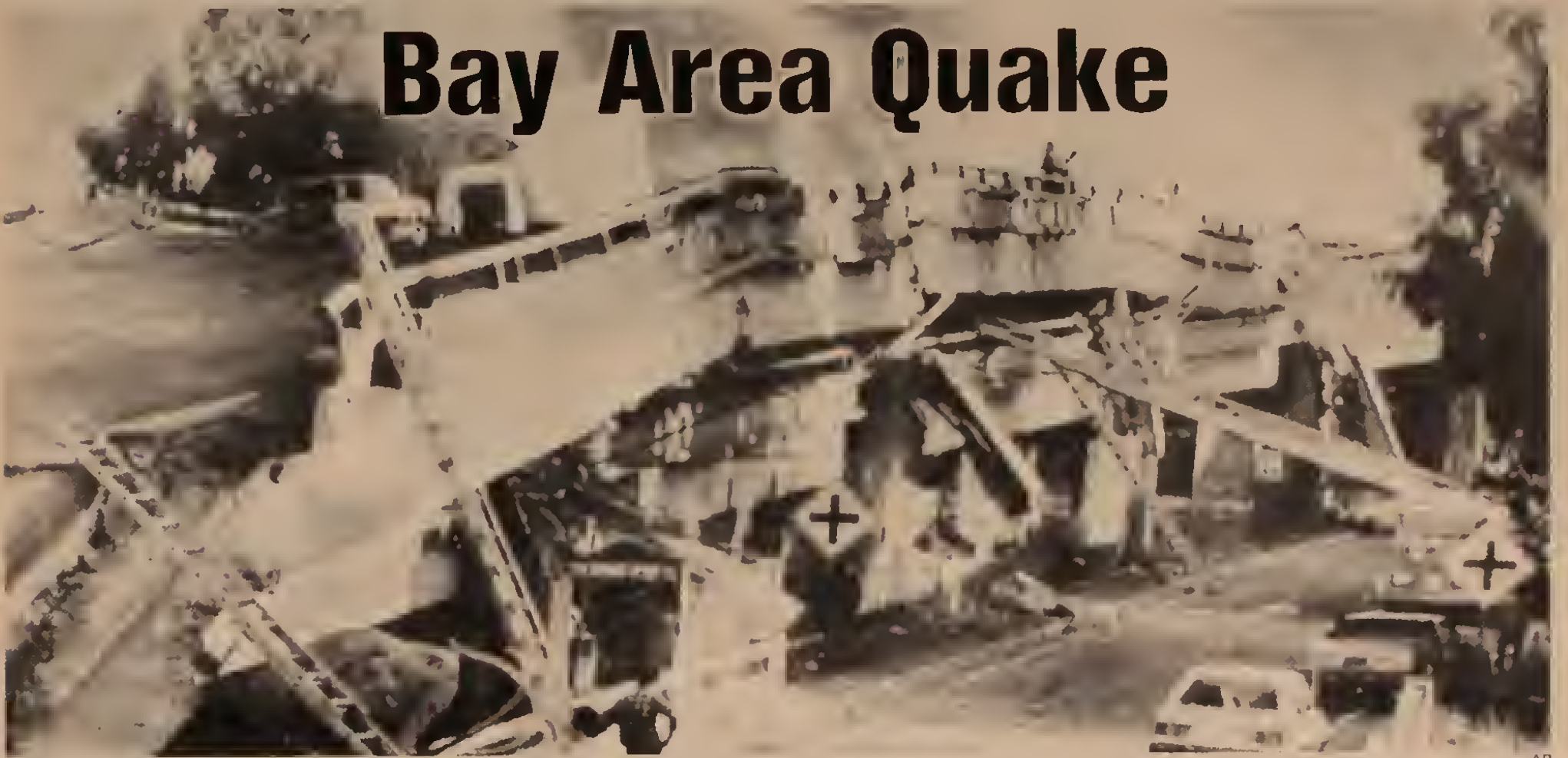


## Bay Area Quake



Oakland, California—Cypress Street Viaduct on Nimitz Freeway collapses, crushing to death scores of people. Measures to strengthen highway against quakes were never taken. AP

# Freeway Death Trap— A Capitalist Crime

Juan Rubi, a 28-year-old roofer with two young sons, had just finished a job and was driving home on the Nimitz Freeway to his family last Tuesday afternoon. As he got to the Cypress Street Viaduct in Oakland, a mile and a half of Interstate 880 turned into a twisting carpet of concrete waves, as the columns holding the upper deck of the elevated highway snapped like matchsticks. Minutes later Juan Rubi, and unknown numbers of others, had been crushed under tons of concrete.

Hundreds of residents and local workers in the predominantly poor black neighborhood of West Oakland rushed over to help rescue survivors. They were credited with saving at least 30 people. One sped down the street with a forklift truck from work to help push aside concrete and free people trapped beneath. But the cops decided they were all "looters" and chased them away with guns drawn. Meanwhile, Juan Rubi and others lay under the rubble.

By 11 p.m., after less than six hours, the powers that be had called off what official "rescue" efforts they had made. The next morning, California governor George Deukmejian pleaded ignorance of the freeway's condition, California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) director Bob Best claimed it was all the fault of "inexact science," and Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson announced "there are no people who have survived" under the rubble to rescue.

