

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 120

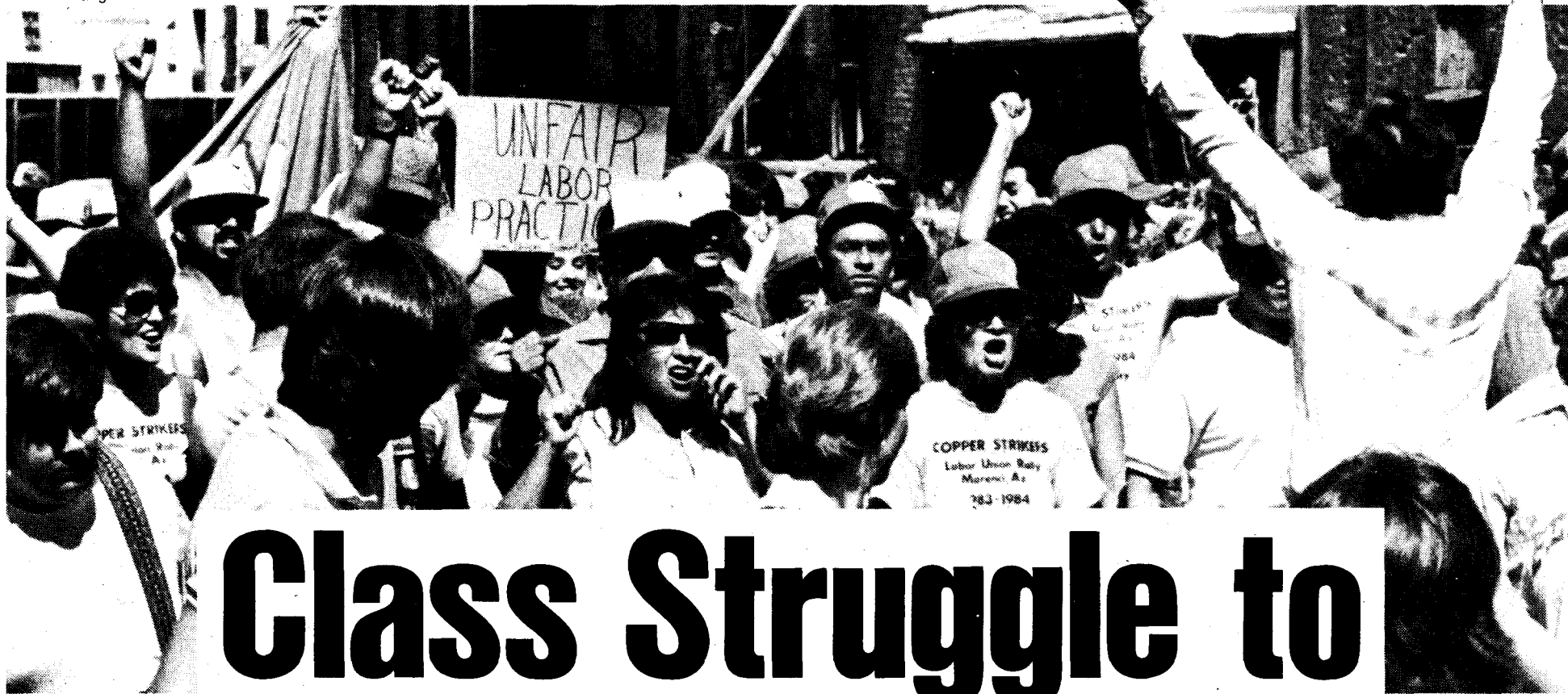
25 CENTS

X-523

SEPTEMBER 1984

Reagan Wants War—Defend the Soviet Union!

Workers Vanguard Photo



Class Struggle to Smash Cold War Drive!

**You Can't
Fight Reagan
With Democrats!**

**Build a
Workers Party!**

Summer 1984: a fitting prelude to the war elections upcoming. From the NATO Olympics in Los Angeles to the G.O.P. "coronation" in Dallas to the Democratic Party convention it was U.S.A. *über Alles*. Topping off an orgy of reactionary nationalism, Ronald Reagan was endorsed by god himself in Dallas. It was a revivalist convention of the right-wing crackpot fringe, where Reagan was a "moderate." Moral Majority ayatollah Jerry Falwell proclaimed the Republicans "god's instruments in rebuilding America" while delegates privately grooved on the fact that Dallas was where Kennedy was assassinated. In her convention address, Dragon Lady Jeane Kirkpatrick—Reagan's mouthpiece for U.S. policy in Central America and the target of successful student protests which have driven her from campuses across the country—denounced the Democrats for betraying their tradition as the party of war and anti-Communist hardliners.

In San Francisco, a press campaign whipping up fear of "terrorist" attack on the Democrats' convention preceded police riots against tame, pro-Democratic Party demonstrations and the virtual quarantine of the delegates at the convention center. Inside, besides threatening to bore the American populace to death for the next four

years, Fritz Mondale draped himself in the stars and stripes, proclaimed Democratic support to continued growth in military spending, and saw to it that anyone who suggested trimming the war expenditures was quashed during the platform fight.

The Reagan Republicans, of course, make no secret of the fact that anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust is on their agenda. Most of the world was definitely not amused when Reagan made his now infamous "joke": "I'm pleased to tell you today that I've signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes." The last guy who tried to "outlaw" Russia was Adolf Hitler and 20 million Soviet people gave their lives to defeat the Nazi invasion of the USSR. In such a climate, the Soviets were quite right not to put their athletes at risk of dangerous anti-Communist provocations at the Olympics. Those games were such a spectacle of national chauvinism, reminiscent of the Berlin Olympics in 1936, that even *Sports Illustrated* (13 August) suggested that ABC get a medal for "Large Boor

Freestyle Jingoism." They were also a resounding athletic failure in contrast to the Moscow games, and the crowing over American gold medal wins in the absence of Soviet-bloc competition is the same sort of bully-boy viciousness which filled the press after the invasion of the tiny black West Indian island of Grenada last fall.

In an understated response to Reagan's "joke," TASS correctly noted that:

"The episode has been justly seen as a manifestation of the self-same frames of mind which have already been formulated officially before in calls for a 'crusade,' the doctrines of limited and protracted nuclear wars and in military-political plans of securing world dominance to the United States."

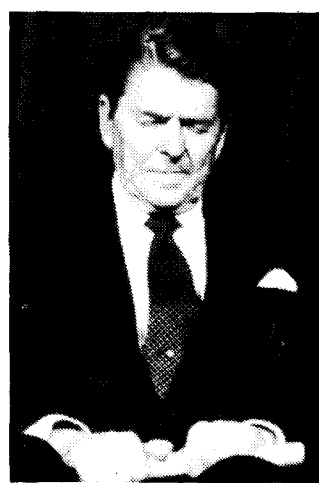
No, Reagan is not kidding. In June, his Marine Chief of Staff for Plans, Lt. General Bernard Trainor, stated that "limited war" with the Soviets was an "almost inevitable probability." The administration has embarked on a \$50 million program to study the possible effects of "nuclear winter." Why? Because the deadly ash resulting from

Above, June 30—Arizona copper workers mark first anniversary of bitter strike against Phelps Dodge.

even a limited nuclear exchange (blocking the sun and destroying all vestiges of animal and plant life on the planet) might nullify the U.S.' ability to monitor troop movements and targets as well as lower the survivability and accuracy of nuclear warheads re-entering the atmosphere (*New York Times*, 5 August)!

While the Democrats seek to exploit the justifiable fear of World War III among the populace, they do so as more reliable and "sane" warmakers. Unrestrained warmongering is not always the best method to mobilize for war; even Hitler presented Germany as a pacific nation surrounded by hostile forces and the Communist threat (you know, just getting over the "Versailles syndrome"). But Madame Kirkpatrick is mistaken that the party of war, the Democrats, has betrayed the anti-Communist cause. Vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro boasts of Mondale's support to the deployment of Pershing 2 missiles in

continued on page 2



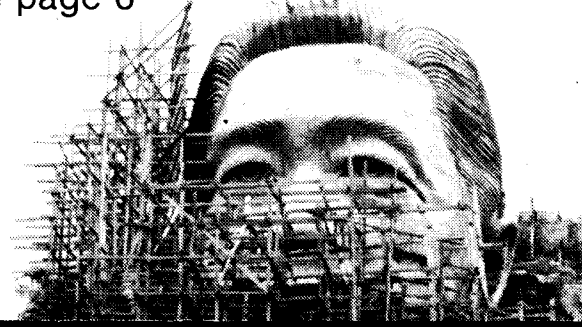
Reagan to Youth:
No Sex, No Booze,
No Fun

**Big Brother
Is Out to
Screw You!**

See page 4

**Down with Bloody U.S.
Puppet in Philippines!**

See page 6



Class Struggle...

(continued from page 1)

Europe and long-standing advocacy of the submarine-launched Trident 2. The Democrats were pretty quiet about Reagan's "joke," but wail long and loudly about the lack of "preparedness" of U.S. conventional forces. As *Foreign Policy* editor Alan Tonelson wrote in the *New York Times* (24 August), the Democrats' acceptance of Reagan's policies in Central America "could make deeper United States military involvement inevitable no matter who wins in November." The "only significant difference," he writes, "between the Republicans and Democrats over intervention... is the speed and the amount of guilt with which they would approve it."

It will be remembered that Cold War II was launched under Carter/Mondale and as Andrew Cockburn notes, "all existing programs to develop new weapons systems, with the single exception of the B-1 bomber, were begun in the Brown Pentagon," under the Democrats (*New York Times*, 13 August). The bipartisan consensus on anti-Communist "rollback" was evident in the \$70 million in aid voted to the death squad regime of El Salvador after Duarte's "election" (Duarte having been installed by Carter in the first place as head of the "human rights junta" which slaughtered over 30,000 workers and peasants in three years).

Despite all the hoopla about the "new patriotism" in the land, there is little active popular support for a global crusade against Communism. The memory of the long, losing, dirty war in Vietnam has not been erased and much of the population knows there is no such thing as a winnable nuclear World War III. Reagan's biggest imperialist adventure to date, sending the Marines into Lebanon, ended in a complete debacle after the Marine headquarters was blown up, killing 241 U.S. servicemen. Meanwhile, Dragon Lady Kirkpatrick and Pentagon chief Weinberger have been driven off campus after campus by outraged student protests. Yet the campus-based Central America protest groups, exemplified by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), look to the Democrats to stop Reagan's unrestrained militarism. Fat chance! It will take internationalist struggle by the American working class in alliance with the exploited and oppressed throughout the world to stop this country's rulers in their insane drive toward war.

Defend the Soviet Union!

What fundamentally unites Reagan and Mondale is their shared belief that the U.S. must "prevail" over the Soviet degenerated workers state and that the spread of "communism"—i.e., workers

and peasants revolutions against imperialist capitalism—must be crushed from San Salvador to Pretoria.

Imperialism has been implacably hostile to the Soviet Union since 1917 when the Russian workers, led by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolshevik) of V.I. Lenin, threw out the capitalists whose war for profits meant wholesale slaughter and misery for tens of millions. That revolution established the first *workers state* and ripped from the imperialist market one-sixth of the globe. That is why, Democrat or Republican, all wings of the U.S. ruling class see Russia as an "Evil Empire." Furthermore, from a largely backward, peasant country, the Soviets developed Russia into an industrial/military powerhouse, capable of defending itself against the imperialist threats which have continued since 14 capitalist countries (including the U.S.) invaded after the Revolution. The fact that Castro's Cuba was not crushed by the U.S. or that Vietnam was not simply reduced to radioactive rubble by the Pentagon is due to the existence of the Soviet Union.

Reagan may have a soft spot for the return of the tsar, but the people of the Soviet Union are committed to the defense of their revolution, as the Nazis found out during World War II. The Soviet leaders—a bureaucratic caste which came to power in a bloody political counterrevolution against the old Bolsheviks—have for decades pursued a disastrous policy of attempted "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, opposing the struggle for international workers revolution. But under the threat of Washington's maniacal drive toward anti-Soviet war, the Kremlin has taken steps in defense of Russia, warning that if the U.S. tries "first strike," retaliation will be hard and fast.

State-Supported Terrorism: Made in the U.S.A.

A war drive abroad means attempted regimentation at home: the militarization of the youth, "new patriotism," the hounding and silencing of political opposition, the "disciplining" of labor. In order to coerce the population into the requisite ideological conformity, the White House, State Department and "Justice" Department have launched the "anti-terrorist" campaign. The new FBI guidelines obliterate any distinction between "criminal terrorism" and political opposition to the government, and a spate of Supreme Court decisions more appropriate to a police state than a bourgeois "democracy" have, among other things, rendered Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable search and seizure moot. We call this "McCarthyism with a drawn gun": the combination of the ideological criteria of the last Cold War with the direct-hit police methods of the 1960s/1970s FBI COINTELPRO "dirty tricks."

Under COINTELPRO, the FBI compiled files on over a million citizens (including people like Nixon supporter



Our side in Salvadoran civil war: leftist insurgents patrol Usulután province on eve of death squad "elections."

Sammy Davis, Jr. and Reagan's current budget director, David Stockman, for church-related antiwar activities). The full force of COINTELPRO's murderous techniques was reserved for militant black organizations, particularly the Black Panther Party, whose leaders were simply gunned down in police raids or framed up and imprisoned. Now the COINTELPRO-style "dirty tricks" are legally protected police activities against "terrorists" or "suspected terrorists." And you don't have to be a communist (although it helps) to be in the crosshairs of the secret police. Even the liberal CISPES has recently been the victim of increased FBI harassment.

As we have pointed out from the beginning of the "terror" scare, the terrorists with state power are in Washington. This summer, massive police mobilizations took place in both San Francisco and Los Angeles, on the pretext of "anti-terrorist" vigilance. But the only terrorist acts were those of the San Francisco Police Department against peaceful demonstrators and the planting of a bomb on a bus carrying Turkish Olympic athletes by... an L.A. cop. A truly grisly example of "state-supported terrorism" Reagan-style was last fall's Cold War provocation using a passenger flight in a spy maneuver in Soviet territory. Japanese relatives of some of those killed "all but charged that Korean Air Lines Flight 007, which was downed by a Soviet fighter, was on an American spying mission.... They issued a statement aboard this ship that said the plane might have been part of 'an elaborately pre-schemed plot on the part of a government agent of a certain country'" (*New York Times*, 2 September). The Japanese people have no reason to doubt that the U.S. would sacrifice hundreds of innocent passengers; it incinerated entire civilian populations at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in order to intimidate the Soviet Union at the end of the last World War.

For A Class-Struggle Fight Against Reagan Reaction!

The Democrats can't and won't fight Reagan but a combative labor offensive this fall could unchain the working class from its treacherous pro-capitalist union leadership and blow the lid off the Cold War elections. Under militant leadership, American labor has the power to bust the warmakers of both bosses' parties and to draw behind it the support of much of the population: the youth and students who have no interest in being cannon fodder, the aged, the women, the unemployed, the immigrant

workers and particularly blacks and other oppressed minorities. Militant, integrated class struggle can bring Reagan down and turn the tide against the union-busting, racist, police-state repression unleashed as the domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive. Such a struggle requires the construction of a multiracial workers party dedicated to the fight for the only solution: workers revolution and proletarian state power. As the founder of American Trotskyism, James P. Cannon, wrote:

"Here in the United States is the greatest imperialist power, a monster exploiting and oppressing the whole world.... But here also is a still greater power—and that is the militant and undefeated American working class. Great historic responsibility surely rests on our shoulders. The two greatest powers of the world—the power for evil and destruction, and the power for the regeneration and salvation of mankind—are both here.... Go to this source of power that is greater even than the power of American imperialism and teach them the lesson of the Russian revolution. Organize them and inspire them. And lead them to the socialist victory in America which will insure the socialist victory throughout the entire world."

Already this summer pitched battles by striking miners in the copper fields of Arizona against Phelps Dodge company and its scabs and the National Guard, as well as the militant auto workers' strike against AP Parts in Toledo, portend a rising tide of labor militancy. New York City hospital

continued on page 10

Workers Vanguard Photo



Labor/blacks have the power! SL/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the KKK November 27, 1982, Washington, D.C.

Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus (ISSN 0162-2692) is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Editorial Board: Bonnie Brodie (editor), Steve Mitchell, Emily Tanner
Production manager: Dorie Reed

Circulation manager: Irene Gardner

Nine issues yearly; published monthly except December/January and June/July/August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7867 (Editorial, Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Young Spartacus*, Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008.

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

No. 120 September 1984

Letter

John Brown and Oberlin

28 August 1984

To the Editor:

Readers who appreciated the article on the sit-in protest staged by Oberlin College students in defense of campus minister Willie Ludlow, fired by Oberlin president S. Frederick Starr because of his left-wing political activism (*YSp* No. 119, Summer 1984), should take interest in Oberlin's history. This type of militant, integrated action is part of a long, progressive tradition.

As a staunchly abolitionist town and a stop on the underground railroad, Oberlin, Ohio was one of the most integrated communities in the country. Oberlin College was also one of the first integrated and co-educational learning institutions in the U.S.

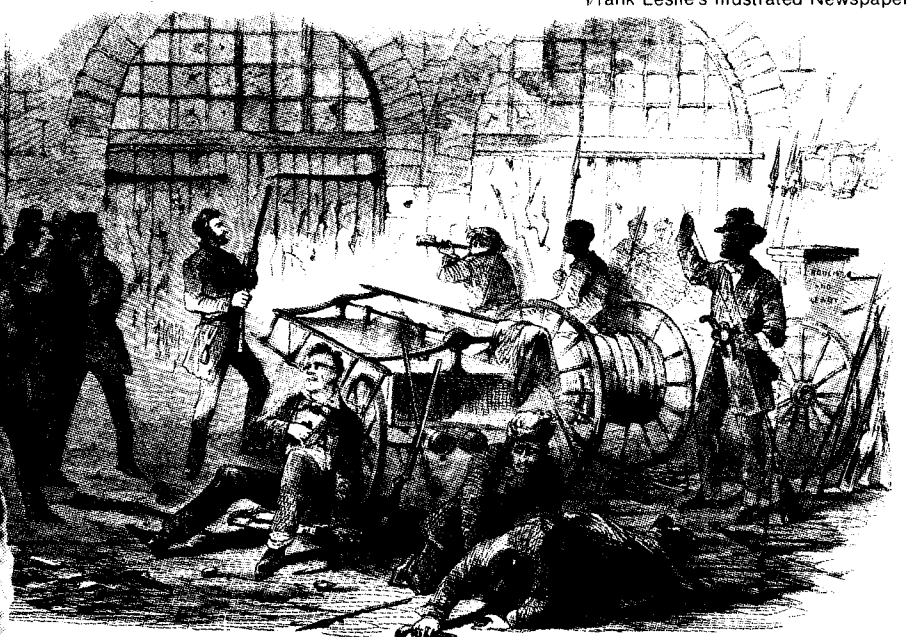
Oberlin gained national attention in 1858 when bounty hunters from Kentucky captured John Price, a fugitive slave, in order to return him to bondage. Hundreds of enraged Oberlin residents including professors, lawyers and students, both black and white, caught up with the party in Wellington, Ohio. Here they confronted the kidnappers and liberated John Price, hurrying him back to Oberlin and eventually to Canada.

Among "The Rescuers," as they were known, many Oberlin residents were arrested for this heroic act. During their trial in Cleveland thousands flocked to demonstrations in their defense. Notably, John Brown, the revolutionary, anti-slavery insurrectionist (whose father Owen Brown was one of the founders of Oberlin College) arrived in Cleveland at the time of the trial. He sat in on some of the proceedings, gave a public talk, and conducted himself openly in spite of a bounty placed on his head by President Buchanan.

It was during this time that Brown recruited two Oberlin men for his raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia which he hoped would spark a slave rebellion throughout the South. They were Lewis Sheridan Leary and his nephew John A. Copeland, Jr. Leary



Library of Congress



Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper

Left, great radical abolitionist John Brown. Above, engraving from Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 5 November 1859: "Harper's Ferry insurrection—interior of the engine-house, just before the gate is broken down by the storming party—Col. Washington and his associates as captives, held by Brown as hostages."

was a harnessmaker who had been forced to flee from North Carolina when he stopped a master whipping a slave and turned the lash on the owner. Copeland, who was one of "The Rescuers," was a former Oberlin student active in the Oberlin Anti-Slavery Society.

When Brown's courageous, but ill-fated band of men were surrounded by federal troops at Harpers Ferry they acquitted themselves bravely. Leary was killed in the fighting and Copeland was captured and later executed. While awaiting execution Copeland wrote a letter to his brother explaining his actions:

"It was a sense of the wrongs which we have suffered that prompted the noble but unfortunate Captain Brown and his associates to attempt to give freedom to a small number, at least, of those who are now held by cruel and unjust laws, and by no less cruel and unjust men. To this freedom they were entitled by every known principle of justice and humanity, and for the enjoyment of it God created them. And now dear brother, could I die in a more noble cause? Could I, brother, die in a

manner and for a cause which would induce true and honest men more to honor me, and the angels more readily to receive me to their happy home of everlasting joy above?"

—The Oberlin Alumni Magazine, February 1932

Today the SYL proudly carries on the best traditions of Oberlin, the traditions of Lewis Sheridan Leary and John A. Copeland, Jr., of "The Rescuers," and of John Brown. At Oberlin College president Fred Starr wants to stamp out all the voices of dissent and protest. We will not allow this to happen. Just as John Brown recruited supporters from Oberlin to fight for the second American revolution, the SYL has, and will continue to recruit Oberlin students to the fight for the third American revolution—the socialist revolution! Finish the Civil War! Forward to a Workers State!

Bob Andrews
for the Cleveland SYL

Workers Vanguard/
Young Spartacus
Subscription Drive

SUBSCRIBE!

September 6
to
October 17



1984 Quotas

Local	Quota (in points)
Atlanta	120
Boston	350
Chicago	280
Cleveland	170
Detroit	160
Los Angeles	110
New York	900
Oakland	500
San Francisco	250
Washington, D.C.	120
National total	2,960

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone () _____

SPECIAL! A packet of Spartacist literature with one-year subscriptions to both Workers Vanguard and Young Spartacus.

- \$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)
- \$2/4 issues of *Women and Revolution*
- \$2/9 issues of *Young Spartacus*
- \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

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

Reagan to Youth: No Sex, No Booze, No Fun

Big Brother Is Out to Screw You!

Reagan's message to American youth is flashing in evangelical neon: NO sex, NO booze, NO *Playboy*, NO tobacco, NO drugs. If it's any fun: NO. Fun is subversive, undermines "traditional values" and makes the nation "unprepared" for the war that both Reagan and the Democrats intend to wage. So, Washington's program is: you go to school, say your prayers, learn about creationism (it's still law in Louisiana) and be part of the "prototypical American family." If you wonder what that means, check out the reruns of *Leave It to Beaver* and *Ozzie and Harriet*. (No one really has families like that, but the Justice Department is working on it, as we'll explain later.) When you're 18, it's time to register to die in the U.S. military. If you don't, your name will be forwarded to the government by your college so that they have a record and you'll lose your financial aid. But, Big Brother does not want you to drink until you're 21. Or watch *M*A*S*H* on TV—according to the National Federation for Decency, it's full of profanities and unfit for "family viewing."

Putting it simply—if you are young in Reagan's America, you're getting the shaft. Both the Democrats and Republicans have been humming variants of "Onward Christian Soldiers" since the advent of Cold War II under "born-again" Jimmy Carter, the racist peanut farmer. And the youth are a special target—the warmakers don't want any more Vietnam-style "troublemakers"; they want good, clean, scared, obedient cannon fodder. If you're poor and black, the armed forces may look like the only place to get some education, a skill, three square meals. If you've made it to college and you're male, the Solomon Amendment makes sure that you've signed up with Uncle Sam before you see a penny of financial aid. But even if you're just *young*, the heat is on.

There's been a torrent of programs, legislation and propaganda from Washington—all aimed at regimenting the personal lives of citizens. No right to abortion and the institution of school prayer (see article, page 5) are now official planks of the G.O.P. platform. The most recent outrage is Reagan's new "drinking age" bill which denies hundreds of millions of dollars in highway funding to states which don't raise their legal drinking age to 21. This is argued piously as a way to avert highway deaths of drunken kids. In a speech at a New Jersey high school, Reagan invoked the name of John

Belushi as an example of "addictions that will squeeze [people] to death." Poor Belushi would roll over in his grave to hear Reagan using his name for such a cause. Even the statistics put the lie to Reagan's motivation for the law. Deaths on the highways in general and due to drunkenness in particular have gone down in the last few years. In real

accused of smoking cigarettes and searched by the principal who found marijuana in her purse. Although the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled that the evidence could not be used to bring drug charges against her because of Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable search and seizure, the Justice Department has filed a friend of

Der Spiegel



Jerry Falwell & Co.—Do these people do your thinking for you?

life, the effect of Reagan's law will lead to *more* inebriated youth in cars—where else will they be able to drink?

But the real point of this law is the extension of police powers against the populace. Already in many states police roadblocks have been set up across state highways, at which motorists are routinely pulled over for checks. If the cops find alcohol, they haul you in—for blacks and other minorities the check alone, let alone the discovery of any "demon booze" could literally mean a beating or worse at the hands of a racist cop. Ask the family of football star Ron Settles, a young black college man, who was pulled over for an alleged traffic violation, jailed and "found" dead in his cell in Long Beach, California. Once the cops have "detained" you, you may be searched for anything they have "good faith" cause to suspect you of holding.

It's not just the cops, either. If you are even suspected of being "out of line" at school, the principal and other school authorities will have the right to search you, if Reagan has his way. Such was the case with a young woman in New Jersey,

the court brief contending that "Teachers have been given responsibilities like those of parents, and they must be afforded concomitant leeway to exercise that authority."

So much for school and the highways. But Big Brother is moving not slowly toward wholesale regimentation of the most private aspects of personal life. The Reagan administration tried, unsuccessfully, to implement the "squeal rule" which required birth control centers dispensing contraceptives to women under 18 to notify the parents. Fortunately, this obscene bit of government poking around in people's bedrooms has been thrown out of four federal courts and even Reagan has given it up for the time being.

These government attempts to restrict abortion and contraception take place at a time when *unwanted* teen-age pregnancies are soaring, especially among the poor. More than one out of three births in New York City last year was to an unwed mother, usually a teenager. So New York has recently passed a law permitting girls as young as 14 to be married. While we demand lowering of the legal age of adulthood (including the right to be married), this law combined with the attacks on abortion rights aims to force young women to have children they don't want, condemning many of them and their kids to a life of poverty and ignorance.

Ever since its legalization in 1973, abortion has been a target of "right-to-life" reactionaries. This is hardly restricted to the legislative/legal sphere: already in 1984, eleven abortion clinics from Oregon to Virginia have been bombed by New Right fundamentalists like the "Army of God." They see the green light flashing in their direction from Washington. The U.S./Vatican position adopted at the international population conference this summer can only embolden these "pro-life" killers. Now, the U.S. is on record against funding any agency which even indirectly advocates or supports legal abortion. Meanwhile, in many Latin American countries, illegal abortions are a leading

cause of death among young women and account for more than half the sick in maternity wards. "Blessed are the dead."

Have you a sexual preference which might offend Jerry Falwell? The state has means to deal with that: ask the Navy linguist and cryptographer with a top secret security clearance, James L. Dronenburger. He was discharged for engaging in consensual homosexual acts with a seaman. A U.S. court, headed by Reagan appointee Robert H. Bork (rumored to be in line for a Supreme Court nomination), upheld the Navy's action in a ruling which found "private, consensual homosexual conduct is not constitutionally protected" (*New York Times*, 18 August). Many states still have laws illegalizing certain kinds of heterosexual activity as well; recently a Massachusetts man was fined \$60,000 in civil damages for "adultery."

And in a story that makes Orwell's 1984 look quaintly naive, the *New York Times* (31 August) reported that "More than 2,000 people who regularly receive shipments of child pornography from abroad have been identified by Customs Service officials and many have been arrested as part of a nationwide move against its importation..." While the Customs spokesman "declined to say how many people had been arrested," he did note that many of the recipients of the publications were "major pillars of the community, including physicians, corporate executives and college professors."

What do the guardians of "morality" have in mind next: a squad of sex police rounding people up for divorce, adultery, contraception, oral sex, homosexuality, heavy petting? The same people who brought you the "joke" about five minutes to World War III bring you

Edmund Shea



The great Lenny Bruce.

"behavior modification" for the above and other deviations. In the August 7 *Village Voice* Larry Bush describes a Justice Department plan to conduct research including "behavior modification programs, chemical treatments, physiological studies of those suspected of psychosexual dysfunction—as evidenced by... their divorces or homosexuality." This memo was drafted for one Alfred S. Regnery, administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, who prides himself on the *defunding* of \$60 million worth of juvenile rehabilitation programs. Regnery advocates instead Moral Majority participation in "punishment of juvenile offenders," including *capital punishment* for minors—even "in some cases" for those 13 and under.

It seems that the Justice Department is worried that "Something is seriously



Boston Spartacus Youth League at 1981 protest against anti-abortion "Human Life Amendment." Banner reads, "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

wrong psychosexually between today's women and men" and they intend to do something about it. Edwin Meese, Reagan's man at Justice, is a fervent backer of the project, reminiscent of his own plan to convert an abandoned Nike missile base into "a center for biomedical research into antisocial conduct." While Meese lobbies the Senate to approve the new center, Regnery is using his administrative powers to begin these Nazi-like experiments. As the *Voice* put it, their aim is to "create a

prototypical American family, sustained by the criminal justice system." It's the "prototypical American family" most young people try to flee when they go out to get bombed and laid. The nuclear family is not only the main instrument for the oppression of women, it is the unit in which kids first learn "respect" for the status quo, the state, the law and order of the profit system. We demand a radical lowering of the legal age of adulthood and free housing, food and a stipend for young

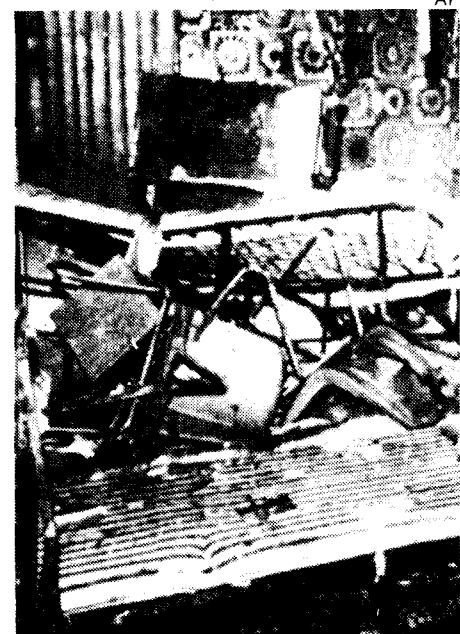
people who do not wish to remain at home. At the same time, we recognize that the nuclear family cannot be abolished under capitalism but needs to be replaced by the collective raising of children in a socialist society.

Some right-wing sociologists and psychologists are already claiming that possible causes for mass killers (like the ex-security guard who machine-gunned 21 people in a McDonald's) are violence on TV, "sadistic pornography" and family breakup (*New York Times*, 27 August). When it comes to violence and obscenity, the very ruling class which sets itself up as the "god squad" has no competition worthy of the name. The comedian Lenny Bruce, who died in 1966 after endless legal battles against persecution by the state for his social satire (deemed "obscene"), made the point:

"My concept? You can't do anything with anybody's body to make it dirty to me. Six people, eight people, one person—you can do only one thing to make it dirty: kill it. Hiroshima was dirty. Chessman was dirty."

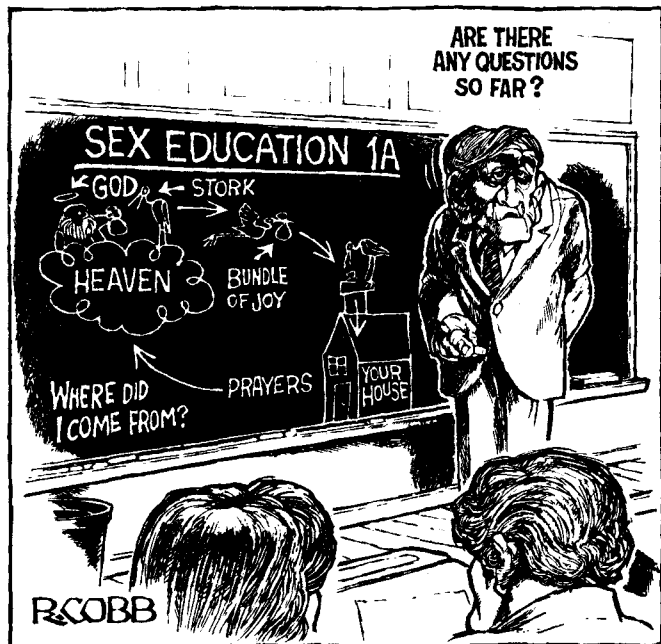
How many millions, from Hiroshima to Vietnam, have been slaughtered by the sick imperialists and their war machine? Why don't the scientists study Truman, Kissinger and Lieutenant Calley?

We communists believe that the state has no business in people's sex lives and that you can do whatever you damn well want to (as long as it's consensual). In



Rightist "pro-life" terrorism: Cleveland abortion clinic firebombed.

the name of "traditional values," the bosses of both parties are stripping away every elementary democratic right supposedly protected by law in this country. There is something truly sick about a society which lauds the architects of genocide and ostracizes a beautiful young woman for posing in nude photographs. And by the way, if it was up to us, former Miss America Vanessa Williams would still have her crown. ■



Method depicted at left only works for Ward and June Cleaver.

Defend the Separation of Church and State!

Reagan's rhetoric in his campaign for re-election sounds like a revival meeting in some retrograde corner of Appalachia. "Religion and politics are necessarily related," he intoned at the Republican convention. "We poison our society when we remove its theological underpinnings" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 23 August). And Reagan's mentor Jerry Falwell prayed for Vice President Bush, who isn't right-wing enough for Jerry, at a \$1,000 a head prayer breakfast attended by 10,000 fervid evangelicals. Even that old reactionary Barry Goldwater doesn't like it.

U.S. imperialism's bipartisan war drive against "godless Communism" is snowballing, and from the "for-god-and-country" jingoism of the Olympics to the uproar over school prayer, religious reactionaries are having a field day. That's why it took Fritz Mondale such a long time to "answer" Reagan's actual attack on a fundamental principle of the U.S. Constitution, the separation of church and state. And while he formally defended that principle, Mondale hallelujahed with, "the United States is the most religious nation in the world." That's bullshit—Khomeini's Iran has that award sewn up tight. So while the Democrats want to differentiate themselves from the extreme forms of Falwellism, they consecrated their election campaign to the "traditional values: family, patriotism and religion" (*New York Times*, 26 July), while outside the Moscone Convention Center, San Francisco police busted the heads of liberal demonstrators.

The Republicans have made school prayer the cornerstone of their election propaganda. After the defeat of the School Prayer Amendment on March 20, which would have legalized "organized" (i.e., coerced) prayer in the schools, they introduced the "Equal Access Amendment," which gives a big boost to the drive to reinstitute school prayer without explicitly repudiating the principle of separation of church and state. It passed in a bipartisan landslide in the House, 337 to 77, on July 26.

The bill makes it illegal for federally-funded schools to "deny equal access or

On the School Prayer Amendment

a fair opportunity to, or discriminate against, any students who wish to conduct a meeting...on the basis of religious, political, philosophical, or other content of the speech at such meetings" (*New York Times*, 26 July). Representative Tony Coelho, a California Democrat, heaved a sigh of relief: "We can still say we voted for prayer in schools" (*New York Times*, 27 July). And Reagan virtually crowed over the "victory." In fact the letter of the law—that any student group has the right to hold meetings in classrooms during "non-educational" hours—is simply democratic and therefore, fine with us. For the very same reason, some horrified conservatives fear that the "Gipper" didn't exactly win this one for Jesus. Right-wing Zionist William Safire was hysterical: "The religious right...has kicked the door down to permit the Atheists Club, the Pot & Booze Society—not to mention the Ronald Reagan Gay Rights Marching Band—to use school facilities in defiance of local wishes" (*New York Times*, 30 July). The *Times* itself warned of "unintended consequences." Well, that remains to be seen, although we have to chuckle at these frenzied forebodings that despite their intentions, the right-wing fundamentalists managed to open a Pandora's box of "free speech" in the high schools.

Despite its wording, the manner in which the Equal Access Amendment will be implemented by authoritarian school boards will naturally be anything but equal. Safire's fears that schools will be accessible to everyone from "Trotskyites" to "black-power separatists" are regrettably paranoid. The way it's set up, groups are to sue violating school boards—and the "Ronald Reagan Gay Rights Marching Band" won't have the money to sue anyone. Furthermore, the amendment contains a loophole exempting from federal "protection" any groups that "materially and substantially interfere with the orderly conduct of educational activities within the school" (*New York Times*, 26 July). The courts

under Reagan are more than predisposed to use this against young radicals while endorsing the uninhibited assembly of religious groups and thus sneaking school prayer, willy-nilly, through the back door. Otherwise, we wouldn't care what the little prayer groups did, provided their hymns didn't drown out the discussion at our Trotskyist classes.

As Marxists, we're strongly committed to the separation of church and state and would deny no one the right to practice the religious beliefs with which they may be afflicted. At least as long as class society exists, so will religion—rooted as it is in the ignorance and backwardness perpetuated by an oppressive society in which many people can imagine happiness only on the other side of the grave. As Karl Marx put it in a famous quote:

"Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people."

"The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness. The demand to give up the illusions about its condition is the demand to give up a condition which needs illusions."

—Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right

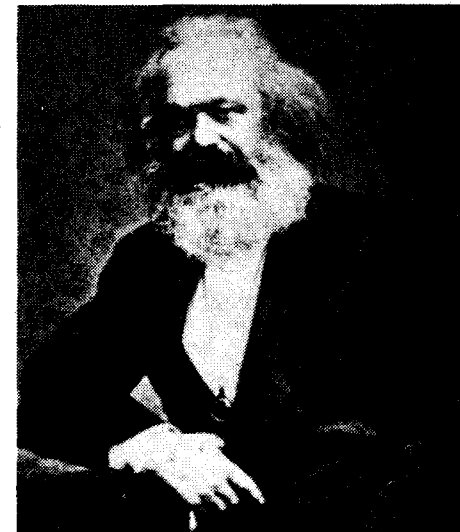
Under communism people will be able to secure real happiness, and social development over the generations will determine whether or not they continue to believe in an afterlife.

Unlike the Moral Majority et al., Marxists are not totalitarians. Falwell & Co. seek to coerce every school kid in the country into praying to their god. If you're Jewish, Catholic, practicing witch, Hindu, Seventh Day Adventist, Black Muslim or an American Indian with your own particular god(s)—you or your kid is going to be trampled on for someone else's god. We don't happen to believe in any god but we respect the right of people to worship as they choose without interference or

coercion from the state. So it's just self-serving hypocrisy when neanderthals like Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton claim that "religious speech...has been singled out for censorship" (*New York Times*, 27 July). They mean their religion is not the religion.

As for the schools—far from the Reaganite myth of wholesome, middle-class, god-fearing young people eager to pledge allegiance to their country, the reality is that they are holding pens run like prisons for millions of teen-age youth. Particularly in the dangerous, decaying ghetto schools—overcrowded and under-funded—the last thing a kid wants to do when the afternoon bell rings is stick around and pray.

In the attempt at regimentation for Cold War II, the battle for the youth is



Karl Marx

on. School prayer is a dangerous erosion of the separation of church and state and is part and parcel of the escalating state repression aimed at constructing a docile, conservatized society. "Get 'em while they're young" and perhaps the mad drive to World War III will not be plagued with rebellion from the would-be cannon fodder. Remember that in Reagan's twisted brain, it's only five minutes away. To the extent that the "Equal Access Amendment" actually offers some access, we intend to use it to win young people to the fight for a future—socialist revolution. ■

For Workers Revolution to Smash Marcos Dictatorship!

Down with Bloody U.S. Puppet in Philippines!

On August 21, the first anniversary of the assassination of Philippine opposition leader Aquino by the American-backed Marcos dictatorship, hundreds of thousands protested in the streets of Manila. Yet, as shown in the following article, reprinted from *Australasian Spartacist* No. 107, July/August 1984, the bourgeois opposition is no less a creature of the U.S. than is the present bloody puppet regime. The conclusion: the struggle for the liberation of the Philippine masses is the struggle for workers revolution.

REPRINTED FROM
AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST
NO. 107, JULY/AUGUST 1984

The Philippines is a powder-keg for imperialism in the Asian/Pacific region. The massive political/economic crisis of the U.S.-dominated neo-colonial butcher regime of Ferdinand Marcos could ignite a revolutionary explosion in this strategic cornerstone of the anti-Soviet nuclear war plans of Reagan and his Australian lackey Hawke. The broad daylight execution of Marcos' long-time rival Benigno Aquino as he stepped off a plane at Manila airport last August sparked the eruption of all the Philippine masses' pent-up hatred of this tyrant accumulated since he swept away the facade of "democracy" and declared martial law in 1972. Day after day for months hundreds of thousands, even millions, of workers, students, peasants, unemployed and urban poor and even the commercial middle classes poured into the streets.

With Marcos rumored to be dying, a factional struggle for succession wracked his regime. The U.S., the powerful Catholic church and most of the bourgeoisie distanced themselves from it. The army was busy fighting two separate guerrilla wars: against the Islamic secessionists of the Moro National Liberation Front on the southern island of Mindanao; and the rapidly growing New Peoples Army (NPA), military wing of the outlawed Maoist Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). The economy, already the sick man of ASEAN [anti-Communist Southeast Asian alliance], went into a spin as nervous U.S. and Japanese bankers cut off its short-term credit lifeline. Unable to meet repayments on the country's huge US\$32.3 billion



Matsumoto/Sygma



Faces of the "free world": Jeane Kirkpatrick-style "moderately authoritarian" torturers (above) jail trade unionists (left).

foreign debt, Prime Minister Virata went begging to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a "rescheduling"/bailout deal. The peso was devalued and austerity measures fuelled inflation while lack of vital imports forced factories to begin closing down. Bankrupt, beset from all sides and utterly discredited, the fall of this corrupt and bloodstained dictatorship seemed imminent.

The Philippines hosts U.S. military bases crucial to the U.S.-led anti-Soviet war drive so Reagan, when he took office in 1981, scrapped Carter's "human rights" hypocrisy and embraced the

Marcos regime. "We love your adherence to democratic principles," Vice President Bush told him in 1981. In June 1983 the bases treaty was renewed at a "rental" of US\$900 million in aid. Then the U.S. started to go cold on Marcos' regime. George Shultz said it "is entering its twilight and we don't want to find ourselves in the same position as we did in Iran when the shah was overthrown" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 21 July 1983). In response to U.S. approaches to opposition leaders, Marcos tried his old standby—hollow threats that if the U.S. didn't play ball he would throw them out, this time even blustering he would give the bases to the Russians. Thinking Aquino's return meant a CIA-organised coup against him, Marcos or his allies in the army had him blatantly blown away in front of TV cameras and in the custody of hundreds of troops and police as a message to the U.S.—it's me or the Communists.

Last Chance for CIA/IMF "Democracy"

Aquino came back to head off a revolution. Fearing Marcos was slipping, he was offering a deal to restore "democracy." "I am very worried by the seeming growth of the CPP/NPA... if current trends are not reversed, by 1985 the CPP/NPA will be a real threat," he wrote. "If we are to prevent a communist takeover, we must help Marcos—in spite of himself—find a peaceful solution to our crisis" (*Pacific Defence*

Reporter, November 1983). Eight years in prison made Aquino the symbol of popular hatred of the regime, but like the venal oligarchy whose martyred hero he became, he was as reactionary and pro-U.S. as Marcos. *Sydney Morning Herald* foreign editor Peter Hastings wrote that after World War II, Aquino, a millionaire, "joined the CIA after graduating from their special school in Quantico, Virginia. He undertook some special missions in the Caribbean... and returned to the Philippines to become 'The Control' or 'The Purse' for CIA operations in North Sulawesi aimed at promoting the 1958 secession movement in Indonesia," the ill-fated "Outer Islands" revolt against Sukarno (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1983). Aquino was also special assistant to President Ramon Magsaysay who with the CIA's Colonel Edward Lansdale in 1954 crushed the Huk rebellion led by the old Philippine Communist Party (PKP) and he personally negotiated the surrender of Huk leader Luis Taruc. And as governor of Tarlac province in the 1960s, he was known for his ruthless repression. The sudden termination of their best and safest alternative leader undoubtedly upset the CIA, but we certainly shed no tears for this CIA swine.

Reagan stands by his butchers, but the U.S. feared its vital bases would be endangered by CPP/NPA exploitation of the deepening crisis. The IMF and World Bank were stalling on the bailout deal until Marcos could convince them he could meet their stringent conditions. Reagan's blunt message was, according to a U.S. official, "that continued movement toward fully functioning democratic institutions appropriate to the Philippines is the key to the rebuilding of both economic and political confidence" (*Time*, 14 May). Thus warned, Marcos held "elections" in mid-May to the powerless National Assembly to satisfy the IMF, the 400 creditor banks and the CIA.

Everybody won except the Communists, remarked the British *Economist*. The call for a boycott by the CPP and its underground popular-frontist coalition, the National Democratic Front (NDF), and some bourgeois politicians, like Aquino's brother, was a flop. The CIA "persuaded" most of the legal opposition to run, promising them Assembly seats if they did and more repression if they didn't. Bush had a friendly "secret" meeting with United Democratic Organisation (UNIDO) leader Salvador Laurel to underscore the U.S. desire for a strengthened and co-opted bourgeois opposition. The U.S. had the elections monitored by the church and a bourgeois watchdog group to make sure the opposition won in the big cities. "Our instructions to our people to allow the opposition to win some seats might have been taken too literally," said Marcos as the results came in. But in the countryside it was "elections" as usual Marcos-style—massive fraud, vote-buying and terror, with at least 384 killed up to and on polling day. Marcos borrowed millions of dollars from the Central Bank to buy votes, the army terrorised the peasants to the polls and his men "counted" and "recounted" the votes until they came out right. Ignoring the local media, Marcos appeared live on



Fatally wounded, oppositionist Benigno Aquino is lifted into a security van as his alleged assassin's body lies on the ground at Manila airport, 21 August 1983.

U.S. television to tout his "free democracy."

**Drive Out U.S. Bases!
Smash ASEAN!**

For the time being Marcos stays on as strongman, the U.S. bases are safe, the credit will be flowing again soon and the "opposition" is quiet. But for the Philippine masses things can only get worse as the underlying crisis of the decaying regime advances. GNP is expected to fall about 7 per cent this year, inflation will average 35 per cent and around 300,000 workers will be sacked. The masses, aroused and smelling Marcos' blood, are in no mood for much more of this. And the proletariat of Manila, the Export Processing Zones and the plantations is increasingly combative in defiance of bloody military repression. Marcos' diseased kidney must not be allowed to cheat the masses of their long-awaited vengeance!

The huge Subic Bay naval complex and Clark air base are among the largest military bases outside the U.S. itself. Their size, strategic location and range of facilities make them "the most important basing complex in the world," said a study by U.S. think-tank, the Heritage Foundation. They are, it continues, "critical to the effective performance of U.S. force projection in the Indian and Pacific Ocean region. As such they are crucial to U.S. strategy in all of north and Southeast Asia." Key to the huge armada of the Seventh Fleet (70 per cent of which is nuclear-armed), they facilitate rapid deployment of U.S. forces in places as far apart as Korea and East Africa, Hawaii and the Straits of Hormuz. A few of their more important functions are as follows. Clark is headquarters of the 13th air force, U.S. air communications and transport hub for the Western Pacific and Indian Oceans. Subic is operational base for an aircraft-carrier task force, contains a huge naval supply depot and magazine and does two-thirds of ship repair work for the Seventh Fleet. Then there's the Cubi Point naval air station and the San Miguel communications centre (which along with Clark houses CIA spy-satellite stations linked to Pine Gap). These bases are staffed by over 15,000 U.S. personnel and are the main storage point for tactical nuclear weapons in the Pacific. For the U.S. military chiefs they are irreplaceable—if they go, the U.S. goes from Southeast Asia.

These bases are vital for both U.S. nuclear first-strike strategy and its "three-and-a-half wars" policy of confronting the USSR and its allies in "hot spots" across the globe. One of those hot spots is Vietnam, where the Soviets have access to naval and air bases at Da Nang and Cam Ranh Bay which enable them to contest U.S. supremacy over the region and the sea lanes connecting the two oceans. The Philippines was a key supply/staging area for U.S./Australian imperialism's bloody mass slaughter in Vietnam. Since the victorious Vietnamese Revolution drove the U.S. off the Southeast



4,000 demonstrate against Marcos at funeral procession for union leader Felixberto Olalia, December 1983.

Asian mainland in 1975, Subic/Clark have become the frontline in the imperialists' drive for revenge via the U.S.-orchestrated encirclement and military attacks on Indochina by its Chinese Stalinist ally and its neo-colonial ASEAN creature.

Defence of the Soviet workers state and its allies like Vietnam against imperialist attack is the key question of proletarian class strategy internationally and in the Philippines is inseparable from the perspective of permanent revolution to smash capitalist class rule. Without the USSR, military/industrial powerhouse of the non-capitalist world, the imperialists would be free to drown the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions and the revolutionary struggles of the masses everywhere in blood. Reagan and his allies in Tokyo and Canberra, as well as the Peking Stalinists, will do almost anything to save these bases and their host client regime. The Philippines is a weak link in the Cold War chain and the working class and oppressed masses have a historic opportunity. Not only would workers revolution liberate the masses from the exploitation of the local oligarchy and their IMF/World Bank/Asian Development Bank overlords, it would wreck ASEAN, break the stranglehold on heroic Indochina and put the toppling of the neo-colonial Asian dominos on the agenda. And it would deal a shattering setback to U.S. global war plans which imperil the entire earth.

Hawke's Aid Props Up Marcos

The revolutionary destruction of the Philippine cornerstone of the U.S. empire would also open the road to smashing the ANZUS [the 1951 Australia-New Zealand-U.S. tripartite

Ullal/Stern

treaty] alliance and driving the U.S. bases out of Australia through class struggle, and the forging of internationalist solidarity between the Philippine masses and the Australian proletariat. Subic/Clark are perhaps seen as even more important to the ruling class of imperialist White Australia than to its U.S. big brother. Without them, U.S. military capacity to honor its pledge to protect its faithful lackey would be doubtful, and ANZUS would be little more than a scrap of paper. Like the British fortress at Singapore before World War II, the U.S. bases in the Philippines guarantee imperialist domination of Southeast Asia as a secure buffer zone for this privileged white imperialist outpost.

The Australian ruling class and its Labor government are propping up Marcos with \$100 million in emergency trade credits, as well as Nomad aircraft, patrol boats and advisors for his army. Former Defence Minister Sinclair boasted that Australia trained as many of Marcos' military butchers as the U.S. Australian "economic" aid includes two projects worth \$77 million building roads for the army's campaigns against the NPA. Compare this to the paltry aid that Labor promised, but never delivered, to Vietnam. We say: black ban [labor boycott] the Cold War Hawke government's military aid to Marcos and all the ASEAN butchers!

Crony Capitalism

The Philippines is a classic neo-colony of the U.S., with stiff competition from Japan, and Australia picking up the crumbs. Its largely agricultural economy is geared toward cash crops (copra, sugar and fruit), timber and minerals for export to the imperialist metropolises. Some local manufacturing industry developed behind tariff barriers after World War II but Marcos shifted to "export-oriented" industrial development with U.S. and Japanese multinationals producing, e.g., textiles and electronic components, in free-trade "Export Processing Zones" based on low wages and a ban on strikes. A thin though fabulously rich local elite takes its cut but most profits are simply repatriated overseas. The result is an external debt of Latin American proportions, whose burden is borne by the ever more impoverished masses.

Corruption is massive and systematic. The martial law regime has concentrated unprecedented economic power and wealth in the hands of the Marcos family and his circle of cronies. For example one crony, Eduardo Cojuangco, took control of the coconut industry, the largest in the country. He did this by setting up a bank with Defence Minister

Enrile in 1974, whereupon Marcos decreed that all coconut farmers, mostly smallholders, had to deposit a compulsory production levy in it, interest free. With this handy unaudited fund of nearly a billion dollars, Cojuangco took over the coconut trade and built a vast empire. The glittering opulence of Manila high society is in glaring contrast to the grinding poverty and disease which is the lot of the masses. The extravagance of the president's wife Imelda Marcos is legendary. For example for a conference of the IMF bloodsuckers in 1976, she had 60,000 people forcibly relocated as an "eyesore" and built 25 luxury hotels at a cost of \$200 million, while squatters live in miserable hovels without water or sewerage in the Manila slums. Then there's her palatial \$50 million heart sanatorium, largely unused while the masses are dying of TB and pneumonia. Meanwhile the regime, surrounded by sycophants and occupied with intrigue, bears much resemblance to the Imperial Court of Tsar Nicholas II of Russia.

A key unresolved democratic question is the need for an agrarian revolution giving land to the tiller. About 50 per cent of the peasants are tenants paying, typically, one half or even three quarters of their crop to rapacious landlords. Millions of landless labourers slave on the big sugar and fruit plantations owned by U.S. agribusiness. Many more are driven off the land by mechanisation or forcibly by the army to make way for conversion to cash crops, logging, mining and dams, joining the unemployed in the shanty towns. Then there's the church, one of the biggest landlords and investors in its own right and a powerful bulwark of reaction in this 80 per cent Catholic country. Its head, Cardinal Sin, is critical of Marcos but admits to being frequently contacted by Reagan and praises the U.S. bases as "the only way democracy will remain in Asia." As a bastion of the family and reactionary morality, the church is the sworn enemy not only of the landless peasant fighting for land and the Muslim Moros and non-Christian tribal minorities, but in particular of the liberation of women from age-old traditional servitude.

The acute social tensions generated by this rotting dictatorship are only prevented from exploding by brutal military repression. The Philippines was the laboratory where the CIA's Lansdale and Co. developed the bloody techniques of "counterinsurgency" later applied in Vietnam. Now in the Philippines Vietnam-style "free-fire zones," "strategic hamlets," bombing and massacres of entire villages are combined

continued on page 8



On a highway named for himself, Marcos erects a monument to himself. Regime spends millions on "prestige" construction while masses starve.

Philippines...

(continued from page 7)

with arbitrary murder by the army and more recently death squads. El Salvador-style. Torture is widespread and at least 72,000 political opponents of the regime have been subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention without trial, often in solitary confinement for years as in the case of CPP Chairman Jose Maria Sison. Hundreds of thousands of Muslim refugees have fled to Malaysia. Down with the bloody Marcos dictatorship, its butcher military and death squads! Free Sison and all class-war prisoners of Marcos' terror!

For Permanent Revolution!

Today the most basic democratic tasks facing the Philippine masses cannot be completed short of the uprooting of capitalist social relations through workers revolution. Trotsky said in regard to the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution that the further east one goes, the lower and viler the bourgeoisie becomes. In the epoch of imperialism, the pathetic national bourgeoisies of the semi-colonies are utterly dependent on the imperialists and their instrumentalities like the IMF/World Bank. The revolution will be made against them or not at all. The masses of oppressed peasants and poor people can be a powerful revolutionary force, on the condition that they follow the political leadership of the proletariat which fights for power under its own socialist banner. The Manila oligarchy betrayed the 1896-98 Philippine uprising against Spanish colonialism to the new U.S. masters, deciding they were incapable of ruling an independent nation. "Independence" in 1946 only changed the form of their colonial subservience and under U.S. tutelage they crushed the peasant-based Huk rebellion of the fifties.

Now they completely agree with Marcos that the U.S. bases must stay, the CPP/NPA must be exterminated, and the workers and peasants stay slaves of the IMF. They hate Marcos only because he has frozen them out of the foreign loans and stripped them of control of all the most profitable sectors of the economy. But the pre-martial law politicians lack mobilising power: UNIDO is "only 30 per cent of the opposition," wailed Laurel, "70 per cent is in the hills" (*Intercontinental Press*, 19 September 1983). The day Aquino was greeted by a bullet, UNIDO could only mobilise a few thousand and Laurel told them to go home and pray. In order to threaten Marcos they needed the mobilising power of the CPP/NDF underground to get the masses in the streets. The key link between the bourgeoisie and the CPP/NDF was provided by certain left-talking bourgeois figures like ex-Senators Jose Diokno and Lorenzo Tanada who demand the removal of U.S. bases. However the U.S. knows that Diokno will "tone down" his anti-bases rhetoric if offered power.

This pusillanimous bourgeoisie quickly drew back in fright at the forces they had let loose. They face a powerful and combative working class, a substantial 35 per cent of the working population. Despite the banning of strikes and independent unions it has a history of militant struggle which has been on the rise since martial law was formally ended in 1981. Since 1980 an illegal union linked to the CPP/NDF, the May First Movement—KMU, has emerged, claiming half a million members and challenging the pro-government "yellow" unions. It has defied the jailing of its leaders and bloody military attacks on its picket lines to lead important struggles like the 1982 and 1983 general strikes, both of over 20,000 workers in the Bataan Export Processing Zone. This year it held a May Day march of

60,000 in Manila. Last October, 22,000 workers on the U.S. bases struck for pay rises.

The task and duty of the international workers movement is to use its class power to strengthen the fighting capacity of these workers, defending their struggles and forcing recognition of their unions by the multinationals and government alike through international labour action. The Laborite trade-union bureaucracy in Australia betrays this task with its poisonous campaigns for more protection against "cheap Asian goods," a nationalist cover for its refusal to wage class struggle at home. Where there is talk of "solidarity" with Philippine and other Asian workers, e.g., the metalworkers union (AMFSU), it is little more than empty rhetoric designed to give a "left" cover to this chauvinist and class-collaborationist campaign. The strategic Philippine proletariat is the natural leader of the peasants and the urban and rural poor against the landlords and the capitalists. Armed with the program of permanent revolution, i.e., Trotskyism, it has the power to bring down the hated Marcos regime and establish a workers and peasants government.

Popular Front—Road to Disaster

The Stalinist CPP leadership has kept this combative workers movement subordinated to the pro-U.S. bourgeois opposition. The CPP/NDF kept a political "low profile" during the massive demonstrations last year. The KMU supplied 50,000 members to keep order at the two-million strong demonstration for Aquino's funeral but was otherwise politically invisible. An NDF statement had actually offered the CIA agent sanctuary in an NPA area and the CPP praised "Aquino's immense contributions to the struggle against the regime." The CPP/NDF saw the post-Aquino upsurge as their big chance to seal a popular-front alliance with the opposition bourgeoisie. This in practice is what point one of the NDF program means: "Unite all anti-imperialist forces to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and work for the establishment of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation." This flows from the Stalinist dogma of a "two-stage revolution," wherein the proletariat is supposed to "unite" with, i.e., subordinate itself to, the national bourgeoisie in the stage of "national-democratic" revolution, then far off in the future the proletariat will supposedly be able to make a socialist revolution. Time and again, this treacherous line has led to disaster when the bourgeoisie, more afraid of the masses than anything else, unites with the landlords and imperialist reaction to smash the working class and peasantry. China in 1927, Indonesia in 1965—Philippine revolutionaries must burn the lessons of these bloody defeats into their consciousness.

The NDF achieved a de facto popular front in the streets late last year. The CPP did not want the working class to appear independently fighting for its own class interests, because it would have shattered its hopes for a "democratic coalition government" by fright-



Banner of Philippine bourgeois opposition shows loyalty to U.S. imperialism and its anti-Soviet war drive.

ening the bourgeoisie into the arms of Marcos. But the bourgeoisie eagerly accepted CIA blandishments to join its "last chance" elections, torpedoing the CPP/NDF's attempted boycott. The CPP popular-front line of coalition with the bourgeoisie has already helped stabilise somewhat the Marcos regime and the U.S. bases.

After the defeat of the Huk rebellion the CPP reformed along Maoist lines in 1968, founded the NPA and renewed the "armed struggle." The NPA has grown rapidly in recent years, claiming 20,000 full- and part-time fighters, 45 guerrilla "fronts" operating in 56 provinces. It adheres to Maoist doctrines of "peoples war" and an overall strategy of "the countryside surrounding the city." However Peking has given the NPA no support and as journalist Ajit Roy puts it, the CPP/NPA are "aware of the contradiction" between Chinese support to U.S. bases in the Philippines "and the interest of the Philippine liberation struggle" (from *New Peoples Army of the Philippines*, Philippines Research Centre, 1981). The Chinese invasion of Vietnam in 1979 reportedly caused controversy and a small pro-Hanoi split, though the Vietnamese Stalinists denounce the NPA as "Maoist bandits," comparing them to the genocidal Khmer Rouge, and instead give support to the wretched remnant of the semi-legal pro-Moscow PKP, which shamefully capitulated to martial law in 1974. Thus the NPA lacks a friendly country on the border, has no source of foreign arms (it has only 10,000 rifles) and considers it will have to remain in what it terms a "strategic defensive" phase regarding the army for seven years before passing over to a "strategic stalemate."

Meanwhile the regime is in crisis now. The objective of the NPA's armed struggle is not outright military victory, but to pressure the bourgeoisie for a popular front. A professor in the NDF, thinking the CPP's ostensible line of fighting both the bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism "stupid," told Australian academic Alfred McCoy: "Until the NPA forms an alliance with the Manila bourgeoisie, like the Sandinistas did in Nicaragua, they will have to spend another ten years in the jungle" (*Australian Left Review*, No. 86, Summer 1983). But the Sandinistas' conciliatory

course of refusing to expropriate the bourgeois fifth column and establish a workers state in Nicaragua only endangers their revolution, facing U.S.-backed *contras* and the threat of all-out U.S. invasion. With its Philippine bases at stake, the U.S. would not wait five years before invading!

The NDF is the CPP's vehicle for a popular front in the cities. Its program is typical of two-stage Stalinist-led guerrilla movements. Thus its journal *Liberation* (January 1984) says that a "peoples democratic coalition government" consisting of "all allied classes, parties, mass organizations, groups and forces" that have caused the downfall of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship "will protect and promote private ownership" of the means of production and consumption and "the Filipino private sector shall be encouraged to invest wherever its capital is most suited." It promises to "distribute land to the landless tillers equitably and at no cost to them. Landlords who have supported the revolution shall receive proper compensation." But what can peasants expect from a "revolution" that landlords can support? As well the CPP/NPA are attempting to win over a section of the church to their popular-front coalition, pandering to the "liberation theology" current among sections of the Catholic clergy.

For a Trotskyist Party in the Philippines!

A party built in struggle for an independent proletarian perspective is urgently necessary in the Philippines. It must be based on the lessons of the international experience of the proletariat, today expressed in the program of Trotskyism. The great Russian October Revolution showed how the proletariat of a backward capitalist country could lead the peasants, national minorities and all oppressed layers to victory and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution is counterposed to the dead-end strategy of guerrillaism and popular frontism. For Marxists the town leads the country in modern society and the weight of the proletariat in a country where 30 per cent of the population is concentrated in one urban complex, Metro-Manila, is far greater than its numbers.

Behind the CPP/NPA's bid for popular-front "unity" with the bourgeois opposition lies a narrow nationalist perspective which hopes to pressure the U.S. imperialists to dump Marcos and strike a deal over the bases. This is a suicidal illusion. The Philippines revolution must be profoundly internationalist, starting from defence of the Soviet Union/Vietnam through struggle to drive out the U.S. war bases. Key to victory is the perspective of extending the Philippine revolution to Indonesia and the rest of ASEAN and most importantly to the imperialist centres of Japan, Australia and the U.S. itself. This is the perspective of genuine communist internationalists, an integral part of our struggle for a reborn Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■



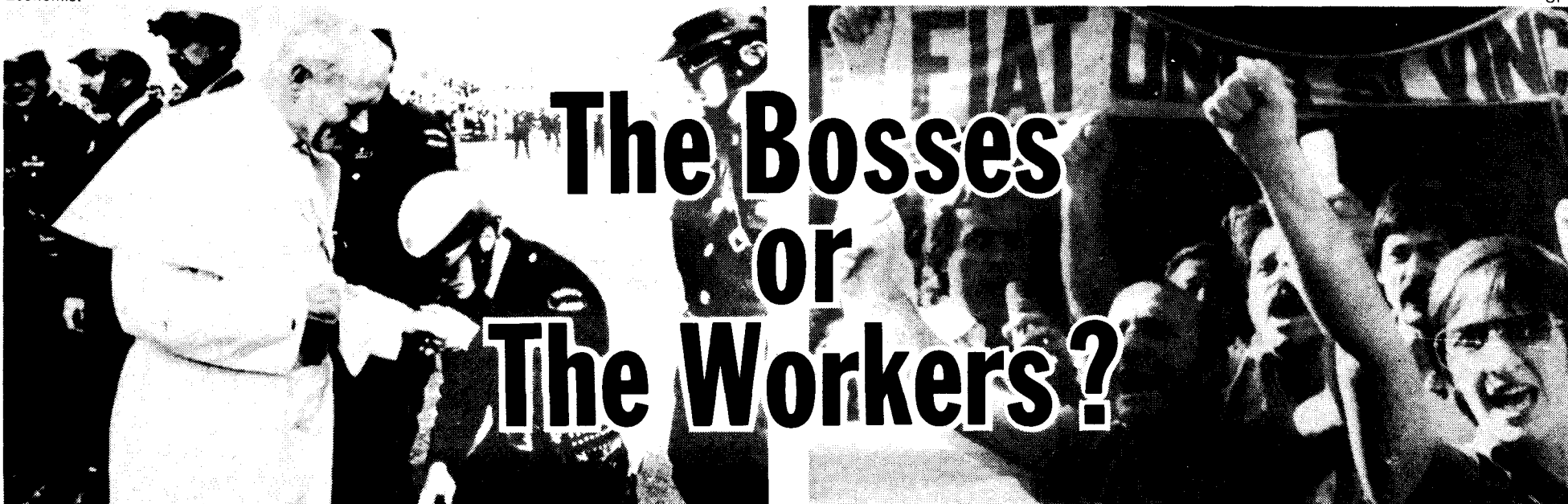
Partners in anti-Soviet war drive and neo-colonial exploitation: U.S. secretary of state George Shultz with Australian prime minister Hawke (left) and foreign affairs minister Hayden (right), July 1984.

Lega Trotskista d'Italia Leaflet

And You, Student, Which Side Are You On:

Economist

UPI



The Bosses or The Workers?

Young Spartacus is pleased to reprint below a translation of a leaflet distributed at Milan University by our Italian comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. We are also pleased to announce the offer of a free one-year subscription to Young Spartacus to the first reader who can tell us what rosa rosea is.

For the last two months, workers have been mobilizing by the millions in strikes, marches and demonstrations. From all over Italy a million of us came to Rome on March 24 to demonstrate the strength of the working class. Why? Is it because Berlinguer [head of Italian Communist Party, recently deceased] is angry at Craxi [Italian prime minister, leader of Socialist Party]? Or is it all a plot by the Russians in preparation for invading Italy?

If you believe the bosses' press or the government TV, workers in struggle are remote-controlled puppets strutting up and down from one end of the country to the other, obeying orders. Reality is much different. Yes, there are puppets: the journalists and intellectuals who, having long since decided that they "love truth, but love money even more," write and broadcast whatever their bosses want.

What lessons should be drawn? This is a methodological question: a choice between Galileo ("and yet it turns") and

Saint Augustine ("I believe because it is absurd"). The main question in short is: are the workers right to want to defend their wages by stopping the bosses' and government's attacks, or are the capitalists right to want to increase profits (but without paying taxes).

The universities are kept at a distance from the society they are part of. This is a disgusting contradiction which the bourgeoisie maintains in order to prevent the intellectual elite from thinking "disloyal" thoughts. But here too something is going on. And you can't help but notice the absurd contradiction—truly an insult to good sense and intelligence—between an outmoded, abstract and authoritarian pedagogy aimed at preventing any critical attitudes from forming, and a reality that raises dozens of questions.

And the first question is really the one in the headline: And You, Student,

Which Side Are You On, the Bosses or the Workers?

The 1984 working-class mobilizations have an important precedent: the "Hot Autumn" of 1969. But there is a difference where students are concerned: in 1969 they rallied en masse to the side of the workers. They fought against the authoritarianism of the university "Mandarins" and for a culture in tune with the times. Again today it is important for students to mobilize because the university has

become a den of obscurantism and anti-working class reaction where "peoples' church" Catholics roam and even the fascists poke their snouts out of the sewers.

To choose sides you have to think for yourself.

Behind the daily struggle of the workers with their shop stewards committees, against the bosses with their government, the bought-off union leaders and the "free" press (that is, free from any obligation to tell the truth) stands the reality of exploitation and the class struggle. Karl Marx comprehensively analyzed this situation a hundred years ago. We summarize it briefly: Workers, by their labor in factories owned by the bosses, transform more or less raw materials into finished products; during the production process every worker adds a value to these materials that the boss doesn't pay a penny for. That's impossible? But if human labor doesn't produce wealth then who or what does?

The struggle between classes existed before capitalism:

"Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight."

—Marx and Engels,
The Communist Manifesto,
1848

But the consolidation of the capitalist system on a world scale gave rise to a class of workers completely separated from the means of production (the artisan owns his own tools, the worker doesn't); at the same time production became a predominantly collective activity. Marx based the struggle for communism on this objective foundation, transforming the struggle from a utopia into a science.

"Yes, but what about Russia... look what it's doing in Poland and Afghanistan!" retorts a student with a shred of knowledge beyond *rosa rosea*, Aristotle or Saint Thomas.

In 1917 the workers proved in practice the validity of Marxism, overthrowing the aristocracy of the tsar of all the Russias in February and the bourgeois government (the original popular front) in October. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky stood at the head of the workers, who carried with them the majority of peasants. The Bolshevik

Party set up a workers and peasants government based on the power of the soviets (councils of workers' and peasants' deputies), the highest form of democracy in history.

Among the Bolshevik government's first acts were the nationalization of the means of production, economic planning and the monopoly of foreign trade. Based on this mode of production, superior to capitalism, the Soviet Union progressed from a backward country wracked by years of imperialist and civil war (in 1921 there were instances of cannibalism!) to a formidable industrial and military power. In 1919 the Bolshevik Party created the Communist International in order to advance the workers' cause worldwide. But Russia today is no longer the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky: because it was an impoverished country and even more so because the revolution was defeated in Europe, a conservative bureaucratic apparatus slowly formed within the Bolshevik Party in the 1920s. This apparatus took over the Soviet government and the Communist International through a real political counterrevolution. It was not a social revolution because the economic structures remained and still remain those of a workers state, even if it has degenerated, and constitute the material basis to advance toward socialism.

The best elements of the Russian party and the Communist International fought together as the Left Opposition against the bureaucracy headed by Stalin, the "General Secretary," and in 1938 founded the Fourth International only two years before the Kremlin's hired gun assassinated Trotsky, the founder of the Red Army.

Today's Red Army, like the whole Soviet state, is no longer a revolutionary instrument, responding instead to the bureaucracy's interests. However, these interests are not exclusively reactionary because the bureaucracy is not an exploiting class, but rather a "parasitic caste," a big pimple to be eliminated. That is why, in confrontations with imperialist powers and with capitalist restorationist forces internally, the Kremlin reacts in self-defense, and in so doing, also defends the workers state—though obviously not with the communist methods of extending the socialist revolution worldwide.

And yet in Afghanistan the Red

continued on page 11



Issues of Spartaco, publication of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia: "For a '1969' That Goes All the Way!", "No to the Popular Front!" and "It's Time for a General Strike!"

To subscribe/for more information write: Walter Fidacaro, Casella Postale 1591, Milan, Italy 20101



LENIN

SYL Calendar of Events

We Have a World to Win! Join the SYL!



TROTSKY

NEW YORK

SYL Forum

No Joke—Reagan Wants War!

Workers Revolution is the Urgent Solution!
Defend the Soviet Union!
Wednesday, Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m.
Ferris Booth Hall, Room 103
Columbia University
For more information: (212) 267-1025

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SYL Class Series

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today

Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
beginning Sept. 19
Blackburn Center, Room 142
Howard University
For more information: (202) 636-3537

TORONTO

Trotskyist League of Canada
Class Series

Only One Solution— Workers Revolution

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
beginning Sept. 20
Sid Smith, Room 2116
University of Toronto
For more information: (416) 593-4138

CLEVELAND

SL/SYL Class Series

Trotskyism and the Struggle for State Power

Fight for Socialism—
Join the SL/SYL!
Wednesday, Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m.
UC 110, Cleveland State University
For more information: (216) 621-5138

BOSTON

SYL Forum & Film Showing

"Labor's Turning Point"

Wednesday, Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced
UMass Amherst
Thursday, Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 492-3928

BAY AREA

SYL Forum & Film Showing

"El Salvador: Revolution or Death!"

Thursday, Sept. 6, 7:00 p.m.
145 Dwinelle, UC Berkeley
Thursday, Sept. 13, 12:00 noon
Student Union B116, SF State
For more information: (415) 863-6963
or (415) 835-1535

Workers Vanguard Photo



S.F., April 1984—Spartacist Richard Bradley tore down racist Confederate flag of slavery. Finish the Civil War!

BERLIN

SYL Forum & Videos

"We Took Down the Flag of Slavery!" and "5,000 Stop the Klan, November 27, 1982, Washington, D.C."

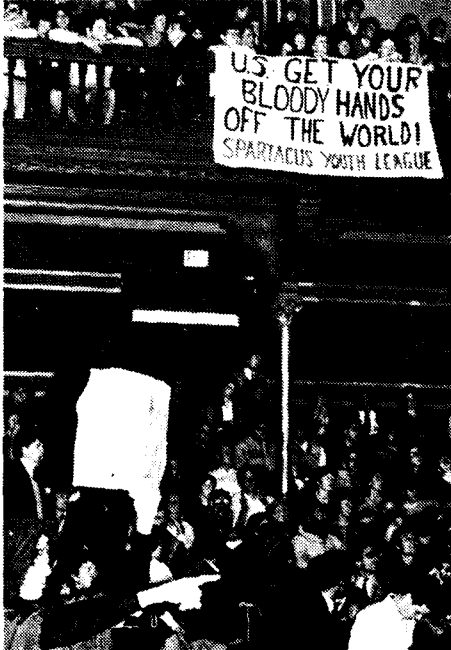
Sunday, Sept. 9, 7:30 p.m.
Mudd, Room 456, Oberlin College

SYL Forum & Film Showing

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Film: "Labor's Turning Point"
Sunday, Sept. 23, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced
Oberlin College
For more information: (216) 775-6067
or (216) 621-5138

Young Spartacus Photo



SYLers among Harvard students "welcoming" war secretary Cap Weinberger last November.

For information on other SYL activities, contact the SYL local nearest you

SYL National Office: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008, or call (212) 732-7867

Ann Arbor: SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 961-1680

Atlanta: SYL, Box 4012, Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston: SYL, Box 188, M.I.T. Station, Cambridge, MA 02139, or call (617) 492-3928

Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 663-0719

Cleveland: SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-5138

Detroit: SYL, Box 32028, Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 961-1680

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 384-9716

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 257-8625

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 267-1025

Norfolk: SYL, c/o SL, P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O., Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 835-1535

Oberlin: SYL, Box 58, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH 44074, or call (216) 775-5839

San Francisco: SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.: SYL, P.O. Box 75073, Washington, D.C. 20013, or call (202) 636-3537

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6, or call (416) 593-4138

Class Struggle...

(continued from page 2)

workers were out for 46 days against the bosses. Contracts in both auto and coal expire this autumn, posing major national strikes in basic industry.

As revolutionary Marxists, we know that it's overdue for the workers who produce the wealth of this country to "play hardball" against the anti-labor offensive. Reagan's statement on labor was made in 1981 when he busted the air traffic controllers union, PATCO, and threw all the striking workers out on the street. PATCO became a model of union-busting: Greyhound strikers got the PATCO treatment. Now that they may be faced with militant rank-and-file demands to fight back, the giveback artists in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy embrace Mondale, the protégé of Cold Warrior Hubert H. Humphrey who began his career by purging the radicals and reds from the Minnesota labor movement. But the labor tops' line of "don't strike and vote Democrat" doesn't win anything when the battle lines go up. A lot of black and white unionists have had more than enough "giveback" and are in the mood for some "takeback." And then it's all up for grabs.

Black workers in particular can and will play a vanguard role in the upcoming class battles. Historically militant, they are also strategically concentrated in key industries such as auto and steel in the midwest, transit in New York City, longshore on the East and Gulf Coasts. With the domestic reaction of Carter/Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, black people have been fed a steady diet of racist terror, unemployment, segregation and degradation. The KKK nightriders have responded to the reactionary signals from the White House and escalated their race-terror rampage. Aware of black anger and that black votes could swing the election, Mondale & Co. used the Jesse Jackson campaign to sign up voters who would otherwise be unenthusiastic about Jimmy Carter's former vice president. (Of course, the bulk of the reformist "left" groups in this country dutifully fell in line behind Jackson's shell game for the Democrats. They even gave up their liberal, pro-Democratic Party protests against U.S. intervention in Central America, in the main to be good campaign workers.) What do black people have to show for Jackson's campaign? Walter Mondale, the vice president at the time that government-abetted KKK/Nazi scum murdered five anti-Klan protesters in cold blood, in broad daylight and on television in Greensboro, North Carolina. And under Carter/Mondale, these racist

killers were acquitted by an all-white jury.

It is high time for a workers party! Reagan reaction must be smashed abroad as well as at home and such a party could mobilize powerful, concrete actions of solidarity with its class brothers around the world. Today, a civil war in El Salvador pits heroic worker and peasant insurgents against the sadistic, U.S.-backed death squad regime; black workers and youth are in revolt against brutal South African apartheid; unionists and students in the Philippines are fighting against the bloody U.S. puppet Marcos. In "Iron Lady" Thatcher's Britain, coal miners—out for nearly six months—have been joined by dock workers and others in their strike. For the workers of the world, the question is: class war against the enemy "at home" or imperialist war in the service of profits.

The Soviets' rough nuclear parity has thus far stayed the imperialists' trigger finger—as has the fact that much of the U.S. population knows there's no such thing as "winnable" nuclear war. But only the *disarming* of the U.S. rulers through a workers *revolution* in this country will end the war threat. Peace demonstrations, petitions, "enlightened liberals" and concerned physicists will not do it. As long as the capitalists have the weapons and state power, the threat of war is ever-present.

Under the leadership of a revolution-

ary party, American labor has the power to bust the warmakers. We in the Spartacus Youth League are fighting to build such a party, and to win students and youth to that fight. If the flag waving and sabre rattling of Reagan's "new patriotism" make you sick and you want to put an end to this racist, rotting system so that our generation won't be the last generation—join us. Your allies are the workers, blacks and other oppressed minorities—it is our task as socialist youth to help build the leadership for victorious revolution. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

Friday: 5:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California
Phone: (415) 835-1535

New York City

Tuesday: 6:00-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St.
near Church St.) New York, NY
Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario
Phone: (416) 593-4138

Italy...

(continued from page 9)

Army's intervention against the feudal Islamic bands represented not just legitimate measures of self-defense against the imperialist threat, but is in fact the instrument which can bring this country out of its medieval misery by offering the Afghan peoples, and *first and foremost* Afghan women, the possibility of a future. That is why the international Spartacist tendency said "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Extend the Gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan Peoples!" in opposition to the anti-Communist crusade fueled by the CIA and supported by so many self-proclaimed "socialist" and "communist" parties and groups.

In Poland, the situation is different. There, for nearly 40 years, the Russian and Polish bureaucrats' disastrous rule has succeeded in dampening the Polish proletariat's long tradition of struggle for socialism—just think of Rosa Luxemburg, among others—allowing a gang of clerical-nationalists to masquerade as workers leaders. Furthermore, there are many land-owning peasants in Poland who are deeply rooted in an extremely reactionary Catholic church whose principal spokesman is the pope in Rome. The Vatican, that "cancer of Italy," as the great democratic revolutionary Giuseppe Garibaldi called it a hundred years ago has metastasized throughout the world. The capital of the Church, one of the main property owners in housing-short Italy, finances the infamous Latin American "death squads" and Solidarność, "company union" for the bankers and the CIA, just as it sustained union wreckers-and-splitters in Italy beginning in 1948.

There are too many "freedom fighters" around: from the Afghan rebels who skin teachers alive for teaching children to read and write; to Polish clerical-nationalists, anti-Semitic and anti-Communist to the core; not to mention the terrorist "Guerrillas of Christ the King" [a fascist paramilitary group in Spain]! True, freedom is a noble thing. But freedom to do what? Freedom to exploit, to fire workers and to mutilate? Freedom to imprison, torture and murder? Freedom to enslave humanity and threaten us with destruction in an anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust? Or the "freedom" enjoyed by the youth of our country: sexual repression, unemployment, overdosing on heroin? No thanks!

World reality poses forcefully the dramatic choice between socialism or barbarism. On one side the imperialists continue to stockpile thermonuclear warheads with the intention of attacking the USSR and its allies. On the other, the working class, the only social force capable of offering a perspective for liberating humanity through the victory of world socialist revolution.

Although the question of [U.S.] missiles at Comiso did create a bit of a stir in the universities, it was entirely limited to a pacifistic vision compatible with the NATO-supported anti-Soviet war drive. It must be said clearly: "All missiles are not equal"; the Soviet Union's development of conventional and nuclear missiles is a necessary defensive measure, and the peoples of the entire world can be grateful to the Soviet workers and scientists who developed the instruments to enable the USSR to hold the imperialists at bay. Without Soviet nuclear arms, Cuba and Vietnam would have been reduced to a mound of radioactive ashes, and today workers' and national liberation struggles the world over would be but wishful thinking.

We communists, Trotskyists, fight for proletarian revolution in Italy and in all capitalist countries and for workers political revolution in the deformed and degenerated workers states. That is the only path toward real freedom and a lasting peace the world over.

Within the framework of capitalism we stand for the maximum extension of democratic rights: that is why we demand free university admissions and free tuition, and oppose quotas and any payment for room, board and books. We demand a living minimum wage for students and control over university functioning by campus workers, teachers and students—not by some phony "student union." We stand for democratic rights for women, beginning with free abortion on demand (including for minors) because the battle for women's liberation through socialist revolution begins with the understanding that in this bourgeois society, women are subject to specific oppression as women, starting with the nuclear family.

The present generation of students must make some hard choices to escape from the "gilded cage" (but it is fool's gold!) of academic culture, and to act. As a student you can do something useful: fight for social progress by coming over to the side of the proletariat, starting with the day-to-day mobilizations in Italy. Only working-class conquest of power can get Italy out of the chaos and rot of the decaying capitalist system. This will also open up the possibility of real cultural research in the interests of the entire population, not just a handful of exploiters.

If you want to know more, get in touch with us. Spartacist students have a lit table every Tuesday and Thursday morning in Statale Hall. Discuss with us what we are fighting for:

—Free university admissions and tuition! A living minimum wage for students! Worker, teacher, student control of the university!

—Free abortion on demand! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!

—No anti-Soviet missiles at Comiso! Not one man, not one penny for the armed forces of Italian imperialism!

—End 40 years of deals with the Christian Democracy! For a workers government!

If you agree with that, join us!

—9 April 1984 ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

Witwatersrand on May 31 were white.

Apartheid is integral to the functioning of South African capitalism. Britain and France, while boasting of themselves as "democracies," subjugated hundreds of millions of colonial slaves in Africa and Asia. The later development of South Africa as an independent imperialist power could only occur on the basis of superexploitation of the local black population, the subjugation of an *internal* colony—necessitating the creation of an openly racist dictatorship over the non-white peoples. That is why the struggle for democratic rights and for racial equality—an end to apartheid—is completely bound up with the necessity of ripping the productive wealth of the country out of the hands of the capitalist class.

Black Workers Take the Lead

The black proletariat will be the gravedigger of apartheid. Since the strike wave of 1973-74 the five million-strong black working class has increasingly become the spearhead for mass struggle against white supremacy. Despite the jailings and torture of union organizers, despite mass lockouts and firings and deportations to the arid "homelands" (the "reserves" or "bantustans" comprising a meager 13 percent of South Africa into which the black majority has been driven), black unions have fought their way to de facto recognition, sometimes wresting wage increases. That is why, unlike the period of quiescence following the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, demonstrations, boycotts and strikes break out again and

again among every sector of the oppressed non-white population, despite murderous repression.

July 9 saw 1,000 black coal miners on strike against Anglo-American Corporation. Two weeks before, coal miners elsewhere had battled police. The strike wave in January of this year involved 20,000 black workers, including a ten-day national strike called by the Chemical Workers union. Although these strikes were usually broken by a combination of lockouts and deportations to the bantustan "homelands," unions like the Chemical Workers and the National Union of Miners have succeeded in entrenching themselves.

As double-digit inflation outstrips already pitiful wages, the "free enterprise" vaunted by the Reaganites as the solution to the world's ills has brought only increased misery to the black South African masses. While the requirements of big South African capitalists like the Oppenheimer empire and foreign multinationals have come into conflict with the extreme rigidities of apartheid, the apartheid system is *not* and *will not be* reformed away. Indeed, in many ways racist repression and the superexploitation of black toilers has intensified in recent years. According to a study cited by the *New York Times* (22 April), the "minimum living level" (i.e., sheer misery) now encompasses 8.9 million blacks as opposed to 4.9 million in 1960—the result of massive unemployment and landlessness on the bantustans. Those blacks who can find work cluster in the townships that ring the white urban centers, treated as strangers with no legal rights in their own land, subject to the hated pass law system.

"Divestment" A Wrong Strategy

Of course it's no surprise that the multinationals reap tremendous profits from the blood and sweat of the black masses oppressed by apartheid. The solution, however, does not lie in futile schemes for divestment, which are really pleas to U.S. imperialism to "act morally" (would divestment make blood-drenched U.S. imperialism any "cleaner"?). Liberals and reformists focus on empty gestures such as berating Paul Anka and Linda Ronstadt for singing in South Africa, but what is needed is a perspective of international working-class solidarity—labor boycotts of arms shipments to Pretoria and labor action to force recognition of black trade unions by American corporations. Such action would *augment the power* of the black proletariat. The reformists plead for the transfer of stock ownership to allegedly more high-minded capitalist exploiters. We want to see the "divestiture"—i.e., *expropriation*—of the enormous wealth of the South African economy *by the black and coloured proletariat which created that wealth!* For a black-centered workers and peasants government!

Certainly appeals to the moral conscience of the bourgeoisie seem particularly absurd in Reagan's America. South Africa has become a bastion of the "free world" in U.S. imperialism's global counterrevolutionary crusade. The U.S. weeps bitter tears for its terrorist *contras* because the Sandinistas will not permit these counterrevolutionary killers to vote in the upcoming Nicaraguan elections; yet together with Britain the U.S. could not bring itself to condemn the fraudulent South African "election reform" in the United Nations. This is perfectly consistent—in its struggle to stop the spread of "Soviet influence," U.S. imperialism instigates, promotes and backs bloody counterrevolution in and out of power. As African National Congress (ANC) leader Oliver Tambo explained, "South Africa has been given the license to mount an offensive against what Reagan called—to the delight of the South Africans—the Communist, terrorist aggression which Reagan was fighting all over the world" (*New York Times*, 11 August).

Remember that Reagan is a KKK-endorsed president! As 5,000 mainly

black workers and youth were stopping the Klan from marching through Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. Reagan was playing host to South African prime minister Botha. It is likewise no accident that ANC leader Nelson Mandela has been imprisoned for more than a quarter century under, among other police-state laws, the "Suppression of Communism Act." For good reason, racists everywhere fear the spectre of Communism. The Klan does not ride in Moscow!

Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid

The ANC suffered a blow earlier this year when the besieged petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes in nearby Angola and Mozambique concluded a deal with Pretoria under which they foreswore any material support to the struggle against apartheid. The MPLA in Angola and Frelimo in Mozambique were able to come to power after protracted guerrilla warfare which weakened the resistance of the Portuguese colonialists. This helped precipitate the 1974 military revolt which ousted the fascist Caetano regime in Portugal. The MPLA and Frelimo regimes have been able to survive for basically two reasons. First, the presence of Soviet-armed Cuban troops in Angola—who pushed back the U.S.-backed South African invasion in 1975-76—has prevented South Africa from mounting another full-scale offensive. And secondly because these petty-bourgeois nationalists have proved capable of disciplining the working class for imperialist economic exploitation (e.g., Gulf Oil).

But the working class in South Africa is immeasurably more powerful. The South African economy is highly developed. And much as the white racists would like to relegate the black population to the bantustans, they also know that, as an economist for the South African Chamber of Mines put it, "You cannot run this economy on whites only" (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 June). The shattering of apartheid would necessarily involve a massive mobilization of the powerful black proletariat, and so pose the extension of proletarian struggle throughout the African continent, as the only means to beat back and smash the inevitably furious reaction of world imperialism. The militants of the ANC, already tempered in heroic struggles under the harshest conditions, must be won to the Trotskyist perspective of *permanent revolution*, which places the struggle for proletarian power in the vanguard of the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed colonial masses and links the struggle for workers revolution in each country to the world socialist revolution against imperialism. Just as the achievement of political independence by black African nations during the 1950s gave impetus to the development of civil rights struggles in the U.S., so a black-centered proletarian revolution in southern Africa would mightily impel black and working-class struggle here at home, in the citadel of the world imperialist system.

A Trotskyist party must be forged to lead the struggle against apartheid, championing the demands of students for a decent education; of the rural masses for land; of the black, coloured and Indian population for a revolutionary constituent assembly; for one man, one vote. A revolutionary Trotskyist party would also seek to detach the maximum number of whites from reactionary defense of privilege—the white students at Witwatersrand represent precious allies in the "belly of the beast" whom it would be foolish to ignore. Not in the never-to-be-consummated courtship of the "liberal" white South African bourgeoisie, but in the perspective of *class* solidarity; for workers revolution through smashing apartheid! For a black-centered workers and peasants government of South Africa! Forward to a socialist federation of southern Africa! ■

Young Spartacus

Black Workers Take the Lead:



no credit

Bury Apartheid!

WEDNESDAY, September 5—As we go to press, troops of the racist South African army have reportedly withdrawn from the sprawling, heavily populated black townships around Johannesburg, the country's largest city. Yesterday's *New York Times* reported that on Monday a bomb ripped through the offices of the "Department of Internal Affairs" in central Johannesburg, sending cops on a killing spree that touched off rebellions throughout the segregated black areas. Hospital officials were instructed not to release casualty figures, but "official" figures printed in today's *Times* place the number of dead at 29. Unofficial estimates last night placed the number of injured at 300. Among the targets of the black rebellions are black front men for the white racist rulers; so deep is the popular hatred for these parasites that, according to a police account cited in an article in

Black Revolt Hits Racist South African "Elections" Hoax

yesterday's *Boston Globe*, the deputy mayor of the black township of Sharpeville was hacked to death and his corpse burned after he fired on demonstrators protesting rent increases. Sharpeville has been a symbol of apartheid murder since 1960, when 69 black protesters were massacred by the police. Monday was the official inauguration of the apartheid regime's "constitutional reform," discussed below.

In the face of the growing anti-racist upsurge in South Africa the all-white South African government has proclaimed a "constitutional reform."

Elections were held last month for newly created, and utterly impotent, "coloured" (mixed race) and Indian parliaments separate from and subordinate to the white parliament. The new plan reinforces the disenfranchisement of South Africa's 22 million blacks and also strengthens the power of the presidency against the white parliamentary opposition. But this divide-and-rule scheme has already failed! The turnout for elections to the coloured parliament August 22 was less than 20 percent, and that mostly from rural areas where white farmers herded voters

to the polls in trucks. The turnout for elections to the Indian parliament August 28 was no better. Instead, coloured and Indian South Africans held militant demonstrations demanding an end to the system of apartheid, and were brutally attacked by white police. Hundreds were injured and arrested.

Seven years after the massive revolt at Soweto, the *sambok*—the bullwhip of the Dutch-originated Afrikaner settlers—remains more than ever an apt symbol of the apartheid regime. Apartheid means rigidly stratified, legally enforced segregation of South Africa's population by race, with the black majority forced by state terror to till the least arable land, to live in the most dilapidated areas, to receive the lowest wages for the most onerous jobs, to have access to only the most inferior schools. The 2.8 million coloureds and 800,000 Indians fare only marginally better.

Time and again black, coloured, Indian and even white youth have defied the cops, demonstrating for equal rights and against apartheid. Hundreds have been murdered. On May 15 police gunned down a black protester at Atteridgeville, a black township near Pretoria. On August 10 black youth demanding the lifting of age limits for particular grade levels, which bar many youth from receiving an education, responded with a hail of stones when police tried to break up their demonstration with whips. The re-emergence today of *interracial* social struggle—squelched since the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 and the development of new and more oppressive institutions of apartheid—in itself poses a grave threat to white supremacist rule. Half of the thousand protesters demanding an end to apartheid discrimination in the educational system at the University of

continued on page 11



London, June 2—Spartacist League/Britain protests state visit of apartheid butcher, South African prime minister Botha.