

Labor: Defend Abortion Clinics!

The battle over abortion is coming to a head. The "Operation Rescue" bigots who have been besieging the clinics have the blessings of the White House. The Bush administration is pushing to overturn the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision which legalized abortion nationally—and the Reagan-Rehnquist Court may soon oblige. At the same time, the numbers are growing of "pro-choice" activists who have turned out to keep the clinics open against the reactionary blockades. And tens of thousands will march for women's rights in San Francisco on April 2 and

Washington, D.C. on April 9. There is a felt sense of urgency that abortion rights are on the line, and must be defended now as never before. But this will to fight is being held back and diverted by the bourgeois feminist leaders who look to the Democratic Party, the racist cops and the courts—all enemies of the struggle for women's emancipation.

The government-sponsored assault on abortion rights falls most heavily on poor women, who are disproportionately black, Hispanic and Asian. The

continued on page 10



Boston, January 21: Spartacists in abortion rights demonstration chanted "Defend the clinics, take a stand, free abortion on demand!"

Eastern Strike Solid—Extend It to Win!

MARCH 27—After over three weeks on the picket line, the strike by maintenance workers, flight attendants and pilots at Eastern Airlines is solid. Texas Air empire chief Frank Lorenzo has seen his plan to break the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Eastern crumble in the face of unprecedented solidarity among Eastern workers. One industry analyst told the *Atlanta Constitution* (9 March): "The pilots absolutely coldcocked Frank. He never knew what hit him." Across the country, workers are looking to the battle at Eastern as the chance to win the first big strike in years—and let loose some good hard class struggle.

But the labor misleaders have kept the strike isolated at Eastern, pleading with passengers not to fly. The union tops crawl back and forth between Congress and the bankruptcy court. In New York, a judge has slapped American Airlines workers with an injunction against acts of solidarity with the Eastern strike. And meanwhile the bosses hammer away at the Eastern unions, especially the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA), to break their solidarity or sucker them back to work under "mediation." The solidarity and morale of the unions is still high, but the strike is stuck in a rut. *To win, the Eastern strike must be spread, and soon!*

The rest of labor at the airports—sister IAM locals, flight attendants, Teamsters and Transport Workers—must be brought into the fight. These unionists have poured out to join IAM picket lines and solidarity demonstrations across the country. At American, over 20,000 Transport Workers Union (TWU) ground personnel are currently voting on a contract with big benefit takeaways. At every airline, ground workers and flight crews are fed up with the givebacks, two-tier contracts and

Shut Down the Airports!



IAM strikers in Miami, March 3: Labor's gotta play hardball to win against vicious union-buster Lorenzo.

endless labor board "mediation," while the big carriers jack up fares and rake in millions. *Rip up the injunctions and fight alongside the IAM! For elected strike committees of all airline workers to shut down the airports!*

A Battle for All Labor

The Eastern strike is enormously popular. Across the country, thousands of

unionists have turned out at airport rallies and marched the picket lines, even in Southern "right to work" cities like Atlanta. A *Washington Post* poll (23 March) found that the "public" overwhelmingly sided with the unions against the widely hated Lorenzo, and three-quarters wanted the government to stay out of it.

Democratic Party politicians, led by

Jesse Jackson, have descended on airport rallies to declare their "solidarity" with the strike—and try to lead the Eastern workers back into the government labor boards. At a rally of 1,500 unionists at La Guardia Airport on March 18, New York governor Mario Cuomo told strikers "your position has been from the beginning fair and

continued on page 8

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

"Life" on Death Row

The Partisan Defense Committee has launched an emergency campaign to save the life of black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, a death row political prisoner in Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. On March 6, Pennsylvania's Supreme Court denied Mumia's appeal to have his death sentence overturned. Mumia's appeal had also demanded a new trial. The Court's decision ignored a multitude of violations of fair trial procedures, and refused to consider the political bases which were central to the prosecution of Mumia and sentencing him to death. Jamal's appeal was supported by the National Conference of Black Lawyers and American Civil Liberties Union, who submitted *amici curiae* briefs on his behalf. Among the signers of the PDC's petition for Mumia is Jack Healey, Executive Director of Amnesty International. Ron Dellums, now chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, appealed to Pennsylvania's Governor Casey "to remove the cloud of death from Mr. Abu-Jamal."

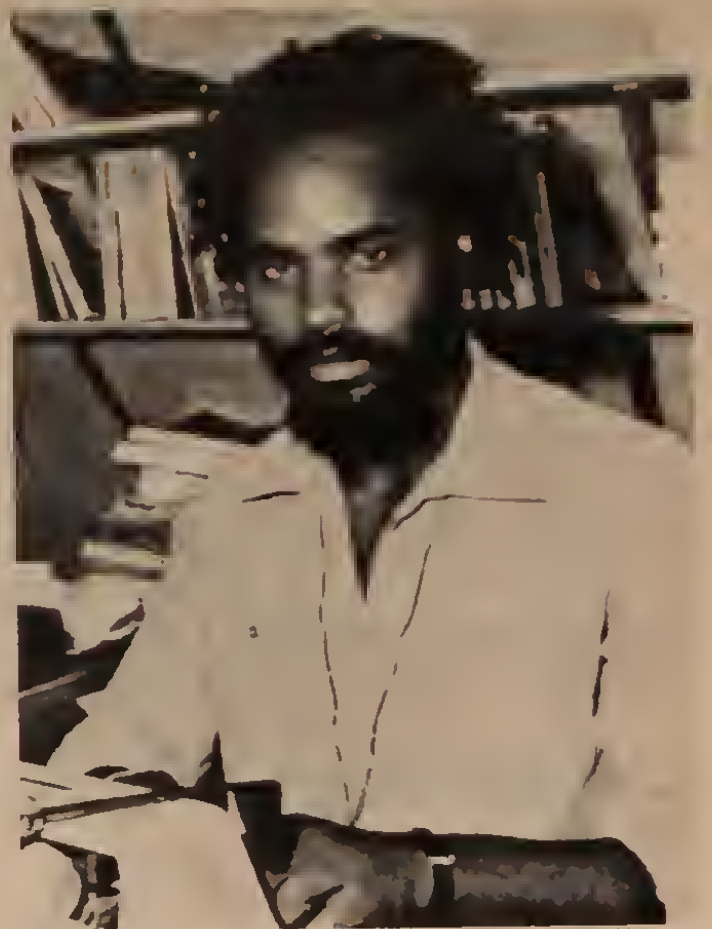
Jamal, 35, was a former Black Panther Party member, popular journalist and well-known supporter of Philadelphia MOVE. He was framed up in 1982 for the killing of a Philly cop and sentenced to die specifically for his

political activities and beliefs. From Huntingdon prison, Jamal gave the PDC this description of life on death row.

There is no death row, to be precise. There are death rows, several, scattered across Pennsylvania's vast expanse. Graterford near Philadelphia; Western State Penitentiary, in Pittsburgh; and here in Huntingdon, betwixt the two, mid-state, out in the hoondocks. Of all three, Huntingdon is largest, and until the recent exodus sparked by a nonviolent sit-down protest, which led some 18 men to Western's newly erected death row, it held the overwhelming majority. Some 45 men remain here.

Death row, not surprisingly, is one of the few Keystone State institutions bearing a black majority. Statewide, blacks make up 57 percent of the prison population. Out of eleven million Pennsylvanians, roughly 10 percent are of African descent, mostly in urban areas like Pittsburgh or Philadelphia. On all state death rows, men are locked down in cells for 22 hours a day. Movement is the most restricted in the state system, meaning it is virtually nil. "Yard" is a misnomer, as men do not get yard, they get *caged*. Steel cyclone boxes, some 60 square feet or so, roofed by coils of

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1980. Well-known Philadelphia radio journalist is on death row for his political activities and beliefs.



Philadelphia Magazine

concertina razor-wire, are the closest men come to "yard."

From cell to cage is the extent of daily movement. The cages, called dog pens, strikingly resemble kennels, though somewhat taller. Visits are a trek to another cage, handcuffed and ridiculously belted, while separated from loved ones by a wall of glass, steel and wire mesh. Some men have not held their children, nor hugged their wives in years, in the name of security.

Several years ago, a young jailhouse lawyer, then at Graterford, challenged these conditions in a class-action suit. The suit, prosecuted by the ACLU, ended in failure. The case, *Peterkin v. Jeffes*, resulted in an opinion by the U.S. District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania that was Rehnquistian in its restrictiveness. It is remarkable that a court in Pennsylvania's southeastern corner, a traditionally liberal region with its largest African and Jewish concentrations, could spew forth an opinion more bitter and more restrictive in 1987 than an analogous 1986 case from the middle district of Tennessee.

In a case known as *Groseclose v. Dutton*, the U.S. court there held that similar conditions, involving a death unit known as "Unit Six," regarding cell size, ventilation, out-of-cell time and forced idleness, amounted to constitutionally impermissible living conditions. What's cool in the Constitution's birthplace is unconstitutional in Dixie, huh? It would seem so.

Nor did the Third Circuit Court of Appeals disagree with the *Peterkin* ruling, as it affirmed it in late August 1988, saying in essence, it's not a palace, but then it's not so bad. That appeals court opinion, penned ironically by black historical and legal scholar, Judge J. Leon

Higgenbotham, Jr., reversed only on the limited issue of determining rights of free access to the courts by death row inmates. Day by day, incrementally, conditions worsen for men on the row by judicial fiat. Newspapers are routinely censored. Everyday schoolbooks are often denied. One man ordered a college chemistry textbook, only to have it censored, and denied. Any pretext of an educational program is illusory.

The state wages war against the hodies, minds, the very souls of those on the row. Several men of Islamic belief have been punished for practicing the Azan, or call to prayer—a man facing death, punished for calling on his God for relief. I've been sentenced to D.C. [Disciplinary Confinement] max, the maximum institutional punishment allowed, for refusing to violate my faith, the teachings of John Africa, and cut my hair. A white inmate, incidentally, of Rastafarian beliefs, whose hair length exceeded mine, was never so punished.