Juan Rubi's father knew better. "It wasn't the earthquake that killed my son," raged bereaved Muni bus driver Daniel Rubi. "It was Wilson, Deukmejian and Caltrans." Later that after-

## Jail the Criminals!

noon, Daniel Rubi was dragged away by the cops for pointing a finger of blame at Wilson. *It is Wilson, Deukmejian, the Caltrans officials responsible and a lot of others who should be going to jail right now.*

At a Thursday afternoon press brief-

ing near the Nimitz, a *WV* reporter challenged an Oakland Police Department (OPD) spokesman with a report that one volunteer thought people were still alive in the rubble after the 11 p.m. Tuesday cutoff. Captain Jim Hahn sneered: "If a volunteer was up there and

making a statement like that, he wasn't authorized to be up there."

Yet more than 84 hours after the "last" survivor had been removed, workers pulling on the pillars to conduct stress tests accidentally found 57-year-old longshoreman Buck Helm alive under the rubble. Apparently, saving Buck Helm was not "authorized" either, as the *New York Times* (22 October) reported: "The police, in an effort to avoid creating false hopes, at first asked that the discovery of Mr. Helm not be reported."

The massive earthquake that hit the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area at 5:04 p.m. on the afternoon of October 17 was a natural disaster. But many of the estimated hundreds who died were the victims of a manmade disaster waiting to happen, of a profit system where contracts are awarded to the lowest bidder...or the highest briber. They died because of a willful refusal to repair and maintain structures that were *known* to be inadequate. The incompetent and obstructionist "rescue" effort, the lies and the cover-ups that have followed, are not natural.

This was a case of criminality piled atop criminality—all in the service of the "bottom line," capitalist profits. That bottom line is marked by the blood running down the pillars of the freeway deathtrap.

### Racist Cops: Business as Usual

In the critical first hours after the disaster, the authorities devoted the bulk of their efforts to *disorganizing and*  
*continued on page 8*



Gas from mains broken in earthquake fed fire in San Francisco's posh Marina district. AP



## On Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan

August 18, 1989

Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

The Spartacist League, *Workers Vanguard* and the Partisan Defense Committee are to be commended for their coverage of and support for Afghanistan's struggle against the reactionary Islamic *mujahedeen* and their CIA and Pakistani backers. You've done well!

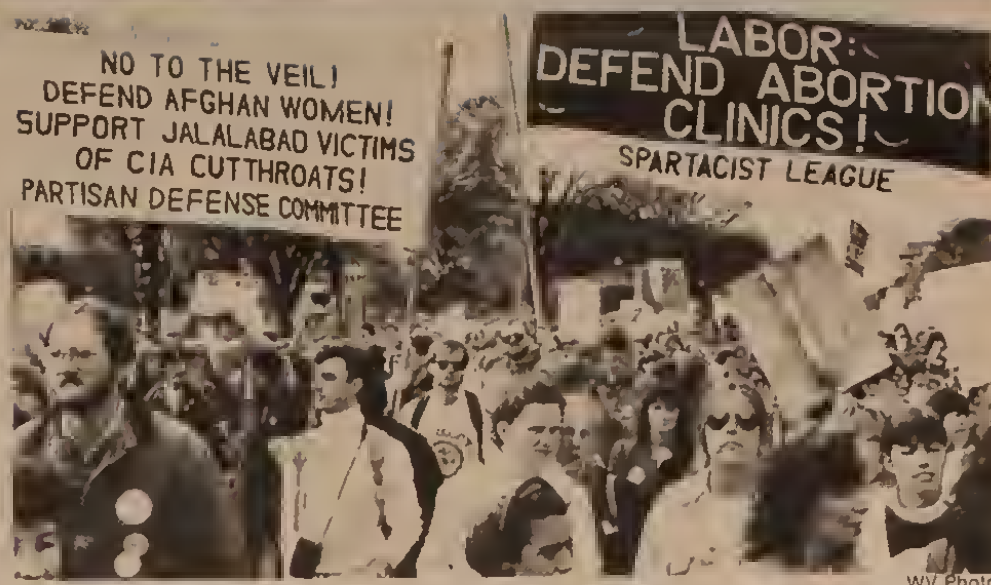
Some on the left, due to deep-seated anti-Soviet prejudice, have actually supported the *mujahedeen*. Others, who have written about the reactionary nature of the *mujahedeen*, have done nothing in a practical way to make their stated position real. Most, it seems, would rather say nothing about Afghanistan at all. You, by positive contrast, have given the most extensive and detailed coverage to this important struggle. Further, you have carried out a vigorous material aid campaign in this connection. Others on the left should at least have had the decency to publicize and support your efforts.

Nevertheless, I do not agree with your support to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, and I don't share your estimate that the USSR's troop withdrawal from that country was a betrayal.

Soviet intervention only served to unite the various gangs of reactionaries, helping give them a common focus. And, unlike the Vietnamese intervention to kick the Pol Pot gang out of Cambodia/Kampuchea, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan provided a useful target for anti-Soviet propaganda in the capitalist press.

Despite all the aid the CIA and Saudi Arabia have provided, the Islamic thugs have begun to fall out among themselves since Soviet troops have been withdrawn. They've now begun killing one another, an activity one can certainly applaud.

