

Arms Train Mutilates Protester



Andy Per



John Sker

Pacifist protester Brian Willson run over by munitions train at Concord Naval Weapons Station, September 1. "It was attempted murder," said his wife.

Contra War Comes Home

CONCORD, California—It was a train of death. Ollie North was on lookout. Reagan was in the driver's seat. They saw the enemy—antiwar protester Brian Willson—and ran him down. Leaving Concord's Naval Weapons Station, the arms train accelerated. Willson, a 45-year-old Vietnam vet who was kneeling on the tracks, tried to get out of the way, but the train bit him and dragged him 25 feet. One of Willson's feet flew off, his other leg was dangling by a thread. His skull was fractured, and his brains could

be seen through the hole in his head. "They've killed my dad!" screamed his teenage stepson.

As Willson was lying bloody and mutilated on the tracks Navy paramedics rushed over from the base and then stood around doing nothing. His wife had to stop the bleeding in his severed leg with her skirt. A Navy ambulance refused to take him to the base medical clinic. He had to wait 40 minutes for a county ambulance to take him to a hospital in Walnut Creek,

several miles from the Concord Naval Station. It was miraculous that he survived at all. "It was attempted murder," accused Willson's wife, Holley Rauen. "They weren't going to stop."

Reagan's contra war in Central America is coming home. Last May Ben Linder, a young American engineer, was killed by the CIA-organized contra terrorists while helping bring electricity to a Nicaraguan village. In July Salvadoran death squads kidnapped and tortured antiwar activists in Los Angeles

Now a pacifist protester is run over by a military train in broad daylight and all America can watch it in horror on the nightly TV news.

In their frustrated rage the contras' godfathers in Washington are lashing out at what they see as the enemy within. Six years of counterrevolutionary war have not toppled the radical nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. Despite all of Reagan's high-pressure salesmanship, a majority of the American

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Philippines on Knife Edge

Report from Manila

SYDNEY, Australia, September 10—We print below an eyewitness report from two trade-unionist supporters of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand who spent several weeks in the Philippines just before the August 28 attempted coup. Though the made-in-the-USA Aquino regime narrowly survived this latest and bloodiest coup, it has been plunged deeper into a mess as class polarisation sharpens in the country. The coup is the latest demonstration that stable bourgeois democracy is an impossibility in the Philippines. Over 3,000 troops, mainly from elite units, led by Colonel "Gringo" Honasan came within an ace of success, briefly seizing key points in Manila and the provinces, including the second-largest city, Cebu.

Apparently intending to purge army chief Ramos and "leftists" in the cabinet while keeping Cory herself as figure-

head, they planned a bloody crackdown on leftist, working-class and peasant organisations. While Ramos this time obeyed Aquino's "shoot to kill" order and put down the revolt, "Gringo" and an estimated 2,000 "rebel" troops remain at large and sympathy for the mutineers is widespread even among "loyal" officers. Most of the thousand or so captured were released after spending a few leisurely days aboard navy ships in Manila Bay, and the government immediately genuflected to the military by authorising a 60 per cent wage rise.

The coup was triggered by an August 26 mass strike which paralysed Metro Manila in protest at the government's 20 per cent petroleum price rise. Honasan and his "Reform the Armed Forces Movement" (RAM) of "Rambo" officers had played key roles in the coup which installed Aquino in February

continued on page 8



Sigma

Cops and marines attack peasants demonstrating in Manila, January 1987. Sixteen were killed, 100 wounded.

"Hang In There, Spartacists"

19 July 1987
Palo Alto, CA

Dear Comrades,

I just read the Spartacist hashing editorial on pg. 2 of the 7/20 "FRONTLINE". This publication clearly represents an extreme of reformism, typified by their enthusiasm for Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, and ordinarily would not be worth reading, much less getting excited enough to write a letter about. This time, however, I was drawn in by a local activist with whom I have an ongoing dialogue, who was relishing the alleged breakup of the SL....

I guess it's safe to assume there is some extraordinary internal strife within the SL. The quoted title "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture" seems quite on target to me. I can certainly believe that some members are losing heart in this extended period of reaction, and further, that the complex problem of gaining the support of the working masses will produce irresolvable differences of opinion, but count me amongst those who see the membership as the greatest heroes of our time. As an (reluctant) outsider, perhaps I can offer an encouraging perspective. Because of the party's program and resultant discipline, you have managed to consistently publish the best publications on the left for over 20 years. Considering your small size, and the level of personal sacrifice required to carry forth with this task in the face of unrelenting isolation, this is a Herculean accomplishment. The work of the PDC has

earned the reluctant respect of even your enemies. During a period of profound reaction, you stand tall with the banner of revolutionary Marxism, upholding a rich tradition of the highest achievements of human culture. Dropping that flag would be a grave loss to humanity.

My only criticisms of the party are tactical, and pale compared to my support for the elements of your program. I write this letter in the hope that it will influence some dissident elements to consider what a precious organization they belong to, and cause them to double up their efforts to build and strengthen it.

Towards Revolutionary Conjuncture!
Walter

The following letter was sent in reply by an SL spokesman.

4 September 1987

Dear Walter,

I read with some concern your letter to us of 19 July, because you are self-evidently a long-time friend of the Spartacist League.

To get to the point immediately, "Frontline" is full of Stalinist shit. Because we are shortly to have a National Conference, and because we thought we had a particularly good conference document, and because there was no particular question in dispute, we thought we could treat our conference document publicly. Which we did

I've asked that a copy be sent you.

Certainly the Reagan years have been wearing on us as a revolutionary Marxist organization. Our two biggest overt problems have been that we were going broke and weren't getting any new members. It took us about a year after making a too-high cut in our sustaining pledge (in compensation for earlier inflation) to get our finances back in control. But that's been okay for three or four months now. And lately, around the time of the Contra murder of Ben Linder, or Contragate if you prefer,

young people have been coming around and joining up at a rate faster than older comrades wear out.

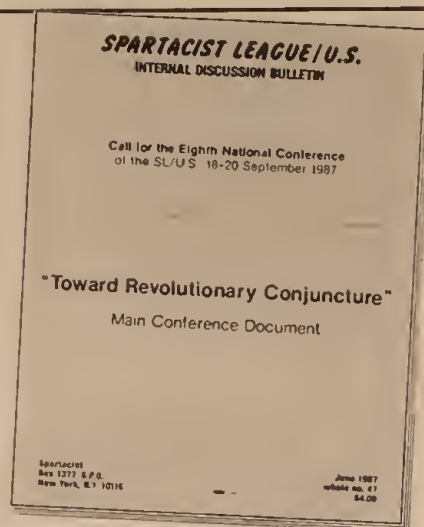
The real point behind the "Frontline" article is that virtually as an article of faith Stalinists *never* tell the truth about their problems. The great exception is Khrushchev's report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU which lifted a corner of the veil, and now maybe Gorbachev is going to lift another.

Our political program has been strikingly verified over and over. We are a very small organization in a very powerful capitalist country. If we didn't have a lot of problems, we'd be liars.

Sincerely,
Jim Robertson

To get your own copy of "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture," send \$5 (includes postage) to:

Spartacist Publishing Co.,
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



TROTSKY

Revolutionary Road to Peace

The fight against imperialist militarism and wars such as the U.S. is waging against Nicaragua must be organically linked to the class struggle and the revolutionary mobilization of the working class for state power. As Lenin and Zinoviev wrote during World War I:

The temper of the masses in favour of peace often expresses the beginning of protest, anger and a realisation of the reactionary nature of the war. It is the duty of all Social-Democrats to utilise that temper. They will take a most ardent part in any movement and in any demonstration motivated by that sentiment, but they will not deceive the people with admitting the idea that a peace without annexations, without oppression of nations, without plunder, and without the embryo of new wars among the present governments and ruling classes, is possible in the absence of a revolutionary movement. Such deception of the people would merely mean playing into the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent governments and facilitating their counter-revolutionary plans. Whoever wants a lasting and democratic peace must stand for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie....

Imperialism is the epoch of the constantly increasing oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of "Great" Powers; it is therefore impossible to fight for the socialist international revolution against imperialism unless the right of nations to self-determination is recognised. "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations" (Marx and Engels). A proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its "own" nation cannot be a socialist proletariat.

—V.I. Lenin and G.Y. Zinoviev, *Socialism and War* (July-August 1915)



LENIN

On the Vanunu Trial: A Correction

12 September 1987

In our ongoing campaign to defend the Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* unfortunately had a grossly exaggerated comparison of the Zionist state persecution with Nazi Germany, saying that Vanunu is "treated like a prisoner in Demjanjuk's Treblinka" (*WT* No. 435, 4 September). Treblinka was a Nazi extermination camp in which people were literally sent to their deaths in the gas chambers moments after their arrival. Although the massacres organized at Shatila and Sabra Palestinian refugee camps during Israel's rape of Lebanon demonstrated that the Zionist state is capable of committing Nazi-like war crimes, Vanunu at least has a lawyer and a trial, even if most norms of juridical protocol are violated.

Even *New York Times* columnist Flora Lewis felt compelled to protest the "kidnapping and star-chamber trial" of Vanunu. The hermetically sealed courtroom in which Vanunu stands trial for his life is so stifling as to make even his three-judge panel complain. Now one of the judges, who sits in *both* the case of Vanunu as well as that of Nazi death camp guard John Demjanjuk (the infamous "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka), has suffered a heart attack. Therefore, the trials have been delayed for at least a month.

Israel has bent over backward to give to the sadistic Nazi hatcher charged with crimes against humanity a completely open and public



Mordechai Vanunu

trial. Yet Vanunu, who courageously carried out a service for humanity by warning the world of Israel's doomsday machine, is gagged and tried under draconian secrecy where even to report about the proceedings is considered espionage. But the few legal rights accorded this heroic individual means that we have time, though not much, to mobilize international working-class protest to save his life and begin to repay the debt we all owe Mordechai Vanunu.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

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No. 436

18 September 1987



MICHAEL GRIFFITH
1963 - 1986

From left: Michael Griffith lynched in Howard Beach; Michael Washington and Ewan Lawrence beaten in Canarsie; Bernadette Crowley set afire in Prospect Park.



