Africans would simply take over Angola and turn it into a giant bantustan under contra chieftain Savimbi. But since the Cubans are holding the apartheid butchers at bay, Savimbi is now demanding that “the intervention of the Americans is needed to stop the Russians doing what they want to do” in southern Africa (*New York Times*, 9 November).

The anti-Communist appeal by this

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Philly Inferno, Rampaging Racist Mobs

MOVE Massacre Won’t Go Away

“There will be no peace in Philadelphia, because they killed the only peace they could have ever hoped to have” —LaVerne Sims, MOVE supporter, July 1985. The hideous massacre on May 13, when eleven black people, five of them babies, were bombed and incinerated by the government, will not go away. The stench of racist murder clings to Mayor Wilson Goode and his administration. It bore unmistakably the signature of the Reagan years; the government bombed the MOVE commune and burned an entire black neighborhood because it *wanted* to.

The Philly holocaust was meant as a warning: this is what awaits you if you “make trouble” in Reagan’s America.

The green light is flashing in Philly: it’s open season on black people. Racist scum have taken to the streets in Southwest Philadelphia to terrorize a black family and an interracial couple. On November 20, 400 white racists massed outside the home of Charles Williams and Maritta Bloxom; they were chanting “MOVE! MOVE! MOVE!” The next night 200 rampaging racists grouped in front of the home owned by Gerald Fox and his British

wife Carol. These mobilizations have not restricted their terror tactics to verbal abuse and hurling racist epithets:

“Even before the black couple... moved in a few weeks ago, the house was struck repeatedly by BB pellets, the police said, and bottles were thrown through the windows. “The nearby home of the interracial couple... was also struck by vandals, who broke furniture and punctured the home’s boilers.”

—*New York Times*,
23 November

Gerald Fox, a former Air Force sergeant, defiantly stated, “I’ve made

up my mind, I’m staying.” As for the cops’ allegiances, Fox noted:

“The police have been kind of nonchalant about the whole thing, to tell the truth.... A friend of mine went out and asked if these people had a permit to demonstrate in front of our house, and the officer said police were trying to disperse the crowd. Well, the crowd didn’t move until it dispersed itself 2-1/2 hours later.”

—*Philadelphia Inquirer*,
23 November

Philadelphia’s police force, fresh from their revenge massacre of the MOVE

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You Can't Be a Marxist Outside the Party

September 16, 1985

Dear editor,

In 1982 following the tragic death of Toni Randell I wrote a letter to *WV* which stated that a belief in Marxism was a belief in the need for organized political action to change the world and required membership in a revolutionary political organization. I added that those who still believed in Marxism and quit politics were justly despised by revolutionaries and that I intended to rejoin when I resolved my personal problems. However, as Lenin stated, "You can write on paper anything you like" (*Collected Works*, volume 25, page 26). Therefore I want all my comrades, friends and acquaintances from my membership in the SL from 1970 to 1978 in New York City and Chicago to know that I did apply to rejoin the international Spartacist tendency and the Spartacist League and have been readmitted to membership.

I have not rejoined in order to straighten out the line of the SL or to fight the leadership regime. The political line of the SL has been fundamentally correct in a difficult political period due to the leadership of the SL. Serious political differences are always dealt with seriously but in all of the political disagreements I participated in or saw in the SL, I have never seen an instance of organizational abuse. I have, however, seen a number of people who quit and then said the issue that broke me is the issue where the SL passed over from being revolutionary to centrist or reformist and/or at that time the SL also became organizationally abusive. While those who believe in Marxism and then quit the party are to be despised, those like the so-called External Tendency who quit and then try to find a political justification for quitting are to be doubly despised.

Ex-members, sympathizers and politically disorientated members are encouraged to go back and read the fundamental books of our movement. Read Lenin for the party question and basic class-struggle politics, read Cannon for the struggle to build a revolutionary American party and for the organizational question (especially recommended for anyone who thinks the ET has any sort of political validity—read about the Abern clique, read about unprincipled combinationism and read about how every opposition always raises the question of the party regime), and read Trotsky for general world politics and the struggle to build a revolutionary international under circumstances similar to ours. Reading these books (especially the *Collected Works* of Lenin) is the best cure I have found for political fatigue, pessimism and disorientation and provides the necessary background for a clear understanding of SL politics today.

At this time U.S. society is in a state of flux as the ruling class is trying to change the basis of oppression, exploitation and repression in this country. Workers and students who might otherwise never question the capitalist system are open to discussion about our ideas. Black workers and students are especially open to our politics because of the decline of nationalism and because of the events in South Africa. There is an opportunity for us to recruit a significant number of black revolutionaries, without whom a U.S. revolution is impossible. The experience of our ex-members who were involved in important political struggles in the SL and/or have revolutionary trade-union experience and/or were part of the leadership of SL branches are a valuable political asset for the SL and would be especially valuable for the education of some of our newer comrades. Ex-

members who are politically healthy are encouraged to re-apply for membership. Being a comrade of the revolutionaries in the SL is the greatest honor you can achieve in life.

As Lenin put it, "A revolutionary is not one who becomes revolutionary with the onset of the revolution, but one

who defends the principles and slogans of the revolution when reaction is most violent and when liberals and democrats vacillate to the greatest degree." In the U.S. we are presently in a period of violent reaction. As Trotsky phrased it, "Every man at his post!" For those who believe in the revolutionary program, your post is inside the SL as a member.

For the revolution,
J. Smith

Freedom for Sergei Antonov!

AUSTRALIAN COMMITTEE FOR
THE DEFENCE OF ANTONOV

35 Daly Street
Kurrulta Park
S.A. 5037

17th September 1985

Mr. Doug Flynn
Spartacist League

Dear Mr. Flynn and other Comrades,

Thank you very much for your letter dated 11th September 1985 and for your newspapers and pamphlet which arrived safely here yesterday.

Your newspapers contained many well-written articles of great interest to us, including two masterly reports on the Antonov case in Rome, which will be very valuable to us in our work.

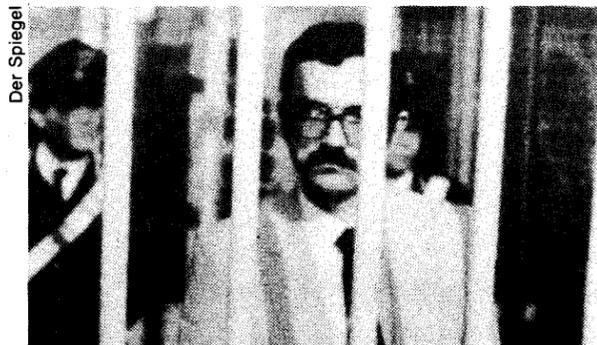
We are indebted to you for your interest.

In response to your enclosed Subscription Form I am enclosing you herewith Seven dollars (\$7-00) to subscribe to the "Australasian Spartacist" and to "Workers Vanguard" (sea mail), together with the completed Subscription Form.

Once again many thanks for your help and your sympathy for Sergei Antonov.

Yours fraternally,
Rex Mathews

WV notes: The particular articles referred to are "The 'Pope Plot' Against Andropov" (*WV* No. 323, 11 February 1983), and "Shot Pope, Thinks He's Christ" (*WV* No. 382, 28 June 1985).



Bulgarian official
Antonov, framed
up and jailed in
"Pope plot."



Labor Must Fight Racist Terror

In 1942 Klan-incited mobs in Detroit attacked black families moving into the new Sojourner Truth housing project. The authorities then closed the project. The then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party demanded that the housing project be reopened under the protection of labor defense squads.



LENIN

The labor movement must demand that the authorities set a date for the reopening of the Sojourner Truth homes—and that it be soon. Then on that date the labor movement must organize its forces as strongly and as powerfully as they did when they fought and defeated the mighty auto barons and their goon squads and "service men." They must be present at the homes in great numbers with their picket lines and flying squadrons to see that February 28 is not repeated. If they do this, the Negro people will be able to move into their homes; the odds are that under such conditions the Ku Kluxers and fascists would not even dare to show their faces there.

In this way the labor movement could at one and the same time win the wholehearted support of the Negro people and put to rout those fascist forces that seek not only to intensify racial hatred against the Negroes but also to smash the trade unions.

—*Militant* (25 April 1942)

Snobs and Philistines

New York, NY
October 20, 1985

Dear Comrades:

Here we go again! Last year I objected to your designation of Gore Vidal as "our greatest living writer." Now you have marred a brilliant article on "AIDS" [*WV* No. 389, 18 October] by referring to *Forever Amber* (probably the grandmother of all American period romantic trash fiction) as "the fine historical novel."

Comrades, you should stick to being Marxists; forget about being literary critics. Trotsky wrote that art was a part of the processes of history. The party leads the working class and tries to orient itself to history and art.

Please comrades, if it's impossible, as I'm beginning to believe it is, for you to orient yourself to art, at least refer to

Forever Amber simply as "the popular historical novel." Vidal, of course, is "the American novelist." Abiding by this standard, and letting it apply to all authors, is surely in the Trotskyist tradition. You must realize how inappropriate it is to engage in literary judgments in unsigned articles such as these.

Communist Greetings!
Price

WV replies: In our article, the word "fine" modifies historical, not novel. *Forever Amber* author Kathleen Winsor evidently did some research on the Stuart Restoration period in 17th century England, perhaps including Samuel Pepys' Diary, and she certainly knows how to give you a sense of the times. Not a bad way to learn some history, after all. And besides, it's not Proust. ■

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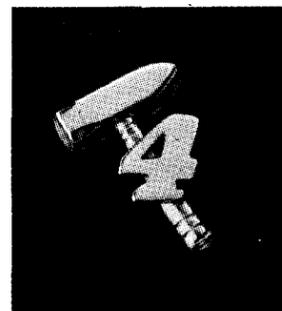
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"Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

Spartacists on WBAI

On Friday, October 25, Spartacist spokesmen Marjorie Stamberg, Ed Kartsen and Don Alexander were the guests on Leonard Lopate's talk show "Round Midnight" on the New York radio station WBAI. The three-hour discussion, of which excerpts are printed below, centered on the "Russian question" and the Cold War, from Poland to Afghanistan.

Stamberg: We take our continuity from the Spartacists, from Lenin and Trotsky. And you know, [American Trotskyist leader James P.] Cannon also, during World War II, went to jail because he opposed that imperialist war. Cannon fought to defend the Soviet Union, to defend the gains of October. And we think today that one of the most important things that we have to talk about in Reagan's America is defense of the Soviet Union.

* * * * *

Lopate: You're always caught in this position of defending countries that you are critical of at the same time, and that has led to certain confusing situations.

Stamberg: Let me try to clear that up, because Trotsky's view was very clear of what the process was that was going on inside the Soviet Union. There was a revolution, capitalism has been abolished in the Soviet Union. That happened with the coming to power of the Bolsheviks and the Revolution of November 7 [1917]. Now because of the imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union, because there was not revolution in the West, because the Spartacist revolution was defeated in Germany and so forth, a conservative bureaucracy grew up politically around Stalin which destroyed the Bolshevik Party, and which today has the leadership of the Soviet Union. We believe that with that leadership and the present Kremlin, the society in the Soviet Union cannot go forward to socialism. But you have a dictatorship of the proletariat. Those gains, the collectivized economy, exists and that must be defended at all costs.

Lopate: Do you think Trotsky would describe what's going on in the Soviet Union now, the 60 years of Stalinism, as a dictatorship of the proletariat?

Stamberg: Oh, absolutely. That refers to the economic form, the property forms. We're Marxists, we believe that the economic foundations, forces and relations determine in large part the development of society. It's very important to get that clear, because when we're living in Reagan's America, the whole thrust of American foreign policy is to roll back the Russian Revolution, to roll back the gains. And the whole pressure on the left, the various currents in the left in this country, has been over the years to capitulate to that central drive of the imperialist country that they live in... You see that in Afghanistan, in Poland, in Nicaragua today, and that's why it must be gotten straight, it's the axis of politics in the country.

* * * * *

Lopate: One of the things that has come up constantly in our conversation is Solidarity, which you've referred to as Reagan's favorite union. And that's probably true. But whatever Ronald Reagan's feelings about it, they did, for the time that they had a certain amount of power, improve working conditions in Poland. And I am curious about why when a workers movement develops to fight against inequities in a society—and Poland was a screwed-up country—why a democratically oriented revolutionary



SL spokesmen Don Alexander, Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen broadcast live on WBAI radio, October 25.

WV Photo

party would be so critical. I can't remember what the headline was on Solidarity, but it was really mean and confrontational, in the *Workers Vanguard*.

Kartsen: Poland got its social revolution in the form of the Red Army driving the Nazis out of Poland. You're probably well familiar with the job the Nazis did to the Polish people, and particularly Polish Jews. The Nazis were driven out by the Red Army. Not by, unfortunately, an indigenous revolution. So you have a lot of backwardness of the Pilsudskiites, who were pro-Hitlerites prior to the invasion by the Nazis. This kind of political thinking is unfortunately still dominant, and plays a threatening role to open up Poland as a fifth column in Eastern Europe for the invasion, particularly the drive by NATO and by West Germany, to reconquer the East. So you want the roots of where our position stands, it is in opposition to counterrevolution, which is what Solidarność represents. It represents a "solidarity" with the Catholic church, with Pilsudski, with counterrevolution.

Lopate: Well, if the people want it—in other words, the people be damned?

Kartsen: The question is, people be damned in Hitler's Germany? If Hitler is leading a mass movement of the petty bourgeois for counterrevolution, do we support Hitler because he's a mass leader? No.

Alexander: Let's recall that at the end of 1981, at a national congress of Solidarność, it was very clear that they were for the overthrow of that deformed workers state, of the socialized property system. Yes, we drew the line. And we understood that the Polish bureaucracy, because of years of misrule and conciliating the Catholic church, drove the historically socialist Polish working class into the arms of that Catholic church. You know the situation, in terms of the contradictions, was temporarily frozen. And it's going to take the construction of a Trotskyist party to restore the deep rich internationalist heritage, as represented by Rosa Luxemburg.

Lopate: But it was a mass movement of workers. It's obvious why Ronald Reagan liked it—he liked it because it embarrassed the Soviet Union. But don't you think the Soviet Union and the Polish should have been embarrassed by the mess they'd made of things?

Stamberg: It was going in the direction of a rollback. Now, our two nasty headlines, I was trying to think which one does Lenny mean here, and there are two that come to mind: "Stop

Solidarność Counterrevolution" and "Power Bid Spiked." You see, originally we had an ambivalent position, when Solidarność was first formed. We said, well, it looks in the beginning like it is a movement of the workers. Certain things we didn't like, seeing the workers at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk down on their knees praying. But we wanted to see which way it was going to go.

After the congress of Solidarność it became clear. We looked, what is the program, what does it mean? It went beyond the question of a union to embrace a clerical/nationalist movement that would like to organize the entire country against the Soviet Union. It had a position to bring the IMF into Poland to resolve the economic problem. Go to the Dominican Republic and talk to those people about what it means to bring the IMF into a country, the starvation...

Now, we were hoping that the Russian troops would not have to go in. We were hoping that it wouldn't come to a lot of blood. We wanted it stopped cold, so that we could play for time. Because we seek to crystallize a Leninist opposition inside Poland, based on the traditions and heritage of Polish communism. Which, as Don was saying, is the tradition of Rosa Luxemburg, who is reviled by both Solidarność and by the Stalinist bureaucracy there, because she's a communist, a woman, a Jew. Because she fought for the separation of

church and state. Because she fought for the unity of the Polish and the Russian workers.

* * * * *

Lopate: Let's talk about Afghanistan. Because earlier, Marjorie, you said you were worried that the Soviet Union might have to go into Poland. In Afghanistan, the Soviet Union's army did go in, and it was greeted with headlines in *Workers Vanguard* like "Hail Red Army!" And then later, when this helicopter started attacking people, you had a headline, "Hail Red Thunder." You denied that there were any atrocities in Afghanistan.

In fact, the whole attitude about the Soviets' role in Afghanistan strikes me as a kind of a "white man's burden" argument that you have, that it doesn't matter what the people of Afghanistan want, or believe in, if it's backward, we the Europeans, the voices of enlightenment, know best and we will impose it whether they like it or not.

Alexander: The imperialists over the last couple of years especially have said that the Soviet Union was involved in an endless no-win war that would drain their defenses and open up the formerly Muslim area of Soviet Central Asia to Islamic counterrevolution and capitalist restoration. But basically there was a mopping-up operation that took place last year, and even the imperialist press had to recognize that.

Let's look at the class forces that are arrayed against each other in Afghanistan. On the one hand, you have these feudal mullahs, who are of course enforcers of the bride price, the veil, that women have to wear from head to toe. What happened to young women, young girls who want to read and write, and those who teach them? They're outright killed. One thing I'd like to say, by way of statistics, that these Islamic guerrillas, these so-called "freedom fighters" have destroyed 1,814 schools, 31 hospitals and 111 medical stations. This is no accident. These targets were specially selected because of the fact that [the mullahs] are for maintaining feudal relations in that country. And they brag about it, because under Islamic law you have what is known as the purdah, the enforced seclusion of women.

Lopate: But you're still saying "father knows best," we know better than the people themselves...

Alexander: The question of so-called Afghan sovereignty—the notion that the CIA pumping millions of dollars into Afghanistan has been a liberating force in that country is obscene. Look at what's going on next door in Soviet Central Asia by comparison. Because

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U.S./South Africa...

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traitor to black African freedom has gotten a positive response not only from the Reagan gang but also the Democrats. Last July the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives voted to repeal the 1975 Clark Amendment, which barred aid to the Angolan contras. There is now a bill before Congress, co-sponsored by right-wing Republican Jack Kemp and liberal Democrat Claude Pepper, to provide \$27 million in "humanitarian" aid to UNITA. Sounding just like a Reaganite, Pepper declared: "Those people in Africa have the right to be free." And, you must remember, South Africa is part of the "free world." As the courageous black South African fighter against apartheid Winnie Mandela recently stated, the American rulers "view that our liberation will be a setback to your own sphere of influence."

For the past year many Democratic politicians have sought to revive their standing with black voters after the Mondale debacle by holier-than-thou displays of moral outrage over apartheid in South Africa—calling for divestment, boycotts, economic sanctions. Yet one hears hardly a peep from "divest from apartheid" liberals about the war in Angola or the war of national liberation in South Africa's colony Namibia. Not a single Democratic



Mass grave in Cassinga, southern Angola, where South African army massacred 600, including pregnant women and children, in 1978.

politician, black or white, supports the Cuban and Angolan troops, or the Namibian guerrillas, who are actually fighting the apartheid butchers and their puppet terrorists. Nor do they raise the basic democratic demand of immediate and unconditional independence for Namibia. Why, to do that would mean—horror of horrors—giving aid and comfort to the Soviet Union. For the black front men of U.S. imperialism, Russia is the enemy, South Africa is a slightly disreputable ally.

Southern Africa: Where the Cold War Is Hot

The *New York Times* (17 November) recently remarked that the Angolan war

"is becoming more costly as it edges closer to a proxy confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union." In fact, Angola has been a proxy war between the U.S. and Soviet Union for ten years. A long, bloody liberation struggle finally forced the Portuguese colonialists to pull out in 1974-75. This created a power vacuum and an ensuing civil war between the three main nationalist guerrilla groups, each to a large degree tribally based. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which was the best organized and had close ties to the Soviet bloc, gained the ascendancy, taking the key cities of Luanda and Lobito.

At this point Henry Kissinger, who was then running U.S. foreign policy, decided to make Angola a major

showdown with the Soviet bloc. He encouraged the South Africans to invade, and after they were checked by the Cubans he wanted to escalate, putting in U.S. military advisers, pouring in arms and money for Savimbi's puppet forces. However, coming just a few months after the fall of Saigon, much of the American ruling class feared "another Vietnam" in southern Africa, that is, a long, losing military adventure. So Congress put salt on Kissinger's tail with the Clark Amendment.

But South Africa did not cease its war against Angola. Far from it—they carved out a 30-mile-wide zone in southern Angola, from which the apartheid war machine has supplied air cover and logistics to Savimbi's UNITA, wreaking terror and economic sabotage throughout the southern third of the country. The South African army itself has raided Angola again and again, in particular to destroy the bases of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) guerrillas fighting to liberate Namibia. A British mercenary, Trevor Edwards, who served with the South African/UNITA forces, gives one a sense of this war:

"Our main job is to take an area and clear it. We sweep through it and we kill everything in front of us, cattle, goats, people, everything. We are out to stop SWAPO and we stop them getting into villages for food and water.... "Sometimes we take the locals for questioning. It's rough. We just beat



Apartheid's hired Angolan terrorist Jonas Savimbi (right) with South African foreign minister Pik Botha.

them, cut them, burn them. As soon as we're finished with them, we kill them." A 12-year-old boy was tied up to make his mother talk:

"Then we played water polo with him, put him in this kind of dam and pushed him about, let him sink. Every so often we took him out. He wouldn't cry. He just wet himself. The mother didn't tell us anything. In the end we just left him in the water and he drowned."

—quoted in Richard Leonard, *South Africa at War* (1983)

These are the heroes of the "free world" in southern Africa.

Reagan claims that the MPLA regime in Luanda is a "Marxist-Leninist dictatorship." In reality these are typical bourgeois nationalists, more than willing to make a deal with U.S. imperialism... and South Africa. The Luanda regime has always maintained mutually profitable relations with Gulf Oil, whose operation in Cabinda provides most of the country's foreign-exchange earnings. Further, the apartheid regime itself maintains capital investment in Angolan mining through Oppenheimer's DeBeers. And in early 1984 the MPLA signed an agreement with the South African government to jointly patrol the Namibian border, preventing the SWAPO guerrillas from crossing over to fight for their homeland!