Though the news reports have been contradictory, it seems that the Soviet Union is continuing to supply as much arms and matériel as the Kabul government can use. They don't seem to be



Washington, D.C.—Partisan Defense Committee in massive abortion rights rally last April championed cause of Afghan women.

short, at any rate. If the Soviets had pulled the plug on Afghanistan and cut off all support, I wouldn't hesitate to call their action a betrayal. This isn't Spain in the Thirties, and the Soviets haven't abandoned Afghanistan. In fact, on overall balance, Afghanistan today seems to be standing up better and more effectively since the Soviet troops were withdrawn. What is your estimate?

Again, you've done good work in Afghanistan's defense.

In solidarity,  
Walter Lippmann

*Editor's note:* The issues raised in this thoughtful letter and related questions are the subject of a two-part article, "Afghanistan: Civil War and Social Progress," which begins on page four of this issue.

## Lanka Leftists Under Siege

1 October 1989  
Sri Lanka

Partisan Defense Committee  
New York, USA

Dear Comrade Linda,

As you know, for the first time in the Sri Lankan history all leftists are facing

very dangerous and murderous attacks from the fascist violence of JVP/DJV forces who have shot and killed a large number of members of left parties including Trotskyists. At the moment more than 200 leftists have been killed. Three members of the RCL (Northites) were killed. RCL is the largest Trotsky-

ist group in Sri Lanka. Some of their leaders are in exile because of death threats. On 6 September the Government security forces took in for questioning three RCL members after raiding their party office and the printing press. But the motive of the security forces were to arrest the leading members specially Ananda Wakkubura (Press Editor), Wijie Dias (the Secretary). Finally as the protest of LSSP, NSSP and the number of trade unions, RCL members were released. Now this threat has come closer to us. On 27th August Workers Marxist League (Andradi) leading Comrade G. K. R. Perera was shot dead. He is a 1980 striker of the Central Bank of Sri Lanka and a strong Trotskyist fighter. This brutal killing is a signal to all leading Comrades of RWP, WML, Spartacist and the MWT (breakaway group from the right-wing centrist NSSP). Meanwhile on 20th September, three trade union leaders (NSSP) were abducted by an armed gang and there is no news up to today.

Just as the JVP/DJV, the Government security forces' operations against JVP/DJV is more vehement than before. Security forces raid villages and residential areas and take all suspected youths and later their semi-burnt dead

bodies with gunshot injuries appear on roads, in rivers and cemeteries. I am sure that you are well aware how difficult this situation must be for everyone. Every moment all Trotskyists are facing death fear both from JVP/DJV and the Government forces. Comrade Andradi (Secretary of the WML) is a big challenger to the JVP/DJV for last 20 years. He has written number of books and articles against the JVP. On several occasions he got physical threats from the JVP. Although you and I have big political and organizational differences with Comrade Andradi and the WML, there is no doubt that we should protect his life.

When I specially refer Comrade Andradi, it does not mean that I have no threat. The truth is all of us (RWP, WML, Spartacist and the MWT) have become victims of the fascists. Only through your intervention, the International Working Class will be mobilized for our protection (our open appeal to International Working Class will follow).

Finally I have no doubt that you will urgently respond in defence of Lankan Trotskyists.

Fraternally,  
T. F.



TROTSKY

organizers of this campaign, F. Niurina, pointed to the world-historic significance of women's emancipation for the countries of the East.

Our work in the [Soviet] East is assuming now, in the present international situation, an extraordinarily important role. It is not by sheer accident that the Eastern question is now at the center of world politics. It is no longer subject to any doubt that the [present trends] in the colonial and semi-colonial countries make them into virtually the weakest and most vulnerable points of the imperial system. It can, by the same token, no longer be doubted that the example of the Soviet Eastern Republics is playing a far from unimportant role in fashioning the revolutionary climate in the non-Soviet East.... Our Eastern Republics are bordering directly on a number of Eastern lands (Persia, Afghanistan, and others). Every veil that is torn away, every Uzbek or Turkman woman who is drawn into a soviet, or recruited into the party or the komsomol, or even into a school, becomes a revolutionizing factor in those foreign lands.

—F. Niurina, "In Central Asia," *Kommunistka* [Communist Woman], 1925



LENIN

### Communism Will Liberate Women of the East

Central to the war in Afghanistan is the struggle to liberate women from medieval barbarism in the Islamic East, including purdah (seclusion), bride price and imprisonment behind the veil. During the 1920s a similar struggle was fought and won against fundamentalist reactionaries in the Turkic-speaking republics of Soviet Central Asia. One of the Communist women

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# Smash Racist Cop Terror in Chicago!

Spurred to action by police terror in Chicago's black ghettos, 800 people marched through Mayor Richard Daley's segregated home turf of Bridgeport October 21 chanting, "Racism—must go!" Daley was quick to support City Council hearings on racist cop brutality after an outcry in September. Despite powerful, moving testimony by a small fraction of the Chicago cops' victims—including Callic Bryant, the mother of black Chicago bus driver Cassandra Seay—these staged hearings produced only a meaningless reshuffling of Police Board appointees.

The October 21 demonstration was largely organized by Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, which sought to channel black outrage against the racist cops into the 1991 Democratic mayoral primary. Black attorney Lew Myers, who called the march, wound up the event by calling on blacks to enlist in the bosses' "drug war." In opposition to these pro-capitalist diversions, the Chicago Spartacist League put forward the program of integrated working-class struggle against racist cop terror in the 27 September leaflet reprinted below.

"We are sitting on a powder keg," black alderman Alan Streeter told Democratic Party politicians at a September 19 hearing on police racism and brutality. Indeed, on September 10 a ghetto neighborhood—in the shadow of the nearly shuttered U.S. Steel South Works—had exploded in anger after a cop summarily executed a 23-year-old black man, Leonard Bannister, during a "drug war" bust.

"He was murdered like a dog," said eyewitness Glen King of the Bannister killing (*Chicago Defender*, 12 September). Leonard was gunned down by a 13-year black cop, Noel "Six-Point" Hartfield. Hartfield knew Bannister, had openly threatened to kill him, and on September 10 made good on his promise. As Bannister stood with his hands in the air, Hartfield pointed his .45 Magnum at his head and pulled the trigger, twice.

An ambulance that arrived was ordered away by the cops, and Leonard's aunt was prevented from identifying

## Mobilize Labor and Minorities

ing the body. Cop Hartfield stood over the corpse proudly quenching his thirst with a quart of milk, while black alderman William Beavers, an ex-cop, came

Moore. As the youths waited for a bus after a White Sox night game, the cops grabbed them, slammed them in their squad car, beat them and then



Jackson/Chicago Sun-Times

Joseph Weaver (left) and Calvin McLin (right) testify that Chicago cops set them up to be lynched by white racist gang.

by and shook his hand. An angry crowd, abused and intimidated by dozens of police until the body was finally removed, later vented its rage by trashing Beavers' office and a nearby Arab-owned grocery where "Six-Point" had gotten his milk.

Black police commissioner Leroy Martin stonewalled, saying that racist cop violence "is not a serious problem"! The liberal Democrats used the September 19 hearing to push for a "civilian review board" to monitor the cops, as if police terror were caused by a few "bad apples" and not the whole structure of racist class oppression. Edward Bannister, Leonard's uncle, summed up the rage felt in the black community when he exclaimed, "Martin and his Klan should be abolished!"

The Bannister killing came after the *Defender* (2 September) broke the story of two black teenagers who were terrorized and set up for lynching in August by white cops James Serio and Kathleen

"dropped" them in all-white Canaryville. There, as the cops had intended, they were attacked and beaten by a gang of racists. These vicious thugs in blue, Hartfield, Serio and Moore, should be locked up—throw away the key!

Though Boss Daley II "denounced" police brutality and called for firing the cops involved in the Canaryville incident, his election last spring—in the most racially polarized voting in the city's history—was a green light for cop terror in the ghetto. Every cop precinct knows that as Cook County state's attorney Daley refused to prosecute a single cop for brutality. Once elected, he quickly established his credentials in the racist "drug war," pushing a proposal at a national mayors' conference in June to convert Fort Sheridan north of the city into a vast concentration camp for "drug offenders."

Murderous racist cop terror is "business as usual" in Chicago. During the past decade the police department's

whitewash bureau, the Office of Professional Standards (OPS), received an average of over 2,200 complaints of brutality and misconduct each year—an average of six per day—and the vast majority of cases go unreported. During the September 19 South Side hearing attorney Jeffrey Haas revealed some of the details contained in a court brief he filed last spring documenting a 14-year pattern of torture carried out by now police commander Jon Burge: a "black box" used to deliver electric shocks, plastic bags placed over the head to induce suffocation, a noose placed around the neck, brutal beatings, a revolver forced into the victim's mouth. One of Burge's alleged accomplices is cop Joe Gorman who, Haas reports, likes to brag about his machine-gun participation in the FBI/cop murder of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in 1969.

The nationalists of the National Black United Front (NBUF) try to shield the cops—particularly Martin, who was installed as commissioner by Harold Washington—by promoting racist diversions like targeting Asian store owners. "We need organizations like the Afro American Police League," said attorney Lew Myers of NBUF at the South Side hearing. Now they want to team up with the sinister Al Sharpton, a self-confessed FBI stooge, for a march to Daley's home in the segregated stronghold of Bridgeport. NBUF leader Conrad Worrell calls for Daley to "take leadership against police brutality."

Racist police terror can't be bargained away, it must be smashed through mass labor/black/Hispanic struggle! Black or white, the cops are the armed fist of capitalist class rule: when the South Side steel mills were humming, the cops defended profits and shot down strikers; then and now, after the massive steel shutdowns, the cops "discipline" the ghetto hellholes by gunning down unemployed blacks.

The power of the integrated labor movement, supported by the ghetto masses, can fight cop terror and win. Remember black bus driver Cassandra Seay who was viciously attacked in her

*continued on page 7*

## Remember the Greensboro Martyrs

Ten years have passed since the Greensboro Massacre, the bloodiest fascist attack in the U.S. in decades. In broad daylight, the KKK/Nazi death squad drove up to a black housing project in Greensboro, North Carolina, where an anti-Klan rally was gathering. With cool deliberation, the killers took their weapons out of the trunk, aimed, fired, and drove off. Five leftists, civil rights activists and union organizers lay dying in pools of blood, others wounded or maimed for life. Millions of Americans saw and heard the videotape of the methodical, 88-second fusillade. These were the opening shots of the Reagan years' war on labor and blacks, carried out under the Democratic Carter administration.

Greensboro was a conspiracy of the fascists and their patrons in the capitalist state. From the outset, the KKK and Nazis were aided and abetted by the government, from the G-man who helped train the killers and plot the assassinations to the "former" FBI informer who rode shotgun in the motorcade of death and the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear. In

the "trials" which followed, lawyers argued that the fascist murderers were "patriotic citizen[s], just like the Germans were.... That's why they went to Greensboro, to stop communists." Two successive all-white juries acquitted the killers of all charges, affirming once again the meaning of "justice" in this racist capitalist state.

"Greensboro"—the name cries out for justice, for vengeance. When the liberals claim it was a "shoot-out" and say to ignore the fascists, when the lynchers say they want to parade in their white sheets in our neighborhoods, we remember Greensboro by mobilizing to stop them. From Detroit in 1979 to Washington, D.C. in 1982 to Philadelphia in 1988, the power of labor and blacks has stopped the fascists in their tracks. Cesar Cauce, Michael Nathan, Bill Sampson, Sandi Smith, James Waller—to honor those who have fallen in the fight against fascism, we rededicate ourselves to this struggle. The working class in power, the third American revolution, will ensure there shall be *No More Greensboros!*



Greensboro Daily News

**3 November 1979**



# Afghanistan



no credit

## Civil War and Social Progress

Walking through the streets of Kabul today, one can see beauty parlors and birth control clinics, young women with college textbooks and little girls in school uniforms. Such scenes would be commonplace in most of the world's capital cities, but in the capital of Afghanistan they are living testimony to a decade of turbulent social change. For, on the same streets, one can also see bomb craters, street barricades and

### PART ONE OF TWO

antiaircraft batteries. Almost every day, rockets rain down on street bazaars and housing projects, on schools and hospitals, leaving in their wake rubble and corpses. The bombs and rockets are "Made in U.S.A." Washington calls those who fire them "freedom fighters." They call themselves *mujahedin*, "holy warriors." Their "holy war" is a war of indiscriminate terror, killing numerous children, and assassination of unveiled women, schoolteachers, leftists and all others deemed to be "infidels."

Not very long ago, Afghanistan was a forgotten corner of the world. But when Soviet troops moved in on 27 December

1979 to defend their southern border against an imperialist-backed insurgency, anti-Communists from Jimmy Carter to the Ayatollah Khomeini joined in an outcry over "poor little Afghanistan." The battle lines were drawn for Cold War II, and the front line in that war was Afghanistan. Carter's Polish Dr. Strangelove, Zbigniew Brzezinski, stood at the Khyber Pass with his finger on the trigger aiming through the gunsight at Afghanistan across the border. Washington began pouring in *billions* of dollars, together with oil profits from the Saudi monarchy and arms from Deng's China, to bankroll a bloody civil war aimed at killing Russian soldiers and turning back the tide of social progress.

And tripping over Uncle Sam's coat-tails were Western leftists who echoed Carter/Reagan's demand for "Soviet troops out!" In *The Making of the Second Cold War* (1983), Fred Halliday noted that "much of the left adopted positions that are themselves as opposed to the USSR as those of the right" and "supported the Afghan *mujahedin*, ferociously conservative tribal rebels hostile to socialism, democracy, wom-

en's emancipation and liberalism of any kind." Much of the left, but not all. The Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency, today the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), stood at our posts. We proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!"

When Gorbachev bowed to imperialist insistence and withdrew Soviet troops from Afghanistan, much of the left echoed the CIA's premature obituaries over the living bodies of Afghan women and leftists. We condemned Gorbachev's pullout and insisted on the urgent need for military support to the embattled Kabul regime and the many hundreds of thousands of Afghans who faced certain and horrible death in the event of a *mujahedin* victory. The Partisan Defense Committee wrote to the Afghan government, offering to organize international brigades to fight alongside the Afghan army and militias. This offer was rejected as militarily unnecessary at the moment, but the Afghan government did appeal for humanitarian assistance to the civilian victims of the brutal *mujahedin* siege of Jalalabad. The PDC, along with fraternal legal and social defense organizations in other countries, launched the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, an international campaign which raised over \$44,000 in two months.

In July, the ICL sent a correspondent for *Workers Vanguard* and *Le Bolchévique* (monthly newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France) to Afghanistan for four weeks, both to underscore our solidarity in the struggle against counterrevolution and to combat the lies of the Western imperialist press with our own eyewitness reports from "Front Line Afghanistan." Now that Washington's promises of a quick and easy victory over Kabul lie in shambles on the outskirts of Jalalabad, even the American media are beginning to "expose" the lies they manufactured over the years from the CIA supply base in Peshawar, Pakistan. An Indian journalist covering the war, Appan Menon, noted last spring that for "Westerners who lived in the Intercontinental," the plush hotel in Kabul, government briefings were dismissed as "either propaganda or admis-

sions of new fronts opening up in the war" (*Frontline* [Madras], 15 April).

In contrast, our correspondent spoke to cadre and leaders of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), activists in the women's and youth organizations, teachers and rank-and-file soldiers. He visited the children's homes which provide shelter and education to orphaned sons and daughters of martyred fighters against the CIA's counterrevolutionary cutthroats. He spoke to women recently freed from the shackles of feudal slavery and dedicated to defending their newfound emancipation arms in hand, women like the Russian-trained militia commander Shafika. He interviewed young men and women serving on the front lines of the civil war as partisans and soldiers, committed to freeing their country from centuries of oppression. He joined the people of Jalalabad on July 7 in celebrating their heroic victory over the bitter U.S.-ordered siege which began in early March.

Our correspondent reported that "On first impact, Kabul does not look like a city under siege: the capital of a country ravaged by an eleven-year-long civil war." But car bombs and rocket barrages regularly set off by the counterrevolutionary terrorists soon shatter that picture. Afghanistan, he wrote, remains "a land of great contradictions." Even in the capital, barefoot children and gnarled-looking women barely forty years old rely on begging for their survival. Pervasive segregation of men and women continues in public places. For the people of Afghanistan, how these contradictions will be resolved is literally a life-and-death question. It is also a vital question to millions of working people far beyond the mountainous borders of Afghanistan. The significance of Soviet intervention and Soviet withdrawal, the outcome of civil war and the future of social progress in Afghanistan have become defining issues in the struggle for socialist revolution around the world.

### Why We Said "Hail Red Army!"

Gorbachev's decision to leave Afghanistan in the lurch has raised anew controversy over the original Soviet intervention. A recent letter to *WV* from Walter Lippmann (see page 2) expres-



Workers Vanguard/Le Bolchévique Photo

A land of contrasts: women veiled in head-to-toe chadors sit in the shadow of Soviet-made helicopter.



ses support for the PDC aid campaign to embattled Afghanistan but adds, "I do not agree with your support to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, and I don't share your estimate that the USSR's troop withdrawal from that country was a betrayal." Arguing that "Soviet intervention only served to unite the various gangs of reactionaries" and "provided a useful target for anti-Soviet propaganda in the capitalist press," Lippmann concludes that "Afghanistan today seems to be standing up better and more effectively since the Soviet troops were withdrawn."

Others on the left do not deny the necessity of the Soviet intervention but argue that the Russians stayed too long. Thus in an interview with *WV* (No. 477, 12 May), Val Moghadam, a sociologist sympathetic to the nationalist PDPA regime, said of her visit to Kabul in February:

"...party people that I spoke with all seemed to concur that the intervention on the part of the Red Army was necessary at that time.... However, most party people also agreed that the fact that the troops stayed on for so long was not particularly helpful. The *mujahedin* were able to use this as a way to claim that the struggle was a national liberation struggle, as opposed to what it really was, which was a civil war



Lochon/Gamma

**Soviet forces land at Kabul airport, December 1979. U.S. Imperialists launched new anti-Soviet war drive. Spartacists hailed Red Army intervention against feudal counterrevolution.**

Democratic Organization of Afghanistan) 150,000 and the Democratic Youth Organization (DYOA) approximately 200,000 members. The PDPA-organized trade unions have another 160,000 members.

We share Walter Lippmann's sense of satisfaction that the Afghan armed forces are proving their battlefield capability. Doubtless they are "standing up better," since the Soviet pullout forced them to sink or swim on their own. "Country or Coffin" may be an

At bottom the views expressed by Lippmann and Moghadam share an implicit assumption that Afghanistan could go it alone, albeit with some form of Soviet assistance, in a "national democratic revolution." From a strictly nationalist standpoint, Russian intervention could be seen as opposed to Afghan "national liberation." In *The Tragedy of Afghanistan* (1988), Raja Anwar, a left-nationalist Pakistani exile in Kabul sympathetic to the aims of the PDPA, says bluntly: "The fact is that the Afghan Revolution died on the night of 27 December 1979."

Now Kremlin hacks, having for years portrayed the Soviet intervention force as a "limited military contingent" whose sole aim was to support the PDPA's "national democratic" revolution, invert this argument to justify Soviet withdrawal. Thus Alexander Prokhanov writes in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (17 February 1988):

"...the original goals proclaimed by the PDPA have not been achieved. The party itself, the revolutionary government itself, have renounced them. Given that fact, the presence of Soviet troops in the country loses its point. Their departure is inevitable and logical."

This is the height of cynicism. There was not a single policy shift carried out by the PDPA regime in Kabul which was not generated in Moscow. If the original goals proclaimed by the PDPA were not achieved, the fault lies not primarily with the isolated Afghan regime but in the fact that the Soviet intervention was too limited and too temporary. If Moscow had shown from the outset a determination to do whatever was needed for victory, the war would have been won quite a while ago.

#### What Was the "April Revolution"?

The "Saur Revolution" of April 1978 which brought the PDPA to power promised to pull Afghanistan out of its feudal and prefeudal condition into the 20th century. But in Afghanistan, even the first, "democratic" stage of the Stalinist schema of two-stage revolution was a utopia. The tiny proletariat was dwarfed by a far more numerous Islamic clergy, the small urban population of the country was surrounded by

a sea of nomadic herdsmen and landless peasants beholden to the khans. the forces of social progress were heavily outweighed by the reactionary forces for tradition and the status quo. The "Saur Revolution" was not a mass popular uprising but a coup by the Soviet-trained military officers and modernizing intellectuals, backed by thousands of Kabul students, which proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

In a backhanded way, a PDPA leader, Hafizullah Amin, admitted as much, characterizing the takeover as a "proletarian revolution" in which pro-Soviet army officers played the role of the proletariat:

"If we had waited to follow the same class pattern of working-class revolution through a national democratic bourgeoisie, then we would have followed such a long and thorny road that it would have required not only years but centuries."

—quoted in *The Tragedy of Afghanistan*

The PDPA was immediately confronted by a reactionary insurgency—which had begun organizing already under the previous regime of the "republican" Daud. What primarily "united" the disparate and feuding gangs of reactionaries—well before the Red Army moved in—was opposition to the PDPA's reform policies, and particularly those related to giving women some rights. Surrounded by external enemies, the party was also rent by internal bloodletting, exemplified by the assassination of PDPA founder Noor Mohammed Taraki, the head of the "Khalq" (People) faction, and his replacement by Amin in the fall of 1979. Finally, in late December 1979, the Soviet Union moved in to prop up its client government in Kabul and stem the counterrevolutionary insurgency on its southern flank being financed and promoted by U.S. imperialism and its Chinese Stalinist ally.

The conservative Brezhnev leadership didn't send 100,000 Soviet troops into Afghanistan to make a social revolution. Brezhnev sought only to stabilize the situation in Afghanistan by suppressing the counterrevolutionary uprising and replacing Amin with the

*continued on page 6*



Workers Vanguard/Le Bolchevik Photo

**Indiscriminate terror by CIA-armed mujahedin (holy warriors): building in Kabul destroyed by rocket attack.**

between the forces for social change and progress vs. the reactionary forces for tradition, patriarchy and the status quo."

To begin with, had the Soviet Union not moved in when it did, the PDPA government would surely have fallen under the reactionary onslaught. Ten years ago, the Afghan army was patently incapable of holding its own militarily against the *mujahedin*, while the PDPA had at best 20,000 members and virtually no control over the countryside. Fred Halliday, hardly an uncritical supporter of the Soviet intervention, nevertheless acknowledged that "The Russians have bought time for the PDPA with their intervention" (*New Left Review*, January-February 1980). It was the Soviet presence which made possible the fact that women are still free to walk around (at least in urban areas) without a chador, the suffocating head-toe veil, and that young girls can learn to read and write.

Furthermore, by all accounts, the Kabul regime has a broader base of support than at any point in its history. Today, the combined strength of the Afghan armed forces is some 150,000, with another 300,000 under arms in civilian militias. Their fighting capacity was clearly demonstrated in lifting the siege of Jalalabad. The People's Democratic Party has some 80,000 members, the All-Afghanistan Women's Council (formerly the Women's

inspirational fighting slogan; it is also a statement of fact about the bloodbath a *mujahedin* victory would hold in store for supporters of the government. But who trained the Afghan helicopter pilots and bombardiers, the skilled military technicians and artillerymen who have been using their Soviet-supplied weaponry to such powerful effect? In fact, well before the Soviet withdrawal, the Afghan armed forces were already taking on the brunt of direct fighting: Afghan troops inflicted a major defeat against the *mujahedin* at Khost in 1988. If the bourgeois press today presents the combat effectiveness of the Kabul forces as a revelation, it is largely because they have devoted the last ten years to painting the Soviet presence as an army of occupation and the PDPA forces as mindless puppets or slaves of the Russians.

To oppose the Red Army intervention on the grounds that it may have fueled anti-Soviet propaganda implicitly accepts the Stalinist framework of seeking an accommodation with imperialism under the rubric of "peaceful coexistence." If anything, a genuinely Bolshevik government in the Kremlin would be subjected to far more intense imperialist anti-Sovietism. The answer is not conciliation, but resolute defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state and a program of world revolution to explode imperialist capitalism from within.



Campion/Sygma

**April 1978—Celebration in Kabul after left-wing military officers and modernizing intellectuals overthrew reactionary Daud regime.**



# Afghanistan...

(continued from page 5)

more pliable and conciliatory Babrak Karmal, head of the "Parcham" (Banner) faction. Karmal's first act upon his installation by the Soviet troops, literally over Amin's dead body, was to appeal particularly to "religious scholars and leaders" and "patriotic landowners." The red banner introduced by the Khalqis was replaced as the national flag by a new tricolor. Land reform was sharply curtailed, as the government declared a "general amnesty" under which feudal landlords who had defected to Pakistan would be given back their property if they returned, while many categories of landowner were now exempted entirely from the reform. Meanwhile, compulsory education for girls was revoked and bride price reform put on the back burner.

It was certainly not the policies or subjective intentions of the Moscow bureaucracy which gave the Red Army intervention its potentially revolutionary significance, but rather the proletarian property forms on which the Soviet state is based. As we wrote at the time:

"By giving unconditional military support to the Soviet army and PDPA Afghan forces we in no way place political confidence in the Kremlin bureaucracy or the left-nationalists in Kabul. While the Moscow Stalinists apparently presently intend to shore up the PDPA regime, and if anything limit the pace of democratic and modernizing reforms, the prolonged presence in Afghanistan of the Soviet army opens up more far-reaching possibilities."

—WV No. 247, 11 January 1980

American military bases in the Philippines and elsewhere begin to "Americanize" the local population, e.g., turning Saigon into a giant brothel during the Vietnam War. In a progressive and far more profound way, the Russian military presence in Afghanistan necessarily began to replicate qualities of Soviet life, acting as a magnetic attraction to forward-looking youth and the deeply oppressed women. Such social/cultural transfer is inevitable in a prolonged military presence and, had it continued, would have had a qualitative impact on Afghan society.

The intervention of the Red Army objectively opened the possibility of social transformation—including developing a working class—providing from without the social base and military force capable of crushing the counter-revolutionary *mujahedin* and imposing a social revolution. By 1984, even the Western press was conceding that the Soviet troops were rolling back the



Fager-Amand/AFIP

**Left: Soviet veterans of Afghan war ("afgantsi") did their internationalist duty. Below: Soviet-trained Afghan air force pilots have effectively combatted CIA's tribalist cutthroats.**



Planeta Publishers

insurgency. But neither Brezhnev nor his successors ever chose to commit themselves to a clear-cut victory in Afghanistan:

"...instead of capitulating to the mullah reaction, by limiting land reform and literacy campaigns, the Soviets should be pouring the money in there on a massive scale: land to the tiller and cheap credit, health programs, etc. But that means *social revolution*, a tremendous leap from feudal backwardness to proletarian dictatorship on the backs of the Soviet Red Army. And that does not square with the Kremlin's policies of détente and 'two-stage' revolution."

—"Reagan, Begin & Hitler,"

WV No. 308, 25 June 1982

Now, in quitting Afghanistan, Moscow lectures that "The last ten years have proved (conclusively) that neither side can win through force of arms" (*Moscow News*, 12 February). The bourgeois London *Independent* (14 February) was a lot closer to the truth: "Soviet army turns its back on the war it never tried to win."

For years, the Kremlin Stalinists acted shamefaced about the war in Afghanistan, barely reporting it in the

Soviet media. Then, under Gorbachev, Moscow began churning out a torrent of propaganda presenting the intervention as a dismal fiasco from beginning to end—echoing the timeworn Western lie that Afghanistan was "Russia's Vietnam." *Moscow News* (6 August) snidely dismissed a conference of "afgantsi" (war veterans) in Uzbekistan for being "under the spell of the army concept of 'international duty'" when they appealed for the right to organize volunteer brigades to go back and fight the *mujahedin*. This is decidedly not the sentiment one would find among veterans of a colonial war of occupation. Now, as the 24 October *New York Times* headline crows, "Moscow Says Afghan Role Was Illegal and Immoral."

Similarly, the general sentiment of Afghans toward the Soviets is clearly not that of an "occupied" people. Appan Menon notes this in his *Frontline* article, as he describes how the PDPA regime, in its pursuit of "national reconciliation," has encouraged the elimination of any signs of the Soviet presence in the country:

"A surprising thing about Kabul is the rapidity in which all things Soviet have been obliterated. Soviet shop signs have been painted over. Soviet caviar has disappeared from the black market, and most Afghans prefer to speak in English rather than in any other foreign language. Did this mean a deep-seated hatred for the most recent 'occupier' in their history? A wide cross-section of Afghans were asked what they thought of the Soviets. Interestingly, except for the ideologically hardline Khalqis who are part of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), most had nothing but nice things to say about them."

Our correspondent found numerous Afghans quite willing to converse in Russian. If many approved of the Soviet withdrawal, it was largely in the hope that it would bring an end to the horrors of war, that the *mujahedin* would lay down their arms and accept "national reconciliation." But far from bringing peace, the Soviet withdrawal emboldened the *mujahedin* and their imperialist patrons.

## "Export of Revolution"?

In response to our call of "Hail Red Army," Stalinists and fake-Trotskyists alike leapt to denounce "export of revolution." Like Stalin, who invented the phrase in order to repudiate it, they were really denouncing revolutionary internationalism. But "export of revolu-

tion," i.e., revolutionary war, was very much a part of Bolshevik internationalism. In 1921 the Red Army waged war against Menshevik Georgia, a base for imperialist intrigues. The year before, it launched a revolutionary offensive into Pilsudski's Poland. However, it encountered there the problem of significant layers of the population closing ranks behind Polish nationalism. Largely for that reason, Trotsky was dubious about the Polish offensive. The situation in the East was different. Thus he had argued a year earlier:

"There is no doubt at all that our Red Army constitutes an incomparably more powerful force in the Asian terrain of world politics than in the European terrain.... The road to India may prove at the given moment to be more readily passable and shorter for us than the road to Soviet Hungary. The sort of army which at the moment can be of no great significance in the European scales can upset the unstable balance of Asian relationships of colonial dependence, give a direct push to an uprising on the part of the oppressed masses and assure the triumph of such a rising in Asia...."

"We have up to now devoted too little attention to agitation in Asia. However, the international situation is evidently shaping in such a way that the road to Paris and London lies via the towns of Afghanistan, the Punjