

Yankee Imperialism—Hands Off Nicaragua!

Finish Off the Contras— Complete the Revolution!

Sandinistas Conciliate Reagan's Terrorists

JANUARY 25—The battle over Central America which has raged throughout the '80s has reached a watershed. At a Central American summit meeting in San José, Costa Rica January 15, held to "verify" compliance with the Arias "peace" plan, Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega made risky concessions in order to appease Washington. The Sandinista leader agreed to direct negotiations with Reagan's counterrevolutionary mercenaries, a broad amnesty including former members of dictator Somoza's murderous National Guard, and lifting the state of emergency enacted to clamp down on the "internal contras." Just a Sandinista trick, declared Reagan, so on February 3-4, the U.S. Congress will vote up or down the administration request for more contra aid. Ortega warns that "a single dollar of aid to the contras in any form, humanitarian or otherwise... will kill the peace agreement."

The Reaganauts aren't interested in negotiating with the Sandinistas, only in obliterating them. And despite all the talk of a "new Reagan" following December's Washington summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the contra godfather hasn't changed his stripes. Waving the spectre of "a communist Central America," he declares that if Congress nixes contra aid "the Soviets will have already succeeded in establishing another Cuba, this time on the American mainland." Trying to whip up a war atmosphere against his favorite bugbear of "Sandino-communism," Reagan declared in his "State of the Union" speech that "there are no Republicans, no Democrats, just Americans." His speechwriters must have been reading Kaiser Wilhelm's proclamation of World War I in which he saw "no parties any more, only Germans."

The contras' failure on the battlefield and the widespread unpopularity of Washington's Central American war program in the U.S. was why the Reaganauts had to go to ludicrous lengths, running a drug trafficking and arms



Barricada



AP

While Nicaraguan troops transported by Soviet helicopters battle CIA's contras, Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega (below, at right) pursues "national reconciliation" with contra cardinal Obando y Bravo.

smuggling operation out of the White House basement, to keep the contras alive. But despite the spectacular implosion of the Reagan regime with the Iran/Conagate revelations, and its paralysis during months of Congressional hearings, a year later the Sandinistas are still under Washington's guns. For the U.S. Central American war drive is not the creation of an Ollie North and a

gung-ho "cabal of zealots," but a bipartisan policy of the American imperialist ruling class. They just have some tactical differences over how to pursue it.

The Democrats' aim in this two-track program is to try to win at the bargaining table what Reagan's contras have lost on the battlefield. As we have noted from the outset, the so-called "peace"

plan named after Costa Rican president Oscar Arias was braintrustered by the Congressional Democrats. It's now reported that House Speaker Jim Wright was "in close communication" with Arias last summer. In November Democrat Wright brokered talks between Nicaraguan president Ortega and the contra cardinal Obando y Bravo. At the Washington summit, the "Speaker of State" urged Soviet leaders to offer to cut off arms to Nicaragua, which Gorbachev then did. And at San José there was a full delegation of Democrats, sent at Wright's behest, which met behind the scenes with every Central American president, urging Ortega to make concessions.

So the key vote on the "peace" plan will be held in the House and Senate on February 3-4. But there is no peace in Central America. Since the Arias plan was signed by the five presidents last August in Esquipulas, Guatemala, there

continued on page 10

Black History Month

Young Spartacus

Down with Dixie Flag of Slavery!.....5

Ann Arbor: Students Seize Racist Dean's Office...7

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court is deciding on life or death for Mumia Abu-Jamal. On January 19 the Court heard oral argument in Mumia's appeal from the racist vendetta which has kept him on death row for the past six years. As a former Black Panther and well-known journalist who supported the Philadelphia MOVE organization, Mumia was framed up on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop in 1981.

The one-hour oral argument focused on the frame-up tactics used by the racist capitalist state to get a death sentence for Mumia: the Court seated a white juror who admitted he could not be impartial, while excluding eleven prospective black jurors peremptorily challenged by the D.A.(!); the prosecution slandered Mumia's character witness, renowned poet and Temple University professor Sonia Sanchez, as a "friend of cop-killers"; they politically witchhunted Mumia for his past membership in the Black Panther Party, and misled the jurors by telling them that a death sentence would not be carried out because Mumia would have "appeal after appeal after appeal." Tell it to the family of 27-year-old Robert Streetman who was put to death by lethal injection



Mumia Abu-Jamal

Revolutionary Worker

on January 7 at the same time his lawyer was calling the governor's office to advise them the Supreme Court would consider a new motion for appeal!

Two Partisan Defense Committee representatives joined Mumia's mother, his wife Wadiya, and about a dozen friends and supporters at the hearing. Philadelphia attorney Marilyn Gelb

represented Mumia while the American Civil Liberties Union and National Conference of Black Lawyers jointly submitted an *amicus curiae* brief on his behalf. The city's main daily newspaper, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, covered the proceedings.

The racist butchers who rule this country have opened the sluice gate of legal murder. Mumia's case must be the cause of all blacks, workers and defenders of democratic rights. Publicize this case, raise it in your unions and community organizations. Send letters and telegrams protesting the frame-up to: Pennsylvania Supreme Court, City Hall, Philadelphia, PA 19107. *Save Mumia!*

* * *

For 28 months Juan Segarra Palmer and Filiberto Ojeda Rios, fighters for Puerto Rico's independence from U.S. colonial rule, have been held in jail without bail under the police-state preventive detention law—the longest pre-trial detentions in U.S. history. Along with 14 others, Segarra and Ojeda face conspiracy charges stemming from a 1983 robbery of a Wells Fargo Bank in Hartford, Connecticut. With the disclosure of widespread illegal wiretaps and doctoring of tape recordings, the government frame-up of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 16 is falling apart. Portions of the more than 1,000 hours of bugged phone calls have been ruled inadmissible. On January 26 the District Court in Hartford heard Segarra's and Ojeda's renewed application for bail. The PDC wrote to Judge T. Emmet Clarie demanding that Segarra and Ojeda be immediately released and that all charges be dismissed.

* * *

Funds are urgently needed for an appeal by four members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), railroaded on charges stemming from the shooting death of a scab coal truck driver during the 1984-85 strike against A.T. Massey Coal Co. Donnie Thornsby, David Thornsby, Arnold Heightland and James Darryl Smith face up to 50 years in prison. On January 25 their union brother Paul Smith was acquitted of the same charges by a jury which didn't believe the gov-

ernment's fink. But Smith was immediately thrown back in jail, under *state murder charges!* The UMWA tops, under Richard Trumka, haven't lifted a finger to defend the five miners, and lack of funds endangers their legal defense and appeals.

The feds and mine bosses railroaded the miners under provisions (including air piracy laws!) of the 1984 Crime Control Act, enacted in the government's phony "anti-terrorist" campaign intended to criminalize labor militancy and all political opposition to government policies. After years of strike-breaking, givebacks and layoffs, this country's largest and most powerful unions now face union-busting "RICO" prosecutions. Labor must be mobilized to back these miners whose "crime" is to defend their union! Send your contributions now to Citizens for Justice, Box 8, Canada, KY 41519. Send letters and telegrams demanding all charges be dismissed to: District Judge Henry Wilhoit, United States District Court, Ashland, KY 41101.

* * *

We again thank PDC supporters for making the 1987 Holiday Appeal a success. In all we raised more than \$7,500 for gifts and stipends to the class-war prisoners and their families, and raised an additional \$3,500 during the last ten weeks from our monthly sustainers and old and new contributors. The hard work of our friends in the San Francisco Bay Area helped raise more than \$2,000 from over 75 contributors. Cleveland supporters enlisted ten new PDC sustainers in Ohio and Michigan. In less than two years since we issued an appeal for monthly sustaining contributors we have grown from 12 to 110 sustainers, accounting for about \$2,000 per month. One friend from San Francisco recently wrote, "...looks like 1987 was the year the PDC set course for recognition and leadership in the struggle to free labor internationally. Makes a cynical (sometimes) beefing (always) working stiff smile now and then."

Join our struggle. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■



TROTSKY

For a Strong Revolutionary Government

The Sandinistas, by maintaining a "pluralist," i.e., predominantly capitalist, economy while waging war against Reagan's contras, have undermined and weakened the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Following the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy in February 1917, Lenin insisted that the only way to combat capitalist economic sabotage, on top of the enormous destruction of World War I,

was for the workers to take power. This was the socialist program which led the Bolsheviks to victory in the October Revolution.



LENIN

We are for a strong revolutionary government. Whatever the capitalists and their flunkies may shout about us to the contrary, their lies will remain lies.

The thing is not to let phrases obscure one's consciousness, disorient one's mind. When people speak about "revolution," "the revolutionary people," "revolutionary democracy," and so on, *nine times out of ten* this is a lie or self-deception. The question is—*what class* is making this revolution? A revolution *against whom*?

The conclusion is obvious: only assumption of power by the proletariat, backed by the semi-proletarians, can give the country a really strong and really revolutionary government. It will be really strong because it will be supported by a solid and class-conscious majority of the people. It will be strong because it will not, of necessity, have to be based on a precarious "agreement" between capitalists and small proprietors, between millionaires and petty bourgeoisie....

It will be a truly revolutionary government, the only one capable of showing the people that at a time when untold suffering is inflicted upon the masses it will not be awed and deterred by capitalist profits. It will be a truly revolutionary government because it alone will be capable of evoking and sustaining the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and increasing it tenfold....

—V.I. Lenin, "A Strong Revolutionary Government" (May 1917)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS Liz Gordon

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER Jon Lawrence

EDITORIAL BOARD George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stenberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August end with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10016 Domestic subscriptions \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10016

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

No. 445

29 January 1988

Just Out!

Spartacist Pamphlet

\$1.00
(32 pages)

Contents

In the Revolutionary Vanguard of the Civil War
Harriet Tubman: Fighter for Black Freedom

The Freedmen's Fight for Education
Breaking the Chains of Slavery

Claude McKay:
From Harlem to Moscow
Blacks and Bolsheviks
The Killing Floor—A Review
Chicago 1919: Racism and Union-Busting

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1.00

Black History and the Class Struggle No. 5

Finish the Civil War!



Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10016

Cop Terror Stalks Black America

Chicago: Black Family Defeats Police Frame-Up

Callie Bryant and Cassandra Seay Win!

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10016

They're Waging War on the Homeless

It was New York City's Port Authority bus terminal, where hundreds have taken refuge from the winter and the frightful "shelters" and welfare hotels. In the early morning hours of January 20, as they slept beneath a layer of papers for warmth, two homeless men were set on fire by four youths. The two men escaped with minor burns, this time. Last August a woman was seriously burned and required hospitalization after she and a companion were doused with gasoline as they slept in Prospect Park.

A few days earlier, the *New York Times* (9 January) reported on a group of homeless young people who had banded together for survival behind the railing of Gate 8 at Port Authority. They called themselves the "Breakfast Club," and by pooling the money they had collected panhandling, they managed to buy a five-inch TV set for \$54. It was a point of pride in their struggle to lift themselves above their bleak existence. "We are trying to turn ourselves around," explained Charlene Turner. But after the TV set was brought to the attention of officials, two cops wantonly bent the antenna and ripped the cord in half.

On January 19, Joyce Brown (known



Dietrich/Newsday

Homeless take shelter in New York's Penn Station.

as Billie Boggs) was released from an 84-day psychiatric lockup at Bellevue. This black woman was the first victim of Mayor Ed Koch's vindictive racist dragnet against the homeless. Miss Brown

said after she beat Koch's attempts to forcibly medicate her: "I wasted 12 weeks of my life in the hospital. I was not insane when they picked me up—I was homeless." Invited for an interview

on Channel 5, owned by media sleaze king Rupert Murdoch, she was viciously attacked by a snarling anchorman indignant at her steadfast defense of her rights. After hundreds of protest calls from outraged New Yorkers, he was slapped on the wrist with a suspension from the station.

Behind these individual acts of deliberate cruelty there is a war against the legions of homeless in America. In New York, as officials proclaimed there was a bed for everyone, the Coalition for the Homeless witnessed dozens of men being turned away from the Fort Washington armory. Now homeless people in NYC will be asked to "voluntarily" identify themselves to be admitted to a shelter, supposedly in exchange for a pittance that wouldn't even pay subway fare to work and back, if they could find a job. In Chicago, with temperatures hovering at 14 below, homeless were turned away every night; five people froze to death. Atlanta seeks to establish "vagrant-free" zones in anticipation of its hosting the Democratic National Convention.

Mass homelessness is no more a natural calamity than mass hunger, it's an outgrowth of decaying American

continued on page 9

Maimed Protester Brian Willson Sued by Would-Be Killers Navy Ordered Death Train

Brian Willson barely escaped with his life last September 1, when he was deliberately run down by a Navy munitions train, which severed both his legs. Now this courageous antiwar protester and Vietnam vet is being sued by his would-be killers—the three crewmen on the arms train that plowed into Willson as he knelt on the tracks outside the Naval Weapons Station in Concord, California. The grotesque lawsuit charges the pacifist activist Willson with "conscious and deliberate disregard to the rights, feelings and consequences" to the train crew and plotting to "intentionally inflict emotional harm and distress" on them (*San Francisco Examiner*, January 12). Behind this obscene attempt to hound and further torment the man they have already maimed for life is the Reagan gang, whose killer contras have murdered and maimed thousands in their terrorist war on the Nicaraguan people. *They have*

brought the contra war home!

Brian Willson was mutilated as he and his Nuremberg Actions group, along with other pacifists, were carrying out months-long protests against the death cargoes. Millions of dollars worth of demolition bombs, white phosphorus rockets, fuze extenders (detonators) and machine-gun ammo are shipped from the weapons station to the U.S.-backed Salvadoran army which has killed over 60,000 people in seven years of civil war. Willson was the victim of attempted murder—premeditated and ordered by the U.S. Navy. As ABC News (12 January) reported:

"Now documents obtained by the Center for Investigative Reporting reveal that the train's engineer, David Humiston, said he was told by his supervisor not to stop outside the base area, to prevent protesters from boarding the locomotive. 'Another document quotes John Banta, the station's security manager, as giv-

ing the train the green light to proceed. 'You might as well let them go ahead. We are going to have a confrontation sooner or later,' he was quoted as saying. The document also quotes Banta as saying he 'hoped a demonstrator or demonstrators would be on the tracks' so that the initial confrontation would occur and arrests would be made."

Last November, a House Armed Services subcommittee "investigated" the bloody incident at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. It was revealed that the Navy heavily censored its initial report documenting that security chief Banta gave the go-ahead for the "confrontation" which ripped Brian Willson's legs and smashed a gaping hole in his skull. The Navy claims it did not know protesters would be on the track that day. Yet Willson had written a letter to base authorities spelling out the demonstrators' plans to kneel on the tracks. The initial report showed the Navy circulated memos on the planned action days before it occurred.

Willson has been greeted as a hero in Nicaragua, while the Soviet Union offered him free medical care. (His hospital bills in the medicine-for-profit USA have already surpassed \$150,000, and he lacks medical insurance.) With the American population deeply opposed to Reagan's Central America policy, Willson's determination has won broad admiration. Many recall the heroic example of Ben Linder, the young U.S. *internacionalista* murdered last May by Reagan's contras for helping to bring electricity to Nicaraguan villages.

While Willson's courage has inspired admiration of decent people around the world, the American ruling class sees protesting imperialist war as a crime. And the victims of that war machine are made the criminals. In November, the House Armed Services subcommittee silenced Willson's testimony when he sought to explain the reasons for his protest and to expose the deadly shipments to El Salvador from the Naval Weapons Center. This was not "rele-



Willson testifying before Congress.

vant" enough for Congress, which groveled before Oliver North, giving the killer elite's crazed mouthpiece free rein to preach the glories of contra terror.

The Navy employees who drove the death train over Willson were "only following orders" in U.S. imperialism's campaign to terrorize all those who oppose its bloody wars. Now they're looking for a bounty, just like killer cop Anthony Spertl who shot five-year-old black child Patrick Mason in his Orange County home in 1983, then collected \$35,000 for "psychological damage." What's next, asked an outraged Californian in a letter to the *Los Angeles Times* (23 January), "a suit by SS men against victims of the Holocaust"? Another wrote: "I was struck by the arrogance, the naked evil of the American military machine; men who believe that nothing must stand in the way of our war in Central America, that nothing must halt the flow of arms to the Contras, our mercenary army of murderers and torturers."

The Contra Costa County D.A., *continued on page 4*



Andy Perri

Navy munitions train runs over antiwar activist Brian Willson last September, severing both his legs.

The Wages of Perestroika

Soviet Workers Protest in Yaroslavl

As Mikhail Gorbachev's "market socialist" economic reforms were about to take effect in the Soviet Union, workers at the huge Yaroslavl engine works staged a week of demonstrations at the plant gates. They were protesting a management decision to make the workforce put in 15 Saturdays in 1988. Beginning on December 11, up to 300 workers gathered each day, carrying signs including "We Are for *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*," "We Are for an Eight-Hour Day" and "We Are for Eight Working Saturdays Maximum." It was the third reported instance of labor unrest since September, including two full-blown strikes over work rules, highlighting the inherent contradictions of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness).

The working Saturdays scheduled by Yaroslavl plant managers are standard practice by Soviet bureaucrats to meet production quotas by month-end "storming" to make up for lost time due to shortages or machinery breakdowns. The official union rubber-stamped their decision without consulting the 40,000-strong workforce at the engine works and its satellite facilities, so the workers selected their own "initiative group," demanding—and getting—a meeting with management. The dispute was so important (more than 300 factories depend on this one plant for diesel engines) that the deputy minister of the USSR's automobile industry, and trade union, party and government officials up to the regional level were hauled in.

Moscow News (3 January) called the work action "Another Lesson in Democracy," but was annoyed that Soviet workers might actually take talk about democratizing the workplace seriously. At a December 18 meeting, a worker, Lev Makarov, labeled the main "instigator," was sitting on the presidium "without seemingly any official grounds for this." The "story got blown out of proportion," complained *MN*. "This should not have led to agitation of the plant, the city and all industry," said these champions of *glasnost* who seem to yearn for the days when the workers just shut up and took it. Management's choice of working hours carried—but only by the barest margin.

Facing speedup, layoffs and vastly increased wage differentials under Gorbachev's reforms, some Soviet workers are getting involved in *perestroika* in a way the bureaucracy never intended. Last fall, *Moscow News* (27 September 1987) reported a bus drivers strike at Chekhov, about 40 miles outside Moscow, headlining their account "Incident." A month later, workers at the Likino bus factory stopped work for three days. This time *MN* called it "An

Emergency." Today "strike" is the unmentionable "S-word" in the USSR, but Soviet workers will soon teach the Stalinist hacks the meaning of the word "stachka," the title of Sergei Eisenstein's film *Strike!* on the Bolshevik-led workers' actions at the turn of the century.

The new State Enterprise Law, which took effect on January 1, could well increase "incidents" like those at Chekhov, Likino and Yaroslavl. Some 60 percent of Soviet industry will now be on a system of "self-financing" (*khozraschet*), including the threat of bankruptcy for enterprises which fail to make a profit. The Yaroslavl engine works, like the rest of the auto industry, went on this system a year early—one reason why the problems there attracted wide interest from Soviet workers and managers alike. Under the new law, workers have the right to elect local factory officials. But there's a built-in contradiction—what happens when workers vote against a program of speedup, layoffs, unemployment and "Stakhanovite" wage differentials?

Older plants, like Yaroslavl, will be at a particular disadvantage—they will have to make choices between expensive retooling and the size and pay level of their workforces, and many will probably be able to afford neither. Soviet prime minister Nikolai Ryzhkov reported last June that 13 percent of Soviet plants already run at a loss, while Soviet economists say an additional 12 percent can't afford new equipment on their own. In the meantime, by 1992 huge subsidies on basic goods and services like bread, meat and housing are slated to go—and these changes have already been postponed because they are such political dynamite. "Some are worried that their standard of living will decline," said a leading Soviet economist

confirmed that committed pacifist Brian Willson was targeted by a federal investigation as a potential "terrorist"! He is one of 8,000 people on the FBI "terrorism" list—a label which sets you up for the kill by the forces of "law and order." And government-sponsored violence has continued against protesters at the Concord base. Sheriff's deputies have gotten special training in the "choke hold" and are now using this deadly technique. They deliberately broke one protester's wrist and the elbow of another, saying: "This will teach you." Like Willson, both victims were Vietnam vets. A pistol-toting thug threatened to drive a munitions truck over a group of demonstrators that included Willson's wife Holley Rauen. Brian Willson has filed a suit for \$45 million in damages against Contra Costa County

(Los Angeles Times, 25 December 1987).

The petty-bourgeois appetites of the Stalinist bureaucracy only add to the problems generated by the market-socialist "solution" to the economic problems created by the Stalinist perversion of central planning. "Upscale" shops with fancy displays of high-priced consumer goods are springing up—open to all, but affordable only to a small minority. Thousands of small-scale entrepreneurs have recently been licensed to do business in everything from auto repair to beauty salons. "Legalized theft," one irate Soviet citizen was overheard to say on a trolley bus about the flowering of "individual enterprise" permitted under the new laws (*Christian Science Monitor*, 3 December 1987).

In agriculture, a system resembling nothing so much as sharecropping is springing up: "production units," frequently families, work up to 18 hours a day in return for the ability to sell a portion of their product on the open market. One collective farm director complained, "There is a huge exploitation of people. The Revolution wasn't created for this purpose" (*Business Week*, 7 December 1987).

A big effort is on to woo foreign capitalists into joint ventures with Soviet enterprises, dangling the prospect of a convertible ruble to aid repatriation of profits. Asked why companies should be interested in forming joint ventures in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev's top economic adviser Abel Abanbegyan replied: "Our land is cheaper. Labor is cheaper" (*New York Times*, 14 December 1987). This "socialist" is trying to sell the Soviet Union to Western capitalists as the new Hong Kong!

A New York Times editorial note

(29 December 1987) saw "an ironic glimmer of Marxist truth" in the resistance of Soviet workers to wage-cutting and layoffs. Peter Passell complained:

"Ordinary Soviet citizens accept the privileges enjoyed by the top of the nomenklatura [the bureaucracy]—the dachas and eating clubs, special hotels, even stretch limos with police escorts.... By contrast, Russians do openly complain about the profits of the tiny number of successful entrepreneurs. By no coincidence, the two touchiest issues are the people's feudal (!) rights—cheap food and guaranteed employment."

Two days later the same commentator noted that "These days, the mere mention of the U-word—unemployment—sends shivers through the ranks of Moscow's economic reformers." Yes, Soviet workers are strongly attached to their rights to eat and to work, which are hardly "feudal," but tremendous gains of the Russian Revolution, rights which millions of hungry and jobless in capitalist America don't enjoy.

Passell's pseudo-Marxist verdict on *perestroika*: "No good Marxist historian would be optimistic about this attempt to create a semi-capitalist economy without the bourgeoisie." The attempt by the Stalinist bureaucracy to introduce market-oriented economic reforms is in sharp contradiction to the socialist goals of the October Revolution. But while the *Times* yearns for a "Western-style economic system"—i.e., the restoration of capitalist exploitation—the Soviet workers will sharply oppose that, as their growing resistance to Gorbachev's reforms demonstrates. And working-class resistance to *perestroika* could well be the first step toward proletarian political revolution against the Kremlin oligarchy, leading to restoring soviet democracy and genuine socialist economic planning. ■

Death Train...

(continued from page 3)

backed up by Ed Meese's cohorts in the California state attorney's office, declared last November that no criminal charges were warranted against those who maimed Brian Willson. They claim it was an "accident" because the crew supposedly thought the protesters would move. As Willson's lawyer Doron Weinberg said, "It's like saying I'm not responsible for murder because when I shot the guy, I thought he'd duck" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 September 1987). The real accident is that the train, which accelerated to three times the Navy's own speed limit, did not kill Brian Willson.

On December 12 a fired FBI agent

and plans a suit against the Navy. We hope he gets every penny.

But from the attempted murder and mutilation of Brian Willson to Duarte's death squads in El Salvador and the CIA contra killers in Nicaragua—and don't forget the killing of two million Vietnamese—it should be clear that American imperialism's war machine cannot be brought down by "moral witness," no matter how courageous. Lie down on the tracks and they will run you over. It's no more effective than pressuring the Democrats in the "contra Congress" which regularly votes millions for Reagan's terrorists. What's urgently needed is a program for power, to mobilize the broad opposition to U.S. imperialism's bloody wars behind the leadership and muscle of the working class. The only way to stop imperi-

alist wars is to bring down the capitalist system which produces them. As we wrote in "Contra War Comes Home" (*WV* No. 436, 18 September 1987):

"At Concord the ruling class has shown a glimpse of its plans for 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."

Contributions for Brian Willson's legal defense and medical expenses should be made payable to the Brian Willson Trust Fund, and sent to his attorney's office: Larsen & Weinberg, 523 Octavia Street, San Francisco, CA 94102. ■

Young Spartacus

Down with Dixie Flag of Slavery!

Finish the Civil War!

From Forsyth County, Georgia to New York's Howard Beach, the Confederate flag is the emblem of Klan terror and race-haters. No mere historical artifact of the Old South, it has been adopted as a universal battle flag for racists. The raising of this racist, seditious banner of the Confederacy over Fort Sumter on 15 April 1861 signaled the opening of the Civil War. Frederick Douglass, the great leader of the militant wing of the abolitionist movement, saw the attack on Sumter as the long-awaited opportunity to get on with the necessary and inevitable war against the monster of slavery:

"Our rulers were ready enough to sacrifice the Negro to the Union so long as there was any hope of saving the Union by that means. The attack upon Sumter, and other movements on the part of the cotton lords of the lash, have about convinced them that the insatiate slaveholders not only mean peace and safety of slavery, but to make themselves masters of the Republic. It is not merely a war for slavery, but it is a war for slavery dominion...."

"Friends of freedom! be up and doing;—now is your time.... Let the long crushed bondman arise!...snatch back the liberty of which he has been so long robbed and despoiled."

—Douglass' *Monthly*, May 1861

The issue of property in human flesh was settled in blood and iron in the Civil War, but the battle flag of the slavocracy still flies—the banner of resurgent racism *North and South*. It's carried by racist white ethnics defending lynch mob murderers in Howard Beach and displayed by right-wing death squad killers in Central America. That banner is a call to arms, a *program* for those who want the kind of society we'd have if the South had won the Civil War. Everywhere and any time it is unfurled is a searing reminder that there's a lot of unfinished business to take care of in this country. It's going to take a *socialist* revolution to *finish the Civil War* and make good on the unfulfilled promise of black equality.

We tore down the flag of slavery from San Francisco's Civic Center in 1984. Richard Bradley, a supporter of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, donned a Union Army uniform, climbed a 50-foot flagpole twice to cut down the Confederate flag, and replaced it with a replica of the Union's Fort Sumter garrison flag. Then-mayor of San Francisco Dianne Feinstein, a Democrat, *shredded* this flag and so affronted the decent working people of the San Francisco Bay Area that the flagpole itself was somehow brought to the ground. The racists not only felt the wind go out of their sails, but they lost the sail and the mast too! Today the flag of the "California Hundred" volunteers who fought on the Union side of the Civil War flies at the Civic Center.

Four states of the old Confederacy (Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and South Carolina) fly a version of the Confederate flag as their official state banners. The NAACP has launched a campaign to bring down these filthy Dixie rags this year. Thomas Reed, an



Spartacist League supporter Richard Bradley, clad in a Union Army uniform, cuts down the hated flag of slavery, San Francisco, April 1984. WV Photo

Alabama State Representative and the NAACP's state president, called the flag a "symbol of slavery and oppression of blacks" and vowed to climb the capitol flagpole in Montgomery and tear it down himself if the state's Republican governor didn't remove it by February 2. The NAACP told our reporter that Meese's Justice Department, the FBI and the state police would be on hand along with the local forces of "law and order" run by the racist nut Emory Fomar (who dresses in battle fatigues and is referred to by local blacks as the "Ku Klux Mayor") to "defend" Reed!

But Governor Hunt pre-empted with a threat to arrest Representative Reed if he tries anything bolder than lobbying the Reaganites and Dixiecrats in the state legislature.

We applaud Thomas Reed's efforts. But the NAACP's faith in the neutrality of the state is a dangerous misconception. It's the Klan in blue uniforms who are the overwhelming source of violence against blacks and working people. The racists that are already mobilizing in opposition to the campaign against the flag of slavery are going to have to be met by more than

"an intensive lobbying effort." It's going to take mass *labor and black struggle* to make the whistling Dixiecrats change their tune. The Alabama state capitol served as the seat of the secessionists when Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as the first president of the Confederacy. In 1961, Jefferson Davis' political heirs brazenly proclaimed "the South will rise again" by raising the flag of slavery over the state capitol (just one block from Martin Luther King's church) to mark the centennial of the Confederacy's capture of Fort Sumter.

The days of Jim Crow segregation were already numbered in the post-World War II period when black GIs returned home, armed, and determined to fight for their rights. The naked oppression of the Southern black population had also become something of an economic anachronism and an embarrassment for the American ruling class which postured as the guardians of "freedom" and "democracy" to police the postwar world. But the whole power structure of the South hinged on the Dixiecrats successfully disenfranchising the black population. All over the Confederacy the racist flags went up as the white rulers threw down the gauntlet and met the civil rights movement with truncheons, fire hoses and dogs. The Georgia state legislature dug up the old Confederate battle flag and slapped the state seal on it in 1956 in open defiance of the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* decision against segregation in public schools. Alabama and South Carolina followed suit.

Mississippi, notorious from the days of slavery as the deadliest destination for blacks in the Deep South, has barely had a period when this insignia of terror *didn't* fly. When Union troops were pulled out of the South in the Compromise of 1877, the black population was left unarmed and defenseless against the plantation owners, who drowned Radical Reconstruction in a tide of blood. As soon as Mississippi ratified its "states' rights" constitution in 1894, the flag of slavery was hoisted as the official emblem of the state again. Yet in 1983, a group of courageous black students fought to rid "Ole Miss" of the flag of Dixie racism and *won!* Their fight is an inspiration for all anti-racist militants. The school's first black cheerleader refused to wave the Confederate flag at school games, sparking a protest movement that faced down Klan death threats and a march of 2,000 white racists who besieged a black dormitory singing "Dixie" and screaming racist slurs. The anti-racist students weren't derailed by local black politicians who tried to "chill out" the situation and were told where to go (see "How We Drove the Confederate Flag from Ole Miss," *Young Spartacus* No. 117, April 1984).

The Hoax of the "New South"

All the rhetoric one hears about the "New South" is belied by the symbol of

continued on page 6

Over the Rainbow with the Democrats

Pan-Africanist Kwame Ture Goes for Jesse

Black students at the University of California at Berkeley are looking for answers on how to fight the racist threats and raw violence which broke out and spread like brush fires on this campus last fall (see "Students: Ally with Labor to Smash Racist Attacks!" *WV* No. 441, 27 November 1987). On November 17, some 60 Berkeley students came out to hear what kind of program Kwame Ture (formerly Stokely Carmichael) had to offer at a forum sponsored by the African Students Alliance. But it seems Kwame Ture of the AAPRP (All-African People's Revolutionary Party) is not "part of the solution" but "part of the problem," dishing up the old dead-end strategy of voting for the bosses' Democratic Party, and trying to hide it under a blanket of pseudo-socialist rhetoric.

"Socialism is sweeping the world," Ture announced, and here in the United States it's none other than "Mr. Black Capitalism," Jesse Jackson, who is presumably providing the leadership and pushing the broom for this great sweep! Ture explained:

"We are convinced that the right action for Jesse Jackson is going to lead to the smashing of the capitalist system. Because of the forces which he represents, he will have to represent us. And he will have to have change in the Democratic Party to honestly represent them. And the lack of which, will cause the destruction of the Democratic Party."

You've come a long way, Kwame. As a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Stokely Carmichael once captured the jagged reality of racist America, stating that it was "as ludicrous for Negroes to join [the Democratic Party] as it would have been for Jews to join the Nazi Party in the 1930s." This was in 1964,

after a civil rights delegation from Mississippi was booted out of the Democratic National Convention and a racist Jim Crow delegation was seated in its place. Carmichael helped found the Lowndes County Black Panther Party in Alabama and was the man most associated with the slogan "Black Power!"—

consciously rejected the organized working class as a force for revolutionary change and spun off in the direction of impotent, *anti-struggle* black nationalism while others (such as ex-SNCC activist Marion Barry) sold their souls to the Democratic Party and today lord it over the black masses as the mayors of

sharp reply from the floor at the Berkeley meeting:

"Now, you spoke about how Jackson is going to perhaps lead to the destruction of capitalism. Genuine revolutionaries tell the truth to the masses at all times, namely, they warn against the treacherous misleaders. He is running for the Dixiecrat racist Democratic Party. They take the black vote for granted. They are out to get the white racist vote. So what we counterpose to that is to build in this country today an integrated revolutionary working-class party that can lead the working class and the oppressed to the seizure of state power."

Comrade Alexander also noted that the Spartacist League and the AAPRP "have made common cause around certain issues despite very profound political differences." These issues include a joint protest action against the U.S. bombing of Libya, and struggling to free former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo Pratt from a lifetime prison term imposed as the result of a dirty FBI/COINTELPRO frame-up. However, as the SL spokesman said:

"Pan-Africanism is a despairing strategy, it is a defeatist strategy with regard to resurgent racist reaction in this country, and it is directly counterposed to the program of militant, integrated working-class struggle.... When the Spartacist League initiated several large labor/black mobilizations and stopped the Klan and Nazis from marching in the streets in Detroit in 1979; San Francisco in 1980; 1982 in Washington, D.C., in which 5,000 black workers and youth came out—those important victories showed the way forward, because in this country it's only the program of revolutionary integrationism to fight for the assimilation of blacks in an egalitarian society that actually offers the way forward. And so we say the emancipation of black Africa, no less than the emancipation of blacks in this country, requires a program of proletarian revolution. That program can only be carried out by a multiracial vanguard party that's really a tribune of the people." ■



Jesse Jackson woos racist Dixiecrat George Wallace in bid for Democratic Party nomination.

a slogan which, briefly, symbolized the defiant opposition of young black militants to Martin Luther King's "turn the other cheek" pacifism and subordination of the civil rights movement to the white liberal establishment.

The road to freedom for the black masses is the fight for *workers power* in struggle against the root cause of racism, the capitalist system. Stokely

the nation's ugliest ghettos. Now Kwame Ture tells a new generation of black youth to put their faith in Jesse Jackson, whose campaign for the Democratic Party consists of glad-handing Dixiecrat politicians of the likes of George (Segregation Forever) Wallace.

Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander cut through Ture's convoluted claptrap about Jackson with a

Down with Dixie Flag...

(continued from page 5)

racist reaction that flies over it. The city of Atlanta is ruled by a black administration and dubbed "the city too busy to hate." But the surrounding white suburbs are "enemy territory" for black people. For people unfamiliar with the South, traveling there can be a terrifying trip back to days you hoped were bygone. One comrade of ours reported how a Northern friend first adjusted to life in the predominantly black neighborhood around Atlanta University:

"At the beginning of the semester, I ran into one of my classmates, a guy just recently arrived from Detroit. I noticed his eyes fixed on something behind me, his face ashen. 'My God!' he said, 'it's the CONFEDERATE FLAG!' I turned around and following his gaze saw a

group of white construction workers and a Confederate flag atop an all-black elementary school. It looked as if the Klan had taken over the building and planted the banner of race-terror in triumph on the roof. My friend thought we were under attack and started to flee. I grabbed his jacket and said, 'That's the state flag of Georgia!'

For Southern blacks the Confederate flag is everywhere a reminder of their precarious situation. Black students at Georgia Tech in Atlanta protested and put an end to the school's annual "Old South" parade where the dean of students, dressed in a Union army uniform, surrendered the campus to the all-white Kappa Alpha Kappa fraternity members, dressed as Confederate officers. Now the dean surrenders in plain clothes instead (!) and delivers a speech on the morals of "Southern gentlemen" to racist frat rats. Meanwhile, a black sorority house on campus has been the site of several cross-burnings.

Defenders of the Confederate flag

protest that it's a precious item of Southern "culture," not a symbol of race-hatred. Bullshit. It's the pre-eminent symbol of racist terror "Up South" in New York too, and rest assured they don't drink mint juleps in Howard Beach. In Atlanta, the "Sons of Confederate Veterans" showed up dressed in Confederate uniforms demanding the flag remain as it is and the very sinister Southern Heritage Foundation has launched a "save the flag" region-wide campaign. This is obscene! Maybe banners of General William Tecumseh Sherman flying from every schoolhouse and government building would remind these scum that *they lost the war!*

Even some opponents of the flag are pandering to this reactionary "cultural tradition." Frank Redding, a black State Representative who introduced a bill against the Confederate flag last year (it died in committee), argues that the flag is "misused" and wonders how "Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis would have felt to see 'one of those crazies' [in Forsyth County] waving their emblem. 'I personally have a great deal of respect for the Confederacy'" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 18 February 1987). The Klan and the Nazis who murder and terrorize under the Confederate banners and swastikas are the *auxiliary* forces of the capitalist state and cannot be lightly dismissed as "some crazies"—remember Greensboro!

There can be no economic equality nor justice for black people in this capitalist society. As Frederick Douglass said, "Experience demonstrates that there may be a slavery of wages only a little less galling and crushing in its



National Park Service

14 April 1865—After victory in the Civil War the original Union flag is raised again over Fort Sumter.



"Up South": Racist punks in Bensonhurst, NY threaten civil rights marchers with Confederate flag and chants of "Bring back slavery!"

effects than chattel slavery, and that this slavery of wages must go down with the other." To bring down this rotting system of "democracy for the rich" requires building a revolutionary workers party with a strong black leadership component. And when the victorious proletariat marches to power, it will burn every filthy Confederate banner in its path and raise in its stead the red banner of the international working class. Black liberation through socialist revolution! Finish the Civil War! ■

Ann Arbor: Students Seize Racist Dean's Office

On January 13, over 100 University of Michigan students occupied Dean Peter O. Steiner's office and held it for 26 hours to protest Steiner's blatant call to keep the university an enclave of white privilege. Despite abysmally low black enrollment at Ann Arbor (now down to 5 percent), Steiner quipped that he didn't want "to change this university into another kind of institution where minorities would naturally flock in much greater numbers." Aping the discredited pseudoscientific racist William Shockley, Steiner also wrote in a college economics textbook he authored that "many scientists are not prepared to consider evidence that there may be differences in intelligence among races because as good liberals they feel that all races ought to be equal."

The United Coalition Against Racism (UCAR), which initiated the sit-in, brought out more than 300 students, black and white, to pack a Regents meeting the next day and demanded that Steiner be fired. Formed last year to counter a series of racist threats against black students, UCAR is now demanding that the Justice Department investigate racism on the Ann Arbor campus. But from the bombing of Philly MOVE

Dean Steiner wants to keep blacks off Ann Arbor campus, but student militants who took over his office say racist dean has got to hit the road.

Young Spartacus



to cutbacks in federal funds for education, Ed Meese and his boss Reagan are two of the biggest racists around! Allied with the power of the integrated labor

movement in nearby Detroit, students could run the perpetrators of racist violence off campus. Against the race and class bias inherent in education

under capitalism, we demand *free quality education for all!* For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid stipend for all! ■

Black History Month Spartacist 4 Events

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

CHICAGO

Sunday, Feb. 14, 3:00 p.m.

Reynolds Club North Lounge
University of Chicago

Guest Speaker:
Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308
For more information: (312) 663-0715

MADISON

Saturday, Feb. 20, 2:00 p.m.

See "Today in the Union" for room
University of Wisconsin

Guest Speaker:
Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308
For more information: (608) 251-6431

ITHACA

Saturday, Feb. 20, 7:00 p.m.

Room to be announced
Cornell University
"Black Freedom, Women's Rights
and the Civil War"

Speaker:
Amy Rath, Associate Editor
Women and Revolution
For more information: (607) 277-1834

NEW YORK

Wednesday, Feb. 24, 2:00 p.m.

Room to be announced
Borough of Manhattan
Community College

Speaker: Mark Kellerman
Spartacist League
For more information: (212) 267-1025

OBERLIN

Saturday, Feb. 27, 7:00 p.m.

Room to be announced
Oberlin College
Guest Speaker: Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308

Speaker: Gregg Burton
SL Central Committee
For more information: (216) 881-3700

CLEVELAND

Sunday, Feb. 28, 3:00 p.m.

Room to be announced
Cleveland State University
Guest Speaker: Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308

Speaker: Gregg Burton
SL Central Committee
For more information: (216) 881-3700

"We Stopped the Klan!"

Video showing of 27 November 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization
of 5,000 that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C.

ANN ARBOR

Saturday, Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m.

Anderson Room A, Michigan Union
University of Michigan
For more information: (216) 881-3700

CLEVELAND

Monday, Feb. 29, 12:15 p.m.

University Center, Room 109
Cleveland State University
For more information: (216) 881-3700

Haiti: The First Black Republic

NEW YORK

Thursday, Feb. 11, 2:00 p.m.

Room to be announced
North Academic Center, CCNY
For more information: (212) 267-1025

BOSTON

Saturday, Feb. 27, 4:00 p.m.

Room to be announced
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 492-3928

Speaker: John Sharpe, Spartacist League

Russian Revolution Shows The Road to Black Liberation

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Thursday, Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m.

Undergraduate Library Lecture Room
Howard University

Speaker: Brian Manning
Spartacist League
For more information: (202) 636-3537

LOS ANGELES

Friday, Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m.

Room to be announced
UCLA

Speaker: Don Alexander
SL Central Committee
For more information: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK

Friday, Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m.

Room to be announced
Columbia University
Speaker: Ed Kartsen
SL Central Committee
For more information: (212) 267-1025

BERKELEY

Friday, Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m.

Room 126 Barrows
UC Berkeley

Speaker: Don Alexander
SL Central Committee
For more information: (415) 839-0851

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Black History and the Class Struggle

BERKELEY

Alternate Tuesdays, 7:00 p.m.

Feb. 2, 16, March 1, 15
Room 146 Dwinelle
UC Berkeley
For more information: (415) 839-0851

CHICAGO

Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.

Feb. 4, 18, 25
Cobb Hall, Room 112
University of Chicago
For more information: (312) 663-0715

MADISON

Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.

Feb. 6, 13, 27
See "Today in the Union" for room
University of Wisconsin
For more information: (608) 251-6431

The Fight for Socialism

NEW YORK

Alternate Saturdays, 4:00 p.m.

Feb. 13, 27, March 12
41 Warren Street
(one block south of Chambers)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Supreme Court Gags High School Students

The bigots running this country have another legal weapon to help impose their powers of "thought control." On January 13, the Supreme Court imposed a gag order on high school students, ruling that "A school need not tolerate speech that is inconsistent with its 'basic educational mission.'" The case, *Hazelwood v. Kuhlmeier*, began in 1983 when Cathy Kuhlmeier, Lee Ann Tippet-West and Leslie Smart, three staff members of the *Spectrum*, a newspaper produced by a journalism class at Hazelwood East High School near St. Louis, Missouri, filed a lawsuit on the basis that their First Amendment rights had been violated. Two *Spectrum* articles on teenage pregnancy and the impact of divorce on students were banned from publication by the school's principal, who deemed the articles "inappropriate and unsuitable" reading for teenagers" (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 January).

Where school newspapers are concerned, the law of the land is "all the news that fits the principal." Students who try to report on anything racier than a film review of *Bambi* or more relevant than a pep rally face the choice of going underground with *samizdat* publications or risk having their words reduced to blank spaces in history. As Justice Brennan noted in his dissenting opinion:

"A student who responds to a political science teacher's question with the retort 'Socialism is good,' subverts the school's inculcation of the message that capitalism is better.... If mere incompatibility with the school's pedagogical message were a constitutionally sufficient justification for the suppression of student speech, school officials could censor each of the... foregoing hypotheticals, converting our public schools



Principal "Big Brother" Reynolds and his narrow *Spectrum*. Leslie Smart and Lee Ann Tippet-West (above) joined Cathy Kuhlmeier in light for free speech for high school students.

into 'enclaves of totalitarianism' that 'strangle the free mind at its source.'"

This decision marks the third time in three years that the Supreme Court has drastically curtailed the rights of high school students. In 1985, it eliminated Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable search and seizure in the case of a Piscataway, New Jersey student whose purse was searched after she was caught smoking cigarettes in the high school bathroom. In 1986, free speech for high school students was attacked when the court ruled that a student could be suspended for making a "lewd" campaign speech (and the only "four letter word" in his speech was "firm")!

The issue here, in part, is *in loco*

parentis—stripping youth of fundamental democratic rights that every American is supposed to have. "Age of adulthood" laws are not only a reactionary state-sanctioned means of repressing youth, but serve as a springboard for attacks on the entire population. The aim is to create a generation of eternal "children," accustomed to the idea that they have no rights. One of the ways the state has whittled away abortion rights, for instance, was to first target teenagers. Young women have been denied access to birth control in public schools and their right to legal abortions has been repeatedly challenged by "squeal rules" and other demands for parental consent. This threatens university students as well.

Just last year, Boston University president Silber tried to ban distribution of condoms on the college campus (this in the midst of an AIDS epidemic!).

They want to run high schools like jails. Private universities have long been run as priggish fiefdoms, where constitutionally protected rights to free speech are subverted on private property surrounded by ivied walls intended to keep out the public "rabble." Public universities may also be affected by the latest Supreme Court edict. Columnist Tom Wicker wrote in the *New York Times* (18 January), "Despite the differences in high schools and colleges, it's hard to see why the rationale of the decision... could not be cited by university administrators."

Democratic rights are not some absolute truths enacted by fair-minded rulers of a just society—they are the precious conquests won by working people in hard-fought battles against their oppressors and exploiters. It was *social struggle* that was key to winning basic liberties for university and high school students in the first place. The Free Speech Movement began at Berkeley in 1964 when Cal students joined in the Southern-based civil rights movement to fight for black equality. The landmark 1969 *Tinker* ruling established a precedent for free speech for high school students who stated their opposition to the imperialists' dirty colonial war in Vietnam by wearing black armbands to school.

The recent Supreme Court decisions suppressing students' rights are part of a drive to regiment youth into being good clean cannon fodder for new imperialist wars. But on campuses across the country, recruiters for the CIA's Murder Inc., contra war criminals and the dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick have been met with militant student protest, which is why the Reaganauts are looking to put youth in a legal straitjacket. Today's rulers have a real problem, namely that students are not going to sit home and eat edicts. *Down with the reactionary Supreme Court gag order!* ■

Smokers Revolt Against "Health Fascism"

Flying is scary enough these days in the wild, unregulated skies of America; now, adding insult to injury, they're trying to take away our right to what could well be a last smoke. Even condemned men used to get a final cigarette before the firing squad opened up. But not on union-buster Carl Icahn's TWA: last December 30 the crew of a TWA Boston to Los Angeles flight abruptly announced a total smoking ban for the "second-class citizens" in coach and business seats (first class is presumably still sacred). When some brave souls lit up anyhow, a scuffle broke out and the pilot called for the cops, who seized passengers at the L.A. airport. They were released after questioning, although reportedly the FBI is still "investigating"—for what? A "Ten Most Wanted Smokers" poster?

Meanwhile, a California law banning *all* smoking on public transportation went into effect January 1: you can now get slapped with a \$100 fine for taking a puff on a bus, train or plane in California airspace (as well as in most parts of a bus, train or airline terminal), and up to \$500 for "repeat offenders." It's not just in lotus land, either. In December the New York City Council passed a bill banning smoking in most enclosed public places, including stores, indoor sports arenas and even taxicabs. And on April 22 a federal law is to go into effect banning smoking on all commercial flights of two hours or less. During the bitter debate over the California

law, one Republican state senator aptly denounced "health fascists."

This creeping "health fascism" has nothing to do with the public's welfare. Medical evidence on the effects of "sec-

ondary smoke" is inconclusive, and the obvious solution is to provide adequate ventilation for everybody. But that isn't profitable, so of course it's not even seriously proposed. It's bad for your health just living in smog-ridden Los Angeles, and who even knows how much radioactive and chemical poison is leaking out of U.S. military and industrial dumps across the nation? California

governor Deukmejian, who approved the anti-smoking bill, meanwhile succeeded in his yearlong attempt to gut already minimal job safety inspection of workplaces by slashing the state



"Health fascism" with a vicious twist: they turn commercial planes into flying collars, but won't let you have a last smoke.

agency CalOSHA (a move recently delayed in the courts). We wrote last spring about the wave of "smokeout moralism" sweeping the country: "People should be able to read, eat, drink and enjoy whatever consensual activities they want without the cops or yuppie power prudes sticking their noses in" (*WV* No. 427, 1 May 1987). California is a haven of these mostly

white, middle-class eco-freaks and "beansprout totalitarians." Remember Doris Collum, the black woman student stabbed at San Francisco State University in 1982: "She thought she had a right to pollute my air," raved eco-fascist attacker Richard Moss. And where else would you get the infamous Dan White "Twinkies defense"—after coldbloodedly murdering Mayor Moscone and Harvey Milk, he claimed junk food made him do it!

These attempts to impose "purer than thou" morality on everybody have intersected the ruling class' continuing attempts to enforce docility and obedience in the population through Moral Majority terror—from drug witch-hunts and mass testing to abortion clinic bombings. In the face of the truly horrible health care conditions in this country, this "secondary smoke" moralism is literally a smokescreen. We're supposed to get all upset about somebody lighting a cigarette in a bus terminal? What about the miserable, homeless people huddled in blankets along the walls and stairwells!

The Hitler Youth used to be all for clean living, too. "Social purification" was a rallying call of the German Nazis in the face of capitalist collapse and economic desperation. How far is it from "smoke pollution" to "race pollution"? We salute those TWA passengers who refused to give in to this moralistic tyranny—at least they had the courage of their compulsions. ■

For Militant Waterfront Unity!

Northwest Port Shutdown

TACOMA, Washington—At 6 p.m. on January 13, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) shut down every West Coast port from Coos Bay, Oregon north to the Canadian border. For 38 hours, 3,500 longshoremen struck to protest plans by the giant ITT-Rayonier Corporation to open up non-union log loading operations at Port Angeles, Washington. During the shutdown, virtually the entire membership of the ILWU in Washington and Oregon, as well as retirees from Canada and California, met at the Tacoma Dome January 14. The Rayonier plan is the opening wedge of a drive by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) bosses which threatens the entire union. If ITT implements their plan to hire up to 2,000 non-union longshoremen, there must be an immediate coastwise strike by the ILWU!

ITT-Rayonier, one of the largest forest products companies in the Northwest, is aiming at the guts of the ILWU in the area—log operations make up a large percentage of cargo in many Northwest ports. ILWU president Jimmy Herman claims that the longshore division has "thus far emerged unscathed by the attacks on labor over the last decade" (*Dispatcher*, 15 January). But longshoremen know Herman gave away union gains. Last summer's ILWU contract, which set up a six-tier pay scale, abandoned the six-hour day and gave the PMA sweeping changes in work rules. Only a heavy vote in the Northwest ports for Herman's sellout enabled the ILWU tops to ram the contract through on a second vote. Now Herman's givebacks, coupled with his sabotage of the tugboat workers strike against Crowley Maritime, has encouraged more forays against the ILWU by the maritime bosses.

But the 3,800 longshoremen who gathered at the Tacoma Dome were in no mood for more concessions. Arriving in a blinding rainstorm, longshoremen snapped up copies of the *Workers Vanguard* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win"; over 450 *WV*'s and supplements were sold and distributed as workers streamed into the Dome. They knew they had the power to



Militant longshoremen stream into strike meeting at Tacoma Dome, January 14.

bust the bosses' scab plans. But inside, the ILWU tops were singing a different tune. ILWU president Jimmy Herman and a host of local union officials from up and down the coast proposed... more givebacks!

When Herman called for "flexibility in work rules" an angry longshoreman shouted, "These are concessions!" (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 15 January). Damn right—Herman's suicidal "flexibility" means fewer longshoremen working harder and longer for less. He even gave the PMA *three weeks notice* of the port shutdown, "far enough in advance to schedule around it" (*Dispatcher*, 15 January). As a result, only 18 ships were tied up in Northwest ports. Obscenely, the ILWU bureaucrats used the strike rally to raise \$8,000 for their "friend of labor" Democratic politicians. At the end, Herman sent longshoremen back to work with empty promises that there would be no reductions in log gangs.

West Coast longshoremen are not alone in facing the threat of scab operations. ITT has already established a non-union facility in the South Atlantic, taking on the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). For the first

time, the 1986 ILA contract broke coastwise wage parity and instituted a two-tier wage scale. Newly installed union president John Bowers called this "the worst contract we have ever given to the membership" (*Journal of Commerce*, 23 March 1987). Yet these concessions haven't saved a job. Meanwhile, non-union shippers are trying to penetrate the Mid-Atlantic ports. In October 1985, Baltimore ILA Local 333 member Jackson Taylor was run down by a police car while picketing against an unprecedented attempt to use scab labor.

In the Gulf, scab operations from Houston to Mobile pose a deadly threat to the ILA. This summer in New Orleans, ILA freight handlers had *piece-work* rates for bagged goods rammed down their throats, after the Dock Board threatened to bring in scab labor. In December a company tried to use non-union labor in New Orleans, but this time pickets from ILA Local 3000 ran them off the docks. The giant Crowley Maritime has shifted operations of its Coordinated Caribbean Transportation subsidiary in New Orleans and Miami to non-ILA ports in Lake Charles, Louisiana and Port

Everglades, Florida.

The latest attack on the ILA is a recent Federal Maritime Commission ruling which has struck down a provision in the ILA contract which gives the union jurisdiction over container work within 50 miles of union ports. The container rule, similar to one in Vancouver ripped up by the Canadian courts last year, was part of a deal (along with "pay guarantees" and royalties) which the ILA made in exchange for massive job cuts accompanying the introduction of containers and automation. The 50-mile rule only saved a fraction of the jobs slashed. But from its inception the rule has been repeatedly challenged, not by the shippers, but by the capitalist labor boards and courts.

Union jurisdiction over stripping and stuffing of containers was a focus of Georgia Democratic Senator Sam Nunn's 1981 Senate hearings on "corruption" on the waterfront. From Robert Kennedy's "Get Hoffa" campaign to Reagan/Meece's RICO witch-hunt against the labor movement, the bosses' government uses the excuse of "mob influence" in order to break union power. Like their vendetta against the Teamsters, both Reagan and the Democrats have the powerful ILA in their sights. Both of the bosses' parties hate this beachhead of union power in the Jim Crow South.

Last month ILA president Bowers attended the ILWU Longshore Caucus and called for common contract expiration dates "to tie up the SOB's at the same time" (*People's Daily World*, 31 December 1987). But there has been no action against union-busting, as longshoremen are under attack now, from Port Angeles to the Gulf. What's needed is class-struggle waterfront labor unity by all the longshore/transport unions—the ILA, ILWU, Teamsters and seamen—to smash these scab operations, organize the unorganized and fight for jobs with a shorter workweek with no loss in pay.

The longshore unions, with their heavily black and Hispanic membership, can be a powerful force for labor and black rights. But this requires integrating the ILA's segregated locals, taking on the government's Taft-Hartley injunctions against hot cargoing and transport strikes, and breaking the stranglehold of the union tops who police the labor movement for capitalism. The key to unleashing the power of the ILA and the ILWU is the construction of a militant leadership that breaks with the partner parties of American capitalism to forge a class-struggle workers party. ■

War on Homeless...

(continued from page 3)

capitalism. And it is a result of bipartisan policy decisions, from the big city austerity programs begun under the Democrats in the mid-70s to the Reaganites' systematic assault on every social program from Medicaid to Social Security. Tens of thousands of mental patients were thrown out of the hospitals onto the streets. A court has ruled that in New York City alone, 15,000 people were improperly removed from disability programs, and today are eligible for retroactive grants of up to \$20,000 each.

Even in the most desperate conditions, many of the homeless haven't given up the fight. In Oakland on Christmas Eve, squatters took over a Victorian house near the Convention Center; cops then dragged them away. Similar occupations have occurred in Chicago and Seattle. In New York, while the homeless huddle on the streets, Condo King Trump rakes in billions. During the NYC 1985 election cam-

paign, Spartacist candidates demanded: "Restore and extend rent control! Homeless should seize Trump City! Expropriate the real estate robber barons!" As for the 60,000-plus empty city-owned apartments—take 'em!

Faced with the vast arson-for-profit devastation wreaked by barrio slumlords, one city councilman a few years back called for "Soviet Aid to the South Bronx." And the Soviet Union has made a powerful point about human rights in America over the homeless. Following the Reagan/Gorbachev summit, Washington, D.C. homeless activist Mitch Snyder received a \$5,000 donation from the Soviet Peace Fund for his work. One couple from Erie, Pennsylvania sought and received political asylum in the Soviet Union. Their mother said, "They were assured of a job there and an apartment. That's more than he could seem to get here" (*Newsday*, 20 January).

There are an estimated *three million* homeless people in the United States, including a generation of children virtually without a future. Yet side by side with the homeless, there is the glitzy nouvelle arrogance of the Trumps and the old money opulence of the Rockefeller. As the 19th-century German

Billie Boggs released after madman Koch had her locked up for 12 weeks in Bellevue: "I was not insane when they picked me up—I was homeless."



Jacobin revolutionist Georg Büchner proclaimed: "War to the palaces, peace to the cottages." There can be no solu-

tion to the housing crisis or any other of the desperate social conditions in this country short of socialist revolution. ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

have been more than 3,000 people killed in the war-torn region. Twice the Sandinistas declared cease-fires and twice the contras used them to resupply and carry out murderous raids in which scores of civilians were killed. In El Salvador, the Arias plan is dead in the water as the tottering Duarte regime is under attack from all sides and leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) have struck sharp blows at the demoralized army.

Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan regime has certainly been bending over backwards, making concessions left and right. In a private letter to Reagan (conveniently leaked to the kept media although U.S. assistant secretary of state for Central America Elliott Abrams says it hasn't been shown to the figurehead in the White House yet), Ortega reportedly offers to "respect the outcome of elections," reduce the size of the Sandinista Army, expel Soviet and Cuban military advisers and become "partners" with the U.S. But as the radical *Guardian* (27 January) accurately headlined, "Managua gives a lot, U.S. wants more" and "Reagan won't take yes for an answer."

Washington's War to Make Nicaragua's Economy Scream

So the war goes on and on, and now that "the drums of peace" are beating, the warmasters in Washington have sharply escalated the killing. But now



Nicaraguan women march in Managua last fall against amnesty for imprisoned National Guardsmen and contras. Many carry pictures of their children killed by Somoza's butchers and Reagan's terrorists.

icopters greatly aided the battle-hardened Sandinista Army to inflict a strategic defeat on the contras in 1985-86. And while liberals and conservatives join in yelping about Nicaraguan defense minister Humberto Orte-

attribution against the Sandinista regime. They eliminated wheat shipments, canceled Nicaragua's sugar quota, strong-armed international agencies to cancel loans, got Mexico and Venezuela to slash oil shipments. In 1985 Reagan ordered a total trade and financial embargo against Nicaragua. With production stoppages due to lack of spare parts and imported inputs, electricity cut off as much as five hours a day under emergency rationing, water supplies turned off two days a week, gasoline cut to five gallons a month, there have been spiraling shortages and inflation which last year topped 1,800 percent. The inevitable result has been frustration and exhaustion among the Nicaraguan masses.

In popular terminology, Nicaragua became the country of "there isn't any"; the national airline Aeronica is dubbed "Aeronunca" for its record of never arriving on time. Workers have to walk everywhere, or else stand in line for hours to catch one of the few buses still on the road. But while the poor in Managua barrios such as Villa Revolución are desperately trying to find rice, beans and sugar, the middle-class and bourgeois elements up the hill in Altamira still dine on *churrasco* steaks. They spend dollars in the "diplomatic" stores stocked with Japanese electronics and Scotch whiskey. The Mercado Oriental is stocked to the gills with goods and food priced too high for workers' families living on \$50 a month to afford. This flourishing black market is fed by dollar remittances from relatives who fled the revolution to Miami, and by government dollar subsidies seeking to buy off the remaining professionals and capitalists.

Contrary to Reaganite propaganda, the Sandinistas are not communists but semi-Stalinized or plain nationalists. They took power with the "anti-Somoza" capitalists in tow, and sought to maintain "national unity" by sanctifying the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) program of "political pluralism, mixed economy and nonalignment." The unstable petty-bourgeois regime is committed neither to defending capitalist property relations nor to establishing a collectivized, proletarian economy through expropriating the bourgeoisie. But in their doomed attempt to straddle the fundamental class divide between capitalism and socialism, the FSLN has increasingly tilted toward the capitalists, breaking up state farms, guaranteeing private

property in the constitution, and most recently giving a carte blanche to imperialist companies with a new foreign investment law.

Yet their sought-for "patriotic bourgeoisie" is nonexistent, as everyone from the electoral opposition of the Popular Social Christians and Independent Liberals to the open contra supporters of the "Democratic Coordinator" are on the CIA payroll. And even while admitting that they're making a profit and that "the Sandinista government is becoming more tolerant of private enterprise as the years pass" (*Business Week*, 1 February) the capitalists sabotage production by refusing to invest and using every opportunity to smuggle profits abroad. Reformist cheerleaders for the FSLN such as the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) try to close their eyes to the ominous economic reality, printing articles with Pollyannish headlines such as "Nicaragua: Why the 'black market' is not a black market" (*Militant*, 20 November 1987). But the Nicaraguan masses can't eat *Militant* articles. And while battered taxis are held together with rope and wire, resentment is growing against Sandinista comandantes who zip around town in their Soviet Lada sedans, forming a new "Ladacracy."

War-Weariness Fuels Counterrevolution

Sandinista Nicaragua is economically and socially exhausted after a decade of war. In this there is a certain similarity between Nicaragua today and Bolshevik Russia at the end of the Civil War in 1920-21. To be sure, there are also fundamental differences. Bolshevik Russia was the product of a proletarian revolution led by an internationalist, Marxist party. The Nicaraguan Revolution which overthrew the Yankee puppet Somoza was a political revolution placing in power radical petty-bourgeois nationalists. Moreover, there remain significant survivals of the old ruling class crystallized around Archbishop Obando y Bravo. The economic exhaustion of Bolshevik Russia, a gigantic country, was the by-product of three years of imperialist war followed by four years of civil war and foreign intervention. The devastation of tiny Nicaragua is the calculated policy of Yankee imperialism to destroy the revolution.

Today in Nicaragua, a "patriotic" opposition leader like Luis Humberto Guzmán of the Popular Social Christians appeals to the masses' war-weariness in attacking the Sandinistas:

"The people say, now we have a revolutionary government, but we don't have enough food. The people don't want the war. The war started in 1977 against Somoza and in '87 we still have war. And some people have started to think: under Somoza we had more food. We didn't have war."

A leader of the more conservative Social Christians declares that

"If the United States invaded...he would pick up a gun and stand shoulder to shoulder with the other Nicaraguans against the invaders. But to join the Sandinista Army and fight contras who are Nicaraguans themselves in



Waiting at train station in Managua. Nicaragua is economically devastated after a decade of war organized and bankrolled by Yankee Imperialism.

the Sandinistas have shot down another contra supply plane, flying from the CIA's base on Honduras' Swan Island (the site of an Agency radio transmitter supporting the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba). This small victory was made possible thanks to Soviet SAM missiles. Likewise, Soviet-supplied hel-

ga's declaration that Managua was seeking MIG jets capable of intercepting the CIA's supply flights, the Spartacist League continues to insist: "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!"

In the meantime, the U.S. is tightening the screws of its economic war of

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$5/24 issues of <i>Workers Vanguard</i> (includes <i>Spartacist</i>) | <input type="checkbox"/> \$2/4 issues of <i>Women and Revolution</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> New <input type="checkbox"/> Renewal | |
| International rates
\$20/24 issues—Airmail
\$5/24 issues—Seamail | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$2/4 issues of <i>Spartacist</i> (edición en español) | <input type="checkbox"/> \$2/10 introductory issues of <i>Workers Vanguard</i> (includes <i>Spartacist</i>) |

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

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

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Thurs 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 839-0851

Chicago
Tues 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 663-0715

New York City
Tues 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone (212) 267-1025

order to preserve a state that he regarded as totalitarian—this was out of the question."

—Village Voice,
3 November 1987

But the contras are the cutting edge of the U.S.' war against the Nicaraguan Revolution; only a fool or a Yankee agent would pretend otherwise. This is the same line that Social Revolutionary and Menshevik agitators used as they allied with White Guard agents against the Bolsheviks at the end of the Civil War.

By the winter of 1920-21 the Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky had defeated the main White armies, but they ruled over a devastated country. In the countryside peasant uprisings demanded an end to grain requisitioning for the Red Army and city workers. In the cities conditions were even worse, with workers living on near-starvation wages. Strikes broke out in Moscow and Petrograd as the workers demanded an increase in food rations and immediate distribution of all available winter clothing. The most dangerous revolt was the Kronstadt mutiny in March 1921. Kronstadt was the strategic naval base guarding the approach to Petrograd (now Leningrad). In 1917 the Kronstadt sailors had been in the vanguard of the revolution. But after four years of bloody civil war the best of them had been replaced by raw peasant youth, and the masses at this inactive naval base easily reflected the unrest in the countryside. Demanding freedom of trade for the peasantry and an end to the policies of "War Communism," the Kronstadt mutineers attacked the Bolsheviks:

"Communist rule has reduced all of Russia to unprecedented poverty, hunger, cold, and other privations. The factories and mills are closed, the railways on the verge of breakdown. The countryside has been fleeced to the bone.... The peasants and townfolk have lost all hope for an improvement of their



Bolshevik leaders Lenin and Trotsky stand among soldiers sent to suppress Kronstadt mutiny in March 1921. War-weariness and economic exhaustion fueled forces of counterrevolution.

lives. Day by day they come closer to death. The Communist betrayers have reduced you all to this."

—cited in Paul Avrich,
Kronstadt 1921 (1970)

The Kronstadters' own declared program was the anarchist utopia of a loose-knit federation of autonomous communes. But their overriding hostility to Communist rule was inevitably forcing them into the arms of the White Guards and their imperialist backers. In fact, during the mutiny its principal leader, Stepan Petrichenko, appealed for aid to the main agent of the counter-revolutionary National Center in nearby Finland. After the mutiny was suppressed, Petrichenko fled to Finland

where he and his supporters negotiated a secret pact with the White general (and former Baltic baron) Wrangel! The Bolshevik leaders understood that the Kronstadt mutiny had to be crushed if the revolution was to survive.

The suppression of the Kronstadt mutiny was the final, tragic act in the civil war in which the Bolsheviks defended proletarian power against the forces of world imperialism. Yet the economic and social exhaustion of Bolshevik Russia and the imperialist encirclement took their toll, leading to the bureaucratic degeneration of the young Soviet state and the triumph of Stalin in the mid-1920s. But Stalin is no historic option in Nicaragua. There is not going

to be a tiny deformed workers state in Central America surrounded by Yankee imperialist puppet regimes. The country is too small and backward, the pressure of the United States too great to afford the luxury of a pernicious bureaucracy standing between the masses and the direct appetites of imperialism.

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Nor are the impoverished and embattled Nicaraguan masses inclined to tolerate this. Even as he was pleading with Reagan to become "partners" and denying all speculation about splits in the FSLN, Daniel Ortega admitted:

"...with regard to the common people, people on the street, well, a lot of explanation has to be made because a lot of people are frankly not happy with pardons to members of the *contra*, particularly those whose relatives have been killed by these individuals."

—National Public Radio,
25 January

On January 23, tens of thousands of Managuans attended a Sandinista rally vowing not to let Reagan defeat their revolution.

Now more than ever, defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution means *completing* the revolution by destroying the internal "fifth column" that leeches off the desperate masses—Expropriate the bourgeoisie! For agrarian revolution to take back the land from the cattle barons, sugar and cotton plantation owners and coffee capitalists who themselves "expropriated" the impoverished peasantry under the Yankee-protected Somozas and their predecessors. The Nicaraguan Revolution can survive only by igniting social revolution throughout the Central American isthmus, drawing into the battle the powerful proletariat of Mexico, and linking up with sharp class struggle in the heart of American imperialism. ■

Palestinians...

(continued from page 12)

themselves expressions of secular ideologies. Both Jews and Arabs are increasingly being pushed into the embrace of religious extremists who see themselves as prophets armed" (*New York Review of Books*, 4 February). Would Hertzberg so facetiously equate the Nazi beasts with Jewish anti-Nazi partisans?

For all the social-democratic rhetoric of Ben-Gurion's "Labor" Zionism, it was always based on terrorizing and driving out the indigenous Arab population from the Jewish "promised land." It is this that leads the Zionists to sound and act like Nazis. Speaking at a press conference last October, a senior officer of the West Bank military occupation regime explained that they switched

from wood to hard rubber riot sticks because "The wood batons have an irritating quality, they get broken.... Their [the Palestinians'] heads become harder" (*Ha'aretz*, 14 October 1987, translated by Israel Shahak). A recent survey revealed that 29 percent of Israeli Jews support mass expulsions of Palestinians, while one in two believe that Arabs in Israel should remain "second-class citizens."

The bankruptcy of the PLO's petty-bourgeois nationalism in the face of Zionist terror has indeed increasingly driven the youth of the Occupied Territories into the arms of Islamic fundamentalism. The PLO has always preached reliance on the surrounding Arab sheiks, kings and colonels, who have themselves bloodily suppressed the Palestinian people. Today PLO leader Yasir Arafat repudiates the PLO's opposition to UN Resolution 242 acknowledging the integrity of the Zionist state. The Shi'ite Amal militia's "gift" to the embattled people of the Occupied Territories is to lift its grotesque three-year-long siege of Palestinian camps in Lebanon. One Gazan expressed the sense of frustration succinctly: "We're all alone in this fight; Amman, Cairo and the PLO don't do a thing for us" (*Newsweek*, 25 January).

The invasion of Al Aksa and the Temple Mount by the border police was an unprecedented provocation. *Jihads* ("holy wars") have been waged over far less. The Zionist authorities denied they had actually entered the mosque itself, a cover-up dutifully parroted by the *New York Times* (16 January), which reported the incident as a "clash" between Israeli police and "stone-throwing Palestinians." But an Italian reporter who was inside the mosque described how he "saw soldiers enter and take more than 30 people, one by one, and beat them with batons," including an old man who was slammed against a wall and slapped around. A Canadian TV crewman saw police "force open the door and enter

the women's mosque" (*Washington Post*, 16 January). With all the arrogance of their "master race" outlook, the Zionists think they can treat the third most holy shrine for 550 million Muslims around the world as though it were a police station dungeon.

At the time of the massacre of the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon, we said in "Zionist Holocaust" (*WV* No. 314, 1 October 1982):

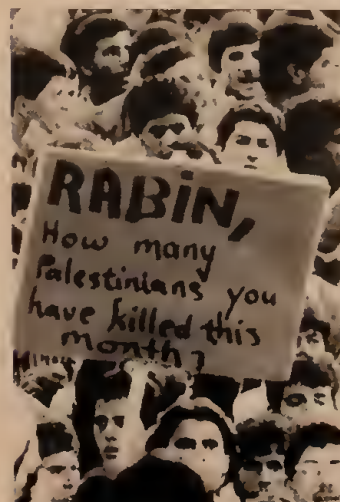
"Today the Palestinians face the Zionist Holocaust. But there are only three million Jews in a sea of 150 million Arabs. Israel's military expansionism and mass terror against the Arabs ultimately lead to the self-destruction of the Hebrew-speaking people. Some day the IDF [Israeli army] will be cracked, and then the Begin, Sharons and Peres will be tempted to launch their nuclear bombs at Baghdad, Damascus and

Cairo, even if this means provoking the ultimate holocaust."

As Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu courageously revealed—for which he is now on trial for "treason"—the Zionist state has hundreds of nuclear weapons, enough to launch even against the Soviet Union. This only reinforces our urgent warning from 1982:

"If the Jewish people in the Near East are to be anything other than a catalyst for a nuclear World War III, the Zionist state must be smashed."

And that requires above all the construction of a proletarian internationalist vanguard party that fights for the right to self-determination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew nations through a socialist federation of the Near East. ■



Israeli Arabs protest in Nazareth against Zionist reign of terror in occupied Gaza and West Bank.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office:

Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

New York

Box 444, Canal St. Sta
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

San Francisco

Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.

Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Detroit

Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

Boston

Box 840, Central Sta
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Ithaca

Box 6767
Ithaca, NY 14850

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 881-3700

Madison

Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-6431

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Muslim Holy Site Invaded, Army Starves Gaza Camps

Israeli Stormtroopers Terrorize Palestinians

As ten thousand people stood in prayer on January 15, the Al Aksa mosque in the Old City of Jerusalem was enveloped in clouds of tear gas, the steps were stained with blood, elderly worshippers slammed against walls, women clubbed over the head with riot sticks, young kids shot at with rubber bullets. For two million Palestinian Arabs, the "Holy Land" has become a hell on earth. The Gaza Strip has been turned into a huge ghetto, sealed off, subjected to a deliberate starvation policy. Soldiers systematically go from house to house, camp to camp, village to village, beating children in front of their parents, beating fathers in front of their wives and children. Young women are shot dead as they hang laundry outside their houses. Men are dragged away from their homes and families in order to be deported to places they've never seen before, in Lebanon. Scores have been killed, thousands more arrested.

Deportation, starvation, religious desecration, "collective punishment"—this is the "Iron Fist," Israel's Hitlerite policy for subjugating the Occupied Territories. Yet, after eight weeks, the most widespread revolt of the bitterly oppressed Palestinian Arab masses since the creation of the Zionist state in 1948 continues with full force. Even the Israeli rulers no longer try to pass it off as simply the work of a handful of PLO "terrorists." Defense minister Yitzhak Rabin admitted that the uprising "started without instructions from outside. It came from within the people" (*New York Times*, 21 January). So they declare open war on the whole population.

On January 19, Rabin announced a "new" policy of "force, might, beatings." For years the border police have routinely broken into homes to beat Palestinians; the Shin Bet secret police routinely hang people by their hands



Clouds of tear gas pour over Al Aksa mosque in Old City of Jerusalem as Israeli police beat Arabs, desecrate Muslim shrine.

and beat male victims in the testicles; but now the entire occupation army is carrying out massive, naked, random terror. The Americans don't like watching young kids shot down on their TV screens, rants Rabin, so we'll beat them by the hundreds in the dead of night. Arresting a youth means he "will be freed in 18 days unless the authorities have enough evidence to charge him," explains a *Jerusalem Post* military correspondent, "but if troops break his hand, he won't be able to throw stones for a month and a half." One 25-year-old Palestinian shopkeeper who was

savaged by Israeli soldiers described his ordeal:

"They tied my hands and took me to the main square of Ramallah, where the soldiers gather. They didn't check who I was even though I tried to explain in Hebrew and English that I own a store. 'All the way to the square, they beat me with clubs, sticks and fists and cursed me. They broke sticks on my shoulders and head, and all the time yelled to the people around, 'Watch, watch!' 'Then they sat me next to a pile of garbage. I tried to explain I am a businessman, but they weren't willing to hear a word. They asked me to say 'Arafat's a maniac.' I refused. They kicked me in

the mouth with their boots. They hit me in the back and spit on me for an hour and a half."

—*New York Times*, 23 January

Holocaust survivors witnessed such scenes when Hitler's SS stormed into the Jewish ghettos of East Europe. Today the Zionist rulers are turning their whole army into SS thugs. And when this latest attempt at "pacification" backfires, as all the other attempts have, it will prepare the way for a much bloodier massacre. When the Israelis first implemented the "Iron Fist," during the occupation of southern Lebanon, it succeeded only in turning a previously friendly Shi'ite population into a solidly hostile mass.

In order to counter a two-week-old commercial strike by shopkeepers in the Occupied Territories, the army has not only attempted to force the shops open at gunpoint; it has sealed off whole districts of the West Bank and virtually all of Gaza, refusing to allow even emergency food shipments by United Nations relief agencies. When Israeli Arabs donated five truckloads of food—bedecked with banners reading, "Food for the Palestinians in the refugee camps under siege and occupation"—for the residents of Gaza, the trucks were turned back.

Israel's American quartermasters bemoan the destabilizing effect this random terror is having on the region. The U.S. even voted against Israel, for the first time in six years, in a United Nations Security Council resolution deploring the deportation of ten Palestinians. When Washington chastised the Zionists over the deportation of moderate Palestinian West Bank mayors several years ago, the mayors were allowed to return to the West Bank, where the "Jewish underground"—the likes of Brooklyn-derived Meir Kahane's fascist thugs—proceeded to blow their legs off with terror bombs. Kahane's goons are implicated in the assassination of Arab American spokesman Alex Odeh in the U.S., yet the FBI has done nothing to track them down.

On January 23, 6,000 Israeli Arabs demonstrated in Nazareth against the Israeli occupation, while 30,000 "Peace Now" supporters marched in Tel Aviv (by comparison, Peace Now mobilized five times as many against the invasion of Lebanon). The liberal Peace Now protesters chanted "two countries for two peoples" while waving Israeli flags. One kibbutznik carried a sign reading, "The occupation is bad for Zionism." But the occupation is Zionism.

"Liberal" Zionists wring their hands over the need for a political solution, yet they have none to offer. Arthur Hertzberg wrote recently: "The conflict between Israel and the PLO was once a quarrel between two Western-style nationalisms, both of which considered

continued on page 11



Palestinian women, under Israeli starvation siege of Gaza camps, dash to buy food.