

Honor Benjamin Moloise, Martyred by South African Police State

Avenge Moloise, Bury Apartheid!

OCTOBER 27—"A storm of oppression will be followed by the rain of my blood/I am proud to give my life, my solitary life." So wrote black South African poet Benjamin Moloise, a supporter of the African National Congress (ANC) who was in prison under sentence of death for two years. Moloise was framed for the just execution of a police stool pigeon whose testimony sent three ANC militants to the gallows in 1983. At about 7 a.m. on October 18, 30-year-old Moloise was hanged at Pretoria Central Prison.

The night before the execution, several hundred defiant youth gathered in an illegal vigil at the home of Moloise's mother in Soweto, but soldiers in armored trucks surrounded her home and forced tear gas into it to disperse the peaceful gathering. In a final gratuitous display of viciousness, the prison officials would not even let the 53-year-old mother in to say a final farewell to her son, instead forcing her to wait outside the gates for word of her son's death. Even the body of the dead poet will be held by the state, while the bereaved mother is given a "grave number." "This government is cruel," was Mamike Moloise's comment that morning. "It is really, really cruel."

With shouts of "Blood of Moloise!" black crowds took to the streets after 3,500 attended a memorial service in Johannesburg. Sparked by racist whites hurling debris from their apartments, shop windows were broken and two cops were stabbed in the four-hour melee, which marked the first time that the escalating confrontation between



William Campbell

Mourners at funeral for victims of apartheid terror defy South African racist police state.

the racist government and blacks has spread to the white preserve of downtown Johannesburg. TV images of whites attacked by enraged blacks were flashed around the world, raising the spectre of a horrible race war.

The white supremacist regime is indeed bent on provoking race war—one in which the unarmed black masses will suffer a monstrous bloodletting of historic proportions. Only the ultra-reactionary nuts in Reagan's White

House can continue to depict this regime as some kind of "reform" regime. As liberal Anthony Lewis wrote, in a column titled "Ending an Illusion," just after Moloise's execution:

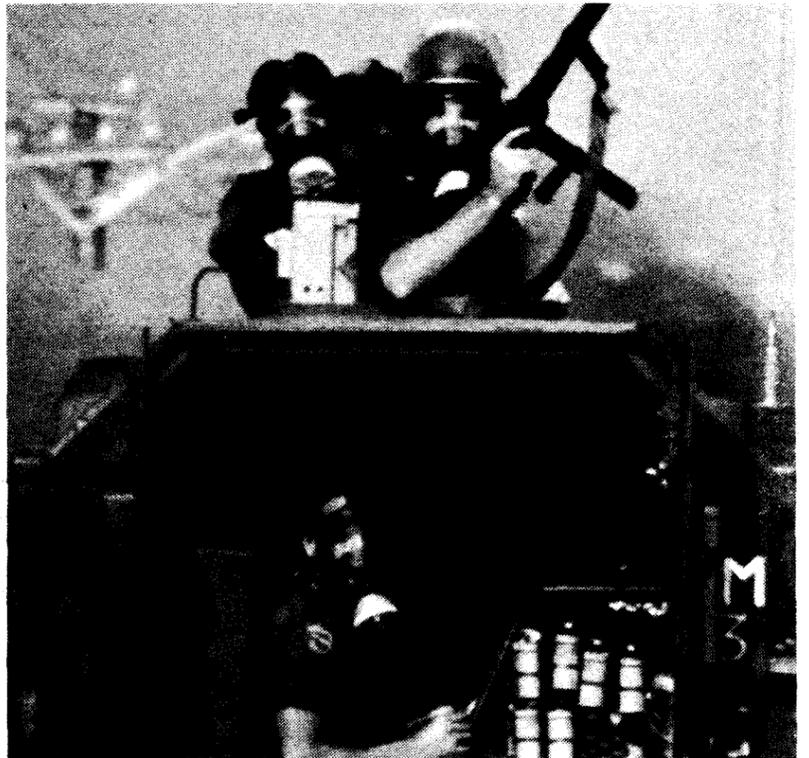
"Over these last days and weeks [the South African government] has finally disposed of the illusion that it is ready for serious change—political change—in the apartheid system.... "Instead they are going back to the historic strategy: beating the blacks into submission.... One explanation of its

deliberately provocative tactics now is that it hopes to bring this yearlong crisis to a head by arousing more protest and then crushing it ruthlessly."

—New York Times, 21 October

Again and again in recent days, the mailed fist of apartheid butchery has been brought down, upping the daily death toll and revealing the true face of the racist police state. In one typical incident in late October, police set up an

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Turnley/Detroit Free Press

Cops Riot Against Minorities, Poor

Thatcher Burns Britain

In the space of one month, British prime minister Margaret Thatcher and her racist cops have set off explosions of ghetto anger in several of the country's major cities. In early September there was the massive police invasion of Birmingham's predominantly black and Asian district of Handsworth. Less than three weeks later came London's Brixton, where the 1981 "riots" first burst into flames. When cops shot a West Indian mother in the back, angry crowds surrounded the police station; burning barricades of overturned cars

soon appeared. Then it was the turn of Liverpool's Toxteth. And on October 7, in north London, the cops got more than they bargained for. This time not only bricks and bottles, but shotgun fire greeted police invaders who charged into a housing project in Tottenham. The cops came up one short.

Last March, after 12 bitter months on the picket lines, Britain's militant miners were forced back to the pits. They had been dealt a defeat, fighting essentially alone against the

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Cop terror sparks explosion in London black ghetto of Brixton.

Manchester Guardian

WV Sub Drive Success: 164 Percent

Congratulations to participants in the 1985 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. The six-week drive reached 4,612-1/2 points nationally, for an impressive 164 percent of the quota. These totals include well over a thousand subs to *Young Spartacus* and 598 to *Women and Revolution*. Only 57 subs to Spanish-language *Spartacist* were sold (evidently the existence of this periodical has not yet penetrated the locals' collective consciousness), but these included 29 *Spanish Spartacist* subs sold in Watsonville, California where cannery workers are on strike. Overall, the 1985 sub drive netted more than 700 points over last year's totals, reflecting some politicization of students primarily around the anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa.

Evaluating the previous year's sub drive in *WV* we had noted that "for most locals this year it was tough going," with Youth for Reagan and the "new patriotism" the predominant mood on college campuses. Then last spring came the stirrings of student protest over South Africa—a wave of activism which was "divestment"-centered and firmly liberal-led but frequently pretty militant. This fall, hitting the campuses again, our comrades generally found not too much going on politically, but there was a diffuse political curiosity and responsiveness to our politics. Comrade Tom D. from Boston reported:

"The line 'Are you interested in what's happening in South Africa, in the fight against apartheid?' opened a lot of doors... If students actually hadn't participated in demonstrations, they knew about them and were anxious to know more. Students were also very interested in our New York election campaign and the connections we draw between racism here and in South



WV Photo

Africa. If right-wing attitudes and complacency haven't disappeared, they certainly have been elbowed off center stage."

Like last year, Labor Day marches were small and conservative. One exception to the unions' general quiescence was Chicago transit. In response to a racist frame-up of a black bus driver, David Johnson, after a tragic traffic accident, 700 militant transit workers defied their union tops and marched on police headquarters, forcing the dropping of charges against Johnson. After getting this little taste of workers power, Chicago transit workers bought 41 points in subs to the *Spartacist* press. Other highlights of the Chicago sub drive were 85 points in resubscriptions and 88 points in working-class neighborhoods (the South Side and Maywood). Chicago's main sub drive campus was the University of Wisconsin in Madison (103-1/2 points).

On campuses in the Midwest, the

most productive sub drive work was at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, where comrades from Cleveland, Chicago and Toronto combined to sell 133 points. That regional effort, along with thoughtful resubscription work (68 points), enabled the Cleveland comrades to sell more than twice their quota, making this "the most successful sub drive in the local's history." Probably also heading for a record is Toronto, where the Trotskyist League of Canada's sub drive was still going on when our figures were compiled. So far the Canadian comrades have reported 307-1/2 points in subs to *SL/U.S.* periodicals, not counting subs to their own paper, *Spartacist Canada*. One exciting component of the sub drive work in Canada was a trip to Sudbury, Ontario, a historically important proletarian center of the nickel mining industry, where 44 points were sold.

The three *SL* locals on the West Coast had no trouble making their quotas thanks in good part to the Northern Tour to Oregon and Washington State, where five comrades netted 444-1/2 points, including 171 at the University of Oregon at Eugene and 140 at Evergreen College in Olympia, Washington. This success enabled Los Angeles, with a low quota, to reach 191 percent despite selling only 40 points at UCLA and 51-1/2 at Santa Barbara. Elsewhere in the University of California system, 120 points were sold at Berkeley, 139-1/2 at Santa Cruz, and 97 at Davis. And "South Africa managed to penetrate even at Stanford," noted comrade Larry A. from Oakland after 121 points were sold there.

Among *SF* area unionists, phone workers bought the most subs (115 points). A good number of these were sold by comrade San (Oakland local), who once again topped the individual points list with 174 points. Comrade San managed to win even without participating in this year's Northern Tour. The individual runners-up were Paula and Steve B. from *SF* with 161 and 127 points respectively, Debbie H. (New York) with 125-1/2, Alden (*SF*) with 109-1/2, Tim (L.A.) with 103-1/2, Christina (Boston) with 91 and Gordy (Ann Arbor) with 87.

On the East Coast, the Boston local

sold 80 points at Harvard, where the Spartacus Youth League is active, and 119 points at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. The Washington, D.C. local sold 123 points at Howard, the country's premier black university. Atlanta comrades sold 62 points at Atlanta University as well as 12 points to transit workers. Southern work got a boost from a Southern Tour to campuses in Norfolk, Virginia and Chapel Hill and Greensboro, North Carolina. Comrades from Boston, Washington and Cleveland participated and sold 46 points. A reporter from the trip wrote:

"Black students were very open to our strategy for labor-centered struggle both here and in South Africa, particularly since the power of labor has been underscored by the emergence of black trade unions battling the apartheid regime. There was positive excitement around our anti-fascist work, especially November 27."

November 27 (1982) was the day that a Spartacist-initiated mobilization heavily based on black union members stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital. One amusing anecdote from the tour was that one of the people met in Chapel Hill was "a guy who had last seen *WV* at a bookstore in Managua," Nicaragua. More than 300 pieces of literature were sold on the tour.

The New York sub drive turned in some impressive campus numbers. At Yale, scene of a militant campus workers strike last year, we sold 176 points; successful work was also done at Columbia (91-1/2 points) and Cornell (82 points), where anti-apartheid protests have flared sporadically. But the political center of this year's sub drive in New York has been the Stamberg/Kartsen election campaign whose calls for the multiracial unions of the city to mobilize against racist police terror have struck a nerve particularly among black working people. Well over 100 points have been sold at campaign events including protest demonstrations, public meetings and soapboxing in black and working-class neighborhoods. And 92 points were sold to New York transit workers; an *SL* supporter in the transit union noted that "significantly, 48 of these points were resubscriptions to *WV* from people who subscribed in previous sub drives, indicating the cohering of a readership core in this powerhouse of New York City labor."

Though the *WV* sub base is still very modest by anyone's standards, our press has become recognized increasingly as the premier leftist paper in America—informed sources say that *WV* is eagerly passed from hand to hand in the editorial offices of the *Village Voice*, and we utterly swept the "Left Press Awards" at WBAI, NYC's rad-lib radio station. We welcome our new readers—and our old readers—and hope that for many of you, reading our communist press will be the first step toward greater involvement in the social struggles through which a revolutionary working-class leadership will be forged. ■

Final Totals

Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Atlanta	100	127	127
Boston	350	436	125
Chicago	280	422½	151
Cleveland	180	374	208
Los Angeles	160	305	191
New York	900	1,070½	119
Oakland	470	781½	166
San Francisco	230	528½	230
Washington, D.C.	150	212	141
At-large	—	355½	—
National Total	2,820	4,612½	164

Bourgeois Democracy and Workers Revolution

Karl Kautsky, German social democrat's leading theoretician, distorted the Marxist understanding of the state to justify his opposition to the 1917 Russian proletarian revolution. In his polemic against Kautsky, Lenin wrote:



TROTSKY

Take the bourgeois parliament. Can it be that the learned Kautsky has never heard



LENIN

that the *more highly* democracy is developed, the *more* the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers? This does not mean that we must not make use of bourgeois parliament (the Bolsheviks made better use of it than probably any other party in the world, for in 1912-14 we won the entire workers' curia in the Fourth Duma). But it does mean that only a liberal can forget the *historical limitations and conventional nature* of the bourgeois parliamentary system as Kautsky does. Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed people at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the *formal* equality proclaimed by the "democracy" of the capitalists and the thousands of *real* limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into *wage-slaves*. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the people to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism. It is this contradiction that the agitators and propagandists of socialism are constantly exposing to the people, *in order to prepare them for revolution!*

—V.I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918)

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Philly Black Mayor Can't Wash Away Victims' Blood

MOVE Massacre: Lies and Racist Murder

The police bombing of black Philadelphia last May 13 was racist mass murder. Eleven members of the black back-to-nature MOVE group, including five children, were burned alive and 61 homes burned down, leaving 250 people homeless. This cold-blooded execution came in the immediate aftermath of Reagan's salute to Nazi SS stormtroopers at Bitburg. We headlined our story of this Nazi-like holocaust, "Bitburg Hits Philly, Reagan Bombs Black Babies." The MOVE massacre was indeed a sinister symbol of the Reagan years, a warning to every black person and anyone else who might get "out of line" by opposing this hideously racist, anti-Soviet war-crazy government.

Philadelphia's black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode rushed forward at the time to "take full responsibility" for this grotesque massacre, claiming even that he would "do it again." But the searing memory of that inferno would not go away, the televised spectacle of a whole neighborhood going up in flames while water cannons (which earlier that day had poured 600,000 pounds of water on the MOVE house) stood idle. Nor did the support for Goode's mass murder, a chorus extending from Reagan's top cop Meese to Goode's fellow black Democrats, silence the anguished cries of the victims. The foundations of the \$110,000 homes being built by the city to replace those it incinerated could not bury the smell of scorched flesh and bone burned beyond recognition, and the sight reminiscent of the World War II firebombing of Dresden.

So Goode appointed a hand-picked commission—composed of a former high-level FBI official, a former Pennsylvania state supreme court justice, and various cronies and supporters—to give his administration a whitewash. "A

passing, pettifogging and lies. But as the various actors scrambled to get out of the line of fire, repeatedly contradicting each other, and above all because of the sheer magnitude of this monstrous racist crime, the hearings have been compelled to reveal, as we said from the very beginning, that the MOVE massa-

Brooks, a former army major general, claimed he was so out of touch that he first heard about the evacuation of the West Philadelphia neighborhood over his car radio as he returned from Virginia the day before the assault. Contrary to Goode's claims, both Brooks and Sambor testified that the

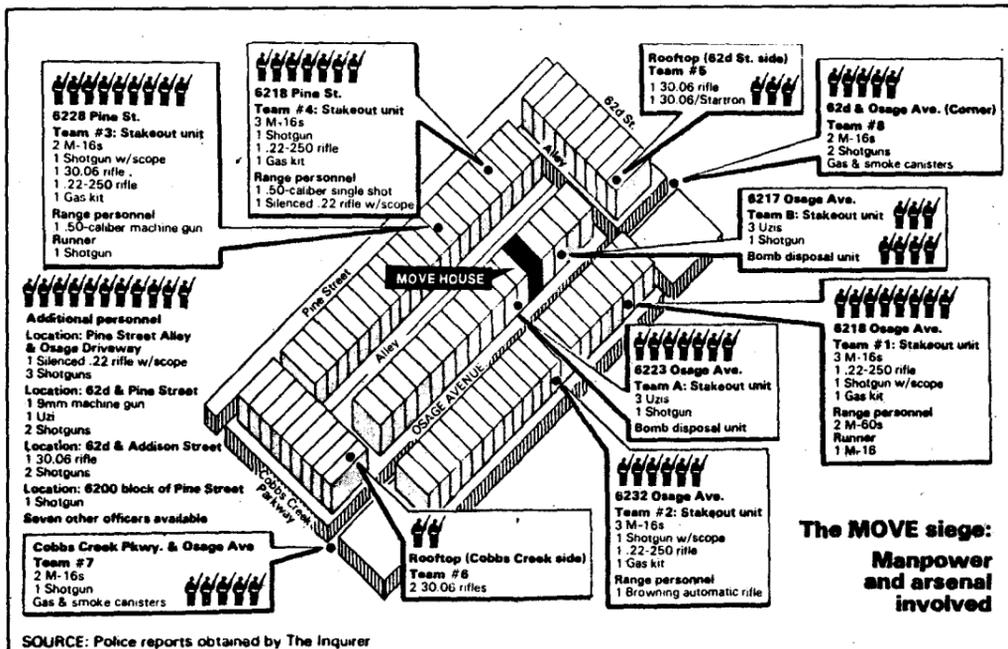
Carolina.

The following day, the commission released a letter from the FBI confirming that in January it gave the cops 39.75 pounds of the extremely powerful military explosive C-4. What Goode originally called an "entry device," police now claim contained two pounds of Tovex TR-2, the Du Pont high explosive used in underground mining, combined with 1.25 pounds of C-4.

While Jesse Jackson rushed to the side of his fellow black Democrat Goode, various reformist and centrist pseudo-socialists fell over each other apologizing for the Philadelphia mayor and/or denying White House involvement, obscenely blaming the MOVE massacre on the martyred victims. It fell to the Spartacist League to expose the horrendous racist crime, and that the murderous conspiracy necessarily ran from the black Democratic mayor to the racist Republican administration in Washington. It was up to the Trotsky-



The mayor and his battalion of death. Racist murder conspiracy ran from Democratic mayor Goode to the FBI and Reagan's White House.



Hasler/Philadelphia Inquirer

cre was a carefully planned conspiracy to commit state terrorism, a conspiracy that extended from Philadelphia city hall to Meese and Reagan's White House.

The one incontestable fact to emerge was that from the moment of this heinous crime, Philadelphia officialdom did nothing but lie. The most incredible testimony came from the mayor himself. Elected on the claim that he was a "competent, hands-on manager,"

use of explosives against the MOVE house had been planned for over a year. And Sambor openly bragged that he asked fire officials to allow the fire to rage unimpeded, purportedly to burn a "bunker" off the roof, thereby contradicting earlier statements that firefighters were prevented from putting out the fire because of gunfire from the MOVE house.

Realizing they could be up on homicide charges, several key police personnel, including Lieutenant Frank Powell, the bomb squad commander who dropped the bomb, and William Klein, who built the bomb, have refused to testify on grounds of self-incrimination. But on October 24, two cops, Sergeant Albert Revel and Officer Michael Tursi, revealed that the water cannons could not remove the "bunker," and that the police had contingency plans to plant explosives on the roof of the MOVE house before the May 13 bombing. Other cops testified that prior to the helicopter bombing, Sambor ordered at least three powerful explosives charges to blow open the house. One explosion blew the front off the house and off three neighboring houses, leaving a pile of rubble waist-deep.

Perhaps the most important testimony to come out of the hearings is that directly linking the MOVE massacre with the Reagan administration. Shortly after the bombing, Sambor told the *New York Times* (19 May) that he and his aides went over the plans for the assault with local FBI agents on May 11 and "The F.B.I. found the plan sound." Revel revealed in his testimony that the city obtained Browning automatic rifles, an M-60 machine gun (which fires 800 7.62mm calibre rounds per minute) and an anti-tank gun with the help of an agent of the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. The ATF is the same gang which sent an agent to help organize the 1979 Klan/Nazi massacre of five leftists in Greensboro, North

Carolina. The following day, the commission released a letter from the FBI confirming that in January it gave the cops 39.75 pounds of the extremely powerful military explosive C-4. What Goode originally called an "entry device," police now claim contained two pounds of Tovex TR-2, the Du Pont high explosive used in underground mining, combined with 1.25 pounds of C-4.

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ists to show elementary human decency and compassion for the family and supporters of the incinerated MOVE members. We demanded freedom for their comrades, 13 of whom are still incarcerated because they tried to defend themselves from a 600-strong cop assault on their Philadelphia home in 1978 in which one cop was killed, and for Ramona Africa who is being held on \$3.2 million bail because she survived the May 13 racist holocaust.

In addition to prominently denouncing this crime from the pages of our press, the SL organized a public meeting in New York City, July 11 to memorialize MOVE. We were honored to have LaVerne Sims and Louise James speak at that forum. LaVerne concluded her remarks with the warning, if you don't do something about the MOVE massacre, you're "only going to wake up tomorrow and find it happening right here in New York." Impelled by the Philadelphia inferno and the rampage of racist killings by Koch's cops in NYC, the Spartacist election campaign in New York has centered on the need for labor to mobilize to crush racist terror, from Philadelphia and Harlem to Cape Town and Soweto.

It is our obligation to evoke outrage over the hideous racist MOVE massacre, engraving it forever in the memory of the working class and its allies. As SL spokesman Ed Kartsen told the July 11 forum: "Neither the Greensboro massacre nor the Philadelphia bombing will ever be forgotten. A victorious workers revolution will submit the criminals responsible for the Osage Avenue massacre to *revolutionary justice*. They'll be treated fairly, just like American GIs that liberated Hitler's Dachau death camps treated the prison guards who were there: the GIs executed about 122 of them before they could be stopped, and the liberated prisoners dispatched another 50 with shovels." Proletarian vengeance for the MOVE martyrs! ■



Steve Webb/Philadelphia Tribune photos

LaVerne Sims (far left) and Louise James indict Goode as "Mayor of Murder," October 10.

farce, a circus," is how Goode's commission was described by Louise James, a former MOVE member whose son was one of the eleven incinerated by the Philly cops. Even former mayor William Green, who appointed Goode as city managing director during his administration, criticized the commission as a panel of "allies, supporters and recipients of city business," comparing it to Nixon appointing his own Senate Watergate committee.

Wilson Goode: "Mayor of Murder"

With the exception of the powerful testimony of Louise James and her sister LaVerne Sims who indicted Goode as the "Mayor of Murder," the hearings, now in their third week, have indeed been a circus of cover-ups, buck-

Goode testified that subordinates kept him ignorant of the details even though the operation involved the military mobilization of an entire city government in collusion with the feds. In particular, Goode said he knew nothing of the plans to drop a bomb from a helicopter until he saw it on TV in his office. He then obscenely claimed to have watched the ensuing fire rage out of control for an hour, incinerating the MOVE house and surrounding black neighborhood, because he thought it was being put out...until he "realized" that what he saw on his screen was not water but "snow" or electrical interference!

Goode's testimony was flatly contradicted by his former deputy and managing director Leo Brooks (who was forced to resign over the bombing) and chief of police Gregore Sambor.

Britain...

(continued from page 1)

whole state apparatus of British capitalism, but they were not broken. They proudly marched back to work with union banners flying, with drums and bagpipes playing. Maggie Thatcher vowed to be "vindictive in victory," and she certainly carried through on that threat. But a mere six months later the Iron Lady was in big trouble. Her popularity sank to new lows, and as her cops rampaged through the ghettos of Birmingham, Liverpool and London, the impoverished residents—black, Asian and white—fought back with justice on their side. The haughty Tories in Whitehall are well aware that Handsworth, Toxteth and Brixton could spark a new wave of militant social struggle.

Nero fiddled as Rome burned; Thatcher lit the torch and stoked the fires that set Britain's cities aflame. Meanwhile the opposition Labour

ed the notorious virginity tests for Asian women seeking entry into Britain.

For decades, the British left has been straitjacketed by Labourism, subordinating itself politically to the parliamentarist lieutenants of British capital. The British Communist Party, now deeply split between ultrareformist "Euros" and old-line Stalinists, long ago embraced the "parliamentary road" to oblivion and became a second-rate Labour Party. The Spartacist League of Britain fights to *split* the Labour Party, winning the working-class base from the pro-capitalist tops. Right now is a unique opportunity to unite minorities and the poor with the heavy battalions of organized labor. And it is a key moment to forge a genuinely Bolshevik party of workers' revolution.

The last time Thatcher's popular ratings were so low she managed to get out of the hole with her dirty little Falklands/Malvinas war, drowning hundreds of Argentine sailors aboard the *Belgrano* out of sheer bloodlust. This time Thatcher tried to whip up a

meeting that targeted a popular bingo hangout for arson attack. That was the first building to burn. Then they tried to pit Asians against blacks: the Fleet Street press deliberately spread lies that two Asian men were seen being beaten up and thrown into a burning building by "black mobs." Every sector of the Handsworth community repudiated the police/media provocation; black and Asian community leaders came together to lay wreaths in memory of the two Asian men burned to death, and publicly called for a boycott of a government "inquiry."

On September 28, seven armed police kicked down the door of a council house in Normandy Road, Brixton at 6:30 in the morning and shot black housewife Cherry Groce in cold blood, paralyzing her from the waist down. What followed was a police riot, as cops first rampaged on the streets and then systematically terrorized residents of black housing estates. As a pall of smoke hung over whole sections, Brixton was sealed off under police occupation.

take his family to a good restaurant. Told that he could not, the German remarked that neither he nor his employees would ever tolerate such a situation."

Thatcher has deliberately deindustrialized Britain, shutting down large chunks of steel and coal production. In fact, Britain is the only industrial nation with an *absolute decline* in manufacturing output in the last decade. An all-party House of Lords committee warned of the impending collapse of British industry as North Sea oil runs dry, and of "a major political and economic crisis in the foreseeable future." For blacks and Asians, brought over in large numbers in the '50s and '60s to do the dirtiest, lowest paying jobs, there's nowhere to go. Yet the Nationality Act, which was prepared by a Labour government, denies citizenship to many children of West Indian, Asian and other Commonwealth citizens who lived and worked in Britain most of their lives.

Bankruptcy of Labourism

The need for working-class power and socialist reconstruction of society is posed pointblank in Britain today. The Thatcher government is exposed, exhausted, brittle and discredited. The most militant section of the proletariat—the miners—was defeated but hardly crushed. And Labourite parliamentarist illusions have been shaken. Certainly after a year of hard class struggle the reformist pipe dream of a peaceful transformation of British society is a bad joke for militants. These conditions sharply pose the possibility for a regroupment of class-struggle militants into a revolutionary vanguard party.

Furthermore, traditional barriers between the proletariat and the oppressed Irish, black and Asian minorities were pierced during the miners strike. Minorities who knew from their own experience the savagery of the cops were the most stalwart supporters of the embattled miners. The Brixton community "adopted" six South Wales pits; Protestant British miners marching in Belfast to demonstrate support for the Catholic population were greeted with banners saying "Victory to the Miners!" And sparked by the miners' wives committees, the role of women in the coal strike reverberated through the country. The miners and their allies learned some hard lessons about the capitalist state. What's needed is a Bolshevik party at the head of the working class, acting as a genuine tribune of the people, so that next time around *we win*.

But the workers movement remains tied to the reformist Labour Party. In decaying Britain, where there is no room for credible reform, social democracy today means increasingly overtly breaking social struggles. Striking miners and other militants disparagingly refer to Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock as "Ramsay MacKinnock," after despised Labour leader Ramsay MacDonald, who defected to the class enemy in the 1930s. Kinnock supported Thatcher's scab ballot and condemned the miners' defense of their picket lines against the strikebreaking cops and scabs.

Now, as a section of the bourgeoisie has deserted Thatcher, and Kinnock smells the possibility of leading the next government, he is all the more eager to demonstrate his loyalty to the capitalist order. When a local black Labour councillor, Bernie Grant, refused to condemn Tottenham youth for courageously defending themselves against Thatcher's cops and forthrightly asserted that the police got a "bloody good hiding," Kinnock echoed the savage Tory denunciation of Grant. He and his deputy chief Roy Hattersley immediately issued a statement dissociating the Labour Party from Grant's eminently decent stance.

If even most militant workers remain tied to the Labour Party, it is not on account of the despised Kinnock but out of illusions in the "lefts" in the trade



AP



Press Association

Thatcher's "law and order": police brutalize Brixton black youth (left), attack miners' picket line (right).

Party offers nothing but soft-core Thatcherism. From the year-long miners strike, the most important struggle in this country in decades, to the recent ghetto revolts, Labour leader Neil Kinnock has done nothing but stab the struggles of Britain's poor and working people in the back. Judas got the proverbial 30 pieces of silver for his treachery, but Judas Kinnock is working overtime to earn his peerage. *The country is falling apart and it will take socialist revolution to rebuild Britain.*

As almost nowhere else in the industrialized capitalist world, the stark choice in Britain is socialism or rampant decay and devastation—and the devastation is there for everyone to see. After half a decade of Thatcher's monetarism, unemployment is officially 13.5 percent, and double that in the industrial areas of northern England, Scotland and South Wales. In ghettos like Handsworth and Brixton it approaches 60 percent. The reformists' welfare state schemes have already been tried and proven bankrupt. The standard of living has fallen below Italy and Spain. And it's not just Thatcher: the Wilson/Callaghan Labour government broke strikes, sent troops to Northern Ireland and institut-

massive provocation against what she perceived to be the most vulnerable section of the British populace. She *wanted* the cities to burn—and then blame it on the blacks, Asians and reds. But hardly anyone is buying this one. Hostility to the government and especially the police permeates wide layers of the population. Whole sections of the industrial proletariat have been made permanently jobless, and the memory of brutal police charges against the overwhelmingly white miners is fresh in everyone's mind. The government's attempt to scapegoat the minorities as "work-shy welfare bums" fell flat. It was white as well as black and Asian youth who drove Home Secretary Douglas Hurd out of Handsworth and battled the cops in Tottenham.

Even the influential *Economist* (5 October), expressing widespread unease within the ruling class, told Thatcher to call a halt the week after Brixton with its headline, "Disarm Britain's Police." These snobbish Tories are not concerned with the lives of blacks and Asians; they're worried about the shattering of the political fabric of capitalist Britain: "British policemen are losing their traditional respect." And when the Tories convened in Blackpool for their annual conference, it took an army of cops to guard it. No one has forgotten that only a year ago Thatcher and her entire cabinet were almost blown to kingdom come by the IRA, to the expressed indifference or outright jubilation of the vast majority of her subjects. An *Economist* (12 October) photo of Thatcher in Blackpool was aptly captioned, "From the bunker."

Thatcher in the Bunker

Thatcher deliberately sought to foment a racist bloodbath, either through naked police terror or through an attempt to incite interracial violence. One week before Handsworth blew, the police sponsored a white vigilante

A week later, London police stopped black man Floyd Jarrett, ostensibly searching for stolen goods. The cops knew Jarrett: he worked in a community youth organization preparing free meals for pensioners. No stolen goods—but they arrested him anyway and took his keys. Then they burst into his home in Tottenham and pushed his mother, who suffered from heart trouble, to the floor. They refused to call an ambulance while she lay dying. After a protest over the racist murder, hundreds of cops swarmed the Broadwater Farm Estate. But in an ensuing ten-hour battle, the cops got what they had coming: 230 were injured, several wounded by shotgun fire, one dead.

In the wake of Tottenham, the Thatcherites and the cops pulled out all the stops. The metropolitan police commissioner put London's residents "on notice" that in the future the cops would use tear gas and plastic bullets—standard tools of the trade for the British occupation forces in Northern Ireland. Four kids as young as 13 and a local shopkeeper were hastily framed up for "murder" of a cop. But more farsighted sections of the imperialists are worried. The editors of the *New York Times* (10 October) had this advice: "... unskilled young Britons in the inner city see themselves as left out of the Government's plans for eventual economic revival. As long as they do, these outbursts of violence are likely to be repeated."

The day before, the same paper published a perceptive article by R.W. Apple, who recently completed an eight-and-a-half-year stint as *Times* bureau chief in London. Apple related the following story:

"A West German industrialist who negotiates labor contracts spent a few days recently talking to some English counterparts and looking at their figures. When he saw the average wage of an unskilled factory worker, he asked how such a man could ever afford to

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Morison "Espionage" Frame-Up

Ronald Reagan wants war, and no war mobilization is complete without muzzling government employees and the press. So last year government prosecutors found a victim—Samuel Loring Morison, a civilian employee of the U.S. Navy—and charged him with "espionage" for a routine leak to the press. This week Morison was convicted and now faces up to 40 years in prison and a \$40,000 fine. The Reaganites' totalitarian message has been sent to every journalist and government employee in the country: toe the line or else!

This utterly *gratuitous* frame-up was clearly a test case aimed pointblank at the First Amendment's guarantees of free speech and freedom of the press; it was designed to shut up government employees and intimidate the news media through fear. It's part of a campaign by the White House including exclusion of reporters from U.S. military operations (the "Grenada guidelines"), systematic eavesdropping on

government phones, proposals to arbitrarily subject millions of federal employees and employees of government contractors to polygraph tests, a lifetime secrecy oath for over 100,000 government officials, and the elimination of the already highly circumscribed Freedom of Information Act.

A 1982 Reagan administration report asserted that the espionage laws "could also be used to prosecute a journalist who knowingly receives and publishes classified documents or information" (*New York Times*, 23 February). The only other time the U.S. government tried to use espionage laws against its officials for leaking information to the press was in the case of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo, who leaked the famous "Pentagon Papers" that exposed massive government lying about the Vietnam War.

That case was dismissed in 1973 because of government misconduct, but now Reagan wants to set a precedent that will stick. So they picked true-blue

Morison, a civilian analyst for the Naval Intelligence Support Center in Suitland, Maryland and grandson of the famed naval historian Samuel Eliot Morison. If this scion of a patrician naval family can be jailed on "espionage" charges for a run-of-the-mill leak, then you can be sure that real opponents of the government will face an even worse fate.

It was the sort of leak which every Pentagon general hands out daily in order to push his pet weapons program—the inside scoop on the so-called "Soviet threat." Besides his naval analyst job, Morison also worked for years as American editor of the prestigious British military publication, *Jane's Fighting Ships*. His Navy employer knew this relationship and countenanced it, as do the military establishments in every other Western country, for which the *Jane's* publications serve as house organs and reference guides.

So Morison saw nothing wrong with sending three satellite photos to *Jane's Defence Weekly* showing a Soviet

aircraft carrier under construction in a Black Sea shipyard. He also sent the magazine classified Navy reports about a series of controversial, and well-publicized, explosions which occurred at a Soviet naval port in 1984. The photos and reports were published, and the U.S. government seized on that as an excuse to prosecute not simply for theft but for "espionage" as well. A Justice Department lawyer argued with a straight face in federal court, "foreign agents read that magazine"!

At the heart of the government case was the fact that the photos were made by the technically classified KH-11 photo reconnaissance satellite, and so releasing them would supposedly be "potentially" damaging to U.S. security. But this would-be sinister charge fell apart when defense witnesses explained that the KH-11 satellite has been an open secret for years—at least since 1978, when a CIA officer sold the technical manual for the KH-11 to the Soviets for \$3,000. (Knowledge of the "Keyhole" satellites may also have been passed to the Soviets in the mid-'70s by Christopher Boyce, who wanted to throw a monkey wrench in U.S. spy-in-the-sky operations and CIA

continued on page 9

unions and Labour Party. Divisions within the British workers movement are shaped by the conflict between the groveling pro-CIA, anti-Soviet right wing and a disparate, mushy "left." The most prominent "left" leader is National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) head Arthur Scargill, who had earned the widespread enmity of the right for his forthright denunciation of Polish Solidarność as counterrevolutionary.

The bosses may cheer for Kinnock, but much of Labour's working-class base looks to Scargill's NUM and the class struggle it symbolizes. At the recent Labour Party conference a resolution was put forward by Scargill calling for a future Labour government to reinstate sacked miners, review the cases of jailed miners and reimburse the NUM for its funds seized by Thatcher. This got a majority despite frenzied opposition by Kinnock. And yet Scargill, along with the other lefts, calls for unity within the Labour Party, supporting the election of a Labour government under strikebreaker Kinnock!

The miners strike was an acid test for evaluating every grouping that would lead the British proletariat. The right-wing Labourites who most hate the Russian Revolution proved themselves equally the enemy of the British revolution—they were the open scabherders. But in the final analysis it was the treachery of the "lefts" in refusing to spread the strike that defeated the NUM. They did not want to shut down Thatcher's Britain because they are unwilling to *fight for power*. As for the myriad pseudo-Trotskyists, both inside and outside the Labour Party, they at

best tailed the "lefts," helping the backstabbing social democrats maintain their hold on the proletariat.

The Spartacist League sharply exposed the Labour and union "lefts," demanding they break *in struggle* from the open class traitors. The SL called for a Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers to strike jointly against Thatcher. This would have been in effect a general strike, posing the question of workers power. But although two dock strikes were called briefly, union leaders in rail, transport and maritime who proclaimed their "solidarity" with the NUM would not break with the scabherding leadership of the Trades Union Congress and mobilize their ranks alongside the miners. The miners strike perfectly bore out Leon Trotsky's observation about the British "lefts":

"...leftism of this kind remains left only so long as it has no practical obligations. But as soon as the question of action arises, the left wingers respectfully cede the leadership to the rights."

—"Problems of the British Labor Movement," 12 January 1926

Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

A revolutionary vanguard party in Britain can only be forged through breaking the stranglehold of Labourism on the working class. But that will take effective Leninist tactics. Simple sectarian dismissal of the divisions within British social democracy no less than opportunist tailing of the Labour and union "lefts" are equally formulas for sterility. A Leninist-Trotskyist party can be forged only through splitting the

Labour Party, bringing key sectors of the working class under the revolutionary banner while exposing and politically defeating the pro-capitalist misleaders, both "left" and right. *Today the opportunities for a regroupment, through splits and fusions of would-be revolutionary forces, are more favorable than at any time in years.*

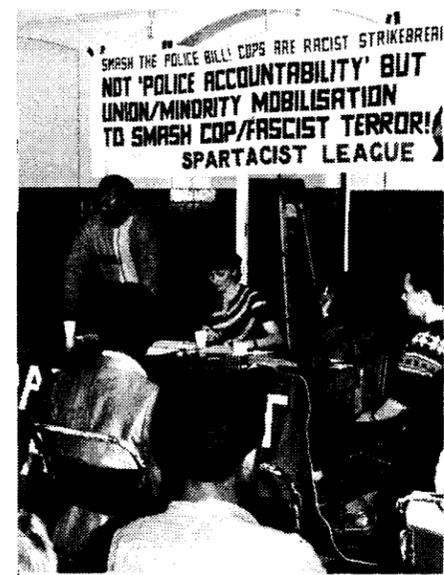
The organizations of the so-called "far left" for the most part have either liquidated into the Labour Party or blindly tail it. And in the face of massive, turbulent social struggle the Labour tops lined up *against the miners*. Today, not surprisingly, Kinnock & Co. are even more hostile to the black, Asian and white poor in the ghettos exploding in just outrage against the murdering cops. For pseudo-socialists who think that the Labour Party is an instrument for progressive change, that poses a big problem. No wonder that today various fake-left groups in Britain—from the limp Communist Party to the ex-guerrilla enthusiasts of the ex-IMG—have split or are on the verge of splits.

And where is Gerry Healy? The Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) just announced that its founding father and Stalin-style infallible-type leader has been expelled for bureaucratic abuse of power, self-glorification, personal degeneration, corruption and "unprincipled relations with bourgeois nationalist leaders and with trade union and Labour Party reformists in Britain."

After Tottenham, the Thatcher government attempted unsuccessfully to whip up a red scare blaming the ghetto explosion on "outside agitators," in particular "Trotskyites and anarchists." A few days later the establishment Tory London *Times* (10 October) ran a story headlined "Far Left Exerts Little Influence in Riot Areas," debunking this. The *Times* article noted frankly that it could find only two ostensibly Trotskyist groups that even sided with the embattled ghetto residents against the cops. One was the virulently anti-Soviet Revolutionary Communist Party (which openly courted scabs during the miners strike); the other was the Spartacist League.

"The Spartacists call [for] 'mobilising whatever resources possible in organizing mass protest against the police occupation,'" reports the *Times*. The article added, "Most of the other multifarious leftist groups, including the Workers Revolutionary Party and Militant have explicitly condemned rioting." The WRP egregiously called for "neighbourhood defence guards to prevent vandalism, looting and the

drugs trade" (*News Line*, 1 October)—in short, a ghetto auxiliary for Thatcher's racist cops! In contrast, the SL uniquely demanded: Down with the racist cop occupations of Handsworth, Brixton, Tottenham—Cops out now! Drop the charges against victims of the police dragnets—Free those framed up for "murder" in Tottenham! Jail the killer cops and throw away the keys!



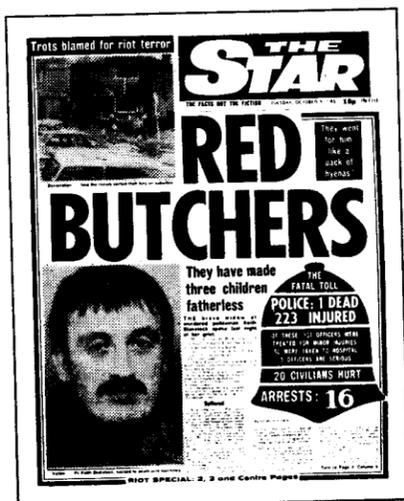
Workers Hammer

Black miner addresses Spartacist meeting in Birmingham: "Defend Handsworth! Racist cops out now!"

Build trade union-centered community defense guards to defeat racist attacks and cop terror!

The SL called an emergency meeting in Handsworth when the area was under police occupation. The cops hated it—they arrested three of our comrades for leafletting. But a well-integrated crowd of several dozen blacks, Asians and whites showed up in defiance of the cops. The miners we organized to come were particularly well received. As one miner put it: "Ten years ago I wouldn't have bothered...but now you're going through what we went through." There are *tens of thousands* of militant workers who share these sentiments; indeed, at a miners meeting in Barnsley on October 19, several thousand miners cheered NUM leader Arthur Scargill when he condemned cop violence in Brixton. Condemnations are not enough—in the face of Thatcher's cops rampaging, the watchword must be: Cops out! Miners to Brixton!

The British proletariat needs a Bolshevik party, modeled on the party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the Russian workers and oppressed, all races, all nationalities, men and women, to victory over capitalism in 1917. ■



As Thatcher burns Britain, she hollers for red scapegoats. Tabloid press shrieks, "Trots blamed for riot terror."



Gamma

Democrats, Labor Fakers Whip Up Protectionist Poison, Anti-Japanese Trade War

Commemorating the 40th anniversary of the U.S. victory over Japan, the *New York Times Magazine* (28 July) ran a virulent article on "The Danger From Japan," by well-known journalist Theodore H. White. For White, the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not devastating enough: "Today... the Japanese are on the move again in one of history's most brilliant commercial offensives, as they go about dismantling American industry." He concluded:

"The superlative execution of their trade tactics may provoke an incalculable reaction—as the Japanese might well remember of the course that ran from Pearl Harbor to the deck of the U.S.S. Missouri in Tokyo Bay [where the Japanese capitulation was signed] just 40 years ago."

In other words, if they don't stop sending us their Toyotas, we're going to start sending them our H-bombs.

American imperialism is going to war, trade war against the Japanese. And the whole country is being prepared. "Trade Wars," proclaims Uncle Sam on the front cover of *Time* magazine (7 October). America's universities and think tanks are churning out tracts, claiming that the American eagle is being slowly roasted in the heat of Japan's rising sun: *Japan Is No. 1. The Japanese Challenge. The Japanese Conspiracy—The Plot to Dominate Industry Worldwide and How to Deal with It*. There are now over 300 protectionist bills before Congress. One likely to pass would slap an additional 25 percent tariff on goods from Japan as well as South Korea, Taiwan and Brazil.

The most rabid trade warmongers are not the usual right-wing yahoos, or even the Pentagon's kept academics, but liberal Democrats and the labor bureaucracy. In fact, protectionism is the liberals' and reformists' *only* answer to mass unemployment, wage-gouging,

union-busting and the deindustrialization of America. On this issue they are waving the flag more frantically than the Reagan gang.

Not so long ago Democratic presidential loser Walter Mondale ranted to an electrical workers convention:

"We've been running up the white flag, when we should be running up the American flag! ...if you try to sell an American car in Japan, you better have the United States Army with you when they land on the docks."

Speaking in the depressed auto capital of Detroit, Democratic Congressional leader Tip O'Neill blustered, "If I were President...I'd fix the Japanese like they've never been fixed." And International Ladies Garment Workers' head Sol Chaikin appeals to the worst kind of "yellow peril" racism: "It's as if we're being poured into a Mixmaster with China, India, Japan, Taiwan; they've homogenized the international labor market and are squeezing us out like toothpaste." Sounds like the KKK screaming about "race mixing."

Protectionist poison runs deepest in the burnt-out industrial belt of the Midwest, the so-called Rust Belt, where foreigners and foreign products have become whipping boys for capitalist immiseration. While the United Auto Workers did nothing to fight hundreds of thousands of layoffs in the early 1980s, and gave multibillion-dollar concessions to the auto bosses, UAW officials encouraged Toyota-bashing as a way to let hard-pressed workers blow off steam. Solidarity House banned foreign cars from union parking lots. At the Ford plant in Lima, Ohio, Howard Fields, a 28-year veteran in the plant, was fired *with union support* for parking a Nissan in a company parking lot. Even more chilling was the 1982 murder of Chinese American draftsman Vincent Chin by a Chrysler foreman and his stepson who chased Chin out of a



WV Photo
Labor Day, New York City: Trade-union bureaucracy shoves protectionism down the workers' throats.

Detroit club and beat him to death. The club owner described the scene:

"We got 16 percent unemployment in town. There's lots of hard feelings. In my opinion, these people come in, they see a man, supposedly Japanese. They look at this guy and see Japan—the reason all my buddies are out of work!"

Protectionist hysteria leads to racist murder.

Anti-Soviet Militarism Cripples U.S. Industry

Reagan took office in 1981 vowing to achieve "military superiority" over the Soviet Union, that is, first-strike nuclear capacity. Since then the Pentagon has spent \$1 trillion on fancy-ass weaponry that doesn't work. In this same period the U.S. balance-of-trade deficit increased *fivefold*, from \$28 billion to an estimated \$150 billion this year. The trade deficit with Japan alone jumped from \$13 billion in 1981 to an expected \$50 billion in 1985.

Is it just a coincidence that we now have both runaway military spending and a complete collapse of American industrial competitiveness? Not at all. To finance the war drive against the Soviet Union, the U.S. has racked up mammoth budget deficits. Under Reagan the national debt has increased *more* than in the previous 200 years of the American republic! The Treasury now says that unless Congress raises the debt ceiling to over \$2 trillion, Uncle Sam is going to start bouncing checks.

Reaganomics has dealt a crippling double blow to American industry. First, massive borrowing by the U.S. Treasury drove interest rates to historic highs and starved civilian industry for funds for investment in new plant and equipment and for research. *Half* of the \$100 billion spent annually for research and development in the U.S. comes out of the Pentagon budget. And even hard-line militarists like Barry Goldwater complain this is a colossal boondoggle of waste and mismanagement. For example, the army spent almost \$2 billion on the Sergeant York anti-aircraft gun, a total lemon which in one

test shot up the air conditioning unit of a latrine. The finest technical minds in this country are too busy perfecting the likes of the Sergeant York and working on the Star Wars fantasy to bother about the modernization of American industry. In an article on "America's High-Tech Crisis," *Business Week* (11 March) warned:

"The U.S. is frittering away its lead in high tech by spending too little on civilian research and development. Expenditures there have fallen behind those of our trading partners as a percentage of gross national product."

Secondly, much of the U.S. budget deficit—40 percent last year—is financed by foreign borrowing. In April the United States became a debtor nation for the first time since World War I, and by early '86 it is slated to surpass Brazil as the world's biggest debtor. The massive inflow of foreign money soaked up by the Pentagon drove the value of the dollar through the ceiling, pricing U.S. exports out of world markets and making imports artificially cheap. As former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Fred Bergsten explained:

"Such an external position, which is clearly unsustainable, is meanwhile causing severe—in some cases irreversible—damage to U.S. export and import-competing industries. More and more are finding they simply cannot overcome a price disadvantage of 40 percent or so now levied on them by the artificially strong dollar."

—"The State of the Debate: Reaganomics," *Foreign Policy*, Summer 1985

The mad ambitions of the U.S. ruling class to dominate the world and roll back Communism are far beyond the capacity of American capitalism. The Soviet Union through its collectivized economy, despite Stalinist bureaucratic deformation, has in the past 20 years achieved a rough nuclear parity. The capitalists are bleeding the productive wealth of America as they drive hell-bent toward nuclear holocaust. The labor fakers who scream for protectionism are simply paving the road to war. The real answer to this bankrupting of

OCTOBER 7, 1985

TIME

TRADE WARS

Congress Pushes for Protectionism

Reagan Holds Fast Against Barriers

The New York Times Magazine

Today, 40 years after the end of World War II, the Japanese are on the move again in one of history's most brilliant commercial offensives, as they go about dismantling American industry. Whether they are still only smart, or have finally learned to be wiser than we, will be tested in the next 10 years. Only then will we know who finally won the war...

U.S.A.F.

Anti-Japanese jingoism paves the way for imperialist war.

Theodore H. White:
THE DANGER FROM JAPAN

America is to build a workers party that will lead the fight for a workers government that will take industry out of the hands of its corrupt and predatory owners, rebuilding this country—and the world—on the foundations of a planned socialist economy.

Reaganomics and Protectionism

Unbridled militarism has intensified all the weaknesses and contradictions of American capitalism as it plunges into global trade war. Seemingly, Reagan is standing up for "free trade" against the rising protectionist tide coming from Congress. He even recently recalled the fiasco of the 1930 Smoot-Hawley tariff, which deepened the Great Depression both here and abroad. However, Reagan's "free trade" posture is just that—a posture. Early this year the conservative and generally pro-Reagan London *Economist* (16 February) commented:

"Four years of Reaganomics have consigned American trade officials to the dust-heap of economic policy. The strength of the dollar... and the \$123 billion trade deficit that emerged in 1984 have forced free marketeers like Mr William Brock, President Reagan's trade representative, and Mr Malcolm Baldrige, the secretary of commerce, to protect more industries from foreign competition than any of their recent predecessors."

Former Treasury official Bergsten noted that "the current administration has adopted more import controls than any of its predecessors since at least the 1920s." Most of these are directed at Japan, but nothing and no country is sacred. This June the Reagan gang launched the spaghetti war with Italy by imposing a 40 percent tariff on pasta made without eggs and 25 percent on pasta made with eggs.

Faced with moves for even greater protectionism from Congress, last month Reagan announced his own program for the trade crisis: pressuring foreign central banks to drive down the value of the dollar and subsidizing exports. These are simply *another form* of protectionism. Every textbook on international economics has a standard demonstration that currency devaluation and export subsidies have the same effect as increased tariffs and quotas.

While Reagan's reference to the Smoot-Hawley tariff is hypocritical and self-serving, the experience of the 1930s is, indeed, very relevant in today's world. Protectionist measures provoked retaliation and counter-retaliation. Foreign trade—vital to a healthy economy—was reduced to a trickle of what it had been in the 1920s. Mass unemployment and economic nationalism fueled the rise of fascism in Germany and militarism in Japan. Foreign markets could no longer be secured through economic competition but only by war. There is a direct line from the Smoot-Hawley tariff to the A-bombing of Hiroshima.

Why Japan, Inc. Works

No one is putting a gun to the head of American businessmen and consumers to make them buy \$60 billion worth of Japanese steel, computer parts, photocopiers, autos, televisions, etc. Japanese products are not only cheaper but also better quality, and everyone knows it. Protectionist yahoos complain that the deficit is all the fault of "unfair trade practices." Yet, apart from agriculture and forestry, Japanese protectionism has a negligible effect on American exports. In fact, Japan has the *lowest* average tariffs of any advanced capitalist country. They don't need them. The Japanese government would have to pay its citizens to get them to buy American-made cars, TVs or personal computers! Even Undersecretary of Commerce Lionel Olmer admitted:

"Take away all barriers to the Japanese market, push the yen to a sharply higher level against the U.S. dollar, and I believe the U.S. would still run a trade

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Solidarity House Asked For It, We Got It

Fremont Toyota/GM Sweetheart Deal

OAKLAND—The New United Motor Manufacturing, Inc. is not exactly a household name in this country. Yet NUMMI, a joint venture between General Motors and Toyota in Fremont, California, is being viewed as an important development in the American auto industry, both by the bosses and their labor lieutenants in the United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy. The UAW Solidarity House leadership hailed the NUMMI agreement as "a new kind of labor-management relationship," to serve as a test model not only for other Japanese-owned operations or joint ventures but also for the American Big Three, for example GM's new Saturn Project.

For the UAW tops, Fremont GM/Toyota is a great "success story" in their campaign for import protectionism. In late 1982, then-union president Douglas Fraser declared that passage of the ferociously protectionist "domestic content" bill would be "a major step toward forcing the Japan-based multinational auto companies to create jobs here in America where they enjoy a huge market" (*Solidarity*, 16-31 January 1983). The Japanese auto giant Toyota could see what was coming and moved to get in under rising import barriers. The result was Fremont GM/Toyota. The Solidarity House gang asked for Japanese investment in the U.S., and auto workers got it... in the ass.

The *San Francisco Examiner* supplement *Image* (6 October) recently ran an article titled "'Wa' and the Art of Auto Assembly," hailing the "new spirit of cooperation" at Fremont! The labor fakers, too, are proclaiming a new era of deepening class collaboration. A "Special Report to the Membership" (June 1985) on the NUMMI contract states: "the union acknowledges that it must contribute to the company's prosperity and productivity in order to secure the goals of stable employment and rising income for the members." A letter to the members of the Fremont local by district director Bruce Lee informs them:

"...the parties agree to share all the risk, responsibility and reward of partnership.

"We share the risk in that the union agrees to abandon part of its traditional reactive, adversarial role in favor of a proactive, advocacy role..." [our emphasis]

This "new cooperation" is plain old class collaboration.

And like Mary and her little lamb, wherever the UAW bureaucracy goes, America's social democrats are sure to follow. Thus the social-democratic *In These Times* (24 July-6 August) wrote of the NUMMI agreement: "the union has the luxury of watching how the new agreement works, without the backs-to-the-wall antagonism that has characterized auto industry labor relations in the last decade."

The NUMMI pact, a "luxury" for the union?! This contract, possibly the



UPI
Toyota chairman Elji Toyoda (left) and GM chairman Roger Smith tour their joint venture in Fremont.

worst ever negotiated by the UAW, is not only a complete sellout of Fremont workers, but poses a real danger to the rest of labor. It could become the leading edge for wholesale attacks on basic union conditions across the country, starting in auto. The new Saturn contract with GM may be the first fruit: no expiration date, no membership ratification, and introduction of what amounts to piecework wages.

What's happening at Fremont is *not*, as is being claimed, the importation of exotic "Japanese management techniques." Rather, it's another step in American capital's offensive to roll back decades of hard-won gains for industrial unionism. The NUMMI agreement is not a "new kind of labor-management relationship" at all. It used to be called *company unionism* when it prevailed in the U.S. in the 1920s. There is little in the

present Fremont contract that old Hitler-lover Henry Ford would not have felt at home with back in the open shop days before the UAW was forged in the mass, militant struggles of the 1930s and early '40s.

The Wages of Protectionism

Once the largest auto plant on the West Coast, Fremont GM was shut down in early 1983. From a peak of 7,000 workers, successive layoffs reduced the workforce to 2,000 when the gates were shut. When GM reopened the plant last year in partnership with Toyota, they ripped up the old UAW contract—no recall rights, no seniority rights, no nothing. Among the 1,200 workers hired so far, veteran Fremont workers and members with ten or more years seniority, if they were rehired at all, are treated as "new hires" with 15 percent *lower* wages than the industry standard.

The heart of the agreement is the virtual elimination of the approximately 85 specialized job classifications that are typical in U.S. auto plants. Instead, there are now only four basic classifications: one for production workers and three for skilled trades. Skilled workers are also being trained to work on the assembly line when needed. What all this means in practice is that with each worker expected to perform a variety of jobs, anywhere in the plant, the company is able to use fewer workers to produce a given number of cars. Some industry experts estimate labor cost savings as high as 40 percent. In Marxist terms, it's a whopping increase in the rate of exploitation.

Gone are the relatively "easier" jobs that older workers with seniority used to get—the only way they could survive the pounding pace. You work where management says and how management says—period. Seniority has little or nothing to do with it. There is *unlimited* mandatory overtime in the first year of the contract. The UAW "cooperatively" eliminated any reference to a grievance procedure, and union shopfloor representation is a bad joke. So behind all the talk of "shared responsibility," the reality is the UAW bureaucracy working openly as company cops to give GM and Toyota a free hand for massive speedup and labor discipline—all in the name of making NUMMI a protectionist "success."

A Class-Struggle Answer

From the first givebacks at Chrysler in 1979 to giving up basic union conditions at NUMMI, Solidarity House has argued that such sellouts are necessary to "save" jobs. In Fremont the class-struggle road to save jobs, wages, benefits and union conditions was put forward by the UAW Militant Caucus, an opposition group politically supported by the Spartacist League, with an almost decade-long history in the plant. When GM announced it was shutting down Fremont in early 1982, the Militant Caucus campaigned for a sit-down strike; the very tactic which helped build the UAW during the Great Depression of the 1930s. This proposal won widespread support from Fremont workers, their backs to the wall, but the UAW officialdom buried it under a barrage of anti-Japanese protectionism.

After the shutdown, the Militant

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WV Photo
August 1983: Union members protest dissolving of UAW Local 1364 in Fremont, California.

Protectionist Poison...

(continued from page 7)

deficit with Japan, perhaps on the order of \$15 billion."

—Wall Street Journal, 4 April

Another common protectionist argument is that the Japanese rip off American inventions and then produce these items more cheaply, partly due to lower labor costs. The head of Congress's Office of Technology Assessment, John Gibbons, asserts: "We are ahead in fundamental research, but they [the Japanese] get all our science papers and research, and they add to that their mastery of 'process technology,' translating fundamental research into the making of things."

This may have been true in the 1950s, but it is certainly not true today. It was the Japanese who first developed the household VCR, Walkman tape player, Trinitron TV tube, stratified-charge automobile engine, portable copier, as well as many industrial manufacturing systems. Japan is even supplying the Pentagon with high-tech items such as heat-resistant ceramics, fiber optics for computers, and lasers. In short, Japanese industry is on the cutting edge of technological progress in manufacturing.

Explaining the undeniable superiority of Japanese industry has become an academic industry in America's university economics departments and business schools. Some "experts" emphasize the "samurai spirit" of the Japanese businessman. You almost expect the Harvard Business School to start teaching *iaido* (traditional Japanese swordsmanship). Other experts put it down to the ineptness of American businessmen trying to sell in the Japanese market; for example, almost none bother to learn Japanese. More significant is the fact that most Japanese plant managers are engineers, while their American counterparts are financial operators, interested in short-term gains, who might just as well be running condos or casinos.

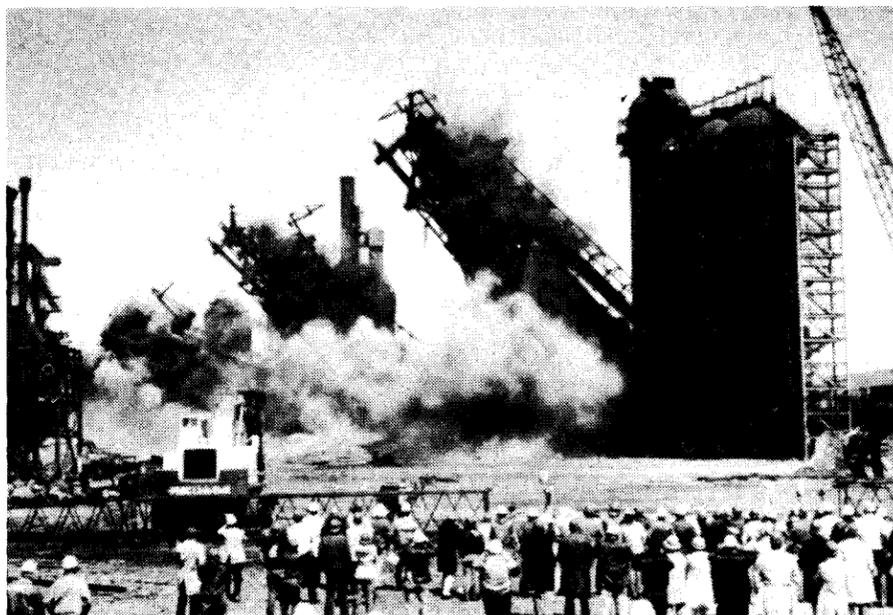
However, the basic reason for Japan's competitive superiority can be explained in a few statistics. Between 1960 and 1983 Japan invested 30 percent of its gross national product in new plant and equipment; the U.S. only 18 percent. Since the mid-1950s Japan has not only devoted a larger share of its industrial production to capital goods but the gap has progressively widened. During the 1970s half of Japanese manufacturing output consisted of capital goods compared to only 30 percent in the U.S. So there is really no mystery as to why the Japanese can produce better and cheaper goods.

A more fundamental question is, what accounts for Japanese capitalism's ability to invest 40 percent more a year in its industrial plant than its deteriorating American rival? There are two basic reasons. First, personal savings in Japan average over 25 percent of after-tax income; in the U.S. it's only 5 percent! In both societies personal savings are concentrated overwhelmingly in the upper and middle classes. It is thus determined by the lifestyle and values of the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on. Ameri-



Der Spiegel

Computerized Nissan plant in Japan (above). Obsolete blast furnaces being leveled in Youngstown, Ohio (below). U.S. bosses drove industrial plant into the ground, now complain "competition ain't fair."



Schell/Youngstown Vindicator

ca is the country which gave the world the term "conspicuous consumption." And the yuppies of the "me generation" have even less concern for the future than their forebears. Additionally, the U.S. tax system massively subsidizes home ownership for white middle America. While Japanese junior executives and civil servants are buying industrial bonds, their American counterparts are taking out second mortgages and racking up their credit card balances.

The second main reason for the far higher rate of investment of Japan, Inc. is the qualitatively lower level of military spending. To be sure, Japan can no longer be spoken of as an economic giant but a military midget. Japan's military budget has grown quite rapidly in recent years, especially under Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, a would-be Japanese Reagan who served as a naval officer in WWII. Japan today has the sixth largest military budget in the world. A resurgent Japanese imperialism has its own expansionist program aimed at creating a new Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. And this includes taking the Kuril Islands from the Soviet Union, which occupied them after Japan was defeated in World

War II. There is nothing pacifistic about Japan, Inc.

Nonetheless, Japan's military budget still accounts for only 1 percent of its gross national product compared to 7 percent in Reagan's America. In other words, American capitalism spends proportionally seven times as much on the military. The *Washington Post* (14 August) projected:

"...if Japan were to spend at the same rate as the United States, it would have to come up with about \$65 billion more in tax revenues this year, money that would then not be available for new equipment for factories, research and development, education and other programs that figure in Japan's economic success."

While the elite of America's scientific community is building missiles to blow up the world, its Japanese counterpart is revolutionizing industrial production.

How U.S. Imperialism Helped Break Japanese Labor

There is another important way in which U.S. imperialism has strengthened the economic power of Japan, Inc. The Japanese labor movement is notoriously unimilitant and class-collaborationist even by the standards of traditional American business unionism. The big firms like Mitsubishi and Nissan all have "enterprise unions," similar to the company unions which prevailed in the U.S. during the reactionary 1920s. During the past three years the annual time lost due to strikes in Japan averaged 16 minutes per employee! As economist Kozo Yamamura put it, "cooperative, if not docile, labor unions and employees willing to work unstintingly also seem to be integral parts of the [Japanese] model" (Yamamura, ed., *Policy and Trade Issues of the Japanese Economy* [1982]).

Especially in American academic circles, "enterprise unionism" is commonly said to be the product of

traditional Japanese paternalism. Japan's exceptionally rapid transition from feudalism to capitalism in the late 19th century (the Meiji Restoration) has left its mark on all aspects of Japanese society, including relations between labor and capital. However, the Japanese labor movement as it exists today was in a sense made in the USA. The present-day company unionism was forged during the American occupation of Japan under General Douglas MacArthur (1945-51) and its immediate aftermath.

The humiliation and defeat of Japanese militarism and the *zaibatsu* (old ruling families like Mitsui and Mitsubishi) in the Pacific War led to a potentially revolutionary situation in Japan. Thousands of leftists and working-class militants were released from prison. After a decade of near-totalitarian suppression, the Japanese toiling masses exploded. By 1948, 6.5 million workers had organized themselves into trade unions. The main union federation, Sanbetsu, was strongly influenced by the pro-Moscow Communist Party. In 1947 a massive strike wave, involving 40 percent of the organized labor force, shook MacArthur's Japan.

In the first years of the occupation, the U.S. sought to block the economic revival of its defeated imperialist enemy. However, the unexpected shock of the Chinese Revolution in 1949 and the outbreak of the Korean War the following year radically reversed Washington's attitude toward Japan, which now became the "cornerstone" of the Cold War alliance in the Far East.

To make Japan safe for the "free world," MacArthur moved to break the labor movement for the benefit of the *zaibatsu*. In 1950 the American occupation authorities helped set up the pro-company union federation SOHYO in order to undermine the militant Sanbetsu. A red purge drove some 20,000 union militants from their jobs. It is historical irony that the American Caesar, Douglas MacArthur, helped bring about the powerful revival of Japanese industrial capitalism, which is now causing U.S. imperialism no end of trouble. But then militant anti-Communism often rebounds against its perpetrators. Consider, for example, Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union.

Company unionism in Japan was consolidated during the height of the Washington/Tokyo Cold War axis in the early 1950s. The combative and leftist-led labor movement was effectively destroyed in a series of bitter, hard-fought strikes—Nissan and Toyota auto, the Mitsui coal mines, Nihon steel. A labor historian at Tokyo University, Ichiro Saga, rightly observed in a TV documentary on Nissan:

"There is no denying that in Japan labor and management cooperate closely. But it wasn't always so. In the early postwar years there were unions that put the interests of the workers first. It was only after these unions were crushed that today's collaborative system of labor relations comes about. It is definitely not the product of Japan's culture."

The Bitter Fruits of Protectionism

It takes nerve for American labor fakers like the Garment Workers' Sol Chaikin or the UAW's Owen Bieber to scream protectionism by pointing to the weakness and class collaborationism of Japanese unions. With every passing day the AFL-CIO acts worse than the Japanese company unions. The Reagan years have been the years of the giveback contract throughout American industry. Three million unionized workers—one out of every six—have been forced to take wage and benefit cuts by the rapacious employers and cowardly, legalistic labor bureaucrats. Has this "saved" jobs? No way! Since 1981 almost two million manufacturing jobs have gone down the tubes as American industry has gone to seed. American capitalism's brutal offensive

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against labor and the collapse of its international competitiveness have the same root cause: the insane war drive against the Soviet Union.

Despite all the clamor from protectionist yahoos, the U.S. is *not* and has not been for many years an open market. Steel, auto, textiles and apparel, shoes and other industries are all protected, in some cases since the 1960s. What have American working people gotten out of this? Take the quotas on Japanese autos, which were imposed in 1981 and expired early this year. Toyota, Nissan & Co. naturally jacked up their prices, netting an *additional* \$2 billion a year profit in the American market. And, of course, the U.S. Big Three were also able to raise their prices. The Federal Trade Commission estimated that four years of import quotas "saved" 44,000 jobs in auto but at a cost

cent wretched history. And Fremont Toyota/GM is not an isolated case. On the contrary, it is widely viewed as a trial model for things to come in the American auto industry.

Protectionism is the road to industrial rot. Look at the steel industry. Since 1968, when the Nixon gang muscled Japan into "voluntary" export restraints, steel has been the most protected of any basic U.S. industry. And every year the U.S. steel industry becomes more backward, its plants more dilapidated, productive capacity is cut. Some 700,000 steel workers have been thrown on the scrap heap in recent years. Since 1979 U.S. Steel has closed down 150 plants and facilities, reducing its capacity by 30 percent. And this massive retrenchment in steelmaking is *not* because the company is going bankrupt. It spent almost \$6 billion a few years

tionism and war, that connection is seared with the heat of nuclear fission into the memory of the Japanese. A leader of Tokyo's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, Susumu Nikaido, explained a few years ago: "Opinions expressed about Japan in the United States are anti-Japanese. They give us the impression of the prewar days" (*Los Angeles Times*, 19 March 1982). Likewise, prominent Japanese political commentator Akrasono has stated, "The Japanese people are reminded of the pre-World War II ABCD [American-British-Chinese-Dutch] encirclement of Japan."

Indeed, the stage is being set for another Pacific War. Japan was driven into that war by a decade of trade protectionism and economic sanctions directed against it. With the onset of the Great Depression, tariff barriers were erected everywhere against the Japanese "trade menace" as it was then called. Most damaging to Japan was trade protectionism in the Asian colonies of the other imperialist powers (e.g., British India, French Indochina). Japan was thus pushed into creating its own East Asia Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere.

To counter Japanese expansionism American and British imperialism resorted first to economic warfare. In July 1941 (five months *before* Pearl Harbor) the U.S., British and Dutch embargoed Japan's oil supplies without which it could not survive. The eminent British military historian B.H. Liddell Hart wrote, "the steps which Roosevelt and Churchill took in July to cut off her [Japan's] economic resources were bound to make her strike back in the only way possible for her—by force of arms" (*History of the Second World War* [1970]).

U.S. imperialism thus provoked Japan into war and then ended it with one of the most cold-blooded atrocities in modern times: dropping the first nuclear weapons on the defenseless populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. While the Japanese were the victims of the A-bomb attack, in a sense the real target was the Russians. The Japanese government was ready to surrender, and Washington knew it. The bomb was dropped to intimidate the Soviet Union, whose victorious armies threatened to overturn capitalism, albeit in a bureaucratically deformed way, across Eastern Europe. Now, once again, the cries coming from Wall Street and Washington are "roll back Communism" and destroy the Japanese "trade menace." As we wrote (*WV* No. 385, 9 August) on

the 40th anniversary of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

"It will take international socialist revolution to create a world in which there will be no more Hiroshimas, no more Nagasakis. We look forward to the day when we can all enjoy American jazz on Mitsubishi stereo TVs while sipping Stolichnaya vodka." ■

Fremont...

(continued from page 7)

Caucus put forward a motion, passed by Fremont Local 1364, to "use every tactic necessary" to ensure that all hiring at the reopened plant would be according to seniority, and that there would be no substandard contract. Doug Fraser's final act as union president was to keep the question from coming to a vote at the UAW convention. His successor, Owen Bieber, "resolved" the seniority issue by *dissolving* Local 1364, and then, in September 1983, signing a tentative agreement with NUMMI. Tony DeJesus, a former president of 1364, was hired by the company to help them weed out troublemakers from the thousands of ex-GM worker applicants. Once the plant opened, DeJesus moved from his management job into the presidency of the "new" Local 2244.

You don't have to be a socialist and a Marxist to know that the NUMMI agreement is a sweetheart deal—any good trade unionist can tell you that. But the roots of this sellout lie in the bosses' greed and the decrepit state of American capitalism. The U.S. ruling class, while pouring hundreds of billions into war preparations against the Soviet Union, has run this country's industrial plant into the ground. Japanese industry is more efficient because they invest more in it. Today American capital can compete with the Japanese only through wage-gouging and speedup, and even that won't succeed.

American and Japanese workers must unite against their bosses, who are in league with each other *and with the union misleaders*, as the Fremont example so strikingly shows. UAW chief Bieber & Co., who are trying to outdo the Japanese company unions in class collaboration, must be swept away by a new leadership forged on a program of militant class struggle. We must rip the productive wealth out of the hands of the bourgeoisie through workers revolution, replacing the boom-bust anarchy of capitalist production with international socialist planning. ■



Crachiola/Macomb Daily

Taking the heat off the Big Three: Datsun-bashing in Detroit suburb in 1980.

to consumers of \$240,000 per job!

For the UAW bureaucracy, the quotas were also a means of pressuring Japanese carmakers to produce in the U.S. In this sense Fremont Toyota/GM is a great "success story" of anti-Japanese protectionism (see "Fremont Toyota/GM Sweetheart Deal," page 6). In 1982 GM closed down its plant in Fremont, California, once the largest auto factory on the West Coast, claiming it could no longer compete with the Japanese. Early this year the plant was reopened as a joint venture between Toyota and GM. As an inducement to the Japanese carmaker the UAW tops negotiated a sweetheart deal, arguably the worst contract in the union's re-

back to purchase Marathon Oil.

The capitalist rulers of this country are driving American industry right into the ground, while the labor fakers' only answer is giveback contracts and trade protectionism. The real answer is for the working people to *take control* of the economy and run it in their interests. In other words, we need a workers government. To get a workers government we have to build a revolutionary workers party to fight both capitalist parties, the liberal "friend of labor" Democrats as well as the Reaganite right.

From Trade War to Hiroshima

While Americans may not see any particular connection between protec-

account of his KAL 007 spy plane adventure, for example, in which over 200 innocent airline passengers died. But (despite the *Times*' best efforts) not all of the bourgeois media were servile enough to totally suppress the various facts that objectively show that KAL 007 was a deliberate U.S. war provocation. The Reaganites want to "finish the job" on the press.

American Civil Liberties Union Washington area director Morton Halperin, who as a former senior staff member of Nixon's National Security Council was himself a victim of government spying, noted that the trial and conviction are a "threat to the First Amendment." But the *Times* and ACLU liberals are sporadic and selective defenders of the First Amendment. Former ACLU general counsel Morris Ernst maintained a collaborative relationship with FBI führer J. Edgar Hoover for anti-communist witchhunting and persecution that spanned four decades. During the 1950s McCarthy period, the *New York Times* conducted its own witchhunt, firing staff members who took the Fifth Amendment before red-baiting Congressional committees.

Like Captain Dreyfus, the Jewish officer of the French army who was framed on treason charges at the turn of the century, Samuel Morison is a loyal servant of his imperialist ruling class.

But the Morison "espionage" case like the Dreyfus "treason" trial poses vital issues for all champions of democratic rights, especially the working class. Because these rights are vital to the legal existence of the workers movement in bourgeois society, labor must be their

most consistent champions, with its own class-struggle methods and through the strength of its own organization. For these rights can only be ultimately secured when state power is taken away from the war-crazed capitalist class by a workers government. ■

Morison...

(continued from page 5)

"destabilization" of the Australian Labor government.)

Roland S. Inlow, a retired top CIA official who was "closely involved" in the KH-11 program, testified in Morison's defense that the release of the photos now "would cause no damage or injury to the United States." The defense also tried groveling with a "patriotic" stance, arguing that Morison only wanted to alert the American people to "increase the defense budget." But it was no use—the Reaganites had found a convenient victim, ironically one of their own who fully supports the anti-Soviet war drive.

If this ruling stands, Reagan & Co. will have succeeded in establishing a version of the British Official Secrets Act, enabling them to clamp down on news leaks inside and outside the government. The *New York Times* (4 March) called attention to the sinister implications and editorialized, "It Isn't Spying." "If you stopped leaking in government, you wouldn't know anything," said defense attorney Robert Muse. That is precisely Reagan's purpose. The U.S. capitalist media is docile enough to pretend to believe Reagan's

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Bury Apartheid...

(continued from page 1)

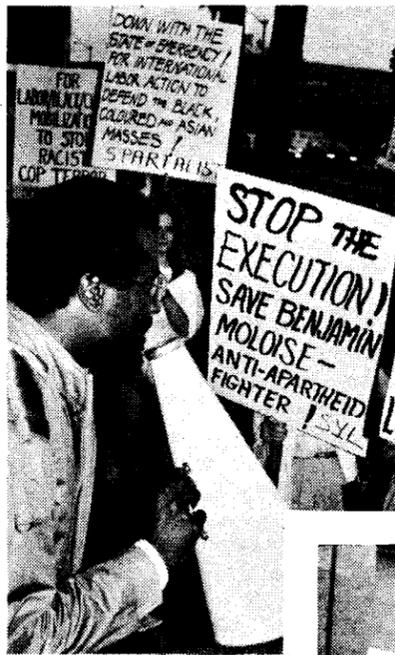
ambush in the middle-class "coloured" (mixed-race) Cape Town suburb of Athlone by driving a flat-bed truck around in an attempt to lure stone-throwing youth. When the youth appeared, cops jumped out of crates on the truck and opened fire with pump-action shotguns, killing three youths (ages 11, 16 and 18) and wounding 15. In the past year, according to official figures nearly 800 have been killed, mostly at the hands of the police. Anti-apartheid activists place the death toll at well over 1,000.

President Botha tried to put on a pretense of a return to normalcy by announcing on October 24 the end of the state of emergency in six of the 36 magisterial districts covered. But the next day he declared a new state of emergency in and around Cape Town, the country's second largest city, where 30 or more people were killed in the space of 12 days this month. Meanwhile the police made a sweep of the Western Cape, detaining over 40 anti-apartheid activists, "including virtually all of the executive members of the multiracial United Democratic Front in the area" (*New York Times*, 26 October).

The UDF is a class-collaborationist coalition of hundreds of organizations, from unions to church groups, opposed to apartheid. The UDF leaders, drawn largely from the clergy, preach "non-violence" to reform the massively armed police state, to which that state has responded by killing or jailing the entire UDF leadership. In Pietermaritzburg on October 21, the "treason" trial of 16 UDF leaders began. If convicted, they could be hanged. This racist dictatorship is out for blood.

The escalation of repression in South Africa in the past few weeks amounts to a gigantic "screw you" to the world, aimed particularly at the liberal sanctions/divestment movement which peaked this past summer as billions of dollars were pulled out of the country by nervous bankers. All of that "moral" pressure did not save Benjamin Moloise, let alone dent apartheid. The apartheid butchers cannot be pressured into reforms, they must be *overthrown* by a revolution of the black proletariat.

But the UDF and the ANC, and the South African Communist Party, are still banking on the so-called "progressive" capitalists like Gavin Relly, chairman of the Anglo American conglomerate, who met with the ANC recently. The result of this search for a rotten deal has been that the black working class has been reined in by the reformist and nationalist leaders, as demonstrated by the aborted miners strike last September, even in the face of the escalating apartheid repression. Lately, the National Day of Prayer of October 9, called by Bishop Tutu and others, was explicitly not to be turned into a "stayaway" strike day, and key black union federations such as FOSATU deliberately avoided turning it into one. It was left to the defiant youth of the now-banned Congress of South African Students (COSAS) to enforce a "stay-



WV Photos

Coast to coast, SL and Labor Black Leagues initiated protests on the eve of Benjamin Moloise's execution. Clockwise from top: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Boston, New York.



away" by action in the streets: "COSAS leaders claimed a victory when, by all accounts, more than 50 percent of the African workers in Johannesburg stayed away from work, some risking their jobs" (*Newsday*, 21 October).

With the power of the black working class under restraints by its own leaders, the pent-up anger of the black masses has begun to burst out dangerously in unplanned and unsupportable random attacks on whites, playing into Botha's plans for a bloodbath. As we have stated repeatedly: *Blood will flow in South Africa. The question is whose blood, when, where, why and how.* There is no solution to apartheid slavery short of a civil war, but it must be fought along class, not national, lines, giving rise to a black-centered workers government under which whites, too, will have a place.

Avenge Moloise! Bury Apartheid! Workers to Power!

In the U.S. the liberals' and reformists' moral protests and divestment strategy, which relies on the American government and finance capital to pressure Botha & Co., is meant to undermine mass struggle against apartheid—especially since Reagan recently co-opted their program. Where were the divestment moralists when Moloise faced execution? In the U.S. only the revolutionary Trotskyist Spartacist League mobilized emergency demonstrations around the country in a last-ditch attempt to save Moloise's life. In conjunction with these demonstrations, the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle defense organization in accordance with the political views of the SL, sent a telegram to key longshore leaders on the East and West coasts,

demanding: "Labor must immediately halt all South African shipping to stop the execution! Save Moloise!"

In New York 90 people responded to our call to demonstrate outside the South African consulate October 17. In response to our appeal for a united-front protest, the ANC held a three-hour meeting. Sectarian reformists of Marcyite Workers World persuasion convinced that meeting to call a separate candlelight vigil. This pathetic vigil attended by at most 15 candle-bearers was held even before Moloise had been hanged as if to parody that old fighting Wobbly slogan into "Mourn, Don't Organize." Some of the frustrated and angry people at the Marcyite wake came over to the SL-called demonstration where they could express their outrage in a genuine protest.

Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for New York City mayor in the upcoming November 5 election, spoke to the gathering on the eve of Moloise's execution:

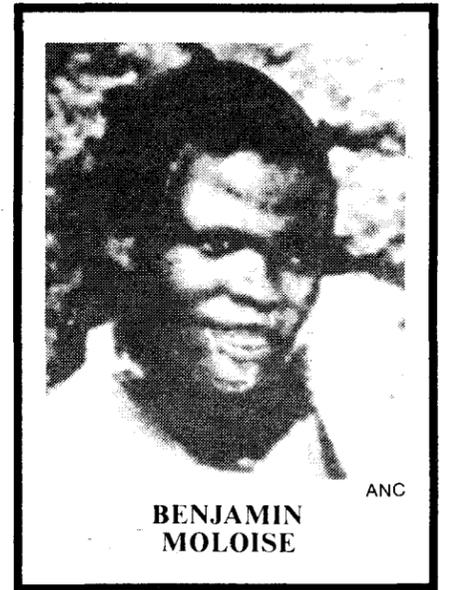
"The South African regime has threatened to execute Benjamin Moloise tomorrow morning at dawn. In August an international campaign of protest was successful in winning a stay of execution for Benjamin Moloise. It must be done again... We say Benjamin Moloise is not a criminal, we say Benjamin Moloise is a martyr. We say: Save Moloise, hang Botha—Smash apartheid slavery!"

"While the liberals are appealing to the enemies of black liberation—to Reagan, to Koch, to pressure their junior partners, to pressure Wall Street to pressure Pretoria, we look to the power of the working class. We look to international labor solidarity to aid and strengthen the black workers movement, the black unions in South Africa, the brothers and sisters whose blood and sweat has created the riches of South Africa, the brothers and sisters in the gold mines and the diamond mines and the townships and the industries. They have the power to smash apartheid slavery. From Durban to Detroit, Workers to Power!"

From coast to coast, Spartacist comrades mobilized against the impending execution. At Oberlin College in Ohio, a demonstration initiated by the Spartacus Youth League demanding "Hang Botha! Free Moloise!" drew upwards of 40 people, including the black student group ABUSUA and the Student Coalition Against Apartheid. In Cambridge, Massachusetts, a spirited SL/SYL demonstration attracted on-lookers outside Harvard's Holyoke Center. In Atlanta we soapboxed near

Morehouse College and leafleted an ANC vigil, while in Chicago SLers with signs calling to save Moloise attended a regular Thursday demonstration by the Free South Africa Movement. In Los Angeles, two dozen people attended a Spartacist protest outside the South African consulate, while the ANC held a prayer meeting instead.

In San Francisco, the October 17 demonstration was the third in that city



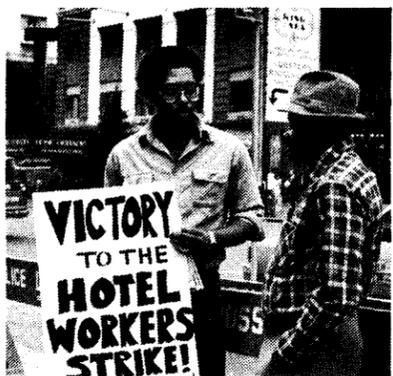
called by the SL and the Labor Black League for Social Defense in recent weeks to demand Moloise's freedom. LBL spokesman Jeff Higgins told the 70 anti-apartheid militants: "Labor must act to smash racist terror from San Francisco to South Africa." Spartacist spokesman Martha Phillips summed up:

"Our job as revolutionary Marxists in the belly of the imperialist Yankee beast is not to stand on the sidelines and cheer as the black masses armed with sticks and stones go up against the apartheid butchers' modern weaponry. Our job as Marxists, learning the lessons of history, is to show the working class *how to win*—both in South Africa and here in America.

"What is to be done? The South African masses need a party, again a party and once again a party—to use comrade Trotsky's words. They need a party like the Bolshevik Party in Russia that brought down capitalism. They need a revolutionary party to stand as the tribune of all the people—to break out of the dead end of nationalism—race against race—and forge multiracial working-class unity based on a revolutionary working-class program." ■



Blacks in Johannesburg erupt in anger after the hanging of Moloise. Botha wants a one-sided bloodbath.



WV Photo

Defend Picket Lines! Labor's Gotta Play Hardball! Ed Kartsen with hotel strikers, June 1985.

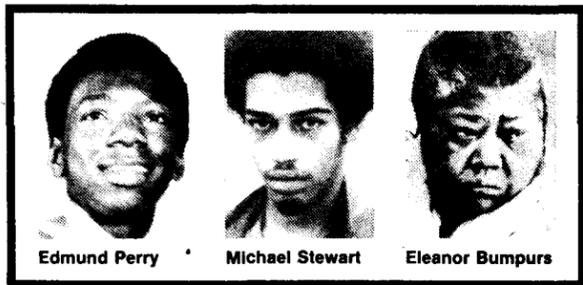
NYC Election Brochure...

(continued from page 12)

Big MAC banker boss Rohatyn while city workers get shafted. We need a new union leadership to unleash labor's power through the class-struggle methods that built the unions. **Take back the givebacks! Smash the no-strike Taylor Law! Defend picket lines! Labor's gotta play hardball to win!**

This city was built by immigrant labor. We say everybody who's here has a right to stay. No deportations—Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers! For the independence of Puerto Rico! Political asylum for refugees from death squad terror from Haiti to San Salvador!

Time to finish the Civil War—Black liberation through socialist revolution! We need schools and jobs, but Koch builds prisons. Capitalism has no jobs for ghetto youth, so there's no profit in teaching our kids to read. A whole generation is being tossed on the scrap heap: black youth unemployment in this city is over 50 percent and the high school dropout rate for minorities is over 70 percent. They're closing hospitals in Harlem while infant mortality rates in the ghettos are approaching "third world" levels. **Free quality education for all—defend busing and extend it to the suburbs! Open admission to college with living**



The Perry Family, NY Times, NY Daily News

Killed by the racist cops: We will not forget!

stipend! Free 24-hour quality day care! Free subways! Triple welfare! For the socialist reindustrialization of America!

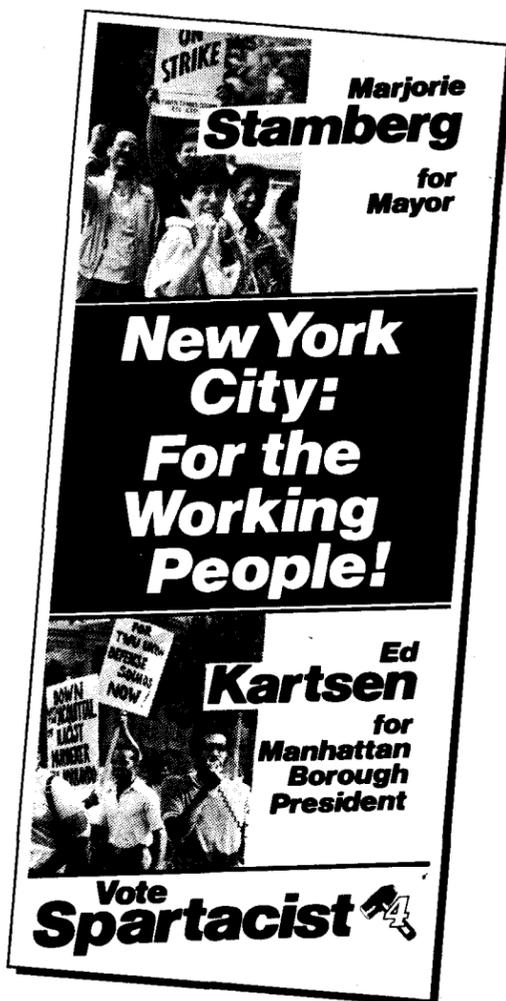
The Moral Majority bigots are trying to run our lives, from school prayer to outlawing anything that's fun. NYC's reactionary archbishop John O'Connor loved the Vietnam War, now declares war on abortion clinics and homosexual rights. Take a stand against these meddling snoops—vote Spartacist! **We say: government out of the bedrooms! Down with all porn/sex/drug laws! People should be able to watch, read or do anything consensual they want! Free abortion on demand—free quality health care! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Millions for AIDS research! For the separation of church and state!**

America's cities have Democratic mayors to keep the lid on while Reagan reaction squeezes. In New



WV Photo

Mass labor/black action to stop the race-terrorists: "We Stopped the Klan!" demonstrator chant in Washington, 27 November 1982.



NYC campaign brochure. Vote Spartacist!

York we have racist labor-hating mayor Koch. In Philadelphia the black mayor approves the firebombing of his own city, while cynical apologists for the Jesse Jackson/Mondale "Rainbow Coalition" excuse the massacre of eleven black people. The Philly holocaust had the signature of the Reagan regime. The government terrorists bomb black America to send a bloody message to all who dare step out of line—watch your ass, you could be next! **Down with the Democrats and Republicans, partner parties of the capitalist ruling class—build a fighting workers party!**

When Reagan laid wreaths at SS graves in Bitburg, he was trying to bury the Soviet Union's victory against Nazi Germany and prepare nuclear war against Russia. **Remember the Holocaust! Defend the Soviet Union, birthplace of the first workers revolution! For workers democracy, for revolutionary internationalism—return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!**

While Reagan tries to seal off and starve out the Nicaraguan Revolution, U.S. troops are poised to invade. The Democrats coo like doves, vote like hawks for aid to CIA/contra killers and Reagan's invasion plans. The obstacle to U.S. imperialist intervention is the "Vietnam syndrome," the population's continuing reluctance to sacrifice for more losing military adventures. **Labor must fight imperialist war with class war—for political strikes! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution—Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in Central America! Vietnam was a victory!**

Koch "divests" city funds from South Africa while his cops are shooting down blacks at home. No "divestment" illusions in bloodsucking imperialists—for international labor solidarity! **Hot cargo military goods—smash apartheid slavery! Workers revolution must rip the wealth the workers have created from the capitalist rulers who own the mines and factories. A vote for Spartacist is a vote for the program of workers power—from South Africa to the U.S.!**



WV Photo

Smash apartheid slavery! American workers, students in solidarity with South African struggle.

The Spartacist League is a multiracial socialist organization fighting for an end to exploitation, oppression and war through world socialist revolution. Recently we sued against the FBI's new witchhunting Guidelines on "terrorism," and forced them to retract their set-up "definition" of us. This is a victory for everyone the government sees as troublesome. Socialism won't be won in courts or through the ballot box, but on the picket lines and the battle lines of working people's struggles throughout the world and here at home.

Whether it's mobilizing to stop the fascist Klan or collecting funds for striking British miners, the Spartacist League has been the vanguard of working people who want to fight back—and you can help. **If you like what we stand for, get involved!**

SUPPORT THE STAMBERG/KARTSEN CAMPAIGN—FIND OUT WHAT YOU CAN DO

The capitalist candidates get big bucks from Wall Street, the real estate interests, the cops' protection societies. The working people's candidates depend on you.

Please send your contributions* to:
Spartacist Party Campaign Committee,
c/o Box 444, Canal St. Sta., NY, NY 10013

Stop in at our campaign headquarters at
41 Warren St. in lower Manhattan
(Monday through Thursday 5-8 p.m.,
Saturday 1-5 p.m.)

For more information, to volunteer some time to work with us, to find out what you can do to build the Stamberg/Kartsen campaign, call:

(212) 267-1025

*Election law requires reporting names of contributors of more than \$99. We will not disclose individual names and therefore will not accept individual contributions of over \$99. Organizations, trade unions, etc. are more than welcome to donate larger amounts.

Vote Spartacist!

MARJORIE STAMBERG FOR MAYOR

WV Photo

Marjorie Stamborg was the Spartacist Party candidate for New York state assembly in 1978, calling for a union-led fight against the cutbacks and takeaways during the bank-engineered "fiscal crisis." The campaign fought for united action against racist cop brutality, and against the vicious ethnic vigilantism which had erupted in Crown Heights after the cop killing of a prominent black community leader. During the 1960s, Stamborg was an activist in SDS, the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movement, and a staff writer for the New Left *Guardian*. A leader of Oakland Women's Liberation, Marjorie spent nine years as a telephone worker, active in the Militant Action Caucus of CWA. A member of the editorial board of the Spartacist League's newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*, she is active in the Spartacus Youth League campaign to raise desperately needed dollars to defend Nicaragua against the U.S. imperialist siege, and is recently back from Managua, where she attended the sixth anniversary celebration of the victory over Somoza.

ED KARTSEN FOR MANHATTAN BOROUGH PRESIDENT

WV Photo

Edward Kartsen, a signal maintainer in the New York subways until recently, was the oppositional candidate for Transport Workers Union Local 100 president in 1983. Ed and the Committee for a Fighting TWU campaigned for the union to act in solidarity with key strikes, like PATCO in 1981. When black TWUer Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist mob as he was leaving his job in the Coney Island shop, Kartsen said the union's 33,000 members should demonstrate on flat-bed trucks in the Gravesend, Brooklyn area in a forceful display of labor's power to stop racist terror. In 1982, Kartsen chaired the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington on November 27, when the Spartacist League and black unionists led the thousands who militantly faced down the KKK, dealing a stinging political defeat to Reagan and the cops in the streets of the nation's capital.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Vote Spartacist!

We reprint below the text of the Spartacist Party platform in the election campaign for Marjorie Stamberg for NYC mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president. To date, over 100,000 brochures in English and Spanish have been distributed on the streets of New York.

New York City is on the razor's edge. Reagan tells New York to drop dead, while Koch's racist cops terrorize the city with their wanton killings. In Philadelphia, they bomb black babies to evict the back-to-nature MOVE commune. In the Bronx, the cops evict by shotgun—like black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, blown away for falling behind in her rent. And Donald Trump the Condo King makes millions.

But America needs its financial and political capital, and New York can't run without black transit workers, Hispanic hotel workers, hospital workers—the whole powerful integrated city union movement. From this election platform we raise our revolutionary program: not only in New York but throughout the nation, the situation cries out for a workers party to defend the interests of labor, the poor, minorities and the hard pressed middle classes against Reagan, Koch, and the capitalist class they represent. We need a labor and minority-led fight for a workers government which will seize all major industry without compensation and institute a planned socialist economy. **New York City: For the working people! Vote Spartacist! Marjorie Stamberg for Mayor! Ed Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President!**

• • • • •
Avenge victims of the racist cops—Edmund Perry, Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs! From the Queens stun gun "torture precinct" to Harlem to posh Park Avenue, nobody is safe from Koch's killer cops. It's a system: D.A. Morgenthau and the ghoulsh coroner cover up for the cops. In 1982 black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist lynch mob in Gravesend—but brother Turks might be alive today if he had a piece. On the subway Queens meets Harlem: the intensification of the social contradictions between the squeezed middle classes and increasingly desperate oppressed minorities is what produces a Bernhard Goetz.

Capitalism breeds crime and everyone knows the cops won't protect them. While liberals prattle about gun control, racist forces like Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post* seize upon the vulnerability and defenselessness of the population to whip up an atmosphere of "law and order" vigilantism. Everyone has the right to defend himself! Gun control kills blacks! Mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks! For integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women!

• • • • •
An army of homeless huddle in the streets while countless thousands eke out a miserable existence in the welfare hotels. Meanwhile, they're trying to gentrify Harlem and turn the *barrio* into

Vote SPARTACIST



Marjorie Stamberg
For Mayor



Ed Kartsen
For Manhattan Borough President

Soweto to Harlem—Smash Racist Terror!

NYC: FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE!

FROM SOWETO SMASH RACIST TERROR! SPARTACIST!

- Labor/black defense against cop/Klan terror!
- Finish the Civil War—black liberation through socialist revolution!
- Smash apartheid! For workers revolution!
- Labor has to play hardball to win! For a fighting workers party!

- Full democratic rights for homosexuals!
- Government out of the bedrooms!
- Free abortion on demand!
- Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!
- Defend Nicaragua! Smash Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive!

Election Rally
Saturday Nov. 2, 2 pm
BOROUGH MANHATTAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE
199 Chambers St Room N-402
Take the A-Train or 1, 2, 3 trains to Chambers St Station

ELECTION NIGHT PARTY
Tuesday Nov. 5 8:00
Small's Paradise
2294 Seventh Ave.
(Adam Clayton Powell Blvd.)
Take the AA or 2, 3 to 135th
Admission \$5

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the "Yupper East Side." Restore and extend rent control! Homeless should seize Trump City! Expropriate the real estate robber barons! That city councilman had a good idea when he called for Soviet aid to the South Bronx. Make NYC a place where working people can

live! Vote for the candidates who say no to the slumlords and big-time rent-gougers—support Marjorie and Ed!

• • • • •
Koch glories in union-busting. He orders city sanitation workers to cross

hotel strikers' picket lines. He stood on the Brooklyn Bridge in 1980 whipping up hatred against the transit strikers and greeting joggers led by his Yuppie opponent Carol Bellamy. Labor mis-leader Gotbaum literally plays ball with
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