

Zionist Sadists Bury Arab Youths Alive

Palestinians Defy Israeli "Iron Fist"



Avakian/Woodfin Camp



Bakhshandagi/Black Star

Israeli troops seize Palestinian youth in West Bank town of Ramallah (left). Mass protests in Gaza Strip (right). Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

The Palestinians call it *Al-Intifada*, "The Uprising." From one month to the next, the mass protests which started in the Gaza Strip in early December have cascaded and grown, reaching beyond the Occupied Territories, engulfing ever wider areas, ever more people. Flinging stones against bullets, wielding sling-

shots against machine guns, throwing themselves bodily against their tormentors, the Palestinian Arab masses have battled without respite for ten weeks. The Zionist stormtroopers with their "Iron Fist" of murderous, indiscriminate savagery have succeeded only in unifying all the Arabs under their jack-

boot—from the "refugees" in the concentration camps of the Gaza Strip to the Israeli Arabs of Haifa and the Galilee to the Druze and Bedouin communities once deemed to be loyal to the Zionist state.

Israel "celebrates" its 40th year of existence with the same naked terror it

used to dispossess the Palestinian people out of whose living body the Zionists carved their "promised land." The gruesome incident in the West Bank village of Salfm, in which four Arab teenagers were beaten bloody by Israeli soldiers and fascist "settlers" and then

continued on page 10

Another Imperialist Provocation in the Black Sea

Soviet Navy Sends U.S. Warships Packing

On February 12, two U.S. Navy warships invaded Soviet territorial waters in the Black Sea. In fact, these were the same two ships—the destroyer *Caron* and the guided missile cruiser *Yorktown*—which had penetrated the exact same region off the Crimean coast in March 1986. This time the ships penetrated the Soviets' 12-mile coastal limit up to about seven miles from shore, just off Soviet Black Sea Fleet headquarters at Sevastopol. This was no accident; officers noted it "was approved by the White House" (UPI, 13 February). Wars have been started far less. And this time the U.S. Navy got more than a mere protest note.

"Soviet ships have orders to prevent violations of territorial waters. I am authorized to strike your ship with one of ours." That was the warning issued by

the Soviet commander on the spot, as Soviet Badger planes and Hind helicopters closely monitored the intruder ships, whose crews went to "a high state of readiness" during the two-hour provocation (*New York Times*, 13 February). As Soviet spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov explained later, the American ships did not react to the warning and continued their "dangerous maneuvering." So the 7,800-ton *Caron* was humped on the side by a 1,150-ton Mirka-class frigate, and three minutes later the 9,600-ton cruiser *Yorktown* was struck by the 3,900-ton Krivak-class frigate *Bezzavenniy*. The Soviet military response was a carefully measured but firm defense of home waters.

In 1986 and again this time, the U.S. claimed it was merely asserting the

continued on page 8



U.S. Dept. of Defense Photos

Soviet frigate (center) confronts intruding U.S. destroyer *Caron* off Crimean coast in Black Sea.

Tugboat Strike Against Union-Busting ILA: Shut Down New York Harbor!

"This is a lifetime strike. They want to cut us to the bone, and we won't take that," a picketing bargeman declared on February 16, the first day of the strike by 2,800 members of United Marine Division, Local 333 of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). The New York harbor tug and barge owners are demanding the elimination of 750 jobs, and wage and benefit cuts of 40 to 62 percent! After their successful assault on tugboat workers in the Mid-Atlantic ports, where hundreds of jobs were wiped out last fall, they are out to break this key local in the heart of the longshore union. The entire ILA must enter the battle. Picket lines

mean don't cross! Shut down New York harbor!

The employers have recruited scabs in ports from New Orleans to Boston to man the 250 tugs, barges and small tankers. A union spokesman told the New Jersey Record (17 February), "Our men are up in arms. They catch a scab and he's gone." But Local 333 is fighting alone. As scab tugmen and docking pilots bring in the ships, ILA longshoremen are working the cargo. NYC mayor Koch, who got Jimmy Carter to call in the Coast Guard to run scab sanitation barges in 1979, has over 100 cops, including mounted cops, at Staten Island picket sites. Already a half-



ILA picketers in Staten Island.

dozen strikers have been arrested. ILA longshoremen are also under attack. For the first time in decades the employers won concessions under the 1986 two-tier contract. Gulf and South Atlantic locals are reeling under the pressure of scab operations. Maritime/transport labor solidarity strike action is urgently needed to win the tug strike and

reverse the pounding that waterfront unions have taken in the Reagan years. This requires integrated, united class struggle—eliminating segregation in ILA locals, and reversing the historic discrimination against blacks and Puerto Ricans, mainly employed as cooks, in the New York tug local. Smash the assault on Local 333! ■

Solidarity Rally for Maine Paper Strikers

BOSTON—On February 19 a crowd of over 500, including building tradesmen, striking rail workers and Harvard clericals, along with students and community activists, jammed into the IBEW Local 102 union hall in Dorchester. Chanting "Scabs out! Union in!" they rallied in solidarity with the embattled strikers of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 14 in Jay, Maine.

The 1,200 paper workers have been out on a bitter eight-month-long strike against International Paper, the largest

company in the industry worldwide. Last June, IP demanded a 12 percent wage cut and launched a union-busting campaign against the Jay workers and 2,200 other paper workers in De Pere, Wisconsin, Lock Haven, Pennsylvania and Mobile, Alabama where workers have been locked out since last March. The company built a barbed wire fence around the Jay plant and brought in a professional union-busting thug outfit, B.E.&K., to put nearly 1,000 scabs in the plant.

The scabs have caused at least three

spectacular gas and chemical leaks. On February 5, thousands of Jay residents had to be evacuated when 112,000 gallons of highly toxic chlorine dioxide escaped in a thick green cloud after two scabs tried to repair a steam pipe with a blowtorch. Local 14 president William Meserve said, "IP shows as much concern for the people of the Androscoggin Valley as Union Carbide did for the people of Bhopal." (Portland Press Herald, 6 February).

At the rally the largely white audience gave a standing ovation to Hank Sanders from Mobile, Alabama when he described the attempt by himself and other black legislators to rip down the Confederate flag of slavery that flies over the state capitol in Montgomery. The strikers have faced racist provocations: in October scabs in the Mobile IP plant flew the racist flag from the main smokestack, and in Maine the Ku Klux Klan staged a rally in nearby Rumford, unsuccessfully attempting to mobilize backward workers in supposed opposition to the introduction of black scabs by B.E.&K.

The Boston rally was part of a caravan the Jay strikers are taking through the Northeast. But instead of a fight for class-struggle solidarity action like hot-cargoing (refusing to handle) scab paper, the strike has been diverted into writing letters to IP's board of directors and a boycott of Hershey bars and Coca-Cola! These diversions are sponsored by Corporate Campaign



Boston: Striking paper workers at February 19 rally.

Inc., a New York-based labor consulting firm headed by Ray Rogers. When Rogers shows up, you know your strike is in trouble! At Homet, faced with company and cop scabherding and criminal backstabbing by the union International, his impotent strategy of consumer boycotts helped sink the bitter P-9 meatpackers strike.

It took hard-nosed class-struggle tactics like hot-cargoing and plant occupations (sit-down strikes) to build the industrial unions in this country. It's going to take the same to win against union-busters like IP. No more PATCOs! No more Hormels! Victory to the paper workers! ■



TROTSKY

The Appeal of Tom Mooney, Labor Martyr

In 1916 Tom Mooney, a union leader who had just led a bitter strike of San Francisco streetcar workers, and Warren Billings, another SF workers' leader, were framed for allegedly throwing a bomb into a patriotic prowar parade. They were sentenced to death, but international labor protests caused President Woodrow Wilson to pressure the governor of California to commute the sentence to



LENIN

life imprisonment. In the late 1920s, James P. Cannon, chairman of the International Labor Defense and subsequently founding leader of American Trotskyism, visited Mooney in San Quentin and publicized his appeal to the workers of the world.

"Our hope is in a new protest movement," [Mooney] said. "Every possible legal and technical move has been made to prove our innocence and our right to an unconditional pardon, but without success. The years go by until nearly 12 have elapsed, and still we are held in prison for a crime of which the world knows we are not guilty. Our crime was loyalty to the workers. Now, let the workers speak again in our behalf. I have confidence that our friends will find the way to make our appeal heard throughout the world...."

"I have been fortified all through these years of prison," he said, "by my faith in the movement which I serve and by the consciousness that, even though confined here, I am an instrument of the workers' cause and a symbol of their struggle. I have not forgotten the protest of the Russian workers which saved us from the gallows, and I have not lost my confidence that the workers of America, and the world, will again make their mighty voices heard in our behalf."

—James P. Cannon, "Tom Mooney's Appeal" (April 1928)

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 Stamborg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)
Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and 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 10116. 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 10116.
Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 447 26 February 1988

International Women's Day 1988

JUST OUT!

Women and Revolution

Spring 1988, No. 34
\$1.00 (32 pages)

- How the Bolsheviks Fought for Women's Emancipation
- American Capitalism: Child Abuse, Inc.
- Leprosy and AIDS: Bigots Blame the Victims
- Anti-Woman Witchhunt in Australia
- Class Struggle in the "Global Sweatshop"
- The Clash Over The Color Purple

4-issue subscription \$2.00
Make checks payable to: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky! How the Bolsheviks Fought for Women's Emancipation



International Women's Day 1988

- American Capitalism, Child Abuse, Inc.
- Leprosy and AIDS: Bigots Blame the Victims
- Anti-Woman Witchhunt in Australia
- Class Struggle in the "Global Sweatshop"
- The Clash Over The Color Purple

Steel Workers March in the Ruhr

Fissures in the West German Reich

The following article is abridged from Spartakist No. 55, January/February 1988, newspaper of the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands*.

With the regime of Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl plunged into deep crisis, West Germany's relative prosperity and stability, thrown into relief by the sharp decline of U.S. imperialism, is *breaking down*. The reactionary character of resurgent German nationalism is being intensified by redoubled capitalist austerity and attacks on the working class, and racist terror against immigrant workers and asylum seekers in the context of the imperialist Cold War drive.

In the name of "peace," the imperialists continue to arm against the Soviet Union. Sea-launched cruise missiles replace the Pershings and U.S. imperialism's first-strike "Star Wars" plans continue unabated. Yet for the German "peace" movement, the Reagan-Gorbachev accord on medium-range missiles in Europe represented a great victory within the framework it had set itself—the removal of American missiles from German soil.

The Pershings—six minutes from Moscow—represent a deadly threat to the USSR, but they also fueled the rise of anti-Americanism and German nationalism. This nationalism, which drew deeply on the real popular fear that Germany would become a nuclear battlefield, was behind the massive "peace" demonstrations quite unlike anything in any other West European country in the '80s.

The Washington summit excluded the French and British nuclear arsenals from the negotiations. Therefore, "European defense" schemes are being given greater weight in the anti-Soviet war drive. West Germany, the linchpin of NATO and the powerhouse of the Common Market, naturally dominates these schemes. Germany will lead Europe either to socialism or to barbarism.

Krupp Makes Class War, SPD Preaches "Social Peace"

The German bourgeoisie has postponed a decisive confrontation with the country's powerful unions, which have suffered no major defeat on the order of, for example, the British miners strike. In the past, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and German Labor Federation (DGB) misleaders were able to contain working-class discontent with minimal concessions. Even the spring 1984 strikes for the 35-hour workweek, the most massive labor struggle in decades, ended in a draw—a 38.5-hour compromise. But this kind of tradeoff is becoming increasingly difficult for the DGB bureaucracy.

Permanent unemployment has spread beyond the foreign workers, women and youth to strategic sectors of the German industrial proletariat. The Ruhr valley in particular has been hard hit. In the past 25 years, 70 percent of the jobs in steel were destroyed, and in the coming decade the capitalists are planning to cut another 35,000 jobs in steel and 30,000 in coal.

Unrest flared in the Ruhr when news was "leaked" on November 27 that the Krupp steel trust was going to close its Rheinhausen plant, one of the most modern in Europe. For two weeks demonstrations and strikes spread throughout the Ruhr, culminating in a near-general strike that was called for December 10. Rheinhausen was shut



German and Turkish steel workers block Rheinhausen bridge. Ruhr region was paralyzed by near-general strike last December. *Der Spiegel*

down tight as was neighboring Duisburg across the Rhine. Even small shopkeepers pulled down their shutters. Steel workers backed up by coal miners blocked highway bridges across the Rhine. They were joined on the picket lines by government workers who spontaneously walked off the job. Sanitation and postal workers came with their trucks and even farmers brought their tractors.

The massive display of labor power and solidarity relegated cops to redirecting the region-wide traffic jam. An estimated 250,000 workers participated in the December 10 action which [right-wing press baron Axel] Springer's *Hamburger Abendblatt* wryly noted was the largest protest in this industrial heartland of Germany since the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923.

Workers have the power to sweep out the Kohl gang with its police-state and austerity measures in the service of the Krupps and Thyssens, but not if that power is shackled by the SPD which pines away for a coalition with the big bourgeoisie of the Free Democrats (FDP) or petty bourgeoisie of the Greens, who would just as soon see all steel plants closed to defend their precious German forests. The SPD's reformist stranglehold must be broken.

This bourgeois workers party must be split in the struggle to forge a party capable of mobilizing the proletariat, including its sizable immigrant component, for its own class rule.

Reaction Overreaches Itself

A wing of the ruling coalition, headed by [federal interior minister] Zimmermann and [arch-rightist and Bavarian strong-man] Strauss, is pushing for stepped-up repression. The Zimmermanns would like to treat the entire radical movement, and even the not-so-radical Greens, like the RAF [Red Army Faction, referred to as "Baader-Meinhof Gang" in the bourgeois press]. But the well-organized labor movement and mass petty-bourgeois ranks of the Greens constitute a powerful reservoir of opposition to police-state measures that many sections of the Christian Democrats want to impose, as was demonstrated in the course of last year.

In 1987 the regime felt emboldened to make the issue of the census into a test of strength. A wave of repression came down on organizations that called for boycotting the census: police raids of leftist offices, books seized, leaflets confiscated, Green deputies fined thousands of marks. This "test of strength"

backfired. What in other countries is a routine collection of statistical data was instinctively identified by a large segment of the population with a draconian police state. They didn't believe in the promised "confidentiality" and resented questions about their religious beliefs. Jews couldn't help recalling the 1939 census which prepared the round-ups for the gas chambers.

Zimmermann then attempted to seize upon the Frankfurt airport runway affair, in which two cops were killed by gunfire while brutally attacking a demonstration at the Rhine-Main airport November 3, to push through a ban on any demonstrations in which demonstrators wear masks. (It turned out that the two cops at the airport runway were shot with a police handgun, which was later conveniently found by the cops near the flat of one of the protesters as he was arrested.) Foreign leftists would be particularly vulnerable, but this would mean that the police could disperse any demonstration by simply planting one masked provocateur in the crowd. The secret police have a history of such provocations.

Seven thousand cops marched through the streets of Frankfurt in full uniform and bearing torches in the Nazi tradition, as did tens of thousands in other cities, defying West German law. Slogans like "How many dead do we need," "Politicians awake" and "Right to demonstrate in Hesse—police killed by murderers," expressed contempt for and hostility to the constraints of bourgeois democracy. This outburst of police bonapartism was however tempered by a sense of isolation and frustration. One cop demonstrator complained, "The 'good citizens,' mid-40s, maybe 50 years old, say to us, 'Pigs, you're worse than the Nazis'" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 5 November 1987).

After the Frankfurt airport events, all eyes turned to Hamburg where squatters brought out all the trappings of '70s-style New Left defiance of the bourgeois state—barricades, masked demonstrators, pirate radio stations, etc. The SPD state interior minister Lange was itching to clean up this "symbol of the state-free sector of the militant 'fighting left'" (*Der Spiegel*, 23 November 1987). When the Hafenstrasse squatters association rejected Hamburg bürgermeister Dohnanyi's lease offer,

continued on page 11



West German "peace" movement serves as left cover for resurgent German nationalism. *Der Spiegel*

Young Spartacus

Black Students Seize Building at UMass

Smash Racist Attacks at Amherst!

AMHERST, Massachusetts—Outraged over racist attacks at UMass Amherst, nearly 200 black and minority students staged a six-day occupation of the campus' New Africa House beginning February 12. Following a vicious attack on an interracial couple and an apartheid-style police sweep through a dorm the weekend before, black students turned a meeting to celebrate Black History Month into a sit-in that quickly drew support from students, faculty and campus workers. The protesters demanded the immediate expulsion of the students involved in the assault, suspension of the cops responsible for the dorm sweep, and programs for increased minority student enrollment and faculty.

The occupation ended when students established a maze of committees to negotiate, monitor and advise the administration, which made vague promises to increase minority enrollment and establish procedures to improve the racial climate on campus. *But on the very day the New Africa House sit-in ended, the racists struck again.* On February 16, four white students roughed up a group of Puerto Ricans in a campus garage, kicking and spitting at them and calling one of the Hispanic students a "Cuban bastard." This latest attack once again shows the urgent need for militant student/faculty/labor action to drive the racist punks off campus!

Amherst grabbed national headlines a year and a half ago when a hundreds-strong white mob rioted against 20 black students after the 1986 World Series—and despite all the "sensitivity training" and "racial awareness" seminars, the campus is rife with bigotry and racist violence. On February 7, six white punks screaming racist epithets savagely attacked an interracial couple, Jerome Smith and Sarah Whittle, and a black friend, James Cunningham, after a dorm party. The attackers punched Cunningham and prevented Sarah Whittle from coming to her friends' aid as they held Smith down, one viciously kicking him in the ribs and head with heavy work boots as another of the gang taunted him, "So, you like white women?" The scene resembled nothing so much as a Southern lynching—black men have died at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan for so much as looking at a white woman ("reckless eyeballing," it's called). The victims at Amherst have filed charges of assault with a deadly weapon, civil rights violation and conspiracy.

The attack on Smith and Cunningham came on the heels of a cop rampage through a dormitory the previous day, when female students reported harassment from strangers in Cashin Hall. After storming several floors of the dormitory, the cops rounded up a number of black men at random, driving them to the lobby and holding a "lineup" without so much as telling them what was going on. Even the dean of students



Nick Sokoloff

Black students outside the occupied New Africa House greet rally in support of their protest against racist attacks at UMass Amherst, February 16.

described it as "hideous," but the cops and administration vehemently denied any wrongdoing when this act of apartheid-like "law and order" was revealed.

During the sit-in, relations with the administration took on an air of oozy friendliness—the demonstrators sent Chancellor Joseph Duffey a card because he had to cancel a meeting with them due to a relative's illness; Duffey in turn personally delivered a large basket of fruit to the students. A supporter of the Young Communist League (which ludicrously calls on the ultra-racist Reagan/Meese government to "ban the Klan" and enact new laws against racism) begged "Chancellor Duffey, the UMass administration...and the five-college community to give solid support to the brothers and sisters demonstrating inside the New Africa House" (*Collegian*, 17 February).

We say: no confidence in the administration or the campus cops! After Halloween threats against blacks in 1986 the administration banned masks, as if that

would stop racist thugs, and obscenely blames *alcohol* for the attack on Jerome Smith and James Cunningham. It's not booze, but rampant *bigotry* that's at work here! And all the powerless "talk shops" and committees set up with the

administration will only be used to derail militant action to smash racist attacks on campus.

The change of climate is striking in a school that used to take pride in being the alma mater of black basketball great Julius Irving. The politicians and administrators who run the state university system have flashed a green light to the racists by making clear that black students are not welcome here—they've slashed black enrollment by two-thirds—down to just 3 percent! And they harbor the ultra-right-wing punks grouped around the Minuteman and Conservative Alliance, whose supporters regularly try to break up leftist meetings on campus (see "Campus Contraband Assault Gus Hall Meeting," *WV* No. 443, 1 January).

At New Africa House, white anti-racist protesters were banned from the sit-in and confined to outside support rallies, reinforcing rather than breaking down racial divisions and the isolation of black students. The New Africa House demonstrators originally demanded more minority cops—this despite the fact that the chief of the racist campus security force is black. To their credit, the protesters dropped the demand for more cops, who, whatever their color, are enforcers of the racist status quo. In the space of one week there were several mass integrated demonstrations in support of the black students' demands. This kind of action by students, faculty and campus workers is necessary to drive the racists back into their sewers!

The ominous tide of attacks and provocations against blacks, Hispanics, Asians, gays and Jews on campuses across the country is fueled by the decaying racist, capitalist system; the attackers emboldened by a Klan-endorsed president whose administration has been committed to rolling back every gain of the civil rights and union movements. Sections of a frenzied white petty bourgeoisie, whose own economic position has gone to hell with the rot of American industrial capacity, are lashing out against minorities on the

continued on page 9

Spartacist supporters at rally in defense of minority students. To combat segregation and class bias of universities, SYC demands open admissions, free tuition and a state-paid stipend for all.



Spartacist Youth Fight for Revolutionary Marxist Program

Radical Student Confab at Rutgers

Over 650 students from more than 100 colleges thronged Rutgers University February 5-7 for a "National Student Convention" that conference organizers promised would herald the birth of a "new New Left." The right-wing remnants of the old New Left and their young protégés who organized the conference got a lot more—and ended up with a lot less—than they bargained for. Almost triple the number of students expected showed up and the first thing they did was turn slogans from the conference call like "Free the university!" against the conference honchos themselves. At a pre-conference open mike on Friday night an angry revolt broke out against the high price (25 bucks a head!) and stifling bureaucratic rules. Conference organizers attempted to make sure that open political debate didn't break out again.

Much of the conference turned into a running battle over the democratic rights of the participants themselves. After Friday, conference organizers posted signs saying that literature tables were *verboten*, but they couldn't keep up with the magic markers of students who mocked the self-appointed censors by signing Ronald Reagan's name under each edict. On Sunday morning the bureaucrats used the threat of the campus police to try and force the Spartacus Youth Club to take down our literature table, expecting that we'd wimp out like the Young Communist League or Young Socialist Alliance did. Instead, SYC members got up and forced the issue to a vote of about 150 students in the cafeteria—which we won *three times*—establishing the right for all left groups to distribute their literature and for everyone to read and discuss whatever they bloody well wanted.

In the end, no new national student organization was formed because the convention organizers, paralyzed by white liberalism and black nationalist guilt-tripping, blocked discussion of the substantive political issues that



Students pack gym at Rutgers, looking for radical solution to social injustice, but conference organizers could provide only liberal confusion and anti-communist exclusionism.

brought hundreds of students there in the first place. The Democratic Party Rainbow Coalition organizers, wacko anti-communist anarchists, no-nuke peaceniks, etc. will go back to whatever single-issue campaigns capture their spirits for the moment, but a lot of self-described radicals are still out there looking for a comprehensive means to change a world they see as profoundly unjust.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The racist oppression of black people is the most explosive question in American society. Racist reaction has erupted on college campuses in naked violence against black students and other minorities. Particularly after thousands of students demonstrated nationwide against apartheid, the issue of combating racist oppression in this country is the challenge posed pointblank to any radical student organization. At a workshop on racism on the campuses, a Spar-

tacist comrade spoke to the urgent need for labor/black defense against racist attacks. The strategy of mobilizing the power of labor in mass, integrated mobilizations has scored victories against racist terror—from the successful Spartacist-initiated mobilization which stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, to the recent victory won against a racist police attack and frame-up of a black woman bus driver, Cassandra Seay, and her family in Chicago.

Another Spartacist comrade stressed that blacks are fast becoming "missing persons" at universities. To combat the *resegregation* of education and the dramatic drop in black enrollment, we fight for *open admissions and free tuition*, for free, quality education with a state-paid stipend for all. Nationalize the private universities!

Discussion of these urgent issues was derailed by liberal psychologizing, calls for "anti-racist consciousness raising," and gross guilt-tripping by black

pseudo-nationalists who then convened their own, exclusionist, caucus. The "People of Color Caucus," representing only about two dozen students, then insisted that the conference had no right to decide anything because there weren't enough minority students present. A gay and lesbian caucus put forward a similar resolution, and in short order the conference disintegrated into competing sectors.

To be sure, the organizers did precious little to involve minority students in the conference—including ignoring black students right there at Rutgers who had staged a sit-in and protest over racist provocations as recently as December. But the action of the People of Color Caucus was a slimy maneuver in the service of the racist Democratic Party. D.C. SCAR (Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism), which led the Caucus, wrote in an editorial ("A Note of Caution About National Student Groups," *SCAR News*, February 1988) that "Jackson '88 students will provide the youth base for longer-term Rainbow organizing, an idea D.C. SCAR endorses as a way to maintain a relatively strong and independent student voice." So much for an "independent" voice! The Rainbow Coalition speaks for shackling workers and the oppressed to Dixiecrats like George Wallace through the Democratic Party!

When a black supporter of Progressive Labor Party attempted to speak against racial exclusionism, he was physically manhandled and ejected by an all-white goon squad while a People of Color Caucus spokesman took the mike to add their seal of approval to this attack on a black communist! A Spartacist comrade from Columbia University denounced this anti-communist, anti-black thuggery and then our delegation walked out. Some students had already left the conference in disgust and many of those remaining gave hearty applause to our comrade for

continued on page 9

Don't "Interview" Fascists—Mobilize to Smash Them!

Liberal Muddleheads Make Way for Fascist Metzger

On February 1 the campus radio station at the University of California at Berkeley conducted an "interview" with "White Aryan Resistance" führer and former KKK Grand Dragon Tom Metzger. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club mobilized an integrated picket line protest against this recruitment pitch for fascist terror. Chanting "The Klan must not ride in Berkeley!" and "Smash Metzger's Klan terror!" about 80 anti-racist militants demonstrated outside the KALX studios (see *WV* No. 446, 12 February).

The protest churned up a storm of controversy on campus. Letters pro and con appeared in the main campus paper, the *Daily Californian*. The right-wing *Cal Spectrum* denounced the idea of "free speech" for Nazis as "ridiculous." But these junior McCarthys outrageously equate anti-Klan protesters with the fascist terrorists and seek to

outlaw "extremists." The bourgeois media used this same deadly equation to alibi the Greensboro Massacre in November 1979, labeling the broad daylight murder of five Communist Workers Party supporters by the KKK/Nazis a "shoot-out" between two "extremist" groups.

Not to be outdone, an editorial in the "liberal" *Daily Californian* (11 February) put the right of blacks to organize for civil rights on a par with the "right" of fascists to organize to kill black people: "Denying the right to interview Metzger would do nothing to help end racism. Instead it would undo much of what we have gained as a result of the Free Speech and Civil Rights movements." We say: Don't interview fascists, smash them!

We print here the Spartacus Youth Club's reply to the *Daily Californian* editorial.

Spartacus Youth Club called demo against fascist Metzger which drew wide support from intended victims of racist terror, Berkeley, February 1.



Young Spartacus

19 February 1988

To the Editors of the *Daily Cal*:

When asked his definition of a liberal, black comedian Dick Gregory once replied that liberals are ones who will hang you from a lower branch when they lynch you. This captures something of the profile of the *Daily Cal*'s

11 February editorial, "Free Speech." The Berkeley Free Speech Movement and the Civil Rights Movement are obscenely perverted into a defense of fascist Tom Metzger's "rights" against the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club who mobilized to stop Metzger from organizing for racist terror on

continued on page 9

Slave Revolts in the Americas

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE

AND THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION



Schomburg Collection



Toussaint L'Ouverture (left), leader of the Haitian Revolution. Black slaves battle white colonial masters in 1791.

Bibliothèque d'Histoire Coloniale

Part One of this article appeared in WV No. 446, 12 February.

"Do they think that men who have been able to enjoy the blessing of liberty will calmly see it snatched away?... But no, the same hand which has broken our chains will not enslave us anew. France will not revoke her principles....

"But if, to re-establish slavery in Saint-Domingue, this was done, then I declare to you it would be to attempt the impossible: we have known how to face dangers to obtain our liberty, we shall know how to brave death to maintain it."

—Toussaint L'Ouverture, "Letter to the Directory" (1796)

In January 1802, a French armada anchored in Samaná Bay on the east coast of Hispaniola. With 20,000 veteran troops and officers, the invasion force was the largest expedition that had ever sailed from France. It was sent, said Napoleon Bonaparte to his foreign minister Talleyrand, "to annihilate the government of the blacks in Saint-Domingue" (Haiti). From the heights overlooking the harbor watched Toussaint L'Ouverture, the ex-slave who led the revolution that broke the chains of slavery, who defeated the British, unified the island and restored its prosperity after a devastating war. All that had been won through colossal struggle was now at risk.

Toussaint knew that Napoleon's war fleet had come to re-enslave the blacks, just as surely as Napoleon could see that Toussaint's policy led inexorably to independence. French admiral Le Clerc brought with him a letter promising to respect black freedom...and secret instructions to restore slavery as soon as Toussaint was eliminated. "Rid us of these gilded Africans," cried out Napoleon, whose wife Josephine was a plantation owner from the Antilles. But the racist ravings of the First Consul of France, and his crack troops could not

defeat the revolutionary black army fighting, literally, for "Liberty or Death."

Toussaint L'Ouverture was a man of the French Revolution. While he did not trust Napoleon, at the same time Toussaint could not bring himself to deny his political origins and break sharply from France. Toussaint presided over what was de facto an independent country. He signed treaties with the British and Americans. In May 1801 he promulgated a constitution proclaiming Saint-Domingue an "independent colony of France" and himself governor-general for life. But he did not come to grips with the fact that Thermidor had partially reversed the conquests of the Revolution. So at a crucial moment, he was politically paralyzed.

Napoleon's campaign lasted from February to June 1802. During this time Toussaint's forces bested the French militarily, but his failure to rouse the blacks to all-out resistance, to warn that French victory would bring back the slavemaster's whip, politically disarmed his followers. As his key generals—Christophe, Maurepas and the mulattos Rigaud and Pétion—defected to the French, Toussaint concluded a truce. Shortly afterwards, he walked

into an obvious trap and was kidnapped by the French. He was deported to a cold damp mountain cell in the Jura, 6,000 miles away, mistreated and deprived of medical care until he died in April 1803 at the age of 55.

Toussaint: Black Spartacus and Black Jacobin

All historians have asked the same question: given Toussaint's brilliance, his awareness of what Napoleon's expedition had to mean, why did he give up when he could have defeated the French and declared independence? Aimé Césaire, the literary champion of *négritude* and obedient satrap of the French colony of Martinique, speculates that Toussaint's surrender was a "sacrifice," that he would "leave in order to unite" blacks and mulattos against the colonial power. Nevertheless: "The truth is that the defeat of Toussaint was not military in nature but political.... There is a magic word that Toussaint always refused to say: the word *independence*" (Aimé Césaire, *Toussaint Louverture* [1961]).

C.L.R. James writes that Toussaint's "allegiance to the French Revolution and all it opened out for mankind in general and the people of San Domingo

in particular...had made him what he was. But this in the end ruined him" (*Black Jacobins* [1938]). James, who was then a Trotskyist but later became a Pan-Africanist, contends that Toussaint alienated the black masses, refusing to take racial feelings sufficiently into account, and that this led to his downfall. He writes: "These anti-white feelings of the blacks were no infringement of liberty and equality, but were in reality the soundest revolutionary policy." What Toussaint rejected was the mass slaughter of whites, carried out later by Dessalines following independence, which far from being "sound revolutionary policy" led instead to economic devastation.

Both James and Césaire assume that the logical outcome of the Haitian Revolution could only be independence as it ultimately occurred. They project 20th century national liberation struggles back to the dawn of the 19th century, and equate the Haitian black struggle with the North American and Latin American wars of independence. This misses what was fundamental to Toussaint: the connection with the French Revolution, the vanguard of social progress of the epoch, the only capitalist country which (however reluctantly) had decreed the abolition of slavery. The Liberator of Saint-Domingue was on the cutting edge of the transatlantic bourgeois-democratic social revolution.

There is a direct connection here to Toussaint's attitude toward the former plantation owners. He was motivated not by love toward the Saint-Domingue whites, whose bestial crimes against the slaves produced the black masses' thirst for vengeance. Rather, as James writes, "he was convinced that San Domingo would decay without the benefits of the French connection." While criticizing Toussaint's supposed "unrealistic attitude to the former masters," James is right in recognizing that this sprang "from a recognition that they alone had what San Domingo society needed." Similarly, with the French connection



WV Map

Haitian Revolution inspired slave revolts throughout the Caribbean.

the white officers who made up Toussaint's staff were in the forefront of revolutionary struggle; without it they became at best mercenaries, at worst fifth columnists.

For Toussaint, independence was not a "magic word" but required collaboration with the most socially and economically advanced countries. He recognized intuitively that an isolated Haiti was condemned to sink to a poverty-stricken subsistence level. As Leon Trotsky wrote in "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution" (1939) referring to peasant revolutions in ancient China, "So long as the revolution maintained its purely peasant character, society did not emerge from these hopeless rotations." In Europe, in contrast, "a peasant uprising proved victorious only to the extent that it managed to establish the position of the city population's revolutionary sector." Haiti without a connection to the vanguard of the bourgeois revolution—France—was a peasant revolt without the city.

The key to understanding Toussaint, as C.L.R. James's title accurately puts it, is that Toussaint was above all a *black Jacobin*:

"What revolutionary France signified was perpetually on his lips, in public statements, in his correspondence, in the spontaneous intimacy of private conversation. It was the highest stage of social existence that he could imagine.... No one else was so conscious of its practical necessity in the social backwardness and primitive conditions of life around him."

Toussaint desperately tried up to the end to influence the course of the French Revolution, linking up with the most



John Stockdale, London
Leonard Parkinson (above), leader in 1795 Jamaica Maroon revolt (right), aided by Jacobin commissioners.



J. Bourgain

and began the struggle for independence. When news of the restoration of slavery in Guadeloupe reached Saint-Domingue in July 1803, the revolt became general. In six months, it was all over. The French withdrew in December, independence was declared on 1 January 1804, and the new state was named Haiti (*Ayiti* is an Arawak Indian word meaning mountains). The annihilation of the Napoleonic armies led immediately to Napoleon's decision to abandon further expansion into the Americas and thus opened the door to the Louisiana Purchase of 1804.

Dessalines fought and won the final battle for independence. Today the Haitian left uncritically accepts the Duvalierist glorification of Dessalines as "founder of the nation." But Dessalines succeeded where Toussaint failed precisely because he brought Thermidor to Saint-Domingue.

While Dessalines' Declaration of Independence speaks eloquently of Freedom, it does not mention Equality or Fraternity. In symbolic imitation of Napoleon, he had himself crowned Emperor Jacques the First in October 1804. As a result of Dessalines' large-scale slaughter of whites (although it pales in comparison with the standard treatment those same whites had routinely inflicted on black slaves) he destroyed the trained cadres crucial to economic progress. For the masses of blacks, he reintroduced whipping in barely disguised form with the *liane* (a lash made up of vines), as a means of ensuring labor discipline.

To his advisers who protested that the masses should be provided with moral education in the spirit of the French Revolution, Dessalines replied: "you are wrong: the laborers can be controlled only by fear of punishment and even death; I shall lead them only by these means; my 'morale' shall be the bayonet."

Within two years, there was a widespread revolt. Dessalines was assassinated by his own army in October 1806 and his body stoned by the crowd as it was dragged through Port-au-Prince. The country split. After 1806 the black north was ruled by Christophe and the mulatto south first by Rigaud and then Pétion. Christophe instituted an autocratic regime in the north, while in the mulatto south the forms of a republic were maintained. But there the plantations were broken up into small plots and the economy rapidly declined toward bare subsistence level, with the new mulatto bourgeoisie firmly in the saddle. It was not until 1820 that Haiti was reunited under the mulatto Boyer following Christophe's death.

Haiti and Caribbean Slave Revolts

But as the ex-slaves of Saint-Domingue were defeating the colonial

armies of Britain and France, they were not alone. The Haitian Revolution sparked slave revolts throughout the Caribbean; more than that, it linked them to international bourgeois-democratic revolution.

From the beginning of the plantation system, slaves had risen up to throw off their chains of servitude. The first black slave uprising in the New World was recorded in 1522, on the island of Hispaniola, when West African Wolofs fled from the sugar estate of Admiral Diego Colon. From then on, slave risings occurred almost yearly during the 16th and 17th centuries on one or another Caribbean island.

The slave uprisings were everywhere viciously repressed. Those who escaped fled into the interior to set up colonies of maroons (*marrons* in French, *cimarrones* in Spanish). Maroons frequently sought to come to terms with the slaveholders, tracking down runaways and aiding in suppressing slave revolts, yet the planters turned on them, finding the existence of communities of free blacks intolerable. However, in the maroon revolts, slaves at most sought to escape the master's whip, never to overthrow the system of slavery.

The Haitian Revolution changed all that, shifting the goal from restoration of primitive communal African social relations to the spread of social revolution. And this was made possible precisely by the combination of the greatest slave revolt of all with the bourgeois revolution in France. As Eugene Genovese has written, "the French Revolution provided the conditions in which a massive revolt in Saint-Domingue could become a revolution in its own right":

"By the end of the eighteenth century, the historical content of the slave revolts shifted decisively from attempts to secure freedom from slavery to attempts to overthrow slavery as a social system. The great black revolution in Saint-Domingue marked the turning point."

—Eugene Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the New World* (1979)

Saint-Domingue was no backwater but the world's most lucrative colony, linked to the most dynamic sector of French capitalists. The ex-slaves of Hispaniola did not seek to erect an "oversized maroon colony" but joined with Parisian *sans-culottes* in the vanguard of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. As Genovese notes: "The Haitian Revolution, in contradistinction to one more rising of slaves, would have been unthinkable without the French Revolution." And their fates were necessarily linked.

But before the (failed) Napoleonic invasion of Saint-Domingue, in the heyday of Jacobinism, the struggle for liberty, equality, fraternity and the destruction of slavery spread through-

out the Caribbean, irrespective of the colonial master. An American historian has noted.

"...British slaves in most colonies were agitated by the potential of revolutionary unrest elsewhere and in Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada took an important part in actual uprisings, which included radical whites as well as free coloreds, Caribs and maroons."

—Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (1982)

Much of this story turns around the activities of Victor Hugues, a mulatto Jacobin leader dispatched as a Republican commissioner to carry the revolution to the Windward Islands. Hugues came with only 1,500 men, a guillotine to impose revolutionary terror, and above all a printing press to publish the revolutionary decree of 16 Pluviôse of Year II (4 February 1794) abolishing slavery in the colonies. Landing in Guadeloupe, he raised an army of ex-slaves who quickly drove out the British invaders. Soon Hugues was dispatching emissaries throughout the Antilles.

In 1795 revolts broke out in Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica and Jamaica. As a result, the British had to weaken their expeditionary force in Saint-Domingue. The first big rebellion was that led by the mulatto French planter Julien Fédon in Grenada. The mulattos, chafing under British colonial discrimination, sent delegates to Hugues in Guadeloupe who supplied them with arms and ammunition. They gathered an army of several thousand slaves which defeated successive British reinforcements. By the beginning of 1796, Grenada was effectively a black republic with the British hanging on only in the capital of St. George's.

Simultaneously Black Caribs in St. Vincent rose up together with French-speaking mulattos and likewise had bottled the British up in that island's capital. Meanwhile, the largest British Caribbean possession, Jamaica, was racked by the last of several maroon wars. As a result of the revolt in Trelawney Town in July 1795, the British were forced to withdraw to Jamaica troops just dispatched to bolster the expeditionary force in Saint-Domingue being pounded by Toussaint's black army. Even then, it took eight months to force the surrender of the last of the several hundred Jamaican insurgents led by Leonard Parkinson.

The Jacobin commissioners in Guadeloupe had also attempted to spark an uprising in June 1795 in Dominica, but the rebellion was discovered and crushed. Meanwhile, in the colony of Demarara (now Guyana) on the South American coast, slaves and maroons had revolted in 1795, the last year of Dutch rule. They were put down with

continued on page 8



Macmillan Company

Leaders of the Haitian Revolution.

advanced elements embodied by the Jacobins. But following the overthrow of the Jacobins on 9 Thermidor (27 July 1794), a political counterrevolution set in which ultimately meant the re-establishment of slavery in the colonies. The defeat of Toussaint in Saint-Domingue was not due to some "unrealistic attitude" toward whites, but was the direct consequence of the defeat of Robespierre and Saint-Just in Paris.

The triumph of Thermidorean reaction with the rise of Napoléon Bonaparte cut short the international spread of the revolutionary-democratic wave. For blacks in Hispaniola it meant that without an alliance with an advanced country where the industrial revolution was taking hold, like France, an isolated national independence was the only alternative to the reimposition of slavery, as the "party of property" decapitated the Jacobin revolutionaries, white and black.

Dessalines and Thermidor

Following Toussaint's death, Dessalines broke with the French, ripped the white stripe out of the Tricolor

Soviet Navy...

(continued from page 1)

so-called right of "innocent passage" according to an international treaty (which the U.S. has not signed!). But the Soviets have repeatedly noted that such rights apply only to recognized sea lanes, as in the Baltic Sea, not to the sensitive Crimean region. If the Soviets wanted to turn the tables and hold the U.S. to its supposed three-mile coastal waters claim, they could sail their fleet up the Chesapeake Bay—but you can imagine the screams or worse which would emanate from U.S. Navy headquarters at Norfolk. So now the Americans have been served notice that they cannot commit these outrages with impunity. "This is what Soviet captains will do," warned Soviet Admiral Markov.

The Soviet peoples are particularly sensitive about Sevastopol. They remember that in 1942 the Soviet garrison of over 100,000 heroically fought to the death against the German onslaught before the Nazis finally destroyed the HQ of the Black Sea Fleet.

Make no mistake, the American action is a war provocation—literally. It is part of a whole strategy of provocation during the Reagan years—playing "chicken of the sea" ramming Soviet ships and submarines, running massive "exercises" off sensitive Russian naval bases from Vladivostok to Murmansk, and so on. Last May these "periodic" exercises included sending the nuclear-powered guided missile cruiser USS *Arkansas* right into the home waters of the Soviet strategic submarine fleet at Petropavlovsk on the Kamchatka Peninsula (see "Kamchatka Provocation: U.S. Missile Ship in Soviet Waters," *Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88). The 1986 Black Sea incident was a pre-

lude to the massive confrontation/attack on Libya. Who are they going to attack this time?

Anonymous Pentagon officials openly bragged that the mission was "to collect intelligence on Soviet defenses," and the *Yorktown* is equipped with the computerized Aegis missile-firing system, while the *Caron* is well known to be equipped with special electronic gear to probe shore defenses. So what kind of defenses are they probing just off Soviet fleet headquarters? This is a blatant threat of a Pearl Harbor-style sneak attack. And that is U.S. naval doctrine. Even the (now ex-) Secretary of the Navy, James Webb, felt compelled to criticize the "forward strategy" laid down by his super-Reaganaut predecessor John Lehman: "Driving the carrier groups down the throat of the Soviets [is] not a strategy," he said. The *Navy Times* (4 May 1987) noted "some critics" call it "suicidal." But the policy of provocations continues.

The Reagan administration felt compelled to play down the incident in order to avoid another "U-2 incident," when the American spy plane shot down by the Soviets wrecked the planned 1960 "peace" summit. But Congressmen on both sides of the aisle immediately displayed their Tonkin Gulf knee-jerk reflex, blaming the Soviets for a provocation planned by the White House. Senate majority leader Democrat Robert Byrd had the gall to attack the Soviets for defending their coastline, saying the ship collisions contribute to "skepticism" about the "Soviet leadership" and suggesting that ratification of the INF missile treaty was in jeopardy. It's clear that despite tactical differences both parties are committed to nuclear brinkmanship against the homeland of the October Revolution. Only international workers revolution can thwart World War III. ■

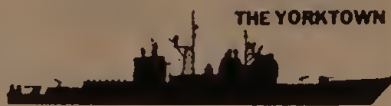
Collisions in the Black Sea



The *Caron*, a U.S. destroyer, was the first to be approached. She was nudged by a Soviet frigate.



Minutes later, the U.S. cruiser *Yorktown* was bumped by a destroyer. In both cases, the U.S. ships were larger than the Soviet ships.



Source: Defense Department



New York Times

Haitian Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

difficulty as whites were divided between pro-British conservatives and partisans of the short-lived pro-French Dutch Batavian Republic. The unrest in the Windward Islands was crushed after the arrival in March 1796 of a British expeditionary force of 17,000 men.

The Haitian Revolution and Black Emancipation

Most importantly, as we have seen, the Haitian Revolution transformed struggles for black freedom from isolated, backward-looking slave revolts and linked them with the revolutionary-democratic tide throughout the Americas. Britain's abolition of the slave trade in 1807, while reflecting the commercial interests of the English bourgeoisie whose Caribbean colonies were in decline, was strongly influenced by fear of contagion spreading from Hispaniola. The young black republic was seen as a beacon for independence struggles worldwide: in the 1820s, the Greeks struggling for independence from Turkey appealed to Haiti for aid. Haiti responded by sending the only thing it could: coffee.

The Haitian Revolution also had an impact on the Latin American wars for independence. After Simón Bolívar had suffered a string of defeats in Venezuela, in 1815-16 Haiti twice gave him refuge and provided him with money and arms to return to the mainland to fight. At Haiti's request, the Liberator proclaimed the abolition of slavery in Spanish America. But Bolívar, scion of a landowning family, repaid the aid of the black former slaves by never recognizing Haitian independence and refusing to have Haiti invited to his projected Congress of American States in Panama.

News of the black revolution in Saint-Domingue also spread to the American South. In the wake of the slave insurrection, large numbers of French planters fled to North America, primarily to New Orleans and Charleston, bringing their slaves with them. Toussaint took care to spread the news, publishing official notice in the *Charleston City Gazette* of the decrees issued by his regime after its consolidation.

From the early 1790s on, real or suspected slave revolts were ascribed to the pernicious influence of the French Revolution. Thus a 1793 report in Portsmouth, Virginia notes: "Our town swarms with strange negroes, foreign and domestic.... The Household family negroes are trusty and well disposed, but many others did belong to the insurrection in Hispaniola." In 1796 a series of recurrent fires in Charleston were ascribed to arson by "French negroes" who "certainly intended to make a St. Domingo business of it."

The leaders of American slave con-

spiracies and revolts all looked to Haiti as an example. The undeclared war between the U.S. and France led Gabriel Prosser to expect French assistance for his aborted revolt in 1800. In Philadelphia in 1804, embattled blacks rallied against a racist mob attack under the shout of "show them a San Domingo." And in the slave revolt in southern Louisiana in 1811, the largest in American history, one leader, Charles Deslondes, was a free mulatto from Saint-Domingue.

In many parts of the American South, free blacks refused to celebrate July 4th, celebrating instead Haitian Independence Day. In 1822, Denmark Vesey, who had visited Haiti, twice wrote to the Haitian president seeking aid for his revolt. His plan was eventually to escape to Haiti after seizing Charleston. Indeed, he originally symbolically scheduled the revolt to begin on Bastille Day in honor of the French Revolution. Following Vesey's revolt, South Carolina outlawed the entry of blacks from the

Caribbean and the disembarkation of any black crewman coming from the region.

In 1825, Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri declared, "We receive no mulatto consuls or black ambassadors from [Haiti]. And why? Because the peace of eleven states will not permit the fruits of a successful Negro insurrection to be exhibited among them" (Nicholas Halasz, *The Rattling Chains* [1966]). The next year, slaves hijacked a ship and attempted to force it to sail to Haiti. Nat Turner, who rose up in southeastern Virginia in 1831, was also inspired by the French Revolution's Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Despite all the corruption and shortcomings, Haiti stood as a beacon to the oppressed of all countries. And its impact was above all to join the fight for black freedom to a broader revolutionary-democratic struggle. The prime example was the American Civil War, with the Emancipation Proclamation which finally declared the abolition of slavery, and the enrollment of 200,000 black troops under the Union banners. Haiti was the only former British or French colony which backed the North in the war, and it was only in the course of this second American revolution that the U.S. finally recognized the black republic.

Frederick Douglass, the great black abolitionist, summed up the impact of the Haitian Revolution in 1893 after spending several years in Port-au-Prince as the U.S. consul:

"We should not forget that the freedom you and I enjoy to-day, that the freedom that eight hundred thousand colored people enjoy in the British West Indies, the freedom that has come to the colored race the world over, is largely due to the brave stand taken by the black sons of Haiti ninety years ago."

Haiti has "taught the world the danger of slavery and the value of liberty," he went on, and "striking for their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world." ■



During American Civil War, Union soldier reads Emancipation Proclamation to blacks in South.

Library of Congress

Student Confab...

(continued from page 5)

drawing a key lesson from history that the "New Leftovers" wanted to bury. It was only after SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) broke with "State Department socialism" and dropped its previous anti-Communist exclusion in 1964 that it became a mass organization of student radicals.

Back to the Future with Lenin and Trotsky!

Most of the conference participants have been active in the student protest movements of the past few years—driving war criminals like Jeane Kirkpatrick and contra leader Adolfo Calero off campus, keeping out CIA and military recruiters, demanding university divestment from South Africa, etc. However, for the most part these student activists believe that the United States government can be made, through protest and pressure, to pursue a non-imperialist and just foreign policy. This is especially clear in the divestment campaign which appealed to the arch-rightist and rabidly racist Reagan regime to pressure its junior partners in Pretoria into dismantling apartheid.

The American government, under both Democrats and Republicans, aims to maintain the *capitalist exploitation and superexploitation* of workers and peasants from South Korea to South Africa by Wall Street financiers and multinational corporations. Today the CIA spies on the African National Congress for the white-supremacist regime



Madison Spartacus Youth Club contingent marches in anti-CIA protest, 29 September 1987.

in Pretoria, arming the Nicaraguan contras against the Sandinistas and the Afghan Islamic tribesmen against the Soviet forces, as part of the imperialists' drive to roll back and ultimately destroy the power of the Soviet Union, what they see as the source of the "red menace" worldwide.

During the 1960s New Leftists maintained that the Cold War was over and that Washington and Moscow were now collaborating against revolutionary movements in the so-called Third World. However, in the past decade both Carter and Reagan have made it crystal clear that for U.S. rulers, Russia is the main enemy. Here is a government that is literally taking milk from

ghetto schoolchildren to build nuclear missiles targeted at the USSR. Thus for American radicals the defense of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, is posed pointblank.

However, most young student radicals do not recognize that the evils they oppose at home and abroad are the product of capitalist imperialism. Many haven't broken from the anti-Soviet prejudices embodied by the conference organizers. Radical students must *take a side* in the great battles of the workers and oppressed for freedom, from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 to Nicaragua today. The Rutgers event's organizers, opposed to taking a clear class line

against imperialism, could "organize" only chaos and political confusion.

Spartacus Youth Club members intervened at the conference around the following basic line: Anti-imperialism abroad means the struggle for socialist revolution at home. Only the working class has the social power and fundamental interests to destroy the capitalist system and reconstruct society for the benefit of all humanity. Only through a revolutionary proletarian party can radical intellectuals play an important role in fighting for such a society. Thus at the Rutgers conference we called for forming a Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, within a non-exclusionist socialist youth organization, around the following demands:

- Democrats/Arias "peace" hoax threatens Nicaraguan masses! Crush the contras! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

- Down with the Democratic/Republican parties of racism and imperialism! For a workers party!

- Smash the anti-Soviet war drive! Defend the Soviet Union!

- For labor/black mobilizations to stop racist terror!

- Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

- For women's liberation through socialist revolution!

We're looking to build a communist youth organization that intervenes in social struggles armed with the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. Our goal is to put an end to capitalist exploitation, imperialist war and racial, sexual and national oppression, through world socialist revolution. If you want to fight against this rotten capitalist system that threatens the entire world with nuclear annihilation, then join us. Build the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

Amherst...

(continued from page 4)

campuses and on the streets in an eruption of raw racism. And now the emblems of fascism, the Nazi swastika and the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror, are not an uncommon sight on American college campuses.

To wage a victorious fight against racism, students must know who their friends and enemies are. Much ado was made of Jesse Jackson's message to black students at UMass noting their "principled nonviolent direct action." But the real program of this front man for capitalist oppression was seen when he hustled to Ann Arbor to chill out a militant student protest against racist attacks there. From Jackson's disgusting courtship of racist George "Segregation Forever" Wallace to Ted

Kennedy and his Camelot crowd, who were knifing busing for school desegregation in Congress while racist mobs were bashing black schoolchildren in the streets: as Malcolm X said, "when you vote Democrat, you vote Dixiecrat." Students should look to the power of labor as the hammer to smash racist attacks—Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party!

The Student Government Association has called for a two-day boycott of classes on February 23-24 "to deal with racist violence that is quickly turning this university into an apartheid situation" (*Collegian*, 18 February). Earlier, one black student told a Spartacist supporter during the sit-in of an "unofficial" pledge to strike by one campus union should the cops storm the New Africa House sit-in. Good! Strike action against racist attacks would pack more wallop than any truckload of fruit has-

kets from the administration. Our program is to link students to the power of the organized working class, which—armed with a revolutionary, class-struggle program to *finish the Civil War*, for black liberation through socialist revolution—can destroy the roots of racism once and for all. ■

Berkeley...

(continued from page 5)

campus. Metzger's "White Aryan Resistance" speaks with the lynch rope, the nightriders' torch, the shotgun blasts that murdered five anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina, the bomb that ripped apart the bodies of four young black girls in Birmingham, Alabama. In short, "free speech" is not an issue here. For that matter it never was for the *Daily Cal* until we mobilized an integrated picket against KALX's obscene "interview" with Metzger.

Our demonstration struck a real chord among the opponents and intended victims of fascist terror, who keenly understand that for Metzger "free speech" means murder, and organized in self defense. It is the specter of students, unionists and other anti-racist militants marching with communists that really haunts the *Daily Cal* editorialists. Their declaration that KALX "performed a real service for the community" makes only more obvious that they choose the defense of private property over the defense of dark-skinned people in this country against total extermination. It's like the "good" German circa 1926 who served as the advance man for Hitler by proclaiming that the real "danger" was Communism. And it is a measure of how far to the right liberals have gone in Reagan's America that while the *Daily Cal* acts as Metzger's lawyers the Bucklelite *Cal Spectrum* feels compelled to come out against KALX for providing a forum for Metzger. These are the guys whose co-thinkers of the *Dartmouth*

Review "celebrated" Martin Luther King Day in 1986 by taking sledgehammers to a campus anti-apartheid shantytown!

Walking in the shadow of Reagan, who saluted Nazi SS graves at Bitburg in the name of "reconciliation," the *Daily Cal* argues that: "Now when most Americans—or at least most Berkeleyans—take racial equality for granted we need free speech...to be able to talk to racists..."! For black students at Berkeley the reality is not racial equality but increasing vicious and naked racism. For Metzger this makes a lot of "Berkeleyans" look pretty ripe for recruitment to his "White Student Union" storm troopers who declare: "Men, women and children, without exception, without appeal, who are of non-Aryan blood shall be terminated or expelled." And KALX provided the scaffold.

At one end of the Democratic Party "Rainbow" is the KKK night rider Metzger. At the other are the *Daily Cal* liberals appealing for the fascists' "right" to organize under the guise of the First Amendment. As one of our placards at the demonstration against Metzger read: "Capitalist Politics Mean: Liberal Fakery, Reagan Reaction, Klan Terror to Screw Working People." The *Cal Spectrum* complains that "it is unfortunate that the only campus group which vigorously protested the airing of the interview was the Spartacus Youth League." We think that is unfortunate as well. But it certainly is a sign of the times that it happened to be communists who organized to defend the population against fascist genocide. While the liberals of the *Daily Cal* obscenely attempt to warp the democratic rights and gains of the first two American revolutions to the advancement of scum like Metzger we fight for a third American revolution—a working class, socialist revolution to finish the unfinished tasks of the Civil War and finish off the fascist terrorists once and for all.

Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth Club

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office:

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

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston

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

Chicago

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

Cleveland

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

Detroit

Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

Ithaca

Box 6767
Ithaca, NY 14850

Los Angeles

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

Madison

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

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

Toronto

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

buried alive as a bulldozer dumped earth and mud over them, has sent shock waves even through the violently nationalist Hebrew population of Israel. Two weeks later, Israeli troops fired tear gas into a hospital maternity ward while hundreds of sharpshooters surrounded the Jerusalem holy site of Al Aksa mosque as worshippers streamed in for Friday prayer services.

The atrocities which have shocked the world are not an aberration or excess but the end result of the Zionist dispossession of the Palestinian Arab people. Mass terror carried out by the same kind of sadistic racists who made up the Nazi SS is the only way the Israeli state can maintain its rule over the more than two million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Israeli out of the Occupied Territories!

Arab Revolt Spreads

On February 14, Druze demonstrators in the Golan Heights protesting the sixth anniversary of its annexation by Israel threw stones at a thousand Israeli Border Police and carried signs declaring, "We will liberate the Golan in blood and fire." For years the Border Police has relied so heavily on Druze officers that Palestinians called it the "Druzi." Today, over 800 Druze youth are in jail for refusing conscription into the Israeli army. In the West Bank, Israeli troops launched an "offensive" of terror against rural villages, which were long deemed immune from "PLO agitation." For eleven days, Israeli troops kept the 120,000 residents of Nablus confined in their homes, then fired pointblank into a crowd of demonstrators.

The Arab sector of Jerusalem, which since its annexation immediately after the 1967 war was portrayed as a haven of Jewish-Arab "coexistence" under "liberal" mayor Teddy Kollek, was subjected to its second curfew in weeks, with public schools in Arab neighborhoods shut down. Kollek moaned, "The situation in Jerusalem has changed in a fundamental way. Coexistence is on the verge of collapse" (*New York Times*, 12 February). The Israelis thought they could buy off the Palestinians in East Jerusalem with social services, but the incessant terror has served only to unify the Palestinian nation, inside and outside the "green line" (the pre-1967 borders). "Coexistence is not the problem," one Jerusalem Arab replied, "what about the people in Ramallah?"

A journalist who visited Gaza in December, and was himself wounded by Israeli gunfire, captured both the defiance of the Palestinians and the bloodlust of the Israeli troops in one of the incidents he witnessed: "The soldiers began shooting at a young man standing on the roof of the [hospital's] eastern building.... The young man tried to escape, then saw a soldier in front of him. He stopped running, stood facing the soldier, opened his shirt, exposed his



Palestinian youths who were buried alive by Israeli soldiers—townspeople dug them out.

chest and said: 'shoot.' The soldier aimed his rifle at a distance of 15 meters and shot" (*Ha'ir*, 18 December 1987, translated by Israel Shahak).

As the Palestinian masses of the Occupied Territories were courageously confronting Israeli gunfire, Yasir Arafat's PLO organized a "ship of return" to carry deported Palestinians from Cyprus back to Israel, graphically evoking the memory of the famous Zionist refugee run on the *Exodus* in 1947. A PLO spokesman announced that "If the ship of return project fails, it will have shown to the world the true anti-pacifist face of Israel" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 13 February). So the Zionists showed their face! Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, one of the terrorists responsible for the Deir Yassin massacre, denounced the "ship of return" as a "declaration of war," and "Labor" defense minister Yitzhak Rabin vowed to stop it "in whatever ways we find." They found the way of Israel's Mossad spy agency: three PLO leaders in Cyprus murdered in a car-bombing, and then an explosive mine tears a gaping hole in the ship's hull.

In the face of unbridled, mass Zionist terror the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO, which for years has preached reliance on the Arab bourgeoisies and an endless succession of United Nations resolutions, finds itself impotent. As one Palestinian in the Bakaa refugee camp in Jordan poignantly exclaimed of the numerous UN resolutions appealing for a "just peace" and "secure boundaries": "How many numbers do we have to collect? We have 242, 338, 600 or 700. We can't remember the numbers anymore, but we know we are still refugees" (*New York Times*, 14 February). The Zionists gave a grisly display of their attitude to the UN resolutions during the siege of Beirut in 1982, when they ordered artillery barrages of the city timed at exactly 2:42 and 3:38. Ironically, the *Sol Phryne*, chartered to be the "ship of return," was last used by Arafat & Co. to evacuate PLO fighters from Beirut in 1982 under the "protection" of Reagan's Marines. This left behind defenseless Palestinian refugees to be massacred at the Sabra and Shatila camps.

Not since that massacre—following on the heels of Israel's invasion fiasco—has Israeli society seen such open revulsion over anti-Arab terror as over the incident in Salim. An Israeli teacher, who considers herself a devoted Zionist, said: "How can I go on living here? What do I have in common with the people who did that?" Two of the soldiers were detained and embarrassed officials decried it as an "excess." But Labor and Likud are united on the need to suppress the Palestinian protests with as much terror as necessary, while the

little stability there is in the region. Thus Labor foreign minister Shimon Peres, also voicing the thoughts of the Israeli high command, is hinting about "demilitarizing" Gaza. But Shamir dismisses the American moves as unacceptable, while Egyptian president Mubarak recognizes that the Camp David agreement is "a thing of the past."

The Arab sheiks and strong-men fear that the mass protests will spread throughout the Palestinian diaspora in the Near East and into their own countries. The Palestinian Arabs are among the most educated and cosmopolitan people in the Near East. They form a critical component of the workforce in the oil-rich Gulf states and constitute 80 percent of the population of Jordan. Palestinian trade unions have been organized even under the violently repressive conditions of the Gaza Strip, which is virtually one huge concentration camp. Indeed the workers' organizations have become so significant a force that even leaflets of the fundamentalist Islamic Jihad call for "the workers of Palestine to unite" (*Middle East International*, 9 January).

Under the leadership of an internationalist Bolshevik party, the Palestinian workers can be the catalyst for socialist revolution throughout the region. The reactionary Zionist consensus among the Hebrew people must be shattered if they are to escape the death-



Thousands of Arabs and Jews demonstrate in Haifa against Israeli army terror.

Israeli clerical-fascists scream for more Palestinian blood.

Sadistic savagery against Palestinians is not an "excess" of Zionism but the norm. On the eve of the October 1956 invasion of Egypt, Israeli Border Police indiscriminately massacred 47 people in the village of Kfar Kassim. When the scandal broke, Labor prime minister Ben-Gurion cut his losses by denouncing it as a rogue operation. He threw a handful of the most incriminated murderers into prison for a few years, only to reward them upon their release, including one who became security chief of the Dimona nuclear installation. So now they'll lock up a few of the soldiers involved in the Salim atrocity until the scandal is forgotten, as fall guys for what is in fact state policy.

At the same time, significant sections of the Israeli establishment are concluding that some sort of territorial deal has to be made, playing up to their American paymasters' hypocritical insistence on trading "land for peace." Washington is desperately trying to revive the "spirit of Camp David," the Israeli-Egyptian agreement which called for local "autonomy" under the Israeli army in the Occupied Territories. The U.S. and the bourgeois Arab regimes hording Israel are deeply concerned that the mass protests convulsing the Occupied Territories will shatter what

trap their rulers have prepared for them. Racist Zionism is not the savior of the Jewish people but its deadly enemy. Before the Nazi Holocaust, Zionism was a marginal sect, despised by the Jewish workers of East Europe, who constituted a key element of the revolutionary socialist movement. One Israeli occupation officer recalls:

"My father was a Holocaust survivor from Poland. He was in five different concentration camps. He was very radical politically, very leftist. Basically, my father and I disagreed about things here. He believed, in kind of a naive way, that there was a solution of two people living on the same land."

—*New York Times*, 5 January

Under capitalism there is no equitable resolution to the conflicting national claims of the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking nations. But there is a way in which two peoples can share this land. Their very survival dictates that the Hebrew workers break with the Zionist bourgeoisie and champion the national rights of their Palestinian brothers. A socialist revolution which sweeps away the Zionist butchers and the Arab bourgeoisies will guarantee the right to self-determination for both nations, i.e., the right to a separate state. The Trotskyists fight for a binational workers state on both sides of the Jordan. Forge Trotskyist parties—For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

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 | |
| <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

German Trotskyists Honor the "Three L's"

At the end of January, the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (German sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency) held meetings in Hamburg and West Berlin to honor the "Three L's" of Bolshevism: V.I. Lenin, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. These meetings continued the communist tradition of rendering homage to these leaders who died in the month of January (see *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 40, Summer 1987).

This marked the first public event of the TLD after its reconstitution following a year during which the majority of the members worked in other sections of the iSt. This expansion of the international experience of the comrades was decided upon after the TLD, along with the rest of the German left, abstained from the protest demonstrations by Jewish groups against the obscene visit by Reagan and Kohl to the SS graves in Bitburg in 1985.

On January 27, just before the Hamburg and West Berlin meetings, many members and sympathizers of the TLD marched, along with delegations from other iSt sections, in the contingent of the Ligue Trotskyste de France at a demonstration called by the French Communist Party against the fascist Le Pen. At the same time, the TLD brought out the first issue of its newspaper *Spartakist* after the section's reconstitution, some hundreds of which were sold at German union demonstrations.

In East and West Berlin the Stalinists

Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg



TLD commemoration January 31 at Berlin bridge where Rosa Luxemburg was murdered in 1919.

demonstrated in January for the "Two L's"—leaving out Lenin. As Stalin made Lenin into an icon, usurping his authority to cover the Kremlin's betrayal of the world revolution and the internationalism for which the "Three L's" fought, so the East German and West German Stalinists try to portray Luxemburg and Liebknecht as nationalists, parliamentarians and petty-bourgeois pacifists. Thus in West Berlin the march was obscenely dominated by the Social Democracy, who bear responsibility for

the murder of the two German Communist leaders!

The TLD's January 31 meeting in Berlin, where the Spartacusbund of Luxemburg and Liebknecht was founded, took on special significance. It was opened with greetings sent by Oskar Hippe, a veteran socialist now in his 80s who fought in the ranks of the Spartacusbund and later together with Trotsky. More than 30 participants marched with portraits of Luxemburg and Liebknecht to the Landwehrkanal, first to

the site where Karl's body was recovered from the water and then to the bridge where Rosa's dead body was dumped by the murderers.

The speakers for the TLD emphasized the strong connection between the Russian and German revolutions symbolized by the "Three L's." Comrade Silvia Lenz noted that "The sign of a revolutionary is that words and deeds are not two separate things, but rather you live by what you say. On 2 December 1914, Karl Liebknecht was the only Reichstag deputy to vote against war credits; on May Day 1916 Liebknecht came to Berlin from the slaughter and horror of the front and led thousands of workers under the slogan, 'Down with the war! Down with the government!'" Lenz recalled that Liebknecht's first act upon being freed from prison in 1918 was to visit the Soviet embassy to greet his Russian comrades.

Comrade Fred Zierenberg stressed: "Lenin understood that only the international revolution could break the isolation of the Soviet Union. With his last efforts he fought against bureaucratism in the Soviet Union, and internationally he struggled to convey the experience of the Bolshevik Party—to build and educate communist cadres with the capacity to lead the world revolution. The international Spartacist tendency seeks to continue this struggle to build such an international party, a reformed Fourth International, armed with the program of the 'Three L's.'" ■

West Germany...

(continued from page 3)

thousands of cops were brought in from as far away as Bavaria for a showdown. On November 12 the barricades went up.

The ruling class and its social-democratic agents weighed the political risks. A constant stream of visitors to the barricaded Hafenstrasse had demonstrated just how widely popular defying the bourgeois state could be. German president von Weizsäcker personally intervened in favor of a "peaceful solution." Dohnanyi overrode the Hamburg Senate and put his job on the line. He was hailed as the "miracle worker" when the squatters agreed to take the barricades down on November 18 and accept the deal they had previously rejected. He and von Weizsäcker were cheered as part of a "coalition of reason" by the New Left *Tageszeitung*.

Greens in German Colors

The response of the Greens to the Frankfurt shootings could only fuel the split in their ranks. After all, Green Bundestag deputies participated in police demonstrations calling for the repression of their own supporters! The bourgeoisie pressured the Greens to live up to the vow by Green *Realo* (short for "realist") Otto Schily to respect the "state monopoly of violence."

This recognition of the "state monopoly of violence" goes for the army as well as the police. It's no accident that Schily, Joschka Fischer and many Baden-Württemberg Greens (who are discussing with the Christian Democrats) are in open rebellion against their party's traditional call for withdrawal from NATO. And they are only the most shameless pro-imperialists among the Greens. Furthermore, as shown by French imperialism's zealous participation in the Cold War campaign while remaining formally outside of NATO, the slogan "West Germany out of NATO" is no opposition to the imperi-

alists' anti-Soviet war drive.

In a revealing incident last September, 5 out of 12 Green federal deputies voted against a motion inside their parliamentary fraction demanding that the Bundeswehr (army) Pershing I-A missiles be included in the disarmament talks (these missiles have nuclear warheads which remain under U.S. control, but are a step to preparing West Germany's open emergence as a nuclear power). The five agreed with Kohl that the Federal Republic is a "third country" outside of the Soviet-American dialogue—an echo of the Franco-British position concerning their atomic weaponry.

Reagan is feared and reviled by broad sections of the population as the crazy and dangerous warmonger that he is. Last June the police had to turn West Berlin into an armed fortress to secure the city for the "Great Communicator." Thousands of young activists and, passively, working people believe in a nuclear-weapon-free Europe through "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union. Things from the Soviet Union are "in," and Gorbachev owes a large part of his current popularity in the West to his disarmament proposals.

But Green/social-democratic pacifism serves as a "left" cover for the demand of the German bourgeoisie to gain distance from Washington while they follow a kind of German "Gaullism": an independent line combining economic undermining of the East with strengthening the Bundeswehr. The opposition of the "peace" movement to the "superpowers" is based on a nationalist continuum stretching from the Hafenstrasse squatters and the Kreuzberg (West Berlin) anti-Reagan demonstrators to the Greens and establishment politicians like Dohnanyi of the SPD or the CDU federal president von Weizsäcker.

"European defense" is a cover for the nuclear ambitions of German imperialism, but all that the *Fundis* (Green "fundamentalists") can counterpose to this is Adenauer's worthless pledge, enshrined in the Constitution, not to produce atomic weapons on German soil

(in fact, the preliminary tests, under the SPD regime, were carried out in South Africa). Against this constitutional cretinism we uphold in the spirit of Karl Liebknecht the Bolshevik principles: Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist army! Defend the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

For an Internationalist Workers Party!

The same deep-seated nationalism which blinds it to the bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet revanchism is also behind the left's refusal to fight rising anti-Semitism, demonstrated most drastically by its absence from the protest organized by Jewish groups against Reagan and Kohl's despicable salute of SS Nazi graves at Bitburg. This rehabilitation of the SS gave a green light to murderous racist terror by cops and the resurgent fascist movement as preparation for a new "Operation Barbarossa."

The left/Green milieu plays with rhetoric about a coming police state as a means of embarrassing the bourgeoisie and supporting the SPD as a "lesser evil" (the DKP [German Communist Party] even dreamed that a popular front including the Free Democrats was emerging in defense of the right to demonstrate). They are blind to the routine brutalization of immigrants by police "controls," their segregation in ghettos like Kreuzberg, while racist psychopaths routinely torch refugee hostels, as in West Berlin, Frankfurt and Hamburg, in the hopes of murdering them en masse.

The workers movement must come to the defense of its foreign-born class brothers, organizing union-based defense guards against fascist attacks, mobilizing against reactionary anti-foreigner laws and demanding full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers and their families. Cops out of the immigrant districts! Cops out of the unions! Abolish paramilitary forces such as the *Bundesgrenzschutz* [border police] and the GSG-9 ["anti-terrorist" hit squads] and special anti-immigrant

units like the AGA!

Mobilizing the power of the working class against national and racial oppression is a vital necessity for a class-struggle counteroffensive against capitalist austerity. For too long German workers stood by watching the bosses' salami tactics, as the "voluntary" departure of immigrant workers and their expulsion cushioned the capitalist crisis. With whole communities in the Ruhr threatened with pauperization, they must unite now with their immigrant class brothers.

The proletariat must fight for a sliding scale of hours, for a 30-hour week with no loss in pay. But an intelligent distribution of work and the elimination of unemployment is impossible under capitalism. What's needed is a struggle for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

The crisis in steel demonstrates the need for a planned economy which can harness the productive capacity now being ravaged by capitalism. For a socialist revolution against capitalist exploitation and imperialist militarism in the West—for proletarian political revolution against bureaucratic mismanagement and oppression in the East! This is the internationalist road to the revolutionary reunification of Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

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, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

WORKERS VANGUARD

Sentenced to 35 to 45 Years

Free the Kentucky Miners!

Trumka's Contract Means More Layoffs

Four Kentucky miners, railroaded on federal "terrorism" and "conspiracy" charges, have been sentenced to prison terms of 35 to 45 years. These courageous miners—local union president Donnie Thornsberry, his cousin David Thornsberry, Darryl Smith and Arnold Heightland—were abandoned by the United Mine Workers (UMWA) bureaucracy, which hasn't lifted a finger in their defense. A fifth miner, Paul Smith, was acquitted of every federal charge but now faces state murder charges!

These UMWA brothers are being victimized for defending their union during the 1984-85 "selective" strikes against A.T. Massey and Samoyed Energy in the Tug River Valley. They were unjustly convicted (solely on the testimony of a government flunk) in the 1985 shooting death of a scab coal hauler. To nail them, the feds used "conspiracy" and air piracy (!) laws passed as part of Reagan/Meece's domestic "terrorism" scare and amended specifically to target labor disputes. But the real terrorists were the army of mercenary gun thugs brought in by A.T. Massey to dynamite union picket shacks and shoot down UMWA strikers.

Vania Thornsberry, the wife of Donnie Thornsberry, told *WV* that the miners' families were devastated by the brutal sentence. She spoke of the company terror the Samoyed strikers faced on the picket line:

"Donnie was on the second shift down there and I'd sit up and wait on him every night, worried if he wouldn't come home that night without being hurt."

Mrs. Thornsberry said miners in the area backed the five and knew the judge was out to intimidate the union. She appealed to the rest of the labor movement to come to their aid:

"They feel it's got a lot to do with this contract that's going on, right now, trying to get it signed. The whole bunch of them tried to make an example of Donnie and them, to show if you were even thinking about having any kind of strike you're looking at 40 years. Donnie and the others are still strong union men, and I feel that their union brothers and sisters should support them in this."

Like PATCO air controllers hauled to jail in chains, these miners are victims of a government campaign to make labor crawl before the givebacks and union-busting. The UMWA and the entire labor movement must come to the aid of these class-war prisoners. An injury to one is an injury to all! Free the Kentucky miners!

Trumka's Sabotage

UMWA president Richard Trumka is offering up these unionists to the capitalist state as proof of his "non-adversarial relationship" with the coal barons. Meanwhile, Trumka's unprecedented five-year contract, which was recently approved despite heavy opposition in some UMWA districts, is worse



Kentucky miners railroaded on "terrorism" charges (from left): Donnie Thornsberry, David Thornsberry, Arnold Heightland, Darryl Smith. UMW member points to bullet holes left after company thugs opened fire on picket shack in 1985 strike.



than anything even UMWA misleaders Arnold Miller and Sam Church came up with. Trumka was praised for bringing "order to the negotiating process" (*Business Week*, 15 February) by E. Morgan Massey, who broke the union at Massey and put a price of \$100,000 on the heads of the jailed Kentucky miners.

Trumka's contract is a knife at the throat of the UMWA. It accepts the massive layoffs of union miners and sanctions the explosive growth of non-union mines, when two-thirds of coal mined in the U.S. is already non-union. Modeled on last year's agreement at Island Creek coal, the contract provides that three out of every five miners hired at non-UMWA mines will come from a list of laid-off union miners at the same company. So the handful of miners fortunate enough to get rehired will find themselves in a non-union mine. Without union safety committees in the most dangerous jobs in America, miners will pay for Trumka's betrayal with their lives.

Trumka never intended to call a strike; his strategy of "selective strikes" (like A.T. Massey!) is a way to isolate and fritter away the miners' historic militancy. The *UMWA Journal* (January 1987) told miners they should "absolutely not" picket other mines and that "unauthorized pickets...only benefit the coal companies." Despite the desperate conditions in the coal fields, where in many districts fully half of all

miners are unemployed, workers were angry that Trumka abandoned the UMWA's historic position of "no contract, no work" in order to ram the vote through.

In Trumka's home district, where the huge Consolidation Coal has been allowed to operate the Bailey non-union mine, there was a heavy "no" vote. In Dilles Bottom, Ohio miners burned bundles of the rotten sellout outside a union meeting on February 6, and again at a rally of 150 miners the following day. District 6 president Ed Bell told *WV* that miners were angry at working 10, 12, even 16 hours a day while thousands are laid off. But in the absence of an alternative to the Trumka regime, miners nationally approved the pact.

Trumka, touted in the capitalist press as a possible successor to Lane Kirkland should the UMWA rejoin the AFL-CIO, is grooming himself as a "responsible labor statesman." That means miners are thrown out of work, company goons smash local strikes and union militants are jailed.

Trumka, like Miller and Church before him, has chopped away at the miners' militant traditions, chaining the union to the capitalist courts and the bosses' Democratic Party. Fifteen years of these "reformers" in the Labor Department's pocket together with the union-husting of the Carter and Reagan years have decimated the UMWA, the oldest and once the most powerful

industrial union in the U.S. Today there are 85,000 union members, slashed from 144,000 in 1980. Only 14 companies remain in the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA).

Which Side Are You On?

In 1972 the reformist left hailed the election of Arnold Miller, the candidate of Democratic Party politicians and the Labor Department. They stuck with Miller, even as he openly suppressed safety wildcat strikes and became the most hated man in the coal fields during the historic 1977-78 strike. Following that sharp class battle we pointed to what stood in the way of a decisive UMW victory:

"First and foremost is the need to forge a leadership committed to fighting the control and dictates of the capitalists and their political parties. For it was the ties between the quislings in union office and the bosses' government and politicians that blocked the miners' victory."

—The Great Coal Strike of 1978 (Spartacist pamphlet)

The case of the Kentucky miners shows more than ever the burning need for working-class independence from the bosses' state, through the fight for a class-struggle workers party. But reformists like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) continue to back the coal bosses' "labor lieutenants." Scandalously, SWP supporters voted for this sellout contract and the SWP's *Militant* refuses to condemn Trumka's betrayal of the Kentucky miners.

Coal company terror isn't new to Kentucky miners. They remember "Bloody Harlan," where in 1931 thousands of miners were blacklisted, shot and arrested under criminal syndicalism laws for daring to join the Communist Party-led National Miners Union. Mine-owning Judge Byrd Hogg meted out capitalist "justice." Again in Harlan in 1974, Brookside miners and their families waged a yearlong battle against Duke Power, a battle finally won when 120,000 UMWA members shut down the mines in a five-day "mourning period" after the murder of a striker.

Trumka's cut his deal with the coal bosses, and the Tug River Valley miners are left to rot in jail. It has been decades since the capitalist state has imposed such savage sentences on unionists in this country. But such "justice" is all too common for blacks and other minorities in racist, capitalist America. There must be a powerful mobilization of labor and the oppressed in defense of Donnie Thornsberry, David Thornsberry, Darryl Smith, Arnold Heightland and Paul Smith. These courageous brothers fought for their union, they must not share the fate of class-war prisoners Mooney and Billings (see page 2) who languished in jail for over two decades before they were finally pardoned. Free the Kentucky miners!

Contributions for the defense of the Kentucky miners are urgently needed for appeals just filed. Send to: Citizens for Justice, Box 8, Canada, KY 41519. ■