But the MPLA nationalists' readiness to sacrifice their Namibian brothers has not spared Angola from the apartheid war machine. Not at all! Last spring the South African army raided Cabinda, killing 60 and blowing up oil facilities. A few months ago South African warplanes attacked an Angolan army unit in the field, killing over 50 soldiers.

At the same time, South Africa's war against Angola and Namibia has been a major factor destabilizing the apartheid state internally. For South Africa's blacks, the sight of the white-supremacist army retreating before the Cubans and black Angolan nationalists was inspiring. Only six months after the South African invasion of Angola was defeated, the Soweto rebellion erupted in the summer of 1976. Soweto opened up a new period of black militancy and struggle in South Africa, the most important development being the emergence of an independent black and coloured (mixed-race) union movement.

It is the black industrial proletariat of South Africa—from the gold mines of the Rand to the docks of Durban, to the auto plants of the East Cape—which has the social power not only to overthrow white racist rule but to liberate all of

black Africa from the murderous military despots, tribalist chieftains and treacherous nationalist demagogues who suck the blood of their people. What is needed to realize this program of permanent revolution is a Trotskyist vanguard party in South Africa, forged through political combat with petty-bourgeois nationalism, linking the struggle for national liberation and democratic rights to the conquest of power by the working class.

Soviet Defensism and Black Liberation

Every believer in black freedom and national liberation should hail the Cuban troops battling the Washington/Pretoria axis in Angola. And behind these Cuban troops stands the industrial/military power of the Soviet Union. While this is absolutely obvious, many radicals and self-styled leftists (e.g., the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party) deny that the Cuban intervention in Angola is critically dependent on Russian global power. Despite Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration, the USSR stands as the main obstacle to American imperialism's ambition to dominate and exploit the world. Were it not for fear of war with Russia, Washington would have long since invaded Castro's Cuba and nuked Vietnam.

While Soviet military power has stayed the hand of U.S. imperialism in certain parts of the world, there can be no "peaceful coexistence" between capitalism and social revolution. The world will live under the shadow of nuclear holocaust until the Pentagon war machine is demolished through workers revolution. And the descendants of those black Africans taken into slavery in the New World can, as a strategic section of the American working class, play a decisive role in destroying the ultimate stronghold of world capitalism from within. Then and only then will the massive redistribution of social wealth produce genuine equality for black people in the United States. And international socialist planning will then raise the wretchedly impoverished peoples of neocolonial black Africa to the level of the most economically advanced countries.

The first great step toward such a world socialist order was taken with the Russian Revolution of 1917. That is why the chieftains of imperialism, from Woodrow Wilson to Adolf Hitler, to Ronald Reagan, have targeted the Soviet Union for destruction. When Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa against Russia in 1941, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party explained in the *Militant* (5 July 1941) why American blacks had a vital stake in defending the Soviet Union:

"Class conscious American Negroes must defend the Soviet Union against its imperialist enemies as part of their own struggle to abolish the system that starves, lynch, disenfranchises, and Jim Crows them in this country.

"We do not pretend that the Soviet Union is an ideal country, where all problems have been solved, where socialism has been reached. Not at all. But it is a workers' state, where power has been taken out of the hands of the employers and the landlords, where capitalist bosses no longer run the factories for their own profit, where the foundations for a better life have been laid." ■



Sam Nujoma, head of SWAPO guerrillas fighting South Africa, meets East German leader Erich Honecker in Luanda. Soviet bloc is the main arms supplier to Namibian liberation struggle.

**Spartacist League/
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Malcolm X's Widow Exposes Farrakhan

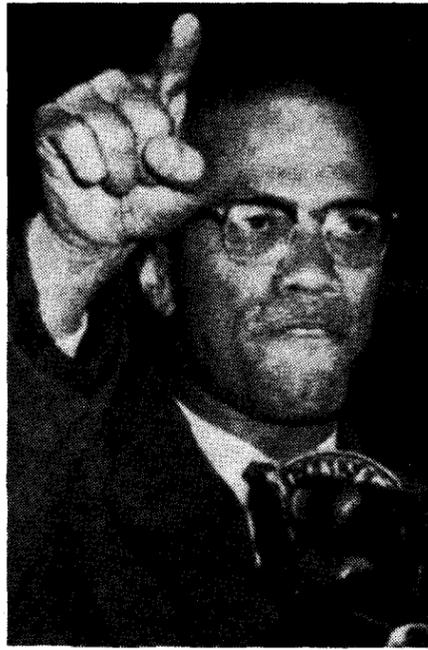
Louis "Hitler was a great man" Farrakhan is a vile, anti-Semitic demagogue and would-be capitalist exploiter of black people. He first gained national attention last year as a shill in Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign in the Democratic Party. Jackson in turn was hustling the black vote for Walter (the big loser) Mondale. However, since Farrakhan is often used as a whipping boy by the media and racist politicians like New York mayor Ed Koch, there is a strong impulse in the black community to defend and solidarize with the loudmouthed Black Muslim against the white power structure.

Elements of the white ruling establishment as well as his own supporters portray Farrakhan as a present-day version of Malcolm X. Nothing could be further from the truth. Malcolm was a courageous and intransigent enemy of the American imperialist ruling class and its black front men. They therefore slandered and vilified him as a preacher of race hate. Farrakhan actually is a preacher of race hate, who falsely claims the mantle of Malcolm X.

This was just too much for Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's widow. In a TV interview with veteran journalist Gabe Pressman, she exposed Farrakhan's murderous treachery toward her husband. Calling Farrakhan "an opportunist," she declared: "I regret the day I ever had the unfortunate opportunity to meet him or to know him." Malcolm originally recruited Farrakhan to the Nation of Islam. But when Malcolm split from Elijah Muhammad's sect in early 1964, Farrakhan (then Louis X) became one of the leading hatchetmen in their hate-Malcolm vendetta. Farrakhan wrote in *Muhammad Speaks* (4 December 1964):

"Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape.... Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death."

Two months later Malcolm X was, in fact, killed. Whether or not Elijah Muhammad's people actually killed him—and they may have—they wanted him dead. And Farrakhan was the No. 1 fingerman. Farrakhan very much wants to bury this most ugly chapter in his

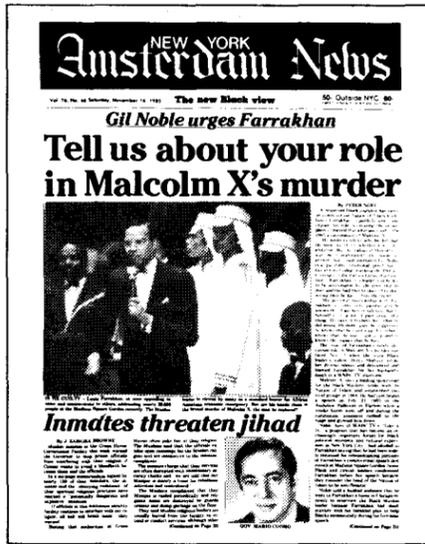


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sordid history. But Betty Shabazz will never forgive and forget.

The Farrakhan gang has responded to the Betty Shabazz scandal in the usual way, by blaming Jewish control of the media. Nation of Islam minister Abjul Karriem Muhammad exclaimed, "Gabe Pressman is a Jew and he's mad" (*Amsterdam News*, 16 November). But Jew-baiting is not going to get Farrakhan off the hook this time. Betty Shabazz has exploded a small bombshell in the black community, especially in Harlem where Malcolm X is still personally remembered with deep affection and great respect. "Gil Noble Urges

Farrakhan: Tell Us About Your Role in Malcolm X's Murder" blares the front-page headline of the *Amsterdam News* (16 November), New York's main black paper. Noble, a respected black journalist, challenges Farrakhan to come clean on this one: "He needs to tell us why he



"Malcolm is worthy of death," said Farrakhan (right). Two months later Malcolm X (left) was killed.

riage. Where Farrakhan takes money from KKK Grand Dragon Tom Metzger, Malcolm put Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell on public notice: "This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's



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did that.... Was he jealous of Malcolm; or was he misinformed? He needs to answer that."

Farrakhan's motivation in the hate-Malcolm campaign was neither envy nor ignorance. It was politics. In splitting from the Nation of Islam, Malcolm did not break simply with Elijah Muhammad's personal cultism. He was breaking with bigotry and prejudice inherent in all nationalisms. In the last year of his life Malcolm was painfully and in a confused way groping toward a humanistic outlook. For example, he publicly repudiated his earlier opposition to interracial mar-

separatist Black Muslim movement," and "you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not hand-cuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence" if you harm "black Americans who are only attempting to enjoy their rights as free human beings." By the time Malcolm was gunned down in Harlem's Audubon Ballroom, he had become an enemy of the kind of nationalist demagoguery and bigotry which Farrakhan peddles as spiritual opium in racist America's hellish ghettos. And that is why Farrakhan wanted Malcolm dead. ■

Letter to Amsterdam News:

Hands Off Hurricane Carter!

We reprint below a letter to the *Amsterdam News*, a major black New York City weekly, by Reuben Shiffman, co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee.

25 November 1985

Amsterdam News
New York, NY

To the Editor:

Any decent person familiar with the Rubin "Hurricane" Carter case has seen it for the vicious racist frame-up that it is. At the peak of his boxing career and prime of his life Carter was locked away for 18 long bitter years in New Jersey's Rahway State Prison hellhole, sent up on the bribed testimony of petty crooks and inveterate liars, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley. The racist vendetta against Carter is retaliation for his call for the right of black people to defend themselves against racist cop terror following the Harlem police rampage of 1964. The racist frame-up of Carter along with his black friend John Artis was so blatant that their conviction has been vacated for the second time. In an unusual and courageous decision United States district court judge H. Lee Sarokin granted Carter's habeas corpus petition, stating that the conviction was based upon "an appeal to racism rather

than reason, concealment rather than disclosure." Judge Sarokin rejected Passaic County prosecutors' claim that Carter is a "danger to the community" who must remain incarcerated while the Reagan courts review their appeal. The judge admonished that "human decency mandates that he be released immediately."

It is particularly indecent for the *Amsterdam News*, a newspaper which promotes itself as "the new Black view," to join the vindictive prosecution attempt to railroad Carter back to that prison hellhole for life. Barak Goodman's November 16 article, "Carter's Release, Mixed Bag of Feelings in Jersey" is nothing but a brief, for the prosecution. Goodman peddles their vile portrayal of Carter as a "bad dude" who was "capable" of committing the 1966 Lafayette Bar triple murder. Judge Sarokin's carefully reasoned and stinging indictment of the racist frame-up of Hurricane Carter is dismissed by Goodman as a mere "claim." Your reporter echoes the racist appeal made by the prosecution during the 1976 retrial and denounced in Judge Sarokin's decision: that given the racial polarization of the sixties, Carter must have been out shooting whites because he was black.

Goodman wants Carter's frame-up

forgotten and complains that his release is "like a ghost rattling its chains." Goodman doesn't mention the real chains in which Carter was brought by New Jersey authorities to his bail hearing as if it were a slave auction. The "mixed feelings" to which Goodman refers are those of the owner of the "star-crossed" Lafayette Bar who wants Carter to rot in prison because the notoriety is "costing us business," and a bigoted white Paterson resident's resentment that Carter "used to drive a purple Cadillac around"!

Twenty-one years after the Harlem cop riot, Koch's killer cops are riding roughshod over New York's blacks and Hispanics. The *Amsterdam News*' "new Black view" is just the tired old con game of binding blacks to the Democratic Party of racist pig Koch and Wilson Goode, bomber of black babies. This treacherous alliance is more important to the *Amsterdam News* than the defense of black children in Harlem, Philadelphia and elsewhere from racist cop terror. Carter was put behind bars solely for advocating the right of black self-defense. The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, demands massive protests to

keep Carter free. As long as Hurricane's freedom is endangered, no black man can walk down the mean streets of America without fear.

Sincerely,
Reuben Shiffman

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American Blitzkrieg

Military Review
August 1984

Adolf Hitler's monstrous crimes so horrified the mass of humanity that for decades no intelligent spokesman for Western imperialism would invoke the German Third Reich favorably. But when Ronald Reagan went to Bitburg last spring to salute the elite Nazi SS troops buried there, it was obvious that times have changed. Hitler is coming out of the closet—not only at the White House, but also at the Pentagon. And it's not just those new Kevlar helmets that look so much like the Wehrmacht's. Reagan wants to take up where Hitler left off—with a new "Operation Barbarossa" to smash the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution. So the U.S. Army and NATO have reissued the *Führer's* plan for a surprise attack on the USSR—updated for the microchip era. It's "Star Wars" for ground troops, as the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (20 May) called it.

Hitler called his battle plan *Blitzkrieg*, a lightning war. The Pentagon's post-Vietnam doctrine is called AirLand Battle, a "forward strategy" for massive "deep strikes" inside the Soviet bloc in the first minutes of World War III. If you haven't heard of it, don't be surprised: for public consumption the "free world" imperialists still pretend they're only planning to defend the West against a mythical Soviet attack. But the new U.S./NATO war plans call for wiping out the "Soviet threat" before Warsaw Pact forces can even assemble. The latest "emerging technologies" would be applied—everything from "smart" anti-tank missiles to special crater-making bombs aimed at Soviet airfields to surgically precise Pershing 2 nuclear missiles.

AirLand Battle is the official strategy for the anti-Soviet war drive in the European theater. "Barely two months after Ronald Reagan took office, the Army Training and Doctrine Command ('TRADOC') blew the bugles," reported *Der Spiegel*. Henceforth in the "NATO area" the goal was no longer "denying victory to the other side" but seeking a "victory" for the West. Soon came Pentagon chief "Cap" Weinberger's FY84-88 "Defense Guidance" calling for the U.S. to "prevail" in a "protracted" nuclear war. And in November 1984, the American Blitzkrieg scenario was formally adopted by NATO under the name "Follow-On Force Attack" (FOFA) or the "Rogers Plan," after its commander in chief, U.S. general Bernard Rogers.

"Blitzkrieg and AirLand Battle"

"Europeans feel that the implementation of FOFA or the AirLand Battle would destroy the image of NATO as a defensive alliance," wrote Drew Middleton in the *Navy Times* (24 December 1984). "Defensive alliance," hell. In *Military Review*, the professional journal of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, the new American military doctrine is brazenly presented as the direct descendant of Hitler's "lightning war":

• "Blitzkrieg and the AirLand Battle" is the title of an article by Major General John Woodmansee, Jr., commander of the U.S. 2nd Armored Division, Fort Hood, Texas, in the August 1984 *Military Review*. "The blitzkrieg was truly an air-land battle," he wrote, approvingly quoting a description of the Wehrmacht's strategy as "the coiled fist of the Panzer Corps and the thunderbolt of the Luftwaffe." According to Woodmansee, "The [computer] chip is the technological key to the new doctrine." High-tech weapons and deep strikes against Soviet staging areas "could have as much psychological impact as physical

in creating the confusion and paralysis of our blitzkrieg."

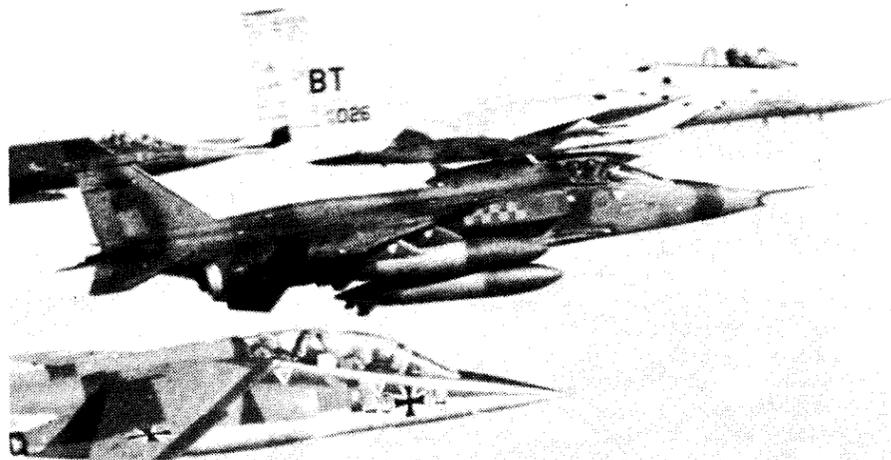
• The Reaganite war plan was first unveiled in the summer of 1982 in the revised army "operations" field manual, FM 100-5. Two officers closely involved in rewriting the manual cavalierly declared that "AirLand Battle doctrine calls for Army units to conduct their operations so that nuclear fire support can be added or deleted as necessary" (Lt. Col. Huba Wass de Czege and Lt. Col. L.D. Holder on "The New FM100-5" in the July 1982 *Military Review*).

• "A study of military history reveals that the doctrine employed by the German army from 1917 to 1945 and its underlying philosophy bears a strong resemblance to what we are trying to instill in ourselves today," proclaims another writer in the Fort Leavenworth journal, Stephen Richey ("The Philosophical Basis of the AirLand Battle," *Military Review*, May 1984). By "under-

tones: "Let us hope that, on the AirLand Battlefield, we are similarly blessed but are prepared to answer that question." Final solution, anyone?

Remember What Happened to Hitler!

During the losing Vietnam War, the American imperialists thought they could find a technological substitute for a fighting army, so McNamara's "whiz kids" at the Pentagon came up with precision TV-guided bombs, new kinds of napalm and phosphorous bombs, B-52 carpetbombing and electronic sensors on the Ho Chi Minh Trail. In the end it didn't do them any good against a genuine social revolution. But the Pentagon is still looking for a technological answer to imperialist decline. According to Major General Woodmansee, the AirLand Battle doctrine evolved in 1978-80 as the result of new



NATO's Sixteen Nations



Der Spiegel

NATO fighter jets on maneuvers (above), West German Panzer division: U.S. imperialists revive Hitler's mad dream to conquer Soviet Union.

lying philosophy" he no doubt has in mind the Hitlerite "master race" ideology of genocidal holocaust. "We are all familiar," writes this admirer of the German High Command, "with the superb record of tactical and operational success the Germans enjoyed from the routing of the Italians at Caporetto in 1917, through the spectacular Western Front offensives of 1918, to the dazzling days of the blitzkrieg in 1939-41."

• Major Mark Beto, "currently assigned to the Defense Intelligence Agency," elaborates a scenario for handling anticipated vast numbers of "Soviet Prisoners of War in the AirLand Battle" (*Military Review*, December 1984). Worrying that netting millions of POWs could bog down the lightning thrust, he suggestively asks: "Is there a conflict between our need to conduct aggressive, fast-paced combat operations in depth and our moral and legal commitment to the provisions of the Geneva conventions?" In the last paragraph, after sympathetically quoting Hitler's 1941 lament, "What are we going to do with all these prisoners?", he piously in-

"hardware systems...emerging from the post-Vietnam research and development programs": e.g., the M1 "Abrams" tank, Multiple Launch Rocket System, airborne JSTARS radar linked to a computerized anti-tank missile system, and the "Sergeant York" antiaircraft gun (noted for its accuracy in hitting outhouse fans). Pentagon war planners think they can reestablish world hegemony through a push-button war which would "decapitate" the Soviet leadership, as codified by Democrat Jimmy Carter's Presidential Directive No. 59.

Like the Nazis, the Reaganites cannot believe that the Soviet peoples will defend the gains of the October Revolution—they think the "evil empire" will simply collapse in chaos once the Kremlin bureaucrats are offed. Hitler bragged to his chief of operations, General Jodl, "We have only to kick in the door and the whole rotten structure will come crashing down." History proved otherwise. The Washington think tank ideologues attribute the Nazi leader's failure to ice and snow, or the mistake of "taking on the whole world."



Professional journal of U.S. Army Command and General Staff College adopts Nazi SS thunderbolts.

But as many a Soviet general has noted, they too had to fight in the bitter Russian winter, and the "two-front war" was largely a myth—nearly 95 percent of all German combat troops were engaged against the Red Army until 1944, as Soviet defense minister Ustinov bitterly noted last year.

When Hitler hurled three million German troops against Russia on 22 June 1941, he expected the war on the Eastern Front to be over before the end of the year. The six-week war against France, in which the French army simply collapsed under the Blitzkrieg onslaught, was seen as a model. The AirLand Battle ideologues are fixated on the first few weeks of Operation Barbarossa, when nearly a million Soviet soldiers were rapidly encircled by the German armies and forced to surrender. But these initial Russian losses were the result not of a lack of will to fight but of the Kremlin's treacherous reliance on its diplomatic pact with Hitler. To prove his sincerity, Stalin refused to prepare to defend the front, despite numerous reports of the impending invasion.

Indeed, were it not for Stalin's counterrevolutionary purge of the Red Army in the late '30s, the best generals such as Marshal Tukhachevsky would have been at their posts in June 1941 and the Nazi Blitzkrieg might well have been stopped in its tracks. Once the Soviet masses awakened to the reality of the invasion, they rose with a fierce determination—20 million died in this war to defend the Soviet Union and crush the Nazi regime. Field Marshal Gerd von Runstedt, who led the German Army Group South against the Ukraine, bluntly told his Allied interrogators after the war, "I realized soon after the attack was begun that everything that had been written about Russia was nonsense." And General Blumentritt, chief of staff of the German Fourth Army, explained:

"The conduct of the Russian troops... was in striking contrast to the behavior of the Poles and the Western Allies in defeat. Even when encircled the Russians stood their ground and fought."

—quoted in William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1960)

Blinded by anti-Communist fanaticism, the Reaganites are preparing to try again. They conveniently forget what happened to the last guy who tried to march on Moscow. While fantasizing about an unbreakable Star Wars shield to cover for a U.S. nuclear first strike, the Pentagon's plans for an American Blitzkrieg on the ground and in the air are no less fantastical. But this doesn't make them any less dangerous, and "détente" illusions today are just as deadly as Stalin's faith in the scrap of paper signed by Molotov and von Ribbentrop. As the "democratic" imperialists now openly embrace the Nazi war plans, it is doubly clear that the Soviet Union can only be defended by world proletarian revolution, the program of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

MAD, DUMB & Reagan Road Warrior

Nuclear war scenarios used to be so simple: one side would fire off their ICBMs, the other side would launch a massive retaliation, and the world would vanish in a giant mushroom cloud in about half an hour. The Pentagon even had a simple, descriptive name for it: Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD).

The idea was that by guaranteeing the obliteration of each other's populations, a balance of terror would keep both sides from pushing the button. In reality, ever since losing first its nuclear monopoly and then nuclear superiority in the mid-1970s, the United States has embarked on a trillion-dollar weapons drive to regain the nuclear whip hand. The Cold Warriors in Washington yearn for the days when they could blackmail Moscow with threats to drop the bomb, as in the Cuban missile crisis.

When Ronald Reagan moved into the White House they discovered a loophole in the MAD scenario. This revelation no doubt came in a late-night screening of the movie *Dr. Strangelove*, where General Buck Turgidson warns the president: "Supposing the Russkies stashed away some big bombs, and we didn't. When they came out in 100 years, they could take over." Well, hell's bells, the Reaganauts concluded, we'll just stash away some warheads ourselves so we can "prevail" in a "protracted nuclear exchange"!

So the orders went out from the Oval Office. Last year the Air Force spent \$10 million studying a plan to build an underground missile base which could survive a nuclear attack. Such a base would cost an estimated \$50 billion:

"The underground base would resemble a 400-mile network of subways that would be 2,500 to 3,500 feet below the



Columbia Pictures

Stranger than Strangelove (left), Reagan sees great future as supreme commander after atomic apocalypse.

surface, probably in a desert in the western United States. It would be self-contained and able to survive for at least a year, the officials said.

"According to the plan, if a nuclear war started and crews in the underground base were ordered to fire missiles, they would tunnel to the surface with machines, then drive out launchers to fire the missiles from the surface."

—*New York Times*,
3 October 1984

The base may be ready in the early 1990s, and the scheme has been appropriately named "Deep Underground Missile Basing" (DUMB).

But what good is a base without a president to push the button, the Pentagon asked. Ever since the '70s, plans have called for the president to get aloft fast in a specially equipped 747, so he can direct U.S. forces from a National Emergency Airborne Com-



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mand Post. However, the "Kneecap" planes are vulnerable to radiation and nuclear turbulence. According to a report by Fred Francis on NBC News (10 September):

"... a plan has been crafted which calls for the president to ride out the first nuclear exchange for as much as 72 hours aboard this 'doomsday' plane. Then the shell game would begin. The president would be flown to a safe isolated location to rendezvous with a large cargo plane which would be carrying what is called a Ground Mobile Command Center... it's actually an 18-wheel tandem trailer truck hardened against some effects of nuclear explosion and against radiation. With the president or his successor inside, it would head for secret locations outside targeted areas. The president would run the war with the truck's foldout satellite dish.

"TRW has built two prototypes of the

doomsday truck, and they are now being tested. As many as 20 more are planned for use by top generals."

So now "Rambo" Reagan is looking forward to playing Mad Max the Road Warrior, barreling along the highway in his 18-wheeler doomsday rig with the hammer down and his red CB radio on the dashboard!

There are still a few kinks to be ironed out, of course. Will Road Warrior Ronald be able to find a gas station open on Sundays? And what if he runs into Gorby Godzilla, the evil emperor, on I-90? Congressional critics will worry that the expensive schemes (cost \$15 billion) could continue ruinous budget deficits into the 21st century. But administration officials already have the answer: a drastic drop in social services expenditures in the post-nuclear environment due to population attrition.

Are we all doomed? Naturally, there would only be limited openings, but in the movie, Dr. Strangelove explains a survival plan for the gang deep under the Utah Salt Flats:

"It would not be difficult, *mein Führer!* Nuclear reactors could—I'm sorry, Mr. President—nuclear reactors could provide power almost indefinitely. Greenhouses could maintain plant life, animals could be bred and *slaughtered*. ... I would guess that dwelling space for several hundred thousands of our people could easily be provided. ... Actually they would breed prodigiously, there would be much time and little to do."

As for the celluloid president, he's already planning a bombshell sequel titled, "Reagan the Barbarian." But unless the anti-Soviet war-crazy nuts in the White House and the Pentagon are stopped, they're writing a script that signs off with the message, "Looney Tunes—That's All, Folks!" ■

Rosa Luxemburg: "The Road to Peace"

Disarm Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

With all the "arms control" hoopla around the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, it is particularly timely to reprint "The Road to Peace," Rosa Luxemburg's trenchant denunciation of the fraud of "disarmament" under capitalism. It was written in 1911 when the storm clouds of the first world imperialist war were already gathering. Luxemburg was a proletarian revolutionary internationalist who led the left wing of German Social Democracy (SPD). Against the SPD majority which supported the war effort, Luxemburg together with Karl Liebknecht organized the Spartakusbund, the forerunner of the German Communist Party, from which the Spartacist League takes its name. (See "The Spartacists," *WV* No. 389, 18 October 1985.)

Luxemburg insisted that the bourgeoisie will never disarm itself—"militarism can only be abolished by the destruction of the capitalist state." In Lenin's terms imperialist war must be opposed by proletarian civil war for power against the bourgeoisie. Today revolutionaries must stand for the defeat of their own imperialist bourgeoisie and for the military defense of Soviet Russia against imperialism. Despite its Stalinist degeneration the Soviet Union continues to embody the social gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. This translation appeared in the



Ullstein

Polish Marxist Rosa Luxemburg addressing anti-militarist rally in Germany in 1907.

October, 1958 *Young Socialist*, organ of what became the youth group of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party.

What is our task on the question of peace? It does not consist merely in vigorous demonstrating at all times that the social-democrats love peace, but first and foremost, our task is to make clear to the masses of people the nature of militarism and to bring out, sharply and clearly, the difference in

principle between the standpoint of social-democracy and that of the bourgeois peace enthusiasts.

In what does this difference consist? Certainly not merely in the fact that bourgeois apostles of peace rely on the influence of fine words, while we do not depend on words alone. Our very point of departure is diametrically opposed: the friends of peace in bourgeois circles believe that world peace and disarmament can be realized within the framework of the present

social order, whereas we who base ourselves on the materialist conception of history and on scientific socialism, are convinced that militarism can be abolished only with the destruction of the capitalist state. From this follows the essential difference in our tactics in spreading the idea of peace.

Counterfeit Peace

The bourgeois friends of peace endeavor—and, from their point of view, this is perfectly logical and explicable—to invent all sorts of "practical" projects for gradually restraining militarism and are naturally inclined to consider every outward and apparent sign of a tendency toward peace as the genuine article, to take every expression of diplomacy in this vein at its word, to exaggerate it into a real basis of earnest activity. Social-democracy, on the other hand must consider it as its duty in this matter, just as in all matters of social criticism, to expose the bourgeois attempts to restrain militarism as pitiful half-measures and the expression of such sentiments on the part of the governing circles as diplomatic make believe, and to oppose bourgeois claims and pretenses with the ruthless analysis of capitalist reality.

From this standpoint, the tasks of the social-democracy with regard to the declaration of the kind issued by the British can only be to expose the idea of a partial limitation of armaments in all its impracticability, as a half-measure, and to endeavor to make it clear to the people that militarism is closely linked with the colonial politics and that, therefore, the nations of today, if they are really serious and honest in their wish to call a halt to

continued on page 8

Soweto Hospital Strikers Win Back Their Jobs

November 25—Today the Baragwanath Hospital bosses agreed to reinstate 1,700 striking black nurses and auxiliary workers at full pay. The decision came after a South African Supreme Court justice ruled in favor of three nurses, determining that their lockout was illegal. The rest of the strikers then threatened similar legal action. But the compelling issues which forced these deeply oppressed black workers to walk out will be resolved only through labor action on the picket line. Victory to the Soweto Hospital Workers!

On the night of November 13, in apartheid South Africa's largest township, the black student nurses and auxiliary workers struck against starvation wages at the huge Baragwanath Hospital. The strikers, organized by the General and Allied Workers Union, were met with the violence of the racist police state from the moment they came out. Nurses were injured by club-wielding guards who were later issued firearms. When management fired the strikers, the army came in and forced them to take their dismissal pay at gunpoint. Eight hundred student nurses have left Baragwanath for their own safety after being surrounded by armed police. The hospital was placed under military occupation, with white soldiers and "civil defense" personnel doing scab work while the bosses sought to replace the strikers.

The repression of the Soweto hospital strikers is part of Pretoria's police-state terror to drown in blood the nationwide anti-apartheid revolt. Since this current revolt began in September 1984 the apartheid butchers have gunned down more than 850 blacks, with 36 killed in a five-day period this past week. One of the most brutal massacres occurred in the black township of Mamelodi near Pretoria, where police murdered 13 protesters, a number of whom were elderly women.

Apartheid South Africa is a giant forced labor camp for black people, and Baragwanath is its main medical wing. The largest hospital in the southern hemisphere, it has nearly 3,000 beds. But that is far short of what is needed to serve the two million people of Soweto. Baragwanath operates at 150-300 percent of capacity. Patients lie two to a



Nurses at Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital, largest in black Africa, work under shadow of apartheid war machine.

bed, beside the beds and under the beds—doctors indicate who the urgent cases are by sticking red labels on their foreheads. The wage ceiling for the student nurses and domestic staff, some of whom are still "temporary" after 20 years, is \$65 per month.

Neil Aggett, the white trade-union activist who died as a result of security police torture in 1982, worked as a doctor at Baragwanath. His experience there drove home his understanding that only the struggle of the black workers could end such hellhole condi-

tions. Today the hospital workers among whom he worked are unionized and fighting. Hundreds of doctors and senior medical staff at Baragwanath and workers at 40 feeder clinics in the area have declared that they too will strike if those fired aren't reinstated. The strikers have made an appeal for international labor support. Class-conscious militants must fight to back these strikers and all the black toilers battling apartheid, with union solidarity actions around the world.

South Africa's six-million-strong black proletariat can smash apartheid capitalism. But that mighty force has been mobilized only episodically in the past year and a half of massive anti-apartheid revolt. Shackled by a nationalist leadership, the black masses face the danger of bloody defeat in an all-out race war. The examples of Neil Aggett and the mainly coloured (mixed-race) and Indian doctors who have come out for the Baragwanath strikers show how class struggle can cut across the racial/ethnic divisions. To place the black workers at the head of all the oppressed and carry the struggle through to victory requires the leadership of a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party. Victory to the Baragwanath strikers! Smash apartheid! For workers revolution! ■

Appeal By General and Allied Workers Union

Workers from the Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, South Africa went on strike against unfair and degrading work practices. At a recent meeting held by workers at the hospital the following grievances were noted: extremely low salaries with no increments for three years; authorities refuse to deal with workers' grievances; assaults on workers by hospital employees (white); use of military and police presently occupying the premises; generally poor working conditions without applying accepted disputes procedures.

The South African government and its allies have again applied the repressive tactics which have resulted

in the dismissal of over 900 workers, the majority of whom were subsequently charged with gathering illegally. While the majority of those detained have since been released, the charges have not been withdrawn and workers face severe penalties as a result. The army, as noted earlier, has moved into the hospital and has been taking over the basic duties of the dismissed workers. Any remaining workers are forced by military personnel to perform certain duties even if they are not qualified to do so. The result of this is that basic care has deteriorated to a serious extent and hospital authorities remain committed to their plan of action yet again,

though the South African government and its allies are determined to crush any resistance to workers' grievances which arise as a direct result of the system of apartheid. We therefore urge you to support our cause with solidarity action either by financial support or otherwise. We are also requesting that you inform all international organizations of the plight of the workers of Baragwanath Hospital.

Contributions to the strike fund can be sent directly to: Samson R. Ndou, President, General and Allied Workers Union, Box 7549, Johannesburg 2000, South Africa.

Rosa Luxemburg...

(continued from page 7)

competitive armaments, would have to begin by disarming in the commercial and political field, by giving up predatory colonial campaigns, by abandoning the international politics of spheres of influence in all parts of the world—in a word, in their foreign as well as domestic politics, they would have to do the exact opposite of everything which the nature of the present politics of a capitalist state demands.

A Legitimate Child

And thus would be clearly explained what constitutes the kernel of the social-democratic conception: that militarism in both its forms—as war and as armed peace—is a legitimate child, a logical result of capitalism, and that whoever honestly desires world peace and freedom from the tremendous burden of armaments must strive for socialism. Only in this way can real socialist education and propaganda be carried on in connection with the armaments debate.

Such work, however, will be rendered somewhat difficult and the attitude of the social-democrats will be-

come obscure and vacillating if, by some strange exchange of roles, our party tries, on the contrary, to convince the bourgeois state that it can quite well limit armaments and achieve peace and that it can do this from its own standpoint, from that of a capitalist state.

Scientific Basis

It has hitherto been the pride and the firm scientific basis of our party that not only the general line of our program but also the slogans of our practical every day policy were not compounded out of indiscriminate odds and ends just because they sounded desirable but that we always relied on our understanding of the tendencies of social development and made the objective trends of development the basis of our attitude.

For us the determining factor has hitherto been not possibility from the standpoint of the relation of forces within the state but possibility from the standpoint of the tendencies of social development. Limitations of armaments, the retrenchment of militarism, does not coincide with the further development of international capitalism. Only those who believe in the mitigation and blunting of class antagonism and in the reduction of the economic anarchy of capitalism can believe that these international conflicts

will permit of slackening, mitigation and elimination.

For the international antagonisms of the capitalist state are but complements of class antagonisms and world-political anarchy, but the reverse side of the anarchic system of capitalist production. Both grow together and must be

overcome together. "A little order and peace" is, therefore, just as impossible, just as much a petty-bourgeois utopia, with regard to world politics as it is with regard to the capitalist world market, with regard to the limitation of armaments as it is with regard to the restriction of crises. ■

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Michael Stewart...

(continued from page 12)

present a single witness, so sure were they that the "prosecution" and judge had made their case.

In their "Anatomy of a Cover Up," attorneys for the Stewarts note: "To present this fraudulent case to this jury is to express a contempt for the jury, the public and the proper administration of justice so profound as to cause the most racist Afrikaner judge to raise an eyebrow."

The acquittal of those manifestly guilty of racist murder is more than an intolerable outrage: it is an invitation for more of the same. The precedent was set in Greensboro, North Carolina when in 1979 five members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) were gunned down in broad daylight by Klan/Nazi hitmen aided and abetted by government agents. The Greensboro massacre was televised. It was an open and shut case. Millions watched in living color as the fascists took aim and fired, leaving the bodies of the black and white leftists,



"Vengeance for Michael Stewart!" demands Ed Kartsen, Spartacist candidate in recent NYC elections, at demonstration against Koch's cover-up coroner, Gross the ghoul.

union organizers and anti-Klan fighters in a pool of blood. The fascist murderers went free. The CWP martyrs were, as Michael Stewart has been, convicted posthumously for their own deaths. Nazi leader Harold Covington was as

exuberant over the Greensboro verdicts as the racist swine cops were over the Stewart acquittals.

The Greensboro massacre under Dixiecrat Carter was the opening shot in a new Cold War against Russia. Carter paved the way for black-hating, union-busting Reagan. At "home" the anti-Soviet war drive has meant a mounting wave of bloody racist terror. The heinous MOVE massacre in Philadelphia is the most horrible example.

In New York, Koch's cossacks are on a rampage and are displaying openly bonapartist attitudes toward civilian officials and legality. When the Bronx D.A. gave a slap-on-the-wrist indictment to the cop who blew away infirm black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs with a shotgun, 10,000 armed cops surrounded the Bronx courthouse where the D.A. has his office. Likewise on November 7, five thousand of these thugs in blue swarmed around the office of Brooklyn D.A. Elizabeth Holtzman because she has started a half-hearted effort to investigate the

Militant Seamen Demand Labor Protest Against Stewart Verdict

The following resolution was presented on November 25 at the New York Port meeting of the National Maritime Union by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus:

Whereas, it is an outrage that the eleven New York City cops who beat to death a young, black man, Michael Stewart, in the presence of forty witnesses, have now been acquitted! This poses a danger to every decent citizen, especially

blacks and Hispanics, as the cops have been given a license to kill—like death squads in El Salvador and South Africa;

Be it therefore resolved, that the NMU membership at this port of New York meeting calls for our union to immediately initiate and call on the rest of New York's unions to organize an emergency demonstration mobilizing labor to ring city hall to protest this legalization of racist cop terror!

MOVE...

(continued from page 1)

people, is undoubtedly overjoyed by these most recent racist atrocities, by the show of force of "white power" rabble. They are plenty surly, too, over the resignation of Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor in the aftermath of the commission of inquiry into the MOVE massacre. Indeed, the day before Sambor quit, he was given an award for his and his officers' conduct in the MOVE bombing by the state Fraternal Order of Police (FOP). FOP spokesman Richard Costello was quite clear: "We're not going to take this lying down if [Goode] demanded Greg Sambor's resignation" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 14 November).

MOVE Massacre: Symbol of the Reagan Years

Clearly the killer cops carried out their unspeakable atrocity against MOVE under the direction of and in collaboration with the Reagan administration and its top cop, Attorney General Meese. The FBI provided the powerful C-4 military explosive used in the infamous helicopter bombing; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms brokered the purchase of heavy firepower for the onslaught; Goode and his cops did the rest.

The sheer magnitude of the MOVE massacre was too great to cover up entirely. But they tried hard. One "expert witness" who testified before Goode's hand-picked "commission of inquiry" was Dr. Ali Hameli, the coroner who examined Josef Mengele's remains in Brazil. Hameli said that the six adults incinerated in the MOVE home, pinned inside the blazing house by police gunfire, could be classified as "suicides" because they "chose" to remain inside. With gratuitous cruelty

the city authorities have obstructed their families from obtaining the charred remains of the MOVE martyrs. It's a case where, in fact, the dead can tell tales: Hameli's "difficulty" in determining the cause of death because the bodies "were poorly marked by officials at the scene and later were stored at temperatures that were too warm" is worthy of the Nazi "doctor" Mengele himself. The Philadelphia Medical Examiner's Office dispensed with the problem by ruling "that all 11 deaths were accidental and that the victims died from fire-related injuries" (*New York Times*, 6 November).

A police videotape of the May 13 massacre showed a group of cops laughing it up like Nazi guards at the death camps—laughing it up while flames engulfed the MOVE house at temperatures exceeding 2,000 degrees. The cops are quite triumphal about their bombing of black babies. For them the genocidal attack on MOVE was revenge for 1978 when a cop died during a siege of 600 Philly police against MOVE headquarters. Nine MOVE members still languish in prison for defending themselves against that racist assault. Free all the imprisoned MOVE members!

Philly Inferno Fuels Racist Offensive

Today, the racist mobs are picking up where Goode and the cops left off in May. On November 22, Goode declared a "state of emergency" in the Southwest Elmwood area—scene of the racist mob attacks—banning gatherings of four or more people, with a few exceptions, and subjecting anyone refusing to disperse to arrest. The state of emergency is a desperate attempt by the Goode administration to wash the blood of the MOVE massacre from their hands. At the same time, Goode is trying to

appease the racist forces, incredibly claiming that these mobilizations against black and integrated families in predominantly white neighborhoods are "not racially motivated." Goode even went so far as to order round-the-clock police protection for a white woman living peacefully in an otherwise all-black section of town. So far Goode's "state of siege" has been used only against Jesse Jackson's PUSH organization, prohibiting it from marching through Southwest Philly. PUSH called the demonstration off after being threatened with arrest; as PUSH spokesman Curt Richardson put it: "We don't want to defy the mayor" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 24 November). Of course, black Democratic Party hustler Jackson has from the outset apologized for Goode's racist murder; Jackson's response to the MOVE bombing was to call for black contractors to be used to rebuild the 62 homes burned to the ground in that holocaust!

Seeing Goode's public support dwindling and the cops up in arms, former mayor (and cop) Frank Rizzo—a hard white racist and "law-and-order" fanatic who ordered the 1978 attack on MOVE—is putting out feelers for a reelection bid. Thus the Osage Avenue inferno has sparked a racist offensive that might eventually drive from office the black "Mayor of Murder" Goode in favor of Rizzo—who among black Americans was arguably the most despised big-city mayor of the 1970s. Black Philadelphia knows only too well that if Rizzo crawls back out of his sewer and into office, increased violence by the "boys in blue" and/or the white ethnic mobs (Rizzo's two most solid bases of support) can't be far behind. The "choice" of Goode or Rizzo is like a choice between poison or hanging.

The black people of Philadelphia are threatened with more atrocities if the

sharp rise in police brutality in her borough. Michael Stewart is one of many black citizens to die a gruesome death at their hands.

Brothers and sisters: know what city and country you are in. The naked racism of this system is so concentrated in NYC because here the pretenses and façade of capitalist "democracy" have given way to the reality: it is a "tale of two cities." The rich get richer, while thousands of destitute, homeless and mentally ill people are dumped onto the mean streets and into the wretched subway underground, while the ghetto population seethes over increasing poverty and police-state terror, while the unions whose members built this city are subjected to unrelenting attack. To keep this tinderbox under control, the rulers must more and more rely on their armed fist—the police.

What is to be done? The only answer is a workers revolution, led by an integrated vanguard party. For starters, the Spartacist platform in the recent New York City elections put forward this program to combat racist terror: "Everyone has the right to defend himself! Gun control kills blacks! Mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks! For integrated workers defense guards drawn from responsible union men and women!" Black supporters of the Stewarts shouted to the killer cops: "Your day will come!" It must come soon. Communist revolution will avenge Michael Stewart and all the victims of racist terror! ■

Mr. and Mrs. Stewart have filed a \$30 million lawsuit against the transit cops and a \$10 million suit against Gross. Every class-conscious worker, every opponent of race-terror, should contribute to their legal costs. Make checks payable/mail to: Michael J. Stewart Legal Defense Fund, 75 Maple Street, Brooklyn, New York 11225.

Concord, California Lynching

Smash Racist Terror!

A black man has been lynched! The same night in the same California town two other black men were brutally assaulted by two knife-wielding white-robed Klansmen. These hideous atrocities took place in Concord, an overwhelmingly white town in eastern Contra Costa County, just 30 miles from San Francisco. Such fascist outrages are bloody signatures of the Reagan/Meese years. These vile crimes underline once again the urgent and compelling necessity for armed black self-defense and mass integrated labor/black mobilizations to smash racist terror!

Lynching is the grisly hallmark of 400 years of racist murder in this deeply racist country. The lynch rope, like the hooded white robe and the Confederate flag, is the symbol of Ku Klux Klan terror by which Reconstruction was defeated and black people were robbed of the freedom for which they and hundreds of thousands of other Americans fought and died so valiantly in the Civil War. The lynchers are raising their ugly heads again—they must be crushed in the egg!

On November 2, the body of 23-year-old Timothy Lee was found hanging from a tree, his feet only inches from the ground, in an empty parking lot in Concord. On Friday night, Timothy Lee, a black, openly gay, talented design student who'd just won a scholarship to study in Italy, had fallen asleep on the last BART commuter train from San Francisco to the East Bay and was stranded at the end of the line in Concord. Around midnight he called friends to get a ride home; the last they heard of him he was waiting by a pay phone for a call back to arrange a ride. That same night in Concord, two young black men, Tony Lamar Hall and Jeffrey Miller, were brutally stabbed outside a bar at 2 a.m. by two thugs in Klan robes.

Not a word of these bloody atrocities got into the local papers for an entire week—then the cops claimed Lee's murder was "suicide" and that the Klan stabbings were the work of "individuals," with no evidence of Klan involvement! Further, incredibly, the cops claim they know of no Klan activity around Concord—though Contra Costa County, where Concord is located, is notorious for numerous racist attacks over the past years.

Who Murdered Timothy Lee?

The cops' story stinks. Timothy Lee didn't kill himself. He was a productive and talented young man, enthusiastic about his scholarship in Milan, full of zest for life.

When family and friends were contacted by the police to come and identify his body, they were abruptly told his death had been "determined to be suicide" and the case was closed. The

cops already had destroyed the strap used in the hanging, disingenuously claiming "routine procedure." But Lee's father said he thought the strap used "wasn't Timmy's. The straps on his backpack were still intact and we don't know where he got the other strap" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 November). It's not known if the cops even fingerprinted the metal buckle on this strap before its destruction. The family didn't recognize the handwriting in a "suicide note" which cops claim was written by Timothy, and his own name and those of his brother and sister were misspelled. The family thinks if Timothy did write it, perhaps it was an attempt to warn them of foul play.

The cops assert there's no connection between Timothy Lee's death and the Klan attack two miles away the same night in the same city. But why did the cops try to cover up both racist attacks for an entire week? And why were the cops so quick to destroy the evidence in Lee's hanging? Why don't they want the facts known? Maybe the race-terrorists who murdered Timothy Lee weren't wearing their white robes that night. There are race-terrorists in blue uniforms too.

The lynching of Timothy Lee, like the bombing of black Philadelphia, bears bloody testimony to the reign of Ronald Reagan, the Ku Klux Klan's "preferred" choice for president. Now Reagan's top cop, Edwin Meese, has raised the Dixie cry of "states' rights" against the 13th,

14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, which abolished chattel slavery and gave blacks the vote.

Klan Stabbing

For sure the racists who attacked Tony Lamar Hall and Jeffrey Miller were in full Klan regalia. The two black men were standing in front of a Concord bar November 1 talking with two white women when they were murderously attacked. The white-robed terrorists went at them with eight-inch knives, then tried to run down Hall with their car. The women raced into the bar for help and the rats didn't get away. Police arrested the two white terrorists after they initially fled but then returned in their car to try to attack the two blacks again.

We have heard that after their identities were discovered the wait in jail was eventful for the two thugs. Good. Keep these scum behind bars and throw away the keys!

The cops—after holding the two for a week without a word to the press—said they didn't think they were Klansmen, retailing the attackers' story that the KKK robes were for a "Halloween party"! But FBI officials called in said the robes appeared to be authentic. And on November 23, two weeks after the attack, the *Oakland Tribune* for the first time reported that the cops had also found Klan material in one of the men's cars.

Since the Contra Costa cops are playing so dumb that they claim they can't tell if two guys with Klan robes and Klan literature who try to murder blacks have anything to do with the Klan, the FBI was called in to help them out in "investigating" this supposedly murky question. Remember how the FBI "investigates" the Klan: the FBI, in the guise of "information-gathering," sanctioned a reign of terror against the 1960s civil rights movement, including the participation of their KKK "informer" Gary Rowe in the shotgun murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo.

The Concord area is over 90 percent white and blacks who live or work there suffer daily harassment and insult. The Contra Costa County cops sure don't protect blacks—but they know how to protect Nazi/Klan terrorists. In 1979, just a few miles south of Concord in Walnut Creek, hundreds of police with

scores of attack dogs, mace, helicopters and full riot gear mobilized from all over the area to protect eight Nazis holding a public race-hate rally. It was cop practice for counterrevolution, as they herded the pathetic liberals who came out to "peacefully, legally" protest into a temporary barbed-wire concentration camp.

In nearby largely black Richmond, where there's been a series of cop killings of young black men, the cops openly identify with the KKK terrorists and their banner, the Confederate flag. The notorious Richmond "Cowboy Cops" had themselves photographed with the Dixie flag of racist terror. These racists are a model for their cop cronies throughout Northern California: a photo of the "Cowboys" was prominently displayed in the SF police station where SL supporter Ritchie Bradley was taken after his arrest last year for tearing down that banner of slavery from San Francisco's Civic Center.

The two black men stabbed by the Klanners might be safe and uninjured today if they had been armed. The right of armed self-defense is absolutely vital for blacks facing daily race-terror. Liberals are for gun control, which leaves guns in the hands of criminals and cops. We say gun control kills blacks! Events in Contra Costa County prove that.

The powerful forces of organized labor ought to have cleaned out the racist vermin of Contra Costa years ago! Throughout 1980 and 1981 there were a series of terrorist attacks, including KKK death threats, against black homeowners in Contra Costa. In November 1980 a racist fired a shotgun blast through the front door of black longshoreman Roosevelt Presley. The Spartacist League and its trade-union supporters fought for what was needed—for labor/black defense squads to smash these nightriding racist vermin. "Will it take black people being killed before the labor unions act decisively? The Klan's intentions are very clear: further acts of racist terror," said SL supporters in the Militant Caucus in the ILWU in their "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" (2 January 1981). But it didn't happen, as cowardly pro-Democratic Party reformists and liberals in the unions squashed our motions, claiming the police could be pressured to protect blacks. The lynching of Timothy Lee is the bitter result of the labor bureaucracy's craven passivity which has allowed the race-terrorists to run amok in Contra Costa County.

The Bay Area labor movement has unfinished business in Contra Costa County. It is the unfinished business of the Civil War—the struggle for black equality and freedom in racist America. Integrated defense guards drawn from the union movement must *clean out* these deadly killers. Whether they wear white sheets or blue uniforms, the murderers must be stopped. For labor/black defense against race-terror!

"Time to Finish the Civil War!" was the popular chant of thousands of black unionists and youth at the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization which drove the KKK lynchers out of Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. A Klan march for race-hate and murder was spiked. The protesters took over the Klan's planned route for an anti-racist victory march. On that day black working people took to the streets of that truly Southern city without fear and with a real sense of social power. The Spartacist League is fighting to build a mass integrated revolutionary party to lead workers to political power, to finish the unfulfilled tasks of the Civil War and rid this country of the Klan and cop lynchers and bombers once and for all. ■



Costantini/SF Examiner

Mr. and Mrs. Lee with photo of their son Timothy, victim of racist lynching.

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Arrested for Teaching Scabs a Lesson

Defend Watsonville Cannery Strikers!

The rigged scales of bosses' "justice" are coming down on the Watsonville, California cannery workers, who have been on strike for three months. The cops look the other way when violent scabs attack strikers, but after a busload of scabs got what was coming to them at a shopping center in nearby Gilroy on November 11, the cops responded with a mass strikebreaking prosecution.

Eighteen of these mainly Mexican women strikers have been slapped with a variety of charges, some of them serious felony charges such as "possession of stolen property" and "battery," as well as "vandalism" and "disturbing the peace." The cops claim they found a flashlight and a citizens band radio belonging to the Watsonville Cannery scabmobile in one of the strikers' vans.

One of the women strikers arrested in Gilroy told *WV* that police verbally abused the arrested women, calling them "dykes" and threatening to throw them in a cell "with the crazy people." After being handcuffed together and fingerprinted, the women were forced to strip and "take a bath" under the eyes of the sadistic cops.

Felony charges are serious business; they could mean time in the state pen for strikers. The mass prosecution of the Watsonville strikers is reminiscent of the strikebreaking mass trials of California farm and cannery union organizers in the '30s. It comes on top of the outrageous frame-up of striker Amador Bettencourt, who has been in jail for a month and a half with bail set at \$250,000, on phony charges of throwing a Molotov cocktail at a bus of scabs. Meanwhile the cops are in cahoots with scab and management violence, as in every strike. Not only do they wink at scabs armed with guns, clubs, knives and machetes, but Watsonville Cannery scabmobile driver George Desalles, who

pulled a .38-calibre revolver on strikers during the Gilroy clash, is a reserve policeman in the town of Livingston in Merced County (*San Jose Mercury News*, November 12). The labor movement must *act* to defend the courageous strike militants and smash the strike-breaking police frame-ups!

The capitalist press cries its usual tears for the scabs—some of whom

not entering the struck plants. The ranks are outraged at the timid policy of the Teamster bureaucrats. Patrick Guevara, one of the union pickets at the Gilroy Shopping Center on November 12, told *WV* that when the three pickets approached the scab bus to appeal to the scabs, a company driver started shoving two of the strikers. "That was it," Guevara told us: a few vanloads of

needed, not to "talk" to the scabs and "respect" the injunctions, but to stop them cold. In the absence of a class-struggle strategy to win the strike, the courageous militants who do seek to fight can easily be isolated and picked off by the cops.

Leon Ellis, business agent for Local 912, told *WV* that approximately 220 strikers currently face a variety of charges. When asked what the union is doing to defend its members, Ellis flatly stated that it is prohibited by "federal law" from allocating union funds to defend union members accused of criminal activity. This is grotesque! If you play by the bosses' rules, you lose, and that's exactly where the Local 912 leadership is leading this important strike. So the cops are having a field day harassing and victimizing strikers. The day after the Gilroy bust six more strikers in a van were pulled over, and the cops arrested five, impounded the vehicle, and left a lone woman striker stranded in the dark.

Labor's gotta play hardball to win! Picket lines must mean "You'd better not cross!" Spread the strike to *all* the canneries and shut them down tight with mass picket lines built by the area labor movement! Effective, large flying squads must stop the scabs at the plant gates! Labor must hot-cargo the scab goods! Warehousemen, railway workers and truck drivers: let the scab produce rot! Defend the arrested strikers!

Guillermina Rodríguez, a member of the strikers' Fund Committee, told *WV* that contributions for the defense of the arrested strikers can be sent to: Strike Committee, Account No. 00344-04633, Bank of America Watsonville Branch, 567 Main Street, Watsonville CA 95076. Earmark checks "For defense of arrested strikers." ■



Watsonville strike rally, November 10: Spartacist banner in Spanish says, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!"

landed in the hospital, one with a broken jaw—and the company vehicles that had tires slashed and windows broken. But as striking miners from Harlan County, Kentucky to Morenci, Arizona have pointed out, "Scabbing is dangerous to your health." The strikers—hamstrung by the Local 912 leadership, which preaches "respect" for court injunctions limiting the number of pickets to three per scab pickup site—have been trying to talk the scabs into

strikers piled out to defend their comrades.

It was good that a few scabs got theirs, and we hail the strikers' determination not to let the bosses' injunctions prevent them from defending themselves, as is the duty of every good union man and woman. "Flying squadrons," initiated in the historic 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strike led by the Trotskyists, are a basic part of labor's arsenal. But mass mobilizations of California labor are

WBAI...

(continued from page 3)

there the Soviet power was introduced, and a lot of people were killed, a lot of Communist women were killed introducing social progress to other brothers and sisters in Uzbekistan, and so on.

The point is, there are sides. And that [Afghanistan] was the opening shot of Cold War II. What did Carter's so-called "human rights crusade" represent? It was an anti-Soviet crusade. It was designed to morally and militarily reararm U.S. imperialism in the aftermath of the stinging defeat that it suffered in Vietnam. It was humiliated, it was defeated, and good thing for the working class. As a matter of fact, this was a source of anti-colonial insurgencies like in Angola and Nicaragua. But, you know, "poor little Afghanistan" we're hearing today, just like "poor little Finland" in the '40s. But in a situation where that intervention laid the basis for real social progress. Those who want to keep the country in the 9th century...

Lopate: It's really a kind of bigotry to impose what you think is right on a country that has a whole different set of traditions....

Alexander: You want to say that national sovereignty is the be-all and the end-all. And we're of course saying that that's not the case.

Kartsen: What about national sovereignty for the Confederacy? Which believed also in slavery. In Afghanistan, let's be clear, [the mullahs] believe in slavery of women. If anybody wants to support that obnoxious counterrevolu-

tionary concept of slavery of any group of people... We have the Red Army in this particular case enforcing the concept of democratic rights for women in Afghanistan.

* * * * *

Kartsen: The point really is that in Afghanistan, as in the American South, there's a section of the population which has been denied the rights to participate as equal human beings in society. It required the Red Army to beat back the selling of women as slaves, and the exploitation by the [moneylenders], who exploited the young males of Afghanistan to spend the rest of their lives paying money in order to buy their wives. The Soviet Red Army is the force behind defense of the simple basic decency of the right of women to education and freedom and to participate in society as equals. You talk about atrocities. What would have been the Confederacy's conception of atrocities by the Union Army when they invaded Atlanta to free the slaves? On the part of the slaves, and on the part of people who are oppressed, these are acts of liberation. ■

L.A. Labor...

(continued from page 12)

most struck supermarkets there are not even token pickets. The union tops have refused to call out the supermarket clerks, who are in the *same union* as the meatcutters—the so-called "United" Food and Commercial Workers Union. Nearly half the clerks have honored the strike in spite of their leaders' treachery,

but that still means the other half is scabbing. Call out the clerks!

The supermarket bosses are bragging of the "well-stocked shelves" and "business-as-usual atmosphere" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 November). Labor must shut down all the struck supermarkets and food distribution warehouses with *mass picket lines* that nobody dares to cross. Defy the injunctions and stop the scab operations! Let the mom and pop grocery stores get all the business until the big chains like Vons, Safeway and Lucky knuckle under to the real power of organized labor.

Right now the striking Teamsters and meatcutters are facing the full weight of the capitalist class from their scabherding cops to their yellow press. On the picket lines there has been massive police intimidation, cordoning off sidewalks to let scabs through, and strikers have taken dozens of arrests. Yet tiny groups of four and five pickets still bravely try to stop scab trucks.

And while the cops are trying to terrorize workers, the supermarket bosses are running full-page ads in the papers intended to conjure up images of Mafioso Teamsters leaning on mom and pop at the corner store. Smelling suspiciously of FBI-style "dirty tricks," an anonymous letter to radio stations threatened that a "team of angry people" would poison food at 42 markets "until the current labor dispute is over" (*Los Angeles Times*, 20 November). Remember this is Reagan and Meese country! No contaminated food turned up, but four syringes filled with herbicide were "found." Now the Food Employers Council is melodramatically offering \$100,000 for information about

the unions' so-called "reign of terror."

Of course, it is the supermarket bosses who are out to wage a reign of terror against the unions. The ranks clearly want to fight. But labor's gotta play hardball to win! Take the struggle out of the hands of the sellout union tops—no secret negotiations with the Food Employers Council! Organize elected strike committees! Turn that court injunction into a scrap of paper through the mass mobilization of the L.A. labor movement! Shut down the L.A. supermarkets! ■

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NYC Killer Cops Turned Loose

Outrage Over Michael Stewart Verdict

On September 15, 1983 a man "committed suicide" assisted by eleven transit police beating him in the presence of 40 competent witnesses. He was a young black man named Michael Stewart. On November 24, 1985 an all-white jury found six white transit cops "not guilty." The attorneys for the Stewart family eloquently and bitterly spoke the truth: "The corruption of the criminal justice process in this case is but the latest affirmation of the holding in *Dred Scott*; 'a black man has no rights which a white man is bound to respect.'"

After an hour in police "custody," the manacled, hog-tied Stewart was brought to Bellevue Hospital with more than 60 wounds on his body. He was already brain dead and in cardiac arrest. Mr. Millard Stewart, a retired transit worker, and Mrs. Carrie Stewart, a retired teacher, were not told of their son's brain death for 17 hours. Hospital authorities willfully lied to the Stewarts. In those hours, the conspiracy to cover up the racist police murder of Michael Stewart began. It culminated inexorably in the verdict two years later. The verdict is a license for New York police to kill black people.

The State Supreme courtroom on November 24 was, as it has been throughout the "trial," divided. On the left side were Michael Stewart's parents



November 25—Outraged protesters outside NYC Criminal Courts Building.

and overwhelmingly black supporters of the Stewarts. On the right side sat the cops' "Benevolent Association" brass and supporters—all of them white. When the verdict was read, outraged black spectators erupted with shouts of "Murder!" "South Africa!" "Fascists!"

Cops ringing the courtroom rushed them out. The white cops and their supporters broke into applause and cheers. This is "justice" in Reagan's America and Koch's New York.

Outrage has been heaped on outrage throughout the Stewart case. New York

City chief medical examiner Elliot Gross dug out Michael Stewart's eyes to remove evidence that the young man had died of strangulation. Gross repetitively lied, changing his story no less than three times about the cause of death. District Attorney Morgenthau worked to keep the case from ever coming to trial at all—which indeed it would not have except for the dedicated efforts of grand juror Ronald Fields. Fields began a real investigation into the killing and charged the D.A.'s office with protecting the police.

When public outcry became so great that the case could no longer be buried, Morgenthau's "prosecutors" conducted themselves as accomplices of the cops' defense team. With the complicity of one judge Jeffrey M. Atlas, a travesty and mockery of any semblance of judicial due process ensued. The "prosecution's" 48 witnesses were permitted to be relentlessly insulted, badgered, abused by the cops' attorneys. The D.A.'s "star witness" was none other than Gross himself, who obscenely gave testimony on the very day he was to appear before the aborted state health board hearing charging him on eleven counts of gross incompetence and negligence, including in the Stewart case. The defense did not bother to

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Victory to Teamsters/Meatcutters Strike!

Labor Must Shut Down L.A. Supermarkets!

Down with Bosses' Injunction! For Mass Picketing!

LOS ANGELES—When Teamsters and meatcutters struck Vons supermarket chain in Southern California on November 4, six other major chains immediately locked out workers in the striking unions, triggering a massive walkout by 10,000 meatcutters and 12,000 Teamsters including drivers, warehousemen and office workers. There is tremendous militancy as the strikers battle scabs and scabberding

cops. The strike is rightly seen as a major labor showdown in open-shop Southern California.

The supermarket bosses have declared war on the unions. They want to slash meatcutters' wages by more than \$4 an hour, cut the guaranteed eight-hour workday in half and hire low-paid "meat clerks" to do 70 percent of the work performed by the cutters. The Food Employers Council is demanding from the Teamsters the "right" to subcontract to non-union companies, hire new employees at \$3 an hour below current scales and prohibit automatic union recognition at new warehouses.

While many of the strikers are Hispanic, the bosses are doubtless count-

ing on thousands of unemployed, especially the desperately poor, undocumented Hispanics, to jump for the new low-paid positions. Labor must answer this by demanding full citizenship rights for immigrant workers. If the unions lose this one, wages and conditions will get worse for everybody in this racist, anti-labor town. As Dick Brass, a retired trucker and union man for 52 years, put it, "This is the hardest line I've ever seen. They're determined to break the union. And if they do that, everybody suffers."

Many L.A. unionists understand what's at stake in this strike. Members of the airline flight attendants union set up their own picket line in solidarity at a



Kelsen/LA Times

Scabberding cops arrest striker at Irvine supermarket.

Vons store, explaining that they had recently fought similar two-tier union-busting attacks. Postal workers have manned picket lines. A rally called by the Harbor Labor Coalition on November 15 drew more than 300 unionists, and could have been far bigger if the union tops had really built it.

However, the effectiveness of the strike has been crippled by the cowardly and legalistic union bureaucracy. They have honored an injunction by the bosses' courts limiting the number of pickets to a token of five per site. And at

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