Most men on death rows spend their days looking at TV, or listening to radio. Other than this empty activity, most are idle, as no programs, no activities are addressed to a man's mental and/or psychological needs. It's easier to order a smut book than a history book. The implicit message from the Commonwealth being, one can fantasize, but one may not exercise his mind. A prison library exists, but what one orders bears no relationship to what one receives. Since February [1988], for example, I've ordered a book entitled, *In the Matter of Color*, by J. Leon Higgenbotham, Jr.—yes, the same. By submitting a slip weekly I've yet to get it. I've been sent others, mostly fictional and some surprisingly good, but not what I've

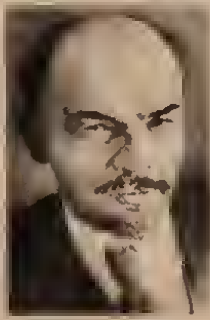
continued on page 5



TROTSKY

Lenin on the Communist International

Reacting against the mutual slaughter and furious chauvinism unleashed by the first imperialist world war, class-conscious workers and radical leftists throughout the world rallied to the new, genuinely revolutionary Communist International, founded 70 years ago this month, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. Nothing more clearly exposes the betrayal of socialism by Stalin and his successors,



LENIN

including Gorbachev, than their repudiation of Lenin's program of world socialist revolution. Today this program is carried forward in the struggle to reforge the Trotskyist Fourth International.

The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism.

The Second International marked a period in which the soil was prepared for the broad, mass spread of the movement in a number of countries.

The Third International has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun to implement* the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The international alliance of the parties which are leading the most revolutionary movement in the world, the movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, now rests on an unprecedentedly firm base, in the shape of several *Soviet republics*, which are implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat and are the embodiment of victory over capitalism on an international scale....

A new era in world history has begun.

Mankind is throwing off the last form of slavery: capitalist, or wage, slavery.

By emancipating himself from slavery, man is for the first time advancing to real freedom.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History" (April 1919)

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 Jorge Ramirez

CIRCULATION MANAGER Jon Lawrence

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

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: \$7.00/24 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. 474

31 March 1989

Get Your Copy of CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES!

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

With your contribution of \$5 or more receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

For a single copy send \$1 to:

Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013

Pd Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

NUMBER 1 \$7.00 YEARLY \$24.00 MARCH 1989

SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL—ABOLISH THE DEATH PENALTY!



INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE FREES HUMBERTO CENTENO!

Under the direction of the Committee, the following are the names of the defense team and the names of the defense team.

ALSO IN 1989: 1.0000

FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE OF THE U.S. (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: \$7.00/24 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

Racist Cops Menace S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO—The police in this town are running riot, terrorizing minorities and leftist demonstrators—and they have carte blanche from the liberal mayor, Democrat Art Agnos. Last fall, United Farm Workers vice president Dolores Huerta was almost killed by a Tac Squad cop at an anti-Bush protest, landing in the hospital with four broken ribs and a ruptured spleen which had to be removed in emergency surgery. Amid public outrage, investigations abounded: this was no "ordinary" protester, but a respected figure in labor and Democratic Party circles...and a friend of Agnos to boot. They reviewed the KRON-TV footage which showed officer Francis Achim repeatedly drawing back his 36-inch baton and spearing the 58-year-old, 110-pound Huerta. The result of the "investigations" was new SFPD "crowd control" techniques, including better police spying on protest groups!

On March 8, the Huerta case was "closed" at a public hearing where the Police Commission backed police chief Frank Jordan's decision not to discipline Achim. It was a sinister pageant of cop bonapartism. Jordan had stated baldly that if ordered to discipline his man, "The Police Commission would



Cops in full riot gear at March 8 S.F. Police Commission whitewash of savage police beating of UFW leader Dolores Huerta.

have to fire me" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 9 March). In case anyone missed the point, the cops set up metal barricades in the Hall of Justice, off-duty cops packed the hearing and Tac Squad cops in full riot gear rushed onto the stage Gestapo-style to "protect" the police commissioners after they'd voted to stick by Jordan. Meanwhile, Agnos

and the Board of Supervisors cynically proclaimed March 8 "Dolores Huerta Day."

Then on March 20 at an El Salvador protest called by CISPES, hordes of plainclothes cops rampaged through the crowd, assaulting and macing protesters. The cops' brutal antics were supposedly in keeping with the "new guidelines" for "crowd control." Agnos dutifully stated two days later at a press conference, "I am here to say that I am proud of the restraint shown by line officers." A National Lawyers Guild legal observer who got maced herself said, "I've never seen undercovers used like this. They usually don't use them in such large numbers and as an attack squad. The demonstrators had no idea they were dealing with police officers" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 22 March).

Mayor Agnos' romance with the cops stems from the deal he made back in his 1987 election campaign: in return for crucial backing from the Police Officers Association, Agnos put POA vice president Paul Chignell in the mayor's office as "labor liaison," reportedly picced off the force with promises of various "perks," and gave the cops license for untrammelled terror against

the working people. After the election, the romance soured slightly when Agnos threatened layoffs of cops to meet the city's budget deficit. Now he is tripping over himself rushing to defend his mad dogs when they cause bloodshed in the streets. But when the cops get around to arresting the Operation Rescue scum blockading abortion clinics it's with tender loving care lest even one proto-fascist finger get hurt.

Any number of black and other minority San Francisco workers can tell you what the cops are all about. Ask Greg Wiggins who was nearly beaten to death and then framed up after he objected to the racist language of a gang of thugs in blue uniforms at a traffic roadblock last October. Ask the family of Tony Grohse, the retarded Samoan teenager who was blown away by cops while he was playing with a toy gun in February of last year. Or the family of Larry Lumpkin, killed in 1986 in a KKK-style execution by undercover SF cops.

With labor taking it on the chin for the last decade, racist cops throughout the country have had the blessing of the capitalist state to maraud and terrorize, murder and frame with impunity. And their fascist brothers-under-the-skin, like the Nazi skinheads who ambush gays and blacks in SF's Haight district, are multiplying like the vermin they are.

Reformists like the Communist Party and the Freedom Socialist Party call for stronger police review boards to make the cops "accountable" for their actions and recommend "discipline" when the cops go berserk. Genuine communists understand that the power of the labor movement in struggle against the bosses can stay the cops' hand. The police made themselves scarce during the 1934 SF general strike, and in the 1946 Bay Area Machinists strike, riot cops pulled out as thousands of unionists defied a court order limiting pickets. Yet the giveback labor bureaucrats (like ILWU president Jimmy Herman) who run point for the Democrats all campaigned for Agnos, and twiddled their thumbs when Dolores Huerta got beaten. They are a brake on class struggle and must be dumped on the road to working-class victory. Socialist revolution led by an integrated revolutionary workers party is the only way there will be "justice" dealt to the rabid dogs who guard the property and state of the bourgeoisie. ■



San Francisco, March 20: Plainclothes cops brutalize protesters at demonstration against El Salvador "gunpoint elections."

S.F. Workers—Defend Black Muni Driver!

SAN FRANCISCO—On March 3, at the conclusion of a nine-day trial, black Muni bus driver Greg Wiggins was found guilty of resisting arrest, although the racist pro-cop jury was obliged to find him innocent of three counts of battery on police officers. Wiggins had been beaten to within an inch of his life by four racist SF cops last October. The "not guilty" verdict on the battery charges was based on the jury's acknowledgment that "unreasonable force" was used in making the arrest.

"Resisting arrest" means the victim lived to talk about a police assault; "unreasonable force" is a polite term for the cops' vicious assault and battery against Wiggins. After abusing him in the language of the KKK, the cops, assisted by Muni supervisor Carl Politis, stormed into Greg's bus and proceeded to choke him, drag him by the hair, smash his head into the ground repeatedly and break his hip. Then they smeared him with lying criminal charges to cover their tracks.

The injuries sustained in the savage attack still keep Greg in agonizing pain, making walking difficult even with his cane. His doctor projects he will be unable to work at least until June.

Now Wiggins faces a possible sentence of up to a year in jail plus a \$1,000 fine. This is an outrage! His sentencing

Stand with Greg Wiggins April 7

will take place on April 7 at City Hall. Muni drivers and other SF workers must fill the courtroom in militant solidarity with Greg! He and his lawyer, Tito Torres, plan to appeal the racist verdict. Muni management now says it won't fire Greg since he was acquitted of the battery charges. Given the impressive show of solidarity by Muni drivers who came out every day of the trial, doubtless the bosses are aware they would have big problems if they tried to fire him.

Numerous trade-union officials and members, from ATU Local 1555 at BART to a group of 107 New York City transit workers, sent letters and telegrams supporting Wiggins to the San Francisco district attorney. Wiggins' union, TWU Local 250-A, must stand squarely behind this victim of racist cop terror! Hands off Greg Wiggins! The union must demand Wiggins immediately receive retroactive workmen's comp and assault pay due him and so far held back by Muni.

The many unionists and Labor Black League for Social Defense members who turned out during the trial wit-

nessed an obscene spectacle of racist American capitalist "justice"—a mostly white middle-class jury which saw nothing "racial" in a brutal police assault on a black bus driver, according to remarks made by the jury foreman after the trial. The stories by the cops and Muni supervisor Politis were full of lies. Wiggins' doctor gave a graphic description of the injuries inflicted by the cops. An eyewitness described seeing the same gang of cops that beat Greg pull an unarmed black man from his truck last December 12 and bloody him with their batons. Then one Eugene Yoshii, the arresting cop in Wiggins' case, drew his gun and shot the man in the face. (Yoshii is the same cop who is being charged by his former rookie woman partner of brutally raping her in 1987.)

Yet, following the twisted logic of this racist system, and with the urging of a vicious D.A. who tried to paint Wiggins as a violent cop-beater, the jury decided that Greg must have done something to "trigger" the cops' actions. If you're black in America, you're a walking target for police terror!

For the past decade, the capitalists



Greg Wiggins

have been running wild, savagely squeezing the working class and especially minorities. And the cops, the armed fist of the propertied class, have been given a green light to rampage against the working people. What's desperately needed to spike this ruling-class terror is a solid win for labor, which would also give these hired thugs of the bosses a richly deserved taste of workers power. From Muni to Eastern, labor's gotta play hardball to win! ■

RICO Finks and Feds Out!

Hands Off the Teamsters!

Just after midnight on March 13, hours before the beginning of a trial in federal court in New York, lawyers for the U.S. Justice Department and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) announced a settlement of the feds' lawsuit to seize control of the union. While far from the complete federal takeover that the government had originally sought under the draconian Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), the accord signed by the IBT tops gives the capitalist state enormous control over the 1.7 million member union. The *New York Times*' anti-labor correspondent A.H. Raskin gloats that "it's doubtful that the union leadership fully comprehends how much it gave up.... No international union has ever acquiesced in concessions that cut so drastically into its sovereignty."

Federal judge David N. Edelstein will appoint a troika of government overseers wielding enormous power. A federal labor czar called the "Administrator" will have veto power over every union appointment and every dollar the union spends. He will be the judge in union disciplinary proceedings, with the power to place Teamster locals under trusteeship. An "Investigations Officer" will be the government's prosecutor inside the union, with subpoena power and the right to sit in International Executive Board meetings and examine the union books. And an "Elections Officer" will have broad powers to intervene in court-mandated elections to take place in 1991, including the ability to throw out candidates the feds decide are "corrupt." To top it off, Teamster dues will be used to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars in salaries for the army of G-men that will be installed in IBT headquarters in Washington!

For decades the feds have waged a vendetta against the Teamsters, in the guise of "cleaning up the unions." But from Bobby Kennedy's persecution of Teamster president Jimmy Hoffa, which was designed to break the union power gained through a national trucking contract, to the current RICO-inspired settlement, the war on the Teamsters has always had as its aim the subordination of one of the most powerful unions in the country to the capitalist state. It is no accident the present accord runs through 1991—the year that the Master Freight Agreement, the ear haulers agreement and the contract at United Parcel Service are all up for negotiation. Feds, hands off Teamsters—government out of the labor movement!

Finks, Canaries and Anti-Union "Reformers"

While yelling about mob control of the Teamsters, the government *already* controlled the union, through former president Jackie Presser, a top FBI informer (code name "ALPRO") who turned in 2,000 pages of reports over ten years (see article on Presser's "Secret Lives" in the *New York Times*, 27 March). And in January, using the threat of RICO indictments, the feds succeeded in splitting the Teamster executive board, creating a sordid faction fight where some IBT tops cut separate deals. Union vice president Weldon Mathias, who narrowly lost the Teamster presidency to William McCarthy last summer, joined three executive board members in an agreement to endorse the government "reforms" in exchange for being dropped from the RICO suit. Then three other

International vice presidents resigned to save their skins (and their huge pensions), agreeing to "endorse the objective of preventing La Cosa Nostra corruption of any elements of the IBT" (*Boston Globe*, 2 February).

The blueprint for the government's plan comes straight from a "reform" opposition within the union, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). Two years ago the TDU sent the Justice

tortionist" acts on the picket line in a strike against Canterbury Coal in Pennsylvania.

But recently the government's use of the draconian RICO statute has run into one disaster after another. Even sections of the capitalist class are upset the law is being used against everyone from giant utilities to Wall Street financiers to anti-abortion bigots. In January a federal judge refused to approve a RICO



Teamsters president William McCarthy (left) endorsed Bush, signed agreement giving feds stranglehold on the union.

Department "a detailed plan," based on RICO, to "reorganize the union" (*Washington Post*, 21 June 1987). The TDU intervened in the RICO case in January, nominally on the side of the IBT, but arguing that its proposal for supposedly "democratic elections" run by the U.S. Labor Department and the courts will "be vastly more effective than the government's for achieving the government's RICO goals" (*Civil RICO Report*, 31 January).

While the feds have gained a powerful weapon against the labor movement, it is much less than the total "trusteeship" that they had hoped for. When the case was filed by then-U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani last June,



"Mr. RICO," former U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani.

he declared RICO would smash the Teamsters' "devil's pact" with organized crime, by removing the entire executive board and imposing government control of the union for 25 years. RICO was designed to be a prime weapon against labor and the left. As Judge Edelstein said of the Teamster case, "One of the primary goals of the statute was to provide the Government with a tool to attack organized crime's alleged infiltration of legitimate enterprises, including specifically labor unions" (*New York Times*, 13 March). The United Mine Workers has also come under the RICO dragnet, charged with "ex-

seizure of a seafood workers union in New York, and the government's RICO test case against the labor movement, the takeover of IBT Local 560 in Union City, New Jersey, has blown up in the feds' faces.

The seizure of Local 560 in 1986 was the warm-up for the suit against the Teamster International. A federal court removed the entire local leadership, supporters of Anthony Provenzano (Tony Pro), replacing them with a federal trustee. When the original trustee refused to fire every official appointed by the old regime, the federal judge removed him, declaring "when it comes to 560, they are all guilty until proven innocent" (*In These Times*, 21 December 1988). The new trustee, an organized crime prosecutor named Ed Stier, was the government's idea of a "labor leader." He reportedly ran surveillance and wiretaps on union members. Stier said that when he ran a picket line, "We behaved in a way the police would tell us to behave."

After two years of RICO and Stier, the December 1988 local union election became a referendum on government intervention. When it appeared that former local president Mickey Sciarra would be returned to office, the federal judge used RICO to declare Sciarra ineligible. But the membership thumbed their nose at the judge and voted nearly two-to-one to elect Sciarra's brother local president. Even the social-democratic *In These Times* notes that the 560 election puts "labor reformers" who rely on the capitalist state in a "quandary."

"For TDU, the question now is how can it extend Rudolph Giuliani even limited support without being perceived by ordinary union members as having gone over to the other side. The rank and file's stunning repudiation of pro-government elements in Local 560 suggests that it can't."

When the March 13 settlement was announced, TDU spokesman Steve Kindred said that the "agreement to permit direct election of officers was an important accomplishment" (*New York Times*, 14 March). In fact, the election of International union officers through

national ballot, as now takes place in the Mine Workers and Steelworkers unions, is *less* democratic than open debate over program on the floor of a union convention. In the hands of the capitalist state and under the influence of the bosses' media, "direct" elections will favor candidates who offer themselves as labor cops to "discipline" the unions for the bourgeoisie. Opposition to intervention by the bosses' state into the affairs of the workers movement should be elementary for any class-conscious worker.

But outfits like the TDU and the Association for Union Democracy (AUD) have made their living suing the unions in the bosses' courts, using the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act, which was passed to shackle the Teamsters by eliminating "hot cargoing" (secondary boycotts). Recently cited by the *New York Times*, the AUD, which is run by an old Shachtmanite, right-wing "socialist" Herman Benson, has used anti-labor laws against the Machinists, Painters, NMU, ILWU and Mine Workers.

As their model, the TDU points to the "reform" movement, engineered by anti-communist lawyer Joseph Rauh, which brought the U.S. Labor Department in to run elections in the United Mine Workers. Yet the "reform" regime of Arnold Miller sided with the bosses and their government during the 1977-78 coal strike, as miners burned Miller's sellout contract and fought Jimmy Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction. Workers democracy is not going to come to the American labor movement as a gift from the bourgeoisie. It will be won by the working class through struggle—struggle which will inevitably come up against the intervention of the capitalist state. Every labor battle, from the Minneapolis Teamsters' general strike in 1934 to the current fight by Eastern workers, drives home this truth.

And it will take a leadership with a program of hard class struggle to win. Teamster militants had better not forget that the current crop of corrupt and pro-capitalist labor traitors is the *product* of government intervention into the Teamsters union. In 1941, Roosevelt used the anti-communist Smith Act to purge the Minneapolis Teamsters of the Trotskyist leadership which laid the foundations of Teamsters union power. Roosevelt's ally was the gangster IBT leader Daniel Tobin, godfather to the present generation of Teamster tops. Hoffa, on the other hand, was always in trouble with the feds because of his defiance of the government, and he later said that he "learned a great deal" from the Minneapolis Trotskyists, who pioneered the organization of over-the-road truckers.

The RICO intervention into the Teamsters is a gun pointed at the entire labor movement—it must be smashed with militant labor struggle. A rebirth of class-struggle leadership in the Teamsters would send the sellouts, finks and government lawyers packing. For the complete independence of the labor movement from the bosses' state! Feds: get your dirty hands off the Teamsters! ■

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

TROTSKY'S GRANDSON IN MOSCOW

Of all the Bolshevik leaders executed on Stalin's orders, Gorbachev has now juridically "rehabilitated" all but one: Leon Trotsky, co-leader together with Lenin of the 1917 October Revolution. And this gaping "blank space" in official Soviet history continues to haunt the regime. For it was Trotsky who opposed the bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution, building the Left Opposition while others capitulated before Stalin; Trotsky who analyzed and fought against the system of bureaucratic misrule, Stalinism, which continues to this day. Trotsky carried forward the program of the early Comintern in the struggle for the Fourth International, counterposing to the Stalinist-nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" the Leninist-internationalist program of world socialist revolution.

As Bukharin and the Right Opposition are raised to a place of honor, Trotsky is described in the pages of *Pravda* as a "demon of the Revolution" and a "failed dictator" as bad or possibly worse than Stalin (see our two-part article, "Trotsky and the Gorbachev School of Falsification," *WV* Nos. 464 and 466, 4 November and 2 December 1988). Yet despite the continuing "satanization" of the world revolutionary by Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin, interest in Trotsky is mushrooming in the Soviet Union. Last November 15, hundreds crowded into the House of Culture of the Moscow Aeronautics Institute to participate in the first-ever "Trotsky evening." Those who couldn't get in crowded around the large (6 feet by 9 feet) display of photos in the entry under the title "L.D. Trotsky, 1879-1940." We publish (see next page) a photo, never before printed, of this pathbreaking display.

"It was," wrote the Paris daily *Le Monde* (22 November 1988), "the first time in 60 years that a public meeting took place in the USSR devoted to the creator of the Red Army, the first time that one could see or again see documents which showed him at Lenin's side in the leading role in the revolution. The intensity of the people's looks expressed the extent to which the history of this country is not its past, but its present." And a month later, in the same location, participants in a meeting of the "Memorial" Society, founded to call for a monument to the victims of Stalin's terror, were able to meet and hear Trotsky's grandson, Esteban (Vsevolod) Volkov Bronstein, relating the murder of the Old Man in his Mexican exile by Stalin's agent. *Workers Vanguard* recently spoke with Esteban Volkov about his experiences during his brief trip, the first time in 57 years he

A Conversation with Esteban Volkov



Esteban Volkov Bronstein at Trotsky's gravestone, Coyoacán, Mexico.

was able to return to the land of his birth.

Visit with a Long-Lost Sister

Volkov went to Moscow to meet his sister, Aleksandra Sakharovna, who was gravely ill with cancer. She died earlier this month at the age of 66, shortly before our conversation. Aleksandra and Vsevolod (Seva) were the children of Trotsky's daughter Zinaida (Zina). Seva's father, Platon Volkov, had been deported to Siberia in 1928 and then arrested in the wake of the 1934 Kirov affair, never to be heard from again. After Stalin expelled Trotsky from the USSR in 1929 and stripped him of his Soviet citizenship, Zina (whose health had broken down after the death of her sister Nina, whom she had nursed to the end) was left alone with two small children to care for. Zina was finally allowed to join Trotsky in early 1931, but was forced to leave her daughter behind, "a six- or seven-year-old hostage to Stalin," as Trotsky's biographer Isaac Deutscher wrote. Two years later, her nerves shattered and her lungs destroyed by tuberculosis, Zina committed suicide in Berlin on the eve of Hitler's takeover.

After decades without news of Aleksandra and years of trying to find her, contact was established through Pierre Broué, director of the Institut Léon Trotsky in Paris. A brief phone call was put through, and then Volkov applied for and received a visa. At a press conference in Paris after his trip, he said they were "really happy, joyous to meet each other. It was a little like people from a shipwreck who meet safe and sound on the beach." Aleksandra had been condemned to ten years of internal exile in Kazakhstan during a

major roundup of children of "enemies of the people" in 1949, but was freed after Stalin's death. "She had Stalin to thank for having met her companion there, her husband Anatol," reported Volkov. He also got to know Aleksandra's circle of friends, including Olga Ivinskaya, Boris Pasternak's companion, who met Aleksandra when they were both in prison.

"Aleksandra was always distressed," Volkov told us, "that it was I who our mother took with her. It was Broué who was first to find out why. Stalin had specified in the exit papers that she could only take her youngest child." In an interview with the Dutch newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* (10 December 1988), Aleksandra said, "I do not remember my grandpa. I was three years old when he was expelled to Alma Ata in Kazakhstan by Stalin.... My mother was a revolutionary. She wore a leather coat and,

I believe, a gun. She taught me geography. The revolutionaries were afraid their children would stay ignorant." After Zinaida was exiled, Aleksandra lived with her father, Sakhar Moglin, but within a year he, too, was arrested. She stayed with her stepmother and spent the summers with her grandmother, Trotsky's first wife Aleksandra Sokolovskaya, until she was sent to the camps at Kolyma in 1936. "My grandma was good friends with Lenin's wife Krupskaya," said Aleksandra Sakharovna:

"They considered themselves educators of the people. They wanted to enlighten the masses. I also wanted to do that. The Revolution and the whole era around it are still very dear to me, even after my exile. I still remember telling a girlfriend, 'I was raised to be a Communist.... I love the Revolution, whereas almost everything else I hate. My life has been awful'."

"It is only in the last few months that Trotsky is written about in other than a negative way," said his granddaughter. But she also had some biting comments about the current crop of *glasnost* commentaries about the founder of the Red Army. "You can't figure out what the writer himself thinks about Trotsky. Look, for example, at the article by General Volkogonov in *Pravda* under the title 'Demon of the Revolution.' That was a horrible piece that left an awful aftertaste. Volkogonov knows that the winds are turning and covers himself for all possibilities. You can go anywhere with that article." Aleksandra Sakharovna summed up, "Trotskyism is something like an exploding bomb," and a lot of people in the Soviet Union desperately want to smother it.

A Mountain of Dead Dogs

Isaac Deutscher remarked that in writing his biography, like Carlyle with Cromwell, he had to drag Trotsky out from under a huge load of calumny and oblivion, "a mountain of dead dogs." In our talk, Esteban Volkov noted that after 60 years of distortion and lies by the bureaucracy about Trotsky's role, "people's ideas about Trotsky can't escape all the prejudices and satanization." Recently, *Moscow News* (26 February) published an interview with him titled, "An Old House in Coyoacán," the site of Trotsky's home in Mexico, now the Leon Trotsky Museum, of which Volkov is the curator. In response to Volkov's statement that Trotsky gave his life to the fight for Marxism and socialism, the author, Mikhail Belyat, says he "could not dispute" this because "like the overwhelming majority of Soviet people I haven't read Trotsky's works in order to grasp the substance of his errors."



Aleksandra Sakharovna, Trotsky's granddaughter.

AN OLD HOUSE IN COYOACÁN

Here, in one of the Mexican capital's districts, Lev Trotsky's grandson cherishes the memory of his grandfather

This house surrounded by a tall stone wall in a quiet and narrow street of Coyoacán, one of the Mexican capital's districts, is visibly older than its neighbours and for less than a century has known the real history of the Revolution, where Lev Trotsky lived in the late 1930s until his death in 1940.

SAN VOLKOV

Though a few windows may have been changed, the house is still the same, leading to an old style with a hammer and sickle on the roof and a red flag at the entrance. In the garden behind the house is a small grassy area with a little wooden house where Trotsky lived.



Moscow News
interview with
Esteban Volkov.
Spectre of Trotsky
haunts Gorbachev's
Russia.

moscow news

26 February—5 March 1989

Yet the clearing-up of a half century of Stalinist lies about Trotsky proceeds at an accelerating pace. The magazine *Ogonyok* filmed a video reportage on Volkov's trip to Moscow. *Moscow News*, in its 19 March Russian edition, printed a lengthy article on Trotsky's assassin Ramón Mercader, quoting Volkov and stating flatly, for the first time in the Soviet press, that the killer was "the direct executor" of "Stalin's order." And a week later, *Moscow News* published excerpts of the petition by Volkov and his daughters demanding "dropping the false charges and criminal slanders raised, on Stalin's direct order, against the Russian Marxist revolutionary Lev Davidovich Bronstein, called Leon Trotsky, [and] authorization that his works be freely published." *Le Monde* commented that "hardly a week passes without a journal evoking, in one way or another, the personality of the founder of the Red Army."

We also spoke with Volkov about the sinister "Pamyat" (Memory) group in the Soviet Union, who have been parading about in black shirts and jackboots spewing out anti-Semitic filth. He compared this "fascistic" outfit to Nazi-loving "skinheads" in the capitalist West. Pamyat tried to disrupt the Trotsky evening in Moscow last November, heckling the speakers and then (after hecklers were removed) launching diatribes on "historical" subjects such as claiming that the directors of the gulag camps and other GPU officers were Jewish. In fact, their Russian-nationalist vituperation against "cosmopolitanism" is straight from Stalin's "doctors' plot" purge, combined with the anti-Semitism of the tsarist Black Hundreds, Russia's Ku Klux Klan, whose version of lynching was murderous pogroms against the Jewish ghettos. The Soviet working people must mobilize to smash this deadly threat to the USSR (see "Fascist Cancer in Gorbachev's Russia," *WV* No. 473, 17 March).

On the other hand, there are groups such as Memorial which is campaigning in the name of Stalin's victims, although on a classless basis rather than from a Marxist perspective. In his speech to the Memorial meeting, Volkov spoke of the "extremely important work they are doing: denouncing all the crimes of Stalin." He added, "They have been able to put many people in contact, for it is thanks to the existence of Memorial that we were able to find my sister Aleksandra." At the Memorial exhibit, people fill out questionnaires about family members who suffered from the Stalinist repression, listing dates and locations of camps where they were held, so far as this is known. Esteban Volkov, whose grandfather and grandmother, mother, father and uncles (Leon and Sergei Sedov) were all victims of Stalin, and who was himself wounded in the failed Siqueiros machine-gun attack on Trotsky, filled out a questionnaire along with countless others whose families and comrades were annihilated in the Stalinist counterrevolutionary terror.

At the Memorial meeting, Volkov was applauded as he spoke of the task of "constructing a genuine socialism" (*Die Tageszeitung*, 24 December 1988). Yet Memorial talks not of socialism but of abstract "democracy" based on supposed "common human values" which it places above "class interests" (from a Memorial appeal by Yevgeny Yevtushenko). In our conversation, Volkov spoke of Trotsky's socialist fight against Stalinism: "He made an analysis, with Marxist methodology, arrived at an understanding of Stalinism with an exactness and precision which 50 years later is impossible to modify or add anything to. But we are seeing that the bureaucratic dictatorship has arrived at absolute bankruptcy. History has shown that they have no way out, no role to play except to paralyze, to

First Time in Sixty Years— Trotsky Honored in Soviet Union

ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЙ КЛУБ МАИ "ОРБИТА"

1879 Л. Д. ТРОЦКИЙ 1940

ДАТЫ
ЖИЗНИ

ТРОЦКИЙ
В
НЕСКОЛЬКО
СТРОК

ОСНОВНЫЕ ПРОИЗВЕДЕНИЯ

15 НОЯБРЯ 1988 года в Малом Зале ДК МАИ
в 18" состоится вечер, посвященный Л. Д. Троцкому

Esteban Volkov

The above photo, taken by Esteban Volkov during his trip to the Soviet Union, shows the large (6 x 9 foot) display devoted to the figure of Leon Trotsky by the "Memorial" Society at the Moscow Aeronautics Institute. To our knowledge this is the first publication anywhere of this salute to the world revolutionary. It advertised a meeting dedicated to Trotsky held last November 15 at the Institute's House of Culture (see article). The exhibit includes

a "Chronology of His Life" (above left), his "Principal Works" (lower left), and a brief biography "Trotsky in a Few Lines" (right). Note that the photo of Lenin and Trotsky together, suppressed for decades in the Soviet Union, is prominently featured. Also depicted are Trotsky's role in the Civil War, his leadership of the Communist International and his testimony before the Dewey Commission, exposing Stalin's frame-ups in the Moscow purge trials.

prevent progress and create backwardness, suffering, poverty. The bureaucracy is presently aware of the need to implant changes, but it is afraid of returning to the course of genuine socialism with workers democracy, which would undermine its monopoly of political power. So they prefer to introduce changes in the direction of a market economy, with capitalist-style stimulus."

Trotsky's grandson underlined "the importance of the political revolution in the Soviet regime": "That the working class really participates in decisions, in ruling, planning. And I think that we are arriving at the historical moment where efficient economic planning is perfectly realizable. Fifty years ago for technical reasons it would have been very difficult to carry out, even without the bur-

den of the bureaucracy, because it was too complex to plan and coordinate on the scale of a country like Russia. But today with computers, communications systems, data banks—cybernetics—it can be done, very efficiently, rapidly and up-to-date, to go forward in a dynamic way. Not the infernal labyrinth of bureaucratic planning—total chaos. Today there is sufficient technology for very good planning. Of course, not overly rigid and detailed planning but rather laying out certain parameters which with prudent leeway meet the needs and requirements of the country."

His brief visit to Moscow convinced him that many people in the Soviet Union hold Trotsky in great admiration, says Volkov. "But it's almost impossible to get an objective view of

Trotsky within the USSR. They need outside sources of information and access to his writings." He has called for the juridical rehabilitation of his grandfather, to be declared innocent of all the charges by Stalin against him. But "politically it's the bureaucracy that seeks historical legitimacy. The record of the Marxist revolutionary Trotsky is spotless." And historically, he will assume his rightful place as the Soviet peoples reappropriate their own history. It is by returning to the road of Lenin and Trotsky that the Soviet working people and the workers of the world can open the way to authentic socialism. This will be the fitting homage to our forebears who set about building a proletarian state in Russia to the battle cry: "Long live the world socialist revolution!" ■

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 41-42 ENGLISH EDITION WINTER 1987-88 ONE DOLLAR/75 PENCE

70th Anniversary of Russian Revolution

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

PAGE 4

Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

PAGE 20

The Poland of Luxemburg vs. the Poland of Pileudski

Memoirs of a Revolutionary Jewish Worker

A Review...PAGE 53

Spartacist

English Edition
No. 41-42
Winter 1987-88
(64 pages)
\$1.00

Spartacist Pamphlet
(32 pages)
\$1.00

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

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1.00

"Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe

The Bankruptcy of the Yugoslav Model

PAGE 2

Hungary: "Goulash Communism" Goes Bust

PAGE 9

For Central Planning Through Soviet Democracy

PAGE 16

Gorbachev Rehabilitates Leader of Right Opposition

The Bukharin Dossier

PAGE 32

JUN 1988 SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO. BOX 1377 GPO NEW YORK, N.Y. 10116

Eastern Strike...

(continued from page 1)

reasonable... You've lived within the law." Cuomo promised Bush "nobody wants to see trouble and disruption that results from secondary [strike] action." Democrat Cuomo certainly doesn't—his Metropolitan Transit Authority made massive preparations to run scab buses and trains if the Machinists picketed NY's commuter railroads. And "living within the law" is exactly what has kept the Eastern strike from spreading.

Among workers there is a deep sense of solidarity and urgency that the time to fight is now. But the AFL-CIO's "Fairness at Eastern" campaign consists of Saturday speechifying, a useless consumer boycott and begging Congress to send the IAM back to work! Lane Kirkland and IAM chief "Wimpy" Winpisinger blustered about calling sympathy strikes in rail—but only in order to pressure George Bush into invoking another "cooling off" period under the Railway Labor Act.

The AFL-CIO tops fear the kind of hard class struggle, coming flat up against the state, that is needed to win the strike. Such an explosive confrontation would not only wipe out Lorenzo, it could sweep away the pro-capitalist labor traitors who have tied workers to the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party and inflicted massive defeats on the working class. Last year saw the lowest number of strikes in over 40 years, and over the last 30 years, the percentage of American workers who belong to unions has dropped by half, to less than 17 percent.

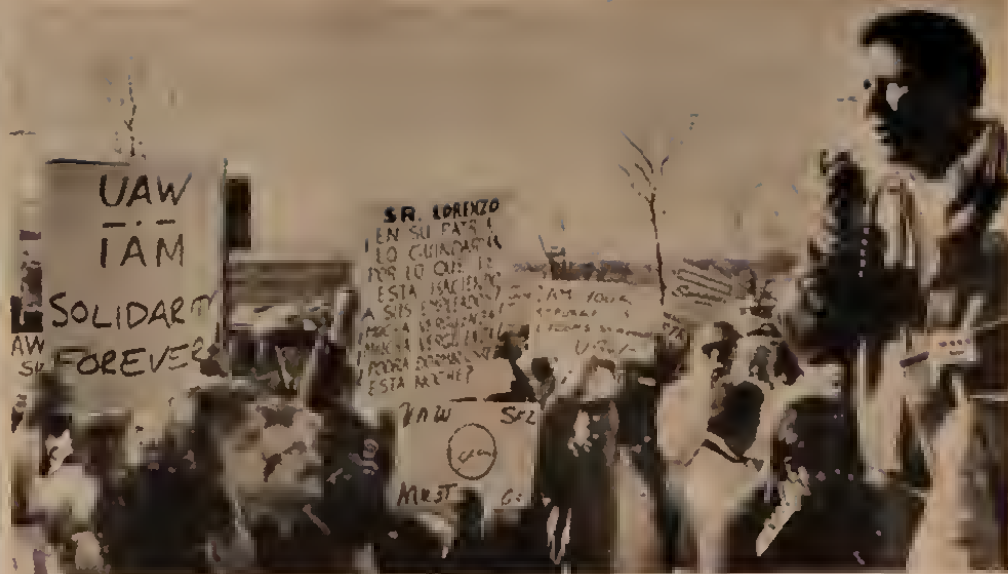
Don't Play by the Judge's Rules

Rather than shutting down all of Lorenzo's empire, which is well within the power of Teamsters and Machinists in airport fuel and service companies, Winpisinger and IAM District 100 chief Charles Bryan make impotent appeals to passengers not to fly Eastern and Continental. And at every point, Winpisinger and Bryan have tried to throw the strike into the hands of the bosses' government. After howling to the court injunctions, cringing before Bush and begging Congress to take the strike off his hands, now "Wimpy" says he will fight... in court.

Lining up the IAM, ALPA and the Transport Workers Union flight attendants behind the rest of Eastern's creditors, the union tops continue to play by the bosses' rules. They appealed to Federal bankruptcy judge Burton



Labor has the power to win this one! Machinists prepare to strike in Miami, March 3 (above). Union support rallies: Cleveland, March 13 (above right); Chicago, March 11 (right).



Lifland to impose a trusteeship over Eastern, removing Lorenzo from control of the airline. Lifland responded by keeping Lorenzo in charge, while refusing to release \$35 million in workers' paychecks and slapping the IAM with temporary restraining orders restricting picketing at La Guardia and Logan airport in Boston. The striking Machinists' crime? "Screaming at the company's customers"! The last bankruptcy judge the IAM faced, the one who busted the unions at Continental, is now openly drawing a Lorenzo paycheck at a Washington law firm.

Winpisinger is pinning his hopes on pressuring the court to force Lorenzo to sell Eastern to a "white knight," perhaps Carl Icahn of TWA. The IAM tops are touring Jesse Jackson around the country, demanding Congressional intervention and calling for workers to throw their pension money into the Eastern sinkhole: "If Lorenzo can't fly it, let the workers buy it." What Jackson, Wimpy and Bryan are offering up are massive givebacks, as much as Lorenzo is demanding, to pay for the billions in debt Lorenzo has run up at Eastern! As happened under the Frank

Borman regime. Machinists are to give concessions so that Charlie Bryan will get back his seat on the board and Eastern workers will get the shaft.

Pan Am is being touted as a merger partner for Eastern. The 5,200 Teamster reservations and gate agents at Pan Am have been working without a contract since February 1988, when the company imposed \$35 million in cuts. On March 18, Teamsters Airline Division director William Genoise threatened to strike the Pan Am shuttle in sympathy with the IAM and "tie up the Northeast Corridor." But what Genoise wants is a Teamster/IAM "joint venture" to buy Eastern and Pan Am: "The employees are players today. Wall Street is interested in us. We have a lot of pension money" (*Miami Herald*, 19 March). Exchanging one corporate raider for another will not erase the massive debt that these parasites have loaded onto the airlines, or stop the bleeding of the unions to pay for it.

Instead of all the buyout and "worker ownership" schemes, there must be an industrywide strike to win for Eastern workers and all of us. If Lorenzo tries to sell off Eastern's planes and routes,

then a solid front of airline unions must demand that every single job at Eastern be protected, with wages and benefits equalized at the highest level. ALPA has already said that its 42,500 member pilots will refuse to fly former Eastern routes or planes at new carriers unless Eastern pilots are brought in with full seniority. A joint strike points the way toward a common airline union of mechanics, pilots, flight attendants and ramp service workers.

Test of Leadership

The Spartacist League has put forward a class-struggle program to win the battle at Eastern; thousands of copies of *Workers Vanguard* telling the real story about the strike have been sold on picket lines across the country. To win the strike at Eastern, there must be a leadership that is willing to wage a class-struggle fight against the disastrous course of class collaboration set by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. From the outset, the key question of the Eastern strike has been the need for an uncompromising fight for the complete independence of the unions from the courts and labor boards of the capitalist state. No significant gain of the workers movement has ever been won in Congress, or by knuckling under to the slave labor laws and injunctions.

But the rest of the left has miserably failed, falling into line as cheerleaders for Winpisinger and Kirkland. The reformist Communist Party has taken their usual strategy of "write your local Congressman" to new depths, calling on the working class to support the Democrats' bill for "mediation to end the Eastern strike" (*People's Daily World*, 7 March). This is a demand for the capitalist parties to step in and force the Machinists back to work! CP national chairman Gus Hall is featured in the 16 March *People's Daily World*, pushing the buyout/concessions game by calling for workers to run Eastern... jointly with the federal government, a new "popular front" management that will replace Frank Lorenzo with George Bush!

The Workers World Party of Sam Marcy goes a step further in begging the bourgeoisie to appoint the unions as bankruptcy trustee for Eastern! The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has a number of supporters in the IAM, has been careful not to breathe a word about spreading the strike. Their mis-

Defend ATU Local 1202— Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

MARCH 28—In a welcome, and all too rare, instance of class unity, the head of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1202 (Greyhound bus drivers) in New York called on local members not to cross Eastern Airlines strikers' picket lines. Greyhound responded by firing Local 1202 president Harold Mendlowitz, after he refused to retract the union statement.

The March 2 union bulletin was explicit, asking Greyhound workers to "show solidarity in any way you can.... And most of all honor their picket lines!" It went on to instruct union members that:

"In the event of a strike, Greyhound Drivers will not drive buses leased or chartered to Eastern or Continental Airlines. We will not be a party to any efforts by Greyhound to assist Frank Lorenzo in busting unions.

"If one driver is pulled out of service, we all go out of service!"

When every officer of Local 1202 signed a leaflet defending Mendlowitz and standing by the call, the company demanded they make a retraction. Secretary-Treasurer Viola Patterson told *WV* that the officers stuck to their guns and said "No." Now the company is preparing to discipline them.

Greyhound, where the ATU contract expires this year, is owned by Frank Currey, a Frank Lorenzo-style corporate raider and union-buster. Currey broke a militant Greyhound strike five years ago. The AFL-CIO bureaucrats refused to call out the rest of labor, and in Detroit the UAW sent mechanics across the ATU picket lines. Instead of industrial action, which would put them on the hot spot,

the labor officialdom was pushing the same kind of useless consumer boycott that killed the PATCO strike. They had plenty of help from the reformist left, who covered for the AFL-CIO traitors and even endorsed the massive sellout which ended the strike.

For their principled stand, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1202 deserves solid backing, in action, from the rest of the ATU, particularly Greyhound locals, and from New York-area transit workers. When the Machinists threatened to picket rail unions in the Northeast Corridor, thousands of workers were ready to walk. That's the kind of real solidarity that's needed now to aid the Eastern strikers and defend Harold Mendlowitz and Local 1202. Picket lines mean don't cross!

Continental Flight Attendants Strike Against Lorenzo

As the Eastern Airlines strike entered its third week, unionized flight attendants went out on a four-day walkout against Frank Lorenzo's other airline, Continental. On March 20 they joined striking Eastern mechanics, pilots and flight attendants on picket lines at airports around the country. A statement by the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) pilots at Newark applauded the "gallant action" by the Continental flight attendants. One Eastern flight attendant said she was walking the lines in solidarity because "They showed us our future and we didn't like it. So we're out here to support them today."

In 1983, Lorenzo put Continental into bankruptcy in order to tear up union contracts and rehire pilots and mechanics at half their previous wages. He broke ALPA and the IAM (International Association of Machinists), but the small Union of Flight Attendants (UFA) managed to keep a toehold at Continental. Now in the midst of the major labor battle which opened March 3 when 9,300 IAM members struck against Eastern Airlines, the UFA walkout was an opportunity to *spread the strike* to other airlines. As we have insisted from the beginning, *shutting down the airports* with solid strike action is key to victory.

UFA spokesmen told *WV* there was much passive support for the walkout among the mechanics and pilots. Indeed, Continental pilots who answered an ALPA survey a few months ago overwhelmingly said they wanted a union. The flight attendants strike could have been used to reforge the unions at Continental through hard class struggle. But ALPA and the IAM made no serious attempt to bring out the cockpit and ground crews with militant labor action. And because they threw away this opportunity, the flight attendants' walkout was scuttled. Now Lorenzo's management says the several hundred strikers have been permanently replaced.

"We have our own battle with Frank Lorenzo," said one picketer. "Try to live in New York on our salary. A lot of



Newark airport, March 23. Continental flight attendants courageously strike against Lorenzo.

Flight attendants have to eat on the airplanes to survive, the food that is left over from the passengers." He noted that Continental just started giving crew meals in January. "It's kind of embarrassing when a full-time employee has to go out and get food stamps, because he makes so little." Some are living eleven to a hotel room, while others are actually homeless, living out of suitcases in Newark.

The Continental flight attendants have been working without a contract since Lorenzo's 1983 union-busting assault. A UFA leaflet says that they "work twice the number of hours than all other Flight Attendant groups for 60 percent less in compensation." In particular, while on other lines flight attendants get "pay rigs" for some of their non-flight time, at Continental they get zero. Also there is no extra pay for working on holidays, with short crews, on wide-body aircraft, for dead-head time, you name it.

Historically, the airlines have tried to recruit young women just out of school for the "glamorous" job. Many don't

realize they'll be working long hours hoofing it up and down the aisles, dealing with screaming babies and irate adults blaming them for the company's delays. Flight attendants used to have to retire at 35, couldn't marry or have children. So unionization meant a tremendous social advance in addition to dollars and cents, winning some rights for these working women, forcing the company to stop treating stewardesses like "little girls," and allow them to have a family life. Moreover, opening up these jobs to men has greatly undercut company paternalism.

But the airlines are hell-bent on rolling back these social gains. Speaking to Eastern flight attendants in Miami last month on the eve of the strike, a UFA spokesman said that when one woman told Lorenzo she couldn't make mortgage payments on her Continental pay, he replied: "Flight attendants shouldn't own homes." At a Columbia University rally to support airline strikers last week, TWU spokesman Carmen Gonzalez told how a flight attendant was raped and beaten on her way to work,

but when she called from the hospital to say she couldn't come in, Lorenzo's hatchet men at Eastern said it was "not a good enough reason to miss work!"

On the picket lines, flight attendants told *WV* that one of their special concerns was that the hazards of heavy flying schedules could contribute to reproductive problems. Incidents of miscarriage, premature babies and children with congenital defects have been reported. The unions are cooperating in a study based on medical histories of 28,500 flight attendants from five airlines. The initiators of the study are retired pilot Andy Yates and Dr. Wesley Bare, head of Oh/Gyn at Methodist Hospital in Philadelphia. Yates told *WV* that anomalous conditions in flight include reduced atmospheric pressure, higher ozone levels and the effects of ionizing radiation, particularly in flights over the polar routes.

Flight attendants are not just flying waiters and waitresses. Their unions have been in the forefront of the fight for airline safety. And many have acted heroically in saving lives. The cabin crew prevented panic on United Flight 811 over Hawaii recently, when a hole ripped open, sucking out several passengers to a horrible death; flight attendants stopped an Eastern plane from taking off with ice on its wings from Denver in December 1987; a TWA pursuer refused terrorists' demands to single out Jewish passengers when the plane was hijacked in Beirut.

Flight attendants do not have the industrial clout of the mechanics or pilots. But despite tremendous odds, these gutsy workers have fought hard and won important gains. Their biggest problem has been the lack of solidarity, such as during the TWA flight attendants strike in '86, when ALPA and the IAM crossed the picket lines. Flight attendants are also separated into different unions for each airline (IFFA, UFA, TWU, APFA, etc.). As the weakest group among airline workers, they have the most to gain from a solid strike of *all* airlines leading to one big union in the sky. ■

named *Militant* (24 March) complains "Court injunctions are blocking them from extending picket lines" but never calls on the IAM and the rest of labor to defy the bosses' slave-labor laws. Who needs these "socialist" water boys for Winpisinger, the union hero of the Democratic Socialists of America? Certainly not workers at Eastern, who are locked in the battle of their lives. They need a genuinely revolutionary party that tells the *truth*.

It has been "progressive" labor fakers like Winpisinger, as much as the reactionary Cold Warriors like Kirkland, who have been the most effective allies of the *hipartisan* war on labor and minorities. The decade of Reagan reaction to "roll back Communism" and roll back unionism was ushered in by Democrat Jimmy Carter. And when Reagan smashed the air controllers union, the labor lieutenants of capital at AFL-CIO headquarters kept airport workers on the job, telling them to wait for the next election. The Eastern strike is the chance to avenge PATCO and open the road to taking back the givebacks.

Corporate raiders and junk bond con artists like Lorenzo and Icahn are looting the airlines. In this epoch of decaying capitalism they don't build industry but *destroy* it wholesale. Their orgy of "free competition" has smashed unions,

put airfares through the ceiling and sent safety to hell. Twenty-year-old planes are literally falling apart in the air, years after they should have been pulled out of service. If ever there was an argument for a socialist planned economy, the

international airline industry is it. But to win that you need a revolutionary party which can lead the working class to power, taking back the wealth we created from the hands of capitalist vultures like Lorenzo. ■

NYC's La Guardia Airport, March 18: 1,500-strong support rally for Eastern strikers. Mobilize mass labor action to shut down the airports!



Abortion...

(continued from page 1)

Spartacist League links our call for "free abortion on demand" to the fight for jobs, decent living conditions, free quality health care, and democratic rights for all, as an integral part of our socialist, working-class program for women's liberation.

The blockaders can be stopped. One got a taste of this in Los Angeles on Easter weekend as hundreds of pro-abortion demonstrators faced off against the "god squads" which had threatened to descend on L.A. to wage "holy war on Holy Week." Operation Rescue boasted it would bring out 10,000, but less than a thousand showed up. Already on Thursday and Friday, pro-abortion activists managed to beat the bigots to the clinics, using spotters in cars with cellular phones to track the caravans of "right to lifers." But once there, the main leadership of the pro-choice groups waited for the cops, who either refused to make arrests or slowly removed clinic blockaders one by one, so clients couldn't get in for hours. At a women's health facility in Cypress the leaders led segments of the crowd in cheering "hip, hip, hooray" for the cops!

After two days of this stand-off, on Saturday, March 26 over 800 abortion rights defenders turned out in driving rain to confront the rightist fanatics outside the Family Planning Associates' clinic in downtown L.A. The *Los Angeles Times* (26 March) reported, "Pro-choice activists at least matched the number of anti-abortion demonstrators and displayed a keen sense of organization that may have caught Operation Rescue off guard.... Scores of pro-choice people were lined up at the clinic awaiting their enemy when the anti-abortion caravan arrived from

Anaheim at 7 a.m." At the parking lot entrance, a hundred or so clinic defenders organized a human wall, managing to keep some of the bigots from getting through the gate to the clinic entrance. Spartacist signs there said "Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights," and our chant "Free Abortion on Demand!" was quickly picked up by the crowd. But while some of the crowd broke out of the liberal restraints, the leadership still looked to the cops to clear the blockaders.

While the "right to life" bigots would drive women back to die by the coat hanger and back-alley abortion, what's needed is to mobilize the social power of the working class and all the oppressed to defend women's rights and their very lives. For April 9, a number of unions are mobilizing contingents to march in Washington, among them AFSCME DC 37, the ILGWU, ACTWU, UE and the Steelworkers. There is also a contingent from the Communications Workers; CWA members include workers at the Planned Parenthood Margaret Sanger clinic in NYC who were kept out of their workplace this winter by "Operation Rescue" blockades. Thousands of unionists marching April 9 is a token of the kind of muscle that should be mobilized to defend the clinics under siege. Like the recent labor/black mobilizations against the fascists in Philadelphia and Atlanta, mass mobilizations can stop these fascist zealots cold and put an end to their terrorization of women at the abortion clinics.

For April 9, the National Organization for Women is appealing to the reactionary Court, and calling on people to lobby "their" Congressmen in the capitalist parties. This march will be the first big pro-Democratic Party popular-front mobilization against the Bush administration. But as a Spartacus Youth Club spokesman put it at a

February 15 demonstration for abortion rights at Cornell University, "To fight, you have to know who your friends and your enemies are. Too many people see the Democrats as defenders of abortion. It was under the Carter administration that Medicaid funding for abortion was cut off. In Dukakis' Massachusetts, parental consent is required for teenagers to get abortions."

Every right that women have has been won not by lobbying but through social struggle, from the vote to abortion to unionization. The last 50 years have seen changes in women's lives: participation in industry during World War II, the opening of more professional jobs to college-educated women in the 1970s, the amelioration of household drudgery through technology (washing machines, dishwashers, microwave ovens, Pampers). Yet after WW II, "Rosie the Riveter" was forced back into the home; union gains like abolition of homework are overturned, and hundreds of thousands of minority women labor at jobs below minimum wage. And now millions may be thrown off welfare with no means of subsistence at all. Even medical advances are affected: in the '60s, it seemed that "the pill" would finally provide cheap and accessible birth control; today a major scientific breakthrough, the "French abortion pill" (RU486), enabling women to safely and privately stop an unwanted pregnancy, is kept off the market in fear of "right to life" intimidation.

Under capitalism such rights and social advances are *reversible*, and many are being reversed. After decades, the ERA—a simple statement of juridical equality for women—still can't be passed. And now the legal right to abortion could go. If abortion is made illegal, the wives and daughters of the rich will still have them as they always did, in their plush privacy with every consideration. It's the poor, working-

class and minority women whose lives will be devastated. The fight for full equality of women is part of a broader social struggle. The "right to life" woman-haters grease the hangman's noose for hundreds of black men on death row, and hail AIDS as god's scourge on homosexuals. Behind the bedroom bigots stands a section of the ruling class which is concerned to reinforce the family, the traditional conservatizing force which has played a key role in the "stabilization" of all class societies.

Women will only achieve lasting gains and move toward genuine emancipation through socialist revolution. For the first time, unemployment and poverty can be eliminated, free abortion on demand will be part of a full program of socialized medicine, free quality 24-hour childcare and the socialization of housework will allow women to fully participate in social and political life. The fight for women's liberation is international, including a war to the death in Afghanistan to free women from the veil, bride price, *purdah* (forced seclusion), and for the right to read. It is a fight for all the oppressed. As we wrote in *Women and Revolution*, the journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League:

"The millions of blacks and women in the ranks of the American proletariat will play a key role in awakening the workers' enormous social power. The struggle for women's emancipation is inseparable from the struggle for the emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation and oppression.... Under the leadership of a multiracial vanguard party, the workers and oppressed of this country must take power, establishing a workers government which would open the way for a new, socialist society where production would be for the needs of all, not profit for a few."

—"Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!" *W&R* No. 36, Spring 1989 ■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 12)

commander admitted that "the Jalalabad assault had been planned and directed by the Pakistani military." Reports from both sides of the battle lines told of the participation of 500-600 Pakistani "advisers" in the fighting. Even the *shura* which formed the rebels' exile government was openly stage-managed by Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). Now the U.S. State Department is considering sending a "special envoy" to this so-called government, first and foremost to directly control its stalled military drive against the regime in Kabul.

The *mujahedin* and their U.S./Pakistani controllers expected Jalalabad's defenses to wither and capitulate in the face of their assault on the city. But the barbarity of these religious fanatics has demonstrated the futility of

surrender—it's a fight to the death! Moreover, the population of Nangarhar province, and particularly Jalalabad, has significantly benefited from even the minimal reforms the government has instituted—freedom for women from the veil and *purdah* (enforced seclusion), education for both sexes, limited land reform—and detests the guerrillas who want to drown these gains in blood.

Only after the offensive bogged down did the imperialist press admit: "Among the younger generation of city-bred Afghans, some of the measures favored by the fundamentalist guerrilla groups, such as a ban on women attending schools and colleges and a requirement that they wear the head-to-toe shrouds known as *burkas*, would be bitterly resented" (*New York Times*, 12 March). Two weeks after the expected walk-over in Jalalabad failed to materialize, one Washington official commented, "They picked the toughest nut to crack. There are more pro-PDPA people in Jalalabad than anywhere



New Times

Funeral march in Jalalabad for victims of *mujahedin* terror.

except Kabul" (*Chicago Tribune*, 22 March).

Najibullah's Staying Power

During the first week of heavy fighting in Jalalabad, a convoy of 1,500 trucks loaded with food and other urgently needed supplies arrived in Kabul after traveling the perilous Salang Highway from the Soviet Union. These two events—the defense of Jalalabad and the successful resupply of the capital through hundreds of miles of rebel-infested territory—show that Najibullah's government has a lot more staying power than its opponents have credited it with.

The PDPA regime is defended by an 85,000-strong army, a well-trained air force of 25,000, a 50,000-strong police force, 30,000 in the Khad (secret police), a 300,000-member militia and 30,000 armed PDPA members. Said one Afghan soldier in Kabul, "Let them come down from the mountains and we will teach them a good lesson." Additionally, in Kabul the government has armed every able-bodied citizen over 14 years old—hardly a sign of alienation from the civilian population!

The government has a substantial

base of support in the cities. But Afghanistan is an overwhelmingly peasant country weighed down by centuries of tribal tradition and Muslim obscurantism. When it came to power in a military coup in April 1978, the PDPA declared a series of bourgeois-democratic reforms which ignited a rural firestorm, whipped up by the landlords, tribal khans and mullahs. The regime was on the verge of collapsing when the Red Army entered the country in December 1979.

Only the Red Army's presence made it possible to implement even the mild reforms proposed by the PDPA. Initially intended by Brezhnev as a limited move to defend the USSR's southern flank by propping up a weak ally, Soviet intervention posed the possibility of extending the social gains of the Russian Revolution to Afghanistan.

In the years since Gorbachev decided to get the Soviet troops out of Afghanistan at any cost, the overall drift of the Afghan government has been to the right. Under Najibullah the PDPA has put out a call for all "good Islamics" to join it in a government of "national reconciliation." Land reform has been curtailed, "democratic" was removed from



Workers Hammer

Spartacist demonstration in London, January 1980. SL said: "Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!"

Racist Murder in Jersey City Jail

JERSEY CITY—The grisly killing of Arnaldo Ortega, a 27-year-old Puerto Rican man beaten to death by a gang of white prison guards known as the "Doom Squad" in the Hudson County Jail on March 9, has led to angry protests here. TV viewers in the metropolitan area were shocked by photographs taken in the hospital, showing Ortega, manacled, with huge welts on his back. Ortega's brother, Angel, stated at a March 13 press conference that Arnaldo's jaw was broken, that he had an open wound on one leg and that his toes and feet were blackened from the heating.

Ortega was serving a 60-day sentence and was due to be released on March 30. On March 8 he called his mother and told her he wasn't being given his medicine for severe head pain and that he couldn't hear, eat or sleep. The next night Ortega fainted in his cell. Fellow prisoners called for help and, according to eyewitnesses, when the guards arrived they began beating Ortega. One snarled, "We're going to give you the medicine you've been asking for" (*Jersey Journal*, 15 March). He was then taken to the prison basement.

Inmates in a nearby cell witnessed four cops throw Ortega, screaming, into a holding cell. Prisoners told the Ortega family's attorney that the beating lasted for more than 20 minutes. Ortega was then dumped into another holding cell vomiting and urinating on himself. At one point a prisoner heard a guard say, "that goddamned Puerto Rican ain't dead yet?" For 16 hours, Ortega lay there without medical attention. A nurse finally determined he should be hospitalized, and he was eventually taken, comatose, to intensive care at



El Diario-La Prensa

Arnaldo Ortega (near left, with friend) was brutally beaten and left to die by racist prison guards at New Jersey's hellhole Hudson County jail.



WV Photo

University Hospital in Newark. He died at 9:22 a.m. on March 11.

On March 15, three prison guards were charged with Ortega's murder. No doubt county authorities hope to blame the killing on a few "rogue" cops but this is a lie. The brutal beating of prisoners is standard operating procedure in every jailhouse in America. One of the cops who killed Ortega is the prison's deputy warden. And the killing has now opened a floodgate of reports from inmates, past and present, and a former guard, of routine assaults by the all-white "Doom Squad," also known as the "A-Team." One of their procedures is known as "sandhagging" in which a shotgun is loaded with packets of sand, which are fired at prisoners, causing excruciating pain but leaving no marks. During a March 15 protest outside the jail, prisoners managed to toss out to demonstrators a statement signed by 72 inmates citing widespread abuses,

including abuse of pregnant women.

Arnaldo Ortega's mother, Magdalena Negro, is a community activist who had been chosen to serve as president of the Jersey City Puerto Rican Day parade in August. She has announced a \$10 million wrongful death lawsuit against Hudson County and the individuals responsible for her son's death. She should get every penny. Some are calling for a police community review board. But such powerless bodies won't stop the killer cops. The jailhouse execution of Arnaldo Ortega is part of an all-sided capitalist offensive against minorities and the poor. It's the bloody reality of life—and death—in the prison hellholes of George Bush's "kinder, gentler" America.

Racist killings by cops have been on the rise in New Jersey. In January, the death of a young black man, Tony Jackson, arrested by Morristown police for an outstanding traffic ticket, touched off six straight days of protest marches by the black community against racist police brutality. And last June, 2,000 Hispanic and black residents of Perth Amboy took to the streets protesting the cop murder of a Mexican immigrant, Carmen Corea. As new waves of immigrants move into the aging industrial cities in northern New Jersey, the cops act as an occupation army riding roughshod over a population without legal rights.

The Ortega and Corea murders partly reflect a racist backlash against the great

influx of Hispanics over the last decade in the New York metropolitan area, particularly in small towns and cities. This has sparked a sinister "English only" movement in Long Island and increasing violence by racist skinheads in New York and New Jersey.

Similarly the wave of Indian immigration to northern Jersey in the past ten years has met vicious racist reaction. Coinciding with the Ortega murder, four Hispanic youths are on trial in Jersey City charged with murder in the case of the 30-year-old banker, Navrose Mody, who was beaten to death by a gang of teenagers outside a bar in Hoboken in September 1987. Mody was attacked only weeks after the publication in the *Jersey Journal* of a letter signed by the racist "Dotbusters" (a reference to the dot, the *bindi*, worn by many Hindu women on their foreheads), threatening to drive Indians out of Jersey City.

Typically, the new immigrant groups are kept bottled up in separate communities and victimized by the cops and the entire apparatus of the racist bourgeois state. What's urgently needed is a united working-class fight against racist attack. A revolutionary party is needed to champion the cause of all the oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution. As for the killers of Arnaldo Ortega—no "protective custody" for them. They should be thrown into the general prison population in the Hudson County Jail and let justice be done. ■



Don McCoy photos

Hudson County killer jail guards: (left to right) Thomas Murphy, David Dumas and Deputy Warden Raymond Murray.

the name of the Afghan republic, and female education has been made "voluntary" (i.e., subject to paternal approval). The Soviet pullout will mean the further attenuation of the PDPA's earlier social reforms.

Afghanistan and Cold War II

When the Red Army intervened in Afghanistan in 1979 socialists all over the globe should have had no trouble choosing sides in the civil war. On one side were the armed forces of a workers state which, despite its bureaucratic degeneration under Stalinist rule, embodied the historic proletarian conquests of nationalized industry and planned economy. On the other side were the forces of medieval theocracy and feudal oppression fighting to defend landlord rule, bride price and illiteracy. The international Spartacist tendency greeted the Soviet intervention, proclaiming "Hail Red Army!" We noted that the Soviet entry into the civil war opened the road to the liberation of the Afghan peoples, and warned that a withdrawal by the Moscow Stalinists would be a heinous betrayal.

But when Democratic U.S. president Jimmy Carter launched Cold War II in response to the Soviet action, fake-leftists everywhere fell into line behind their "own" imperialist ruling classes.

Such reformists spent nine years clamoring for the Soviets to pull out and let the bloodthirsty mullahs take over in the name of "self-determination." Well, they got the withdrawal they asked for. Now they find themselves in bed with the likes of Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, whose fundamentalist thugs used to spray acid in the faces and shoot the legs of emancipated women at Kabul University who refused to wear the smothering *chadori*. A takeover by the Afghan *mujahedin* would be far bloodier than the victory of the reactionary Khomeini in Iran, who was also supported by all manner of pseudo-socialists.

The main responsibility for conciliating barbaric mullahs, khans and landlords in Afghanistan lies not with the besieged left-nationalist regime in Kabul but with the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow. Despite the sacrifices of the Soviet soldiers carrying out their internationalist duty, the Kremlin bureaucracy *never* fought for a decisive military victory. Still less did they seek to carry out a liberating social revolution such as was brought to Soviet Central Asia at gunpoint in the 1920s and '30s. The Kremlin tops kept open the option of withdrawing from Afghanistan to secure "improved relations" with Western imperialism. And now Gorbachev has done exactly that.

In withdrawing from Afghanistan the Moscow Stalinists have betrayed not only the Afghan masses, but the Soviet peoples themselves. Gorbachev's pullout will inevitably invite intensified imperialist machinations on the USSR's southern border, whether or not Najibullah's government survives. Defense of the USSR requires a workers political revolution to restore a Leninist-internationalist leadership of the Soviet

state, and a fight for socialist revolution in the imperialist and backward capitalist countries. Such a program of world revolution can only be successful under the leadership of a Trotskyist party, a party which unconditionally defends the homeland of the October Revolution against imperialism and counterrevolution. This is the party which the international Spartacist tendency is working to build. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

☐ \$7/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

☐ New ☐ Renewal

International rates

\$25/24 issues—Airmail \$7/24 issues—Seamail

☐ \$2/4 issues of *Spartacist* (edición en español)

☐ \$3/3 issues of *Women and Revolution*

☐ \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

Apt. # _____

Phone (____) _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

474

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

Afghanistan: Smash CIA's Cutthroats!

Today, the front line of Washington's imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union is the battle for Jalalabad in eastern Afghanistan. On March 5, up to 15,000 feudalist fundamentalist guerrillas (*mujahedin*) launched a furious assault on this strategic provincial capital. They were armed to the teeth by the U.S. and militarily directed by the CIA and its Pakistani junior partners. On the heels of the shameful Soviet troop withdrawal completed in mid-February, the imperialists are looking for a quick kill to remove the government of Najibullah and his radical-nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA).

In Washington, the goal of Republicans and Democrats alike is a reactionary Islamic "republic" in Kabul that will act as a springboard for counterrevolution against the Soviet Union to the north. The first step was to be a bloodbath in Jalalabad, which Pakistani military planners confidently predicted would fall after only two days of fighting. But for three weeks the onslaught has been heroically repulsed by Afghan army troops, hacked by civilians who detest the mullah-led *mujahedin* as forces of feudal oppression, illiteracy and female enslavement. Jalalabad must not fall to the CIA's mullah cutthroats!

Jalalabad is a key test of strength in the battle for Afghanistan. Situated midway between Kabul and rebel exile bases in Pakistan, this is the PDPA government's first real line of defense. The city straddles one of three key highways leading into the capital, and its hydroelectric power plant supplies much of Kabul's electricity. The agricultural produce grown in the surrounding province of Nangarhar has played an important role in feeding the refugee-bloated Afghan capital. The fall of Jalalabad would signal an all-out *mujahedin* offensive against Kabul.

All class-conscious workers, everyone who believes in women's rights and social progress, must defend the Republic of Afghanistan against the U.S.-organized holy warriors. Thus last

Mujahedin Drive Stopped at Jalalabad



Curran/AFIP

Kabul, February 5: supporters of radical-nationalist Afghan government steel for battle against CIA's holy warriors.

month, the Partisan Defense Committee had offered in a letter to the Kabul government "to organize an international brigade to fight to the death" in defense of social progress in Afghanistan ("PDC: For Internationalist Military Support to Afghan Government," *WV* No. 471, 17 February). The PDC is a class-struggle defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

Jalalabad: "The Toughest Nut"

The Islamic reactionaries desperately want to capture Jalalabad to lend credence to their newly proclaimed "free Muslim state." The offensive was delayed for several weeks, however, as Pakistani officials scrambled to corral the seven Peshawar-based guerrilla fac-

tions into one room long enough to elect a "government." During eleven years of civil war, these groups—divided by ethnic, tribal and religious differences—have waged an all-sided bloody feud amongst themselves. Finally on February 24 the guerrilla leaders met in a long-awaited *shura* (council)—which was boycotted by eight Shi'ite groups based in Iran. The exile government planned to hold its first cabinet meeting in Jalalabad in early March.

On March 5 the *mujahedin* opened up on the city with an indiscriminate barrage of rockets launched from a dozen or more miles away. The next day the guerrillas attacked, concentrating on an important military post at Samarkhel, six miles southeast of Jalalabad. To the west the guerrillas attempted to cut the

road to Kabul, but were driven off. By March 8 Samarkhel had fallen, exposing Jalalabad's airport to direct attack. Hundreds of government troops were captured and trucked off to Pakistan.

The *mujahedin* were confident their U.S.-supplied Stinger ground-to-air missiles would defend the sky above them, but that same day Kabul put its air force into action. Diving from high altitudes to as low as 1,000 feet, the Afghan MIGs avoided the deadly missiles and decimated the guerrilla forces with precision bombings. The *Chicago Tribune* (12 March) reported "entire rebel platoons wiped out by government bombing"; witnesses returning to Pakistan told of counting "2,000 dead along the road."

Stymied and demoralized after one week of fighting, the reactionary "freedom fighters" attempted to soften their target with a massive missile attack. According to a Kabul government spokesman, in one 24-hour period the guerrillas poured 12,000 missiles into Jalalabad! This time the government responded by hitting rebel positions with potent medium-range Scud-B missiles fired from Kabul, with devastating effect. Meanwhile a concentrated *mujahedin* attack on Jalalabad's airport was stopped cold. According to late reports a rebel column of armored vehicles is attempting to advance on the city from the northeast, while a second front has been opened against Kandahar 300 miles to the southwest.

The so-called Afghan "freedom fighters" are dependent on and to a large extent controlled by the U.S. client state of Pakistan. According to the *Chicago Tribune* (9 March), a *mujahedin*

continued on page 10



Afghan women in literacy class. Reactionary insurgency was sparked by opposition to female education.