Liotta/NY Post

Callan/Brooklyn Paper

Racist Terror Stalks New York Streets

Since the hideous lynch mob murder of black construction worker Michael Griffith in Howard Beach last year, New York City has been a tinderbox. Racist mayor Koch and his black police commissioner Ward threatened a "long hot summer" against blacks and Hispanics, preparing for massive deployment of cops in the ghetto, tracking black militants and monitoring black radio shows for "subversive" talk. Since the end of August there's been a new wave of racist attacks with mobs of bat-wielding white punks descending on isolated groups of blacks, beating up the homeless and torching people sleeping in Prospect Park. Fascists are feeding off this racist rampage and are now openly organizing in Queens. *The workers movement must take the lead in mobilizing mass labor/black defense against this racist terror stalking the streets of New York!*

It was almost Howard Beach all over again in Canarsie, Brooklyn on September 2. Three black teenagers on their way to the bus stop from their jobs as supermarket stock clerks were set upon by more than two dozen armed, screaming whites. The black youths, who had been waiting outside a hagel shop for two female coworkers, one white and one black, told the women to go on ahead, then tried to make their own escape. They were chased for six blocks and finally surrounded by the lynch mob who moved in on them with bats, a lead pipe, sticks and a broken fluorescent light.

The mob was out for blood. "We want to kill these niggers," the racists shouted just before the attack. "I thought it was all over for us," David Smiley told the black weekly *City Sun* (9 September). "I said to myself, 'if this is going to be it, I might as well go down fighting'." By the time the cops showed up the cowardly attackers had fled, but not before one got a sharp crack in the face from a bat seized by the victims. A week later, on September 9, five black and Hispanic teenagers were attacked with sticks and bottles by a gang of white youths in the predominantly white Carroll Gardens section of Brooklyn. And the next day in Ozone Park, Queens, adjacent to Howard Beach, a black youth delivering Sears & Roebuck flyers had his skull fractured by a pack of racists wielding baseball bats.

In the midst of this frenzy, jury selection began in the murder/manslaughter trial of four of the Howard Beach killers. Michael Griffith and two black companions were savagely beaten by the

racist mob which then chased Griffith onto Shore Parkway and into the path of an oncoming car. Now it's the victims who are on trial. Even though ring-leader Jon Lester admitted crying out "let's go kill" the "niggers," the defense is claiming the three black men who walked into a Howard Beach pizzeria were "dangerous people coming into a peaceful community." When the "prosecution" announced last month that one of the victims had pulled out a knife in self-defense, a lawyer for the killers snarled that this showed "the fangs of the true villains."

From the very beginning they've gone after the black survivors. Timothy Grimes and Cedric Sandiford. When

for a "sincere apology" from the racists, not a peep about Ewan Lawrence wanting to press charges. Hizzoner gave each of the victims an official city necktie and told them the next time they should "show the tie to the attackers and tell them they are under the protection of the Mayor—and then beat the shit out of them." Tell it to the NYPD. Koch's killer cops are leading the racist onslaught against the ghettos and barrios. Armies of police seal off whole blocks—dry runs for martial law under the guise of "drug raids." In 1986 alone, Koch's cops killed 24 people—21 were black or Hispanic. The climate of racist terror is orchestrated straight from the top. And nobody's safe.

grow up to be cops.

And now the fascists are trying to cash in on the racist terror. After the Howard Beach lynching, "mod" KKKer David Duke showed up at the pizzeria to proclaim (borrowing a line from Democrat Jimmy Carter) that communities have the right to maintain "ethnic purity." Recently, the liberal *Newsday* (5 August) gave a full-page spread complete with a robed-and-hooded pinup of fascist KKK "eyeclops" Hank Schmidt to publicize his new "White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" headquarters in Astoria, Queens. These Kluxers should get the treatment that KKK "imperial wizard" Wilkinson got in Boston in October 1982 when he tried to capitalize on the racist backlash against school integration. The hooded fascists were pelted with eggs by an angry jeering crowd who rode them out of town.

Now a coalition of civil rights, religious and community organizations headed by the New York Civil Liberties Union has announced a candlelight vigil and march through Canarsie on September 20 to "speak out against a continued atmosphere of racial tension in New York City." (The ACLU has defended the "right" of Nazis to stage racist provocations under the pretext of "free speech" for fascist terrorists.) This liberal "witness" will put defenseless protesters at the mercy of the racists in a mean lily-white enclave, relying on the "protection" of the NYPD. When a similar "prayerful observance" was held in Howard Beach a week after the lynching, hundreds of racists itching for blood lined the streets screaming epithets; only the 106th Precinct stun gun cops stood between them.

The urgent need is for a massive show of power by organized labor at the head of the black and Hispanic population of this city determined to make the streets of New York City safe! Last December, following the Howard Beach lynchings, the Spartacist League issued a statement demanding: "Mobilize Labor and Minorities to Stop Racist Attacks!" Such action requires a political fight against both parties of racist capitalism. Militant transit workers called for integrated union defense squads to patrol the streets, and fought for their union to "take the lead in mobilizing NYC labor in staging a powerful demonstration of opposition to and hatred of the racist killers throughout this city." Today this is ever more urgent! For labor/black/Hispanic defense against racist terror! ■



WV Photo

NYC Labor Black League and Spartacist supporters protest whitewash "trial" last January of killer cop Sullivan, who gunned down black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in her Bronx apartment.

they refused to cooperate with a whitewash by the racist cops and the Queens D.A., their black lawyers were vilified. No wonder they were reluctant—the cops made them out to be criminals, put a tail on Grimes and Sandiford, hoping to tag them on morals or drug charges, in a self-evident attempt to cover for the murderers. Now hoping that after nine months the vivid memory of the lynching has faded, a full-scale campaign of character assassination against the black victims has been launched.

A Necktie from Koch

Koch moved fast after the black youth were attacked in Canarsie. He had the kids brought to City Hall for lunch and a photo op the very next day. The media trumpeted how Michael Washington told the mayor he'd settle

Then there's Koch's vicious campaign for involuntary "hospitalization" of the homeless. This, too, is fueling the racists. On the night of August 26, four white punks came upon two huddled figures in Prospect Park, doused them with gasoline and set them afire while they were asleep. The victims awoke screaming, but managed to douse the flames—Bernadette Crowley was rushed to the hospital with extensive burns. This time the white kids attacked white victims, but the would-be killers had a chemically pure racist mindset. The papers ran a profile: "Good kids," the neighbors said. They "just wanted to create some mayhem," alibied the chief of Brooklyn detectives, explaining the supposed "lack of motive." If you're poor, homeless, vulnerable—for these sadists you're black! Such "good kids"—maybe they'll

Victory to Salinas/Modesto Cannery Strike!

SALINAS, California—Four hundred cannery workers here are on strike against the Tennessee-based United Foods Inc. In the words of a leaflet by the Strikers Committee of Teamsters Local 890, the company "seems bent on bringing the Southern plantation, non-union, slavery conditions to the frozen food industry here in California." The strikers are overwhelmingly women, mainly Hispanic as well as Asian, black and white. A flying picket squad started the strike: 250 United Foods workers in Modesto, on strike since July 1 against massive wage and benefit cuts, sent pickets to the Salinas plant and the workers here walked out on July 30.

At an August 22 strike march and rally, unionists denounced the company for slashing wages at its Modesto plant from \$7.06 to \$5.05 an hour. After two years of working under an "extended" contract, Salinas workers saw that if United Foods succeeded in doing in their Modesto brothers and sisters, they would be next. Now the profit-bloated company (\$27 million in the first quarter of 1987) has "proposed" to cut Salinas workers' wages as well, plus slashing benefits almost 50 percent. The strikers' courageous solidarity points to the need for *united strike action* now by all cannery and farm workers throughout the area, to *smash* the employers' offensive.

United Foods is following the anti-



Cannery workers march through Salinas, August 22.

union, wage-cutting recipe pushed by cannery owners in nearby Watsonville, who whipsawed plant against plant (with the connivance of local and International Teamster bureaucrats). The Watsonville bosses' union-busting plans

were foiled by a hard 18-month strike, which ended in March, but the industry-wide wage-slashing drive continues. Workers at Watsonville's Richard Shaw cannery are already bracing for a fight when their contract—shoved down their throats early in the Watsonville strike—expires in February.

Right now the solid Salinas strike has virtually shut down the plant. Local 890 Secretary-Treasurer Jacinto Roy Mendoza told *WV* that the company's skeleton crew consists of less than a dozen scabs and production has stopped. But the cannery bosses are among the most bitter enemies of labor in California. Key to victory will be mobilization of Local 890's own 25,000-strong membership—which includes 11,000 Teamster farm workers—as well as other area unionists. *Mass picket lines* are the answer to scab violence. Any attempt by the company to start up production should be answered by *hot-cargoing* (refusing to handle) scab produce by farm workers, railway workers, truckers, warehousemen and retail clerks.

Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers (UFW) also faces the threat of wage slashing, and warns that a strike may result. With growers screaming about a "labor shortage" due to the new Simpson-Rodino immigration law, UFW and Teamster farm workers are in a strong position for powerful, united strike action. Class-struggle militants must fight to overcome the divisions fostered by past Teamster raids on the UFW and the betrayals of both unions' bureaucracies. In his latest act of prostration, Chavez postponed a September 6 UFW rally in Salinas in order to greet the pope's visit to California. And UFW tops scandalously ally with the racist *ingra*—union vice president Dolores Huerta took part in an Immigration Service seminar with growers in July. Chavez-style on-your-knees pacifism and class collaboration won't win strikes, militant class struggle will.

Scab Violence and Police Strikebreaking

A contingent of veterans of the Watsonville cannery strike attended the August 22 union rally in Salinas. Gloria Betancourt, who was president of the Watsonville Strikers Committee, told the crowd: "In this strike you will learn what we learned: that there is no justice for the worker; that the law is for the bosses; that the police exist to protect the scabs, not us." There were over 600 arrests during the Watsonville strike, and union activists Pedro Alvarez,

Miguel González, Carlos Hernández and José Antonio Maciel still face serious frame-up charges. Cannery workers also face racist company harassment in the form of "ID checks" for the new "immigration control" law. Labor militants must demand: *Drop the charges against Watsonville strikers! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!*

Salinas striker Lupe Alvarado told *WV* that the police arrested her and a friend on the picket line on August 19 on a scab's say-so; they are accused of "vandalism" for supposedly scratching the scab's car. Yet, Alvarado said, shortly thereafter the cops merely cited and did not arrest a scab who attacked three strikers, including a pregnant woman; the victims required medical attention. Salinas strikers are grieving over the loss of a union sister. On August 5, 65-year-old striker Aleja Razo died of a heart attack on the picket line. Razo came to Salinas from Durango, Mexico 35 years ago. She worked on the line at United Foods packing vegetables for 15 years. This courageous union sister died defending her union and her class. *Workers Vanguard* extends working-class solidarity and sympathy to Aleja Razo's family and fellow unionists who honor her memory and continue her fight.

At the August 22 rally, Western Conference of Teamsters representative John Blake bailed workers fighting for union rights from South Africa to South Korea, where "yesterday one of the strikers died, killed on the picket line" by the police. Referring to the Reagan/Meece "Justice" Department's attempt to seize control of the Teamsters, he noted:

"Here in America, we face the government trying to take over our union movement. If we allow the government to come in and take over our labor unions, you're going to find that you'll never be allowed to strike. We've seen what this administration has done, from the destruction of the air traffic controllers to the destruction of the unions in the mines of Arizona."

The all-sided assault has been carried out by Reagan and the Democrats, and the bosses couldn't have done it without the collaboration of their labor lieutenants in the union bureaucracy—from the Teamster tops who hacked Reagan to the hilt, to the "liberal" labor traitors who have hiled the working class with giveaways. We say: *Feds hands off the Teamsters! Labor must break with the Democrats and Republicans and build a class-struggle workers party!*

The barons of California agribusiness have long considered Ronald Reagan their man in the state house and now the White House. Now Reagan's on the ropes. The time is ripe for an upsurge of class struggle, through independent mobilization of workers and all the oppressed against the companies hacked by their courts, cops and capitalist politicians. Victory to the Salinas-Modesto cannery strike! ■



Watsonville strikers and supporters, November 1985. Their 18-month strike foiled bosses' union-busting plans.

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SL National Conference Bulletin Discussion:

On Gorbachev's Russia and Political Revolution

We print below further contributions to the discussion of the Spartacist League's draft national conference document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjunction." The section of the document on "The Russian Question and Gorbachev" was published in WV No. 432 (10 July). To obtain a postpaid copy of the document, send \$5 to: Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

I disagree with the third and concluding point in comrade Meyers' "On Proletarian Political Revolution" (reprinted in WV No. 435) and believe it contradicts the analysis contained in the document. Despite the qualifying final sentence, the substance of the argument, as I read it, makes mass proletarian radicalization in the West a necessary precondition for political revolution in the Soviet Union. The perceived remoteness of socialist revolution in West Europe and especially the U.S. is certainly an important factor inhibiting political revolution against the Kremlin bureaucracy. But it is not an all-powerful and decisive factor impervious to internal developments.

Comrade Meyers appears to disregard the objective contradictions in Soviet society manifested in and aggravated by Gorbachev's policies. Thus it is not simply a question of Soviet workers "reasserting their revolutionary traditions," as he puts it. This is too idealistic a way of viewing class struggle in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev's economic policies, dubbed *perestroika* (restructuring), go against the material interests of most Soviet workers (speedup, layoffs, inflation) and will markedly increase social

and economic inequality. The effect of *perestroika* is bound to produce resistance from Soviet workers, not only advanced workers but also the more backward. The prevailing conditions of political liberalization (*glasnost*) make resistance all the more likely. Working-class unrest (e.g., strikes, protests) can

would have a profound impact not only in East Europe but also within the West European workers movements. Thus the prospect of socialist revolution in the West would be directly, if not immediately, posed.

There exists a mutual interdependence between proletarian political revo-



Gorbachev's *perestroika* (restructuring) will mean speedup, layoffs, inflation, increased inequality for Soviet workers.

disrupt and polarize the bureaucracy, creating the potential for organs of dual power. This essentially is what happened in Czechoslovakia in 1968 before developments were cut short by Soviet-bloc military intervention.

Similarly, there can develop in Russia an incipient proletarian political revolution before the mass of workers consciously challenge the ideology of "socialism in one country." Such an incipient political revolution in Russia

lution in the Soviet bloc and socialist revolution in West Europe and North America. Likewise, there is a mutual interdependence between national liberation and social revolution in the so-called Third World and proletarian revolution in the imperialist centers. But it is wrong to extend this recognition of mutual interdependence into some kind of geopolitical revolutionary schema

Joseph Seymour
4 September 1987

I think comrade Seymour has misread my point, perhaps because it was insufficiently precise in its formulation. Certainly an incipient proletarian political revolution can develop in the Soviet Union as a result of the objective contradictions in Soviet society. But for that revolution to be victorious—i.e., to shatter the bureaucracy and consolidate soviet rule—requires a Trotskyist party that has won the mass of workers from their illusions in "socialism in one country" and their corollary defeatism regarding the prospect of international socialist revolution. Likewise in Hungary 1956 a Trotskyist party vying for leadership of the insurgent workers would have had to engage in sharp political combat against widespread nationalist influences within the proletariat.

In the case of the Soviet Union, military/economic powerhouse of the deformed/degenerated workers states, the question of how to defend the social gains of the October Revolution against imperialist designs has always been posed from 1917, not just from the outset of any new significant social and political upheaval. It will be the task of the Fourth International, both through mobilizing proletarians in other countries around defense of the Soviet Union and through political combat against competing tendencies in the Soviet Union, to win the Soviet workers to a revolutionary-internationalist program. This is not a question of setting out schematic preconditions but of recognizing our political tasks.

Len Meyers
12 September 1987

Australia: Shipyard Workers Defy Government

Strike at Cockatoo Island

SYDNEY, Australia, September 13—Members of the Federated Ironworkers Association (FIA) have struck one of the key yards for naval repair here. Last week over 100 ironworkers at Cockatoo Island dockyard walked out in defence of militant rigger/ironworker and Spartacist League (SL) supporter Neil Florrimell. His sacking was an act of blatant anti-communist and anti-union victimisation. It is the cutting edge of what every worker at Cockatoo expects as Australian Labor Party (ALP) prime minister Robert Hawke "revitalises" the war industry by attempting to break the unions at Cockatoo and Newcastle dockyards.

The 1,600-strong workforce at Cockatoo Island has been an historic bastion of militant unionism, despite numerous craft and trade divisions. Brandishing his union-busting election mandate, Hawke and his ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions) lieutenants are moving to implement all-sided givebacks and job losses across the country, as laid out in their union/government no-strike Accord for "labour peace."

In an interview with *Australasian Spartacist* Florrimell said,

"The bosses and their government have thrown down the gauntlet to the unions in this country. This is the Accord Mark

III, brought to us by the ACTU. Hawke's cops in the union movement. Last year the B.L.F. [Builders Labourers Federation] was smashed. Now the coal miners are facing the biggest attacks on their jobs and organisations in 50 years. Hawke is Reagan's man and the bosses' man. He is embarking on a massive naval build-up as part of his drive to war against the Soviet Union."

Florrimell is a symbol of everything the bosses and government want to destroy. Ever since 1985 when he led a struggle to successfully defy the seab-riden craft divisions rampant at Cockatoo Island and throughout the labour movement, the bosses have been out to reverse that victory.

The Australian capitalists fear like the plague any expression of industrial solidarity which cuts across the deeply ingrained craft union lines. It was Hawke's mate Murdoch's viciously anti-union *Australian* (19 April 1985) which led the bourgeois press in expressing their fear that the "Cuckoo Island" disease could spread. Striking ironworkers must link up with Painters & Dockers who are out on strike in defence of their delegate, John Panuccio, who is also facing victimisation.

There is plenty of will to fight. What is necessary is a strategy to win. There should be an immediate mass meeting of all unions on the island to vote for an



Australasian Spartacist
Ironworkers walked out in defense of militant Neil Florrimell.

island-wide strike. This meeting must elect a strike committee to run the strike through to victory. The island must be shut down tight with militant mass picket lines! Occupy Cockatoo Island! No job losses—For a shorter work week with no loss in pay! All crafts and trades out together—For industrial unionism!

For Class Struggle! Down with Arbitration!

Florrimell was sacked on September 1 and the island's ironworkers immediately went out on a two-day strike. On September 3 FIA organiser Collison orchestrated a four-day return to work, with overtime bans, sending

the case to the bosses' Arbitration court, where it passed by two votes. The Combined Unions Shop Committee is sitting on its hands, trying to divert the struggle against the destruction of jobs into campaigning for some paltry severance pay. And in the midst of ironworkers' overtime bans to reinstate Florrimell the shop committee chairman, Bill Haggerty, allowed boilermakers to work "back to back" without ironworkers. Top management stated that they don't want to lose this one, and the foremen have threatened to strike if the unions win Florrimell's reinstatement.

At the following ironworkers' meeting on September 9 one-third voted for a motion calling for an island-wide strike. In the preceding days FIA militants and other unionists distributed over 500 copies of a leaflet by Florrimell. Half a dozen FIA militants who escorted Florrimell to the September 9 Arbitration court hearing left disgusted at this "kangaroo court," after it predictably let the bosses' sacking stand. The next morning the ironworkers by a two-thirds majority overturned the bureaucrats' defeatist policy and resumed their strike, determined to win. Class struggle is the only way to victory. This struggle has already forced together the two sections of the FIA on the island, historically divided by a Cold War split. Now they have been holding common meetings.

Florrimell's leaflet entitled "To Cockatoo Workers: An Injury to One Is an

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Smash the Contras—Complete the Revolution!

Nicaraguan Left and the "Peace" Fraud

It is barely a month since the five Central American presidents signed a "peace" pact in Guatemala City. The "Procedure for a Lasting Peace" seeks through negotiations to "roll back" revolution in the isthmus, something Ronald Reagan's contras, death squads and puppet armies have utterly failed to accomplish. This accord is a direct consequence of the spectacular implosion of the Reagan regime over the Iran/Contra scandal: the agreement was worked out with the Democratic Party. And regional leaders are moving quickly to implement the pact before Reagan can undercut it with his latest plea for \$270 million for his terrorist army. But ultimately the fate of the Central American revolution will be decided not by a piece of paper but on the battlefield of the class struggle.

The radical-nationalist Sandinista government of embattled Nicaragua, in particular, is multiplying its "gestures of good will" to the bourgeois opposition. Archbishop Obando y Bravo was named head of the National Reconciliation Commission supervising implementation of the accords. The contra cardinal promptly flew off to Miami to meet with the Polish Pope of counter-revolution and attend a conclave of Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles. Bishops Bismark Carballo and Pablo Vega, expelled from the country for lobbying Washington for "contra aid," have been allowed to return. Some right-wing politicians have been released from jail. And Sandinista president Daniel Ortega revoked a law confiscating the property of those who have fled the country or participated in contra activity.

While it would leave the Sandinista regime in place, the Guatemala accord requires government guarantees to the bourgeois opposition, amnesty for political prisoners, and elections to be supervised by that Yankee ministry of colonies, the OAS. And it would give the U.S. free rein to subvert the Nicaraguan Revolution from within. They are planning to reopen the voice of the internal contras, *La Prensa* (at least \$100,000 from the CIA conduit NED), and allowing counterrevolutionary "religious" celebrations by Obando y Bravo (more than \$125,000 from Oliver North). CIA contra leaders Arturo Cruz (\$75,000 via Saudi Arabia) and Adolfo Calero (\$100,000 from Contragate slush fund IBC) will be on the loose. And the cardinal is demanding release of more than 2,000 National Guardsmen jailed for their crimes against the Nicaraguan people under the tyrant Somoza.

This phony "peace" plan targets the gains of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Calero could demand return of his confiscated Coca-Cola factory, now run by a workers commission. Contra landowners will want their estates back. Releasing the Somozaist Guardsmen may spark sharp opposition among the Nicaraguan masses who lost more than 50,000 of their loved ones to these butchers. When Daniel Ortega spoke at

ing "détente" with Uncle Sam on the anniversary of the revolution last July 19, Ortega recalled that when they met with Democrat Carter he "expressed concern for the future of the Revolution and we told him that actually it was up to his country." Carter came up with \$75 million for Nicaragua, but when Reagan took office he launched a war on Managua. Ortega was telling the Democrats: Reagan wants to bump us



Managua protest against Reagan's embargo in 1985. Banner reads: "I won't sell out. I won't give up. Let your mother cry uncle."

a Sandinista public meeting in León last week, several mothers of soldiers killed in action against the contras were seated in the front row. One of them rose to say:

"We do not agree that there should be a general amnesty. We don't want the people who killed our sons walking freely beside us on the street. It would make a mockery of the blood spilled by so many martyrs."

While the accords require cutting off aid to insurgents in El Salvador, one Salvadoran guerrilla leader vowed: "We will not put down our arms, now or ever."

From the moment they marched into Managua eight years ago, following the mass insurrection which drove out Somoza, the Sandinista National Liberation Front has proclaimed the holy trinity of a "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment." The FSLN has subsidized Nicaraguan capitalists with dollars while the working masses are starving and allowed CIA-funded politicians and propaganda to circulate freely—all in hopes of achiev-

ing off, Carter wanted to buy us off—why don't you make an offer?

Morenoites Join Popular Front for "Peace"

Despite all the talk from Washington about "Sandino-Communism," the petty-bourgeois nationalist FSLN regime has tried to freeze the revolution in midstream, in a never-never land between capitalism and socialism. We have warned that this "peace" fraud could signal the start of reconsolidating a bourgeois state in Nicaragua (see "Smash the Contras—Complete the Revolution!" *WI* No. 435, 4 September). Not surprisingly, the pro-Moscow Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN) and Communist Party of Nicaragua (PCN) both hailed the sellout Guatemala accords. Following the Stalinist schema of "two-stage revolution," the PSN and PCN have been even more anxious than the Sandinistas for a deal with the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie and "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism.

Then there are two small parties that have stood to the left of the Sandinistas. These are the pro-Albanian Partido Marxista-Leninista (PML) and the ostensibly Trotskyist Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), followers of the late Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno. In the 1984 Nicaraguan elections and last year's debate over a new constitution, the PML and PRT claimed to stand for proletarian revolution, opposing the capitalist "mixed economy" and denouncing the Contradora "peace" proposals by the regional bourgeois powers. It was noteworthy, therefore, when the Mexican leftist daily *La Jornada* (26 August) reported that the PML and PRT had supported a left Christian Democrat, Mauricio Díaz, for membership on the "National Reconciliation Commission," responsible for implementing the treacherous Guatemala accords.

The Albanian PML and Morenoite PRT were part of the "Group of Five," a popular front with the PSN and two small dissident liberal bourgeois parties who had participated in the '84 elections. (This was counterposed to the "Group of Six," a malodorous "unpopular front" joining the PCN and the CIA's rightist puppets who had boycotted the '84 elections.) The PRT reportedly issued a statement denouncing the Guatemala accords as "counter-revolutionary" and called for a panel of candidates who opposed the pact. But when they couldn't find any takers, a PRT spokesman said, "we had to critically support the candidacy of Luis Sánchez" of the pro-Moscow PSN, which supports the treaty and has repeatedly attacked the FSLN from the right. Sánchez was one of three candidates put forward by the Group of Five, from which Ortega selected the Social Christian Díaz, who says he will follow the lead of Cardinal Obando y Bravo!

So at this crucial moment when the survival of the Nicaraguan Revolution and the struggle to extend it throughout the isthmus requires intransigent opposition to the treacherous pact with the bourgeois Central American rulers and the Yankee imperialist Democratic Party, these self-styled Trotskyists give "critical" support to a class-collaborationist front to implement a counterrevolutionary "peace" fraud.

So much for the PRT's formal opposition to the Guatemala pact! And it's hardly fortuitous. We noted before that while incorrectly characterizing the FSLN regime as a "bourgeois government," the PRT has increasingly acted as a pressure group trying to push the Sandinistas to the left (see "Cuba, Nicaragua and the Permanent Revolution," *WI* No. 428, 15 May). Internationally, the Morenoites have frequently adopted "left" postures. (They heliotedly copied the Soartacist tendency's call for military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador and our denunciation of the "Contradora" plan for a "negotiated solution" to the Central American conflict.) But when the crunch comes, these are only empty phrases; the real policy is to be a "left" tail of the popular front.

For Workers Revolution in Central America!

Argentine adventurer Moreno was a quick-change artist with a penchant for passing himself off as the left wing of whatever was popular at the moment (variously disguised as a Peronist, Guevarist, Maoist, social democrat, black nationalist, Sandinista and even a Khomeinist), and his U.S. acolytes under *lider mimimo* León Pérez are cynical gangsterist con men. The Nicaraguan PRT has acted as centrists in the pressure cooker of a besieged country mired halfway in a revolution. Yet its policies of "crystallized confusion" (Trotsky's capsule definition of centrism) are all the more dangerous, as the

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Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega (far left) and Washington's Salvadoran puppet president Duarte agree to counterrevolutionary "peace" plan. Accords would give free rein to internal contras like Archbishop Obando y Bravo.

Defend Nicaragua— Donate Dollars!

SWP Scabs on the Revolution

As Reagan prepares to ask Congress to fork over another \$270 million in blood money for the contra butchers, the Spartacus Youth Clubs have kicked off a campaign of material aid in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. "Nicahucks" is an elementary act of anti-imperialist solidarity with the workers and peasants of Nicaragua. At SYC forums across the country, volunteer *brigadistas* recently returned from Nicaragua have given eyewitness accounts of the courage of the Nicaraguan people and the severe toll the U.S.-sponsored contra war has taken on the country. Some 50 percent of the Nicaraguan economy goes for the necessary military defense of the gains of the revolution. In the cross hairs of the American imperialists' "war on Communism," Nicaragua desperately needs hard currency to buy everything from arms to medicines to spare parts. *Take a side! Defend the revolution—donate to Nicabucks!*

Over \$50 was collected by "Nicabucketeers" at a protest demonstration at Concord Naval Base, site of the brutal maiming of Brian Willson, a Vietnam veteran protesting U.S. policy in Central America, who lost both his legs when a munitions train deliberately ran over him. At a Boston demonstration protesting this hideous crime of U.S. imperialism against protesters on the home front, a *Workers Vanguard* subscriber broke away from a line of demonstrators singing peace hymns, dropped \$5 into the bucket and renewed his subscription on the spot. Literature tables and an eyewitness "Defend Nicaragua" forum at Columbia brought in \$75 in one day. Nicabucks collectors in all areas report they've had to sell their own campaign buttons saying "Defend Nicaragua! Crush the Contras!" off their shirts to people who can't wait for



Sandinista soldier wears badge of Nicabucks campaign. Make your contribution and button orders payable to/send to: Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua, c/o Box 3118 Church St. Station, New York, NY 10008.

the new run to come off the presses (funds raised by sales of the button—\$2 each—also go to defend Nicaragua). An MIT student signed up to help us collect funds, saying, "This will drive the liberals wild!"

Indeed, our Nicabucks campaign exposes the liberal fake-left as nothing but a tail on the Democratic Party's ass. While we hit the campuses and factory gates with a call to "Crush the contras—Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" the Communist Party (CP), Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and lant-hearted "solidarity" milieu has thrown its support behind the Guatemalan "peace" plan which is the Democratic Party's program to roll back the Nicaraguan Revolution for Uncle Sam. The plan would amnesty the contra killers and let these

beasts run amok to organize counter-revolution inside Nicaragua. The only "peace" to come of this plan, aimed at achieving what the contras have been unable to win on the battlefield, will be the peace of the graveyard!

A welter of popular-front "leftist" lash-ups with names like "Days of Decision" and "Countdown '87" have launched a frenzied effort to pressure the Democrats to pressure Ronald ("I'm a contra too") Reagan to cut off the contra creatures they created. These are the Democrats who just groveled before Oliver North, saluting his "patriotism" while they wagged their fingers at his methods. Now, the charlatans of the U.S. "left" are crawling after the Dems and helping them pretend to be partisans of "peace"! Contrast this spurt of "activity" with the reformists' total col-

lapse after Sandinista president Daniel Ortega went to Moscow in 1985, seeking aid in the wake of the imperialist embargo which was an unmistakable U.S. act of war.

Front and center among those lending aid and comfort to the enemy of Nicaragua's working people by uncritically bailing the murderers' "peace" is the anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and its deadly dull Young Socialist Alliance. The SWP goes so far as to call this negotiated sellout for the re-consolidation of capitalist rule a "big blow" to Washington, and Nicaragua's "biggest diplomatic victory in years against the drive of the U.S. government to militarily overthrow the Sandinista revolution" (*Militant*, 28 August). Despite decades of cheerleading for Castro, the last thing the self-styled Fidelistas of the SWP want is for Nicaragua to follow the "Cuban road." As far as the SWP is concerned, consolidating the Nicaraguan Revolution and expropriating the inherently counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie would be ultraleftist folly.

The Soviet and Cuban leaderships also have endorsed the "peace" plan, consistent with their mistaken faith that U.S. imperialism will leave them alone if they sell out revolutions around the globe. This only emboldens the imperialists, who fully intend to reconquer, through outright war or diplomatic strangulation, the markets for exploitation they lost in the 1917 Russian Revolution. Today Nicaragua is the bull's eye of the anti-Soviet war drive. We Trotskyists say, *Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America!*

We call for the defense, completion and extension of the Nicaraguan Revolution as the way forward for the workers and peasants of Central America to rid themselves from U.S.-backed mercenaries and death squad regimes. This is a *class war*, which only one side can win. *Our side* is that of the workers and peasants of the world, and the Nicabucks campaign is one basic expression of internationalism, part of the responsibility of revolutionaries in the "belly of the beast" to do everything possible to stay the hand of bloody U.S. imperialism. Every dollar you donate goes to Nicaragua—the Spartacus Youth Clubs assume all administrative costs. Oppose the U.S. war makers! Send your "anti-contribution" today! Make checks payable/send to: Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua, c/o Box 3118 Church St. Station, New York, NY 10008. ■

Spartacist Events

Nicaragua Eyewitness Reports and Slide Shows

Defend Nicaragua! Smash U.S. Imperialism!

CHICAGO

Wednesday, Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m.

Room to be announced
University of Chicago

For more information (312) 663-0715

Speaker Judith Preston, member, Spartacus Youth Club
recently returned from Nicaragua

MADISON

Tuesday, Sept. 22, 7:30 p.m.

See "Today in the Union"
for room location, UW-Madison

For more information (608) 251-6431

Nicaragua: Smash the Contras— Complete the Revolution!

ITHACA

Thursday, Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m.

Noyes Center, 3rd floor lounge
Cornell University

For more information (607) 277-1834

Speakers

Jan Norden, editor, *Workers Vanguard*
Spartacist League Central Committee
Dan Carew
member, Spartacus Youth Club
recently returned from Nicaragua

70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

SAN FRANCISCO

Thursday, Sept. 24, 5:00 p.m.

Student Union, Room B-112
San Francisco State University

For more information (415) 863-6963

OAKLAND

Friday, Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m.

College Ave. Presbyterian Church
5951 College Ave

For more information (415) 839-0851

Speaker Joseph Seymour, Spartacist League Central Committee

Chicago Cops Kill Larry Hawkins, Invade Black Homes

Labor, Blacks Must Mobilize to Smash Racist Terror!

CHICAGO

Saturday, Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m.

Michigan Room, Hyde Park Hilton
(4900 South Lakeshore Drive)

For more information (312) 663-0715

Speaker Ed Clarkson
Spartacist League Central Committee

Guest Speakers

Kevin Quirk
member, ATU Local 241

Mark Kelly
Partisan Defense Committee
representative

Roosevelt Hawkins,
brother of Larry Hawkins

Philippines...

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1986. They were lionised not only by Manila society but also by Aquino-smitten Australian left groups like the Socialist Workers Party. Honasan himself is a sadistic macho/psychopath known for carving the ears off his victims in the war against the Muslim rebels. RAM ousted Marcos to turn the factionalised, demoralised and corrupt army into a more effective fighting force against the growing New People's Army (NPA) leftist insurgency. Demanding a free hand to kill Communists, these henchmen chafe at what they see as the "weakness" of the Aquino government in dealing with the NPA and allowing leftists to agitate openly in the cities. Aquino's crackdown, in reducing the petroleum price rises as a concession to the masses, was for them the last straw.

The personnel of Cory Aquino's regime resembles the restored Bourbon monarchy in France in 1815, with the old landowning oligarchy recapturing their power and wealth from the nouveau riche bourgeois cronies of Marcos. Aquino's "democracy" means the landowners keep their land, IMF-austerity is enforced to pay Marcos' debt, and the U.S. imperialists keep



Armed Forces headquarters near Manila after assault by government troops suppressing right-wing coup attempt last month.

their strategic bases which are aimed at the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Coup plots by reactionary officers are "punished" with 30 pushups, or being posted to the provinces, as Honasan was after being implicated in his then-chief Enrile's plot last November. Since the end of the truce with the Communist Party (CPP)-led NPA guerrillas in February, Aquino has "unsheathed the sword of war" against them, in particular blessing the CIA-backed anti-Communist "vigilantes"—death squads—like the Alsa Masa in Davao, or crazed cultists like the Iadtads, who

chop off their victims' heads and drink their blood. But the government army is still losing.

Both Washington and its junior partners in Canberra [Australia] hastily condemned the coup. But they are increasingly worried that Aquino cannot stem the growth of the NPA and hence the threat to their strategic war bases. Exploiting the disarray of the military, the NPA killed 21 soldiers on September 3—its biggest single success of the insurgency. Amid reports that sinister "retired" U.S. general John Singlaub of Contragente infamy met with

Honasan earlier last year, the government says it is investigating whether the CIA was behind Gringo's coup. As the CIA has taken a greater role in the war against the NPA, the Philippines has become another battlefield of the "Reagan doctrine" of global counterrevolution. They call it "low intensity conflict" now, but it's all been tried in Vietnam and El Salvador—the sinister death squads, strategic hamlets, "disinformation," special forces and spy planes—everything short of U.S. ground troops to bolster the local client army.

Submerged in the middle-class "people power" of the February 1986 overthrow of Marcos, the working class has emerged in the recent wave of strikes and protests. The August 26 general strike was the most significant labour action since Aquino came to power. With widespread peasant unrest, national/ethnic revolts and a weak and divided government, the proletariat is in an effective position to lead all the oppressed layers of society behind the banner of permanent revolution. The CPP/NPA, the main benefactor of the increasing plebeian discontent, is locked into a reformist strategy of a "popular front" with a nonexistent "national bourgeoisie." Yet the only alternative to a rightist bloodbath is a proletarian struggle for power.

Report from Manila

The situation in the Philippines is explosive. The bombing of villages continues unabated since the collapse of the cease-fire in January, but still fails to stem the growth of the NPA which is now reported to be over 25,000 strong. Recently they have made a number of daring strikes close to Metro Manila and their urban guerrilla "sparrow units" now operate in the city. While we were there the Communist Party pulled off a brazen demonstration at the funeral of a "sparrow" killed by cops, where the *Internationale* was sung and the hammer and sickle flew in the streets of Manila. At the same time Cebu City has been hit by major strikes, and in one day the NPA struck right in the heart of the city four times. The truce with the Muslim secessionist guerrillas is about to collapse. Even the truce with Catholic priest Conrado Balweg's Cordillera People's Liberation Army guerrillas, a regional split from the NPA, looks shaky.

In the name of "people power" Aquino has sanctioned the unleashing of "vigilante" death squads whose terror has claimed scores of lives, especially in the southern island of Mindanao. While we were in Manila Aquino's Local Government Secretary, Jaime Ferrer, a key figure behind the death squads, was blown away in a daring attack. While

even much of the bourgeois press speculated this was quite possibly the work of some disgruntled local *caudillo*, the armed forces predictably pointed the finger at the NPA. In any case this was the pretext to set up ongoing road checks and widespread searches throughout Metro Manila. Following this Defence Secretary Ilo revealed plans to implement "limited" martial law "to restore order."

The military continues to be a cauldron of intrigue. An infamous "poison letter" attacking the government had been widely circulating in the military recently, and elements in the armed forces are openly disgruntled with what they perceive as Aquino's softness in cracking down on the left. While Camp Crame was put on alert for yet another reported coup attempt, one bourgeois paper, referring to the increasing repression, observed that Aquino has already carried out a "coup in slow motion."

The economy is visibly crumbling under the combined weight of political instability, corruption and the foreign debt. The working class and poor hearing the brunt of this are being driven to the wall. Manila is becoming one gigantic slum as tens of thousands migrate into the city looking for non-existent work. Even most of those "lucky" enough to have a job are forced to subsist on less than the minimum wage of some 57 pesos—about \$3—a day (32 pesos for agricultural workers). "Smoking Mountain" in Manila epitomises the fate of the poor, thousands living in shanties on top of a rotting, putrid garbage dump.

Added to all this Aquino had just decreed a massive 17 per cent rise in the price of petroleum fuel. This will trigger a whole series of price hikes and push thousands already living on the margin into the abyss of unbearable poverty. The union movement signalled its intention to fight this. One jeepney (minibus) drivers union threatened to paralyse all traffic in Manila, and even the CIA-funded Trade Union Congress of the Philippines felt compelled to threaten a national strike. This is shaping up to be a big showdown between Aquino and the unions.

Everywhere we went in Manila there were picket lines, and every second day some plant was walking out. At a picket of Shoe World department store in



Manila, August 13—Workers protest murder of Purefoods striker, while Stalinist labor leader Beltran (inset) shakes hands with officer commanding troops at demonstration.

downtown Manila, there was a huge banner across the building proclaiming "Workers of World Unite," signed Young Christian Association. At Santo Thomas University 1,100 academics walked out for the first time in its 373-year history, stopping all classes and defying a return-to-work order. Workers at one of the bourgeoisie's leading papers, the *Bulletin*, walked out over the bosses' attempt to bust their union. Even one of the two casinos and a golf club were struck while we were there. Clearly the bourgeoisie will not long tolerate this situation. Aquino has already used troops several times to break strikes, and while we were there hundreds of riot police were mobilised at the *Bulletin* picket for an attack.

A one-month old strike at Purefoods Corporation was attacked by 300 heavily armed troops on August 5 who shot three strikers and took some casualties themselves when the strikers courageously fought back. (Significantly this plant is owned by the Philippines' pre-eminent capitalist, Ayala, and Defence Secretary Ilo is a director.) Subsequently five of their members were arrested on charges ranging from direct assault to attempted homi-

cide, with bail set at P3,600 each, something like a year's wages. Nevertheless the money was raised from union supporters.

Amid this working-class restlessness and growing bourgeois reaction sits Aquino's new Congress, supposedly the new hope for stability. Even the bourgeois press here have trouble treating it seriously. It is made up in large part of millionaires and landowners, reflecting the elite lines on which Filipino bourgeois politics has always been based. Laurel, ostensibly vice president, has been relegated to the back seat (the press refer to him as the "spare tyre"), while the leadership of Congress looks like an Aquino family reunion. Cory's brother Peping, brother-in-law Butz and uncle Francisco Sumulong all occupy leading positions (Sumulong looks set to get the lucrative Manila ports contract). The bourgeoisie have such a hard job trying to sell this new facade of democracy that the *Inquirer* (2 August) commented, "the solons [Congressmen] better put a stop to the fire-eating sideshows lest social forces (among others) would again reduce Congress to a museum piece." The government is patently incapable of resolving any of the funda-



Corazon Aquino, head of made-in-Washington regime.

mental social questions confronting the Philippine masses, nor even of cohering stable bourgeois rule.

Nowhere is this more graphic than in the debate around Aquino's land reform program (CARP). Under CARP landless farmers would have to buy the land they till and landowners would be compensated. Those farmers, led by the CPP-aligned peasant union KMP, who have seized idle land will be evicted. While Congress was debating it, a group of landowners (mainly "solons" themselves) vowed to oppose CARP in a proclamation signed in blood. The sugar barons of Negros and the Panay landowners have threatened armed rebellion against Aquino if she tries to touch their land. Aquino even had to threaten her own cabinet members with the sack if they voted against CARP!

The other big question is the foreign debt, whose interest payments alone represent some 50 per cent of export earnings. In the face of widespread and growing resentment at having to pay this imperialist ransom, much of which was run up by Marcos' plunder of the economy, a section of the bourgeoisie (tailed by the CPP-aligned trade union KMU) are talking about "selective repudiation." The World Bank sternly cautioned their Filipino lackeys not to lightly bandy about such terms. After a lot of bluster about seeing "the true face of foreign finance" Aquino could only whine that the Philippines has been the World Bank's best lackey. While the country is visibly crumbling under the weight of this debt, the bourgeoisie are unable to even contemplate breaking this chain that is strangling the Filipino masses.

The massive U.S. bases at Subic Bay and Clark best exemplify the "special place" the Philippines occupies in the eyes of U.S. and Australian imperialism. Tour guides told us Australia has a permanent military presence at Clark, and while we were there five Australian warships were in town for war manoeuvres with the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the South China Sea (i.e., somewhere off Vietnam, the main target of imperialism's designs to roll back social revolution in Southeast Asia). Del Pilar Street in Manila Bay bristles with "sexy go-go dancer" bars sporting handwritten signs welcoming the Australian navy.

The working class is increasingly vocal, the CPP continues to grow in authority, but it's clearly squandering the immense social power of the proletariat. Nowhere was this clearer to us than at a demonstration called by the KMU over the death of one of the strikers at Purefoods. The politics of the KMU leadership were laid bare at the end when KMU chairman Crispin Beltran went over to the commanding officer of the troops harring the demonstrators' access to Malacañang, joked with him and shook his hand—the hand of the armed forces that was still fresh from the blood of striking workers. The program of class collaboration in this gesture represents sits in flat opposition to the interests and sentiments of the class-conscious proletariat. While the CPP looks to Aquino to hold the more rabid anti-Communist lanates at bay, workers at Purefoods told us that under Aquino "things are worse now" than under Marcos. "We strongly believed in Aquino" because we wanted changes, said one, "but today's changes are for the worse." They said Marcos used water cannons on strikers but Aquino uses bullets.

The situation is fragile. The bourgeoisie is still divided and threatening to tear itself apart but they are agreed on the need to repress the workers and peasants. The CP's popular-frontist politics are a millstone around the neck of the proletariat. With the danger of a reactionary bloodbath mounting, the working class desperately needs a revolutionary leadership, a Trotskyist party which fights for a workers and peasants government that alone offers the Filipino masses a future. ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 6)

future of the Nicaraguan Revolution requires above all Bolshevik clarity. As Trotsky wrote of Andrés Nin's POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification) during the Spanish Civil War:

"Left centrism, especially under revolutionary conditions, is always ready to adopt in words the program of the socialist revolution and is not niggardly with sonorous phrases. But the fatal malady of centrism is not being capable of drawing courageous tactical and organizational conclusions from its general conceptions."

—"Centrism and the Fourth International" (March 1939)

Nin repeatedly proclaimed the permanent revolution. In February 1936, he wrote that "the Popular Front doesn't meet the vital interests of the proletariat" and only allows "the bourgeoisie to consolidate its class rule in the republican form." Yet the POUM had just run in the 1936 elections on the Popular Front platform, and a few months later Nin became minister of justice in Catalonia. As the Civil War dragged on and the bourgeois Republican government blocked revolutionary action by the Spanish proletariat, in April 1937 Nin called for the workers to "create new organs of power" to establish a workers and peasants government. Yet barely a week later, when the Barcelona workers rose up in the heroic May Days against the Stalinist/Republican onslaught, the POUM refused to fight for power.

The Spanish experience should be before the eyes of would-be revolutionaries in Nicaragua today. Already in 1983, we posed the question: will the FSLN act as Cuban Fidelistas and proceed to expropriate the bourgeoisie, or as Spanish Republicans, who in respecting the limits of capitalism sealed the fate of the Spanish Revolution? In Spain, the Barcelona workers' defeat in May 1937 led to the assassination of Nin and ultimately the collapse of the Republic before Franco. In Nicaragua, too, if the contras take back their land and factories, it will be over the corpses of the best revolutionary fighters. And those who failed to translate militant resolutions into "courageous tactical and organizational conclusions" will share the responsibility.

But this need not be the outcome. The history of the Russian Revolution of 1917 shows that even a small party armed with a Marxist program can lead the way to victory. Following the February Revolution, the Bolsheviks were distinctly in the minority against a host of petty-bourgeois parties. Yet seven months later they emerged triumphant, because of their refusal to capitulate to the bourgeoisie. Today in Nicaragua, the contras have suffered a strategic defeat at the hands of the Sandinista Army. Hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants are armed and ready to defend their revolution. In El Salvador, Duarte is shaking under the blows of guerrilla attacks and workers' struggles, despite more than \$2.5 billion in U.S. aid to the "death squad democracy."

To the north, Mexican workers are fighting tenacious union battles against IMF-style capitalist austerity imposed by their "institutional revolutionary" bourgeois rulers. In the U.S., Reagan is on the rocks: there is massive and continuing opposition to contra aid and widespread suspicion that the next step is a U.S. invasion of Central America. But the working class has yet to mobilize, as the unions and the "solidarity" movement are tied to the Democrats, Reagan's partners in the global anti-Soviet war drive, whose sights are aimed today at Central America. The key to victory, from Managua to Detroit, is the construction of authentically Trotskyist parties in a fight to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

Australia...

(continued from page 5)

Injury to All!" stated clearly why he had been targeted by the bosses:

"The bosses' excuse of 'bad time-keeping' was exposed as the bald-faced lie it is when they told the FIA organiser the next day that they didn't want me back because of my 'bad attitude.' What they are talking about is my union attitude. In March 1985 during an electricians' strike I refused to work with apprentices being used by the boss to break the strike. I was sacked and reinstated only after the threat of an island-wide stoppage and the electricians' refusal to return to work without me. This victory for union solidarity was an important blow to the bosses' attempts to play off the unions here against each other while using apprentices to break our strikes."

Since then, Florimell has been in the forefront of the fight for strike action to defend jobs against Hawke's plans to close the Cockatoo dockyard. He participated in the successful struggle that defeated attempts by the ASIO secret police to weed out militants. Florimell was also prominent in the fight to oppose the despatch of the *Jervis Bay* naval training ship to Fiji following the recent coup. This must have particularly gored the Cold War Hawke government's ox!

Down with Union-Busting Hawke Government!

The CIA-loving FIA leadership is out to kill any action at Cockatoo with the

defeatist line that this struggle can't be won. While they spend thousands of dollars of union dues on campaigns for reactionary Polish Solidarność, they sabotage union action to defend jobs and conditions.

Ironworkers and Painters & Dockers are prime targets of Hawke's plans to axe unions at Cockatoo, which mainly does naval work, in the service of the U.S.-led anti-Soviet war drive. But there's a problem here: how does Hawke get his two-ocean navy if he axes this skilled work force? In this "defence" industry, the workers confront the imperialist war drive pointblank. Every victory over the bosses strikes a blow for proletarian internationalism against Reagan/Hawke's mad drive toward nuclear holocaust.

The fight to defend Florimell in this traditionally militant workplace is everybody's fight. Already support is coming in from unions at other workplaces, such as Fairfax metal workers who have agitated for union defence of Florimell, and the Metropolitan Mail Centres Committee of the Australian Postal and Telecommunications Union passed a motion condemning the sacking as an attack on unionism. From the coal fields to the shipyards hard class struggle is needed. The working class desperately needs a revolutionary workers party, forged through splitting the ALP's working-class base from the pro-capitalist tops; a class-struggle party which fights to smash the capitalist system and establish in its place a planned socialist economy. ■

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Arms Train...

(continued from page 1)

people have consistently opposed aid to the contras. And now the Reagan presidency has been crippled by the Iran/contra scandal. The Ollie North types in the U.S. military want somebody's blood. So they tried to kill Brian Willson by running him over with a train.

Concord Death Train

Willson's Nuremberg Actions Committee had been holding vigils since June, protesting the shipment of up to 120,000 pounds of munitions from the weapons station, including—according to documents the group obtained through the Freedom of Information Act—bombs, ammunition and white phosphorus rockets sent to the death squad regime in El Salvador. The Concord installation is infamous as the site of a munitions explosion in July 1944 that killed 327 sailors, most of them black; today it reportedly houses nuclear weapons.

The September 1 protest had been widely publicized, and its organizers had informed Navy authorities of their plans to kneel on the train tracks. Navy personnel were out in force, communicating through walkie-talkies. The munitions train, with two "observers" standing on a platform on the front of the engine, came out of the weapons station and sat on the tracks 200 yards away from the protesters for 10 to 15 minutes. Then it started up, gathering speed as it rammed through the demon-



Ben Linder (left), American internacionalista killed last April by Reagan's contra terrorists; Linder's funeral in Matagalpa.

USSR. His courage and commitment are an indication of the depth and breadth of opposition at home to Reagan's mass murder in Central America, and of the explosive opposition a direct U.S. invasion would ignite. The atrocity committed against Willson is intended to intimidate opposition on the home front to counterrevolutionary war in Central America.

Up until now, the government has tended to arrest pacifist protesters. These arrests often have the character of a ritual dance: the protesters go limp, the police "cite them out" (release them with a citation). But now the government has coldbloodedly cut off a man's limbs for this "crime"—as in feudal Saudi Arabia, where Koranic "justice"

cargoing) of military goods to Central America would do more than any number of pacifist vigils and Gandhian "pledges of resistance." (The president of the American Federation of Government Employees, the union representing civilian workers at the weapons center, has condemned "the war of terror against the people of Nicaragua"—but what's needed is labor action, not paper resolutions.) It is the working class which has the social power and class interest to make a socialist revolution, smashing the bloody rule of capital; this is the only way to end imperialist war. And this requires building a revolutionary workers party, defeating the labor bureaucrats who chain the working class to the bosses' Democratic Party of racism and war.

But the rad-libs and fake-lefts turned a September 5 Concord protest against the maiming of Brian Willson into a pep rally for the Democratic Party. Instead of outrage against the government's bloody crime, there was a fete for Democratic hustler Jesse Jackson. The crowd screamed "run Jesse run" as the man who embraced arch-segregationist George Wallace called on "true patriots" to follow the path of Martin Luther King and Gandhi—and, above all, to "set 'em straight in '88" (by voting for the Democratic Party, whose well-known contributions to "peace" include Hiroshima, the Bay of Pigs, the war against Vietnam). It should be recalled that during the Vietnam War, Dixiecrat George Wallace declared he would run over any protesters who got in the way of the military machine. And the main aim of Jackson's campaign today is to woo the Dixiecrat racists, who are also rabid supporters of the contra war.

The American ruling class, Democrats as well as Reaganites, are determined to overthrow the Nicaraguan Revolution in the name of "free world" anti-Communism. The main obstacle to a direct U.S. invasion is fear of another Vietnam, a long, dirty colonial war which would rip apart American society. So Washington has tried to export counterrevolution on the cheap—but the contra terrorists are losers. The war has brought terrible suffering to the Nicaraguan people but has come no-

where near to toppling the Sandinistas. Former State Department assistant secretary Viron Vaky describes the contra war as "in effect asking Nicaraguans to bleed and die for U.S. strategic interests that Americans would rather not die for themselves" ("Positive Containment in Nicaragua," *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1987).

U.S. imperialism cannot wage war against the Nicaraguan people while the American people remain happily unaffected. When Eugene Hasenfus was shot down by Sandinista militiamen over Nicaragua last year while ferrying arms to the contras, the American public was upset not out of sympathy for this CIA mercenary but because they saw American casualties as foreboding "another Vietnam." In a different way, the brutal murder of Ben Linder heightened fears that American blood, too, will be spilled in Nicaragua. The Iran/contra scandal showed that the Reagan gang is more than willing to subvert and overthrow American bourgeois democracy in order to overthrow the Nicaraguan Revolution. Now the same forces that have killed and maimed tens of thousands of Nicaraguans and Salvadorans have maimed an antiwar protester in Northern California.

At bottom, "moral witness" pacifism appeals to the humanity of the American ruling class. This state, whether administered by Reagan Republicans or Mondale/Jackson Democrats, is necessarily an instrument of capitalist oppression and exploitation. U.S. imperialism represents only inhumanity, war and mass terror. The atrocity against Brian Willson was intended to terrorize the American people. This is Reagan's policy on dealing with protesters: his bloodhound Edwin Meese has stated that a man killed by police at a radical student protest in Berkeley's People's Park in the late '60s "deserved to die." At Concord the ruling class has shown a glimpse of its plans for mass detention of Hispanics and radicals to crush protest against an invasion of Central America, a taste of its Oliver North-style blueprints for a military coup. Only the power of the revolutionary working class can defeat the state terrorists in the White House and Pentagon. ■



Brian Willson (far right) with fellow veterans during month-long fast in Washington to protest contra aid.

strators and ran over Willson. The Navy later came out with the absurd lie that its personnel "didn't see" the protesters, and claimed the train was going five miles per hour. The local NBC-TV affiliate, using video footage, calculated the train's speed at 17 miles per hour. Witnesses state one of the Navy's "observers" shook his head "no" at demonstrators who pleaded for the train to stop.

Willson is a lawyer from suburban San Rafael, a former intelligence captain in Vietnam who once owned a dairy farm before becoming a full-time pacifist activist. Last fall he organized a month-long fast at the U.S. Capitol building with four other veterans. This spring he and his fellow veterans led a "march for life" through the contra war zone in northern Nicaragua. "I risked my life for war," he told *Barricada Internacional* (23 April), "Now we risk them for peace." After being run over by the arms train, he said, "I've joined the legion of kids in Nicaragua without legs."

Brian Willson is heroic in his dedication. Rosario Murillo, wife of Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega, visited Willson's hospital bed and praised his courage. Soviet spokesmen have hailed Willson as a "hero of peace" and offered him free medical care in the

prescribes the severing of hands and heads.

The sight, on prime-time television, of a man being deliberately run over by a train produced widespread shock and outrage. Protesters trashed a ROTC building in Berkeley and later ripped up a section of the tracks near the Concord Naval Station. Major newspapers around the country have publicized the Concord death train. Democratic Party politicians have called for Congressional investigations.

The government is now treating white, middle-class Vietnam vets the way the bosses treated striking oil worker Gregory Goobie, run down and killed by a scab in Rodeo, California, a short distance from Concord, in 1984. The following year in Concord a black youth was lynched. If the labor movement had mobilized against these acts of murderous strikebreaking and racist terror, the government would not now think it could run down antiwar protesters with impunity.

For Class War Against Imperialist War!

Despite the evident commitment of many of their adherents, the pacifist tactics of "moral witness" practiced in Concord are ineffective. A single solid transport strike or labor boycott (hot-

CIA mercenary Eugene Hasenfus, shot down over Nicaragua last year while ferrying arms to contras, led away by Sandinista militiaman.



Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

"malign neglect" of public education, welcomed Harold Washington's election in 1983. But within months the school board cut workers' vital health insurance coverage. Their backs to the wall, the teachers and maintenance workers walked out in a bitter three-week strike. Washington tried to appear to be above the fray, but members and supporters of his administration waged an all-out campaign to break the strike with lawsuits and scabberding. The black *Chicago Defender* newspaper and other pro-Washington forces slandered the CTU as "racist." The striking unions held the line against the Board of Education cuts, but the attacks on the teachers didn't subside.

As in 1983, Washington's "reform" Democratic machine is trying to pit the black and Hispanic families against the striking unions. A "Chicago Parents Union" has sprung up, organized by the Midwest Community Council based on the West Side, mobilizing hundreds of parents to jeer union pickets and demanding a role in negotiations. Black attorney Thomas Todd, a Washington supporter and former president of Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, told the *Chicago Defender* in early September that he planned to sue the CTU on behalf of the 434,000 students in the event of a strike. According to the *Defender* (3 September), Todd emphasized "that Chicago now has a Black president on the Board of Education, six Black board members, a Black superintendent of schools, a Black mayor, a Black as head of the CTU, and yet we have the same kinds of problems."

The ghetto masses in Chicago had enormous hopes and illusions when Harold Washington was elected. But in racist, capitalist America black faces in high places are the overseers on Reagan's plantation. Despite the deep racist backlash against Washington's election in 1983, the national Democratic Party was solidly in Washington's corner. Like Jesse Jackson, who was just endorsed by Washington, the black mayors of the rotting cities of the East and Midwest serve to cement the black masses to the capitalist Democratic Party and to prevent labor/black struggle. And in Chicago, Jackson and Operation PUSH have been the enemy of the integrated city unions repeatedly since 1973, suing the unions and organizing scab schools in attempts to break strikes. The most heinous racist atrocity of the Reagan years, the 1985 massacre of the MOVE organization in Phila-

delphia, was carried out by black Democrat Wilson Goode in league with Meese and the FBI.

The strikebreaking of these black Democrats fuels racist cop and fascist terror. The integrated labor movement is where the power lies to crush the Klan/Nazi nightriders who enforce the "color line" in Segregation City. Thousands of black, white and Hispanic workers should fill the Loop in a massive demonstration in solidarity with the school unions. The same power must be mobilized to come to the aid of the victims of racist police terror like Cassandra Seay, and to clean out the fascist scum who terrorize black families in areas like Marquette Park. To lead and organize this kind of struggle we need a multiracial class-struggle workers party, an anti-capitalist party that will fight for a workers government. Victory to the school strike! ■

Jesse Jackson...

(continued from page 12)

whom he told, "The key to a Democratic victory is expanding white support" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 6 June). He means winning back flag-waving racists who holted for the Reaganites. As he said in July, "the party has a progressive wing and a conservative wing, but it takes two wings to fly."

Part of Jackson's Dixiecrat strategy is to divert black hatred for the race-terror of the Klan into a drug witch-hunt. "We've lost far more by dope than we have by the rope" is practically a campaign slogan. A drug witch-hunt can only serve as another pretext for police to terrorize and victimize black people, as repeatedly occurred in Washington, D.C.

The scourge of drug addiction in the ghettos is produced by the terrible poverty and utter hopelessness of blacks in capitalist America. And the Democrats are just as committed to maintaining this racist, capitalist system as the Reaganites. They're just slicker, more hypocritical. As Malcolm X put it, the liberal Democrats' line is: "Let's keep the knee-grows in their place—but tell them we'll treat them a little better; let's fool them more, with more promises."

It's a sign of the deep racism of this country that Jackson's sudden front-runner status in a field of Yuppie clones, following the media-induced Gary Hart blowout, has tied bourgeois commentators in knots. The *New York Times* noted at one point, "Jackson Tops Poll (Not Counting Cuomo)," who is an official non-candidate. As columnist Alexander Cockburn caustically noted, "If Jackson's fortunes continue to wax, he must expect more of that sort of thing, with headlines such as, 'Jackson Ahead (Not Counting F.D.R. and Christ)'" (*Nation*, 30 May).

A black man or woman has the absolute right to be president of the United States—that's the classic "American Dream," right? Just work hard, "assimi-



Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped Klan terrorists from marching through Washington, D.C., November 1982.

late," get ahead and someday your child might even grow up to be president. It's the ultimate sign of assimilation into the "mainstream"—thus Kennedy's election as the first Catholic was significant in reflecting the assimilation of Catholics (Irish, at least) into the top layers of the American ruling elite (being a millionaire didn't hurt of course).

But Jesse Jackson's candidacy surely does not reflect for blacks "how well we're doing." It's just the opposite, in fact. In every single aspect of life—from jobs to housing to education to health care—conditions for blacks are the worst in living memory. Union-busting, slashes in welfare, factory closures, Ku Klux Klan terror—that's what this ruling class is pushing. And the other side of that reality is that there's a lot of anger and a lot of oppressed people looking for ways to fight to win.

Jackson Runs Against Black Struggle

During the 1960s, black establishment leaders sought to channel mass black struggle into "war on poverty" reformism and tokenism. Even then Jesse Jackson stood out as a slimy anti-militant. As the Black Panthers wrote: "Whenever Jessie 'jacknape' Jackson

sees people moving in a progressive manner, he tries to put an obstacle in their way to get them hung up."

Today Jackson has become the white power structure's chief fireman in dampening the flames of black anger. When a Klan-led mob attacked King Day protesters in Forsyth County, Georgia, when racist thugs killed a black youth in New York's Howard Beach, Jackson *opposed* any black protest at all! "Let's not confront each other at Howard Beach or Forsyth County," he implored (*Washington Post*, 20 March). Last spring Jackson turned up at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor to delude mass protests by black and white students against a wave of racist violence. Instead Jackson wants blacks to fight for racist protectionism against foreign workers: he rails against "foreign goods that put our workers out of jobs."

Following a Klan provocation last winter at The Citadel, a South Carolina military academy, where a black cadet was tormented by white cadets in Klan robes, Jackson steered anger away from the fight against racist violence, going to West Point to preach the need for a "strong, vibrant and effective military." Jackson wants that strong U.S. mili-

tary as a weapon against the Soviet Union. He shares both capitalist parties' commitment to the anti-Soviet war drive. "It's important... not to be so radical that the truck jack-knives," he said recently, explaining his refusal to oppose Reagan's mammoth nuclear first-strike "Star Wars" schemes. He's no friend of the Nicaraguan Revolution either, as he attacks the Sandinistas for daring to defend themselves against the counterrevolutionary contras when they shut down the contra mouthpiece *La Prensa*.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Jackson's moribund "Rainbow Coalition" now serves only as a sandbox in which various reformist outfits can play. Irwin Silber's *Frontline* (27 April) argues that since there's no independent working-class party, "progressive forces must prepare to function... on the terrain of the Democratic Party." Predictably the Communist Party is cautiously cheerleading Jackson, though as usual they'll end up supporting *any* Democrat against the Republicans. Most ridiculous is the position of the American Morenites (*Working Class Opposition*, July 1987) who appealed to Jackson to "break from the Democratic Party" and run on "a socialist program." This is just shamefaced support for Mr. Coca-Cola capitalism.

Jackson would like to see the Rainbow extend from Dixiecrat racists like George Wallace to black nationalist demagogues like Louis "Hitler" was a great man" Farrakhan. These are not such strange bedfellows perhaps, since they're both against "race mixing." But since Jackson now seeks to be at one with the white establishment (including its Zionist component), he has distanced himself somewhat from Farrakhan. For his part, this repulsive and sinister anti-Semite is keeping a low profile so as not to embarrass Jackson. But the "black power" soap salesman Farrakhan and the PUSH of ghetto capitalism Jackson have much in common. They share a deep hostility to militant, integrated class struggle, the key to real black and workers power.

Jackson's campaign is intended to keep blacks powerless by tying them to the capitalist Democratic Party while strengthening that party by winning back the white racist vote. Real power and freedom for the black masses, for all the oppressed and exploited, can be won only through a sharp struggle against the capitalist hustlers like Jesse Jackson, and for the perspective of independent, integrated working-class power. The question of black liberation is the question of revolution in this deeply racist country—and the future black leaders of this country will be socialist revolutionaries, forged in the political fight against the Jesse Jacksons and their reformist "left" cheerleaders. Break with the Democrats! For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Union Digs In, Mayor's Out for Blood

Victory to Chicago Teachers Strike!

CHICAGO—On September 8, 38,000 members of the Chicago Teachers Union and 20 allied unions struck the Chicago school system. Faced with a pay cut by the Board of Education, part of an assault against municipal unions, the CTU members are prepared for a hard strike. Black Democratic mayor Harold Washington told the unionists to eat the pay cut and show up for work, and the union-busting *Chicago Tribune* (5 September) demanded that the school board "not back down": "Such a stiff-spine showdown between the board and the teachers' union is long overdue." But the CTU voted more than ten to one for a strike. One picketer summed up the strikers' determination when she told an NBC Evening News reporter, "If all the board can offer me is a pay cut, then I'll be out here forever."

Washington's allies, like the black newspaper *Chicago Defender*, are trying to portray the black-led union as being against the system's 83 percent black and Hispanic schoolchildren. This is a lie. The heavily black CTU is up against the LaSalle Street bankers who lord it over Chicago, with its segregated schools, decaying public housing, and racist cop and Klan/Nazi terror. From Chicago to Detroit, where teachers are also engaged in a bitter strike against black Democratic mayor Coleman Young, the urban poor are bled dry and

the unions shackled. Welfare is slashed, the schools and public housing go to hell, all to pay for Trident submarines and aircraft carriers. It's a bipartisan program of unemployment, illiteracy, segregation and war. And it is enforced by racist terror, from the cold-blooded cop murder of auto worker Larry Hawkins in his own South Side home last July and the brutal police assault on black bus driver Cassandra Seay, to the nightmarish terror of the Klan and Nazis.

The CTU strike is a chance for all black and working people to fight the deep race/class oppression in "Segregation City." With no hope of jobs, almost 50 percent of Chicago's children drop out rather than remain in the decaying schools. Now the Illinois state legislature has slashed \$60 million from the Chicago school budget. And despite their public hickering, both Illinois Republican governor James Thompson and Mayor Washington are united on a program of austerity and cutbacks. They have every city workers union in their sights. Chicago Transit Authority workers, members of the Amalgamated Transit Union, are getting shafted with yet another giveaway contract. The unions had better stand together—or they will be defeated by the "salami" tactics used by former mayor Jane Byrne against the firefighters, teachers and transit workers in 1980.

Militant teachers are fighting for all Chicago workers.

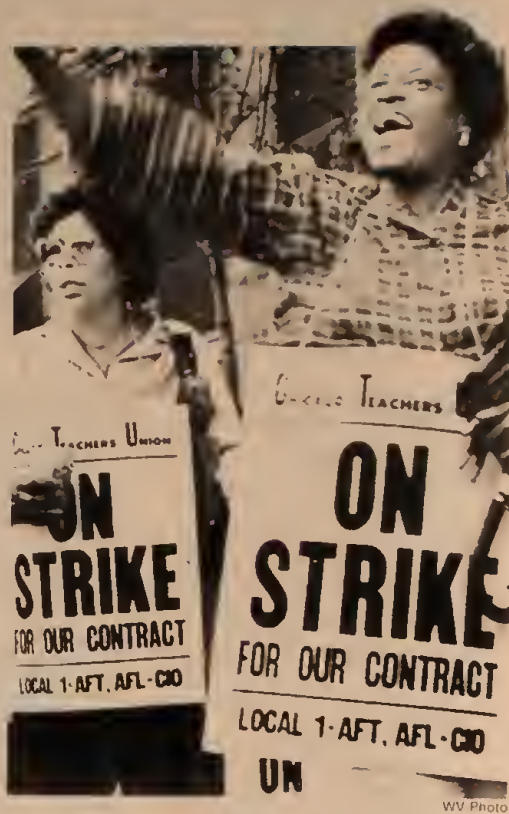
What's needed is a broad working-class offensive which goes beyond narrow trade-union demands, taking up the fight for decent integrated education and housing, free mass transit and labor/black power to crush racist terror. The CTU and the rest of the labor movement must wage a fight for quality, integrated education. Despite a bogus "voluntary desegregation" plan installed five years ago, Chicago schools are as segregated as ever. There must be busing to and from the lily-white, better funded schools in the suburbs, with labor/black defense guards to protect children from racist attack. The labor movement must defend bilingual education programs from the wave of anti-immigrant racist reaction.

The current strike is the teachers'

fourth trip to the picket lines in the four and a half years since Washington was first elected. CTU members are rightfully angry over the deterioration of their real pay and working conditions. New teachers start out at a paltry \$17,600 per year, and the average salary for Chicago teachers is now several thousand dollars below most of their suburban counterparts. Last year the Chicago school board, all of whose members are now Washington appointees, joined the Reagan/Meece "moral majority" witchhunt against teachers and other public employees by ordering fingerprinting and criminal background checks for all new workers.

Many CTU members, fed up with being victims of the bourgeoisie's

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WV Photo

Jesse Jackson Runs for the Dixiecrats

Jesse Jackson has now announced he will officially announce his candidacy for president on October 10. This time around he's not even pretending to be "independent" from the racist powers that be in the Democratic Party. His "freedom train" chugs into the "new" Old South where he's gone courting the "good ole boys" of the Dixiecrat power structure, begging endorsement from the likes of George Wallace. In July, Jackson paid a call on Mr. Segregation, saying Wallace's administration of Alabama was "one of the most forward" of any Southern state. The pres-

ident of the Louisiana Senate introduced Jackson as a "son of the South." Jackson did his job for the Democrats last time, by pulling in four million blacks to register and then turning those votes over to Walter "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale. As we said then, "Jesse Delivers, Blacks Shafted." Now Jesse wants his payoff as a power broker at the Democratic convention.

Jackson's "son of Dixie" courting is right in line with the Democrats' strategy. The party bosses were determined to win back the white vote which went to Reagan in '84. As we wrote right



Hustling endorsements, Jackson gladhands George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace in Montgomery, Alabama.

UPI Bettmann

after the elections about the near-unanimous black vote for Mondale:

"Anyone who thought that this massive (and lonely) display of loyalty would increase black influence in the Democratic Party is dead wrong. In fact, it is having just the opposite effect. Democratic Party leaders have concluded that they must go after the open racist

vote to win back some of the constituencies they lost."

—BET No. 367,
23 November 1984

So Jackson's been making speeches to Dixiecrat caucuses, like the Atlanta-based Democratic Leadership Council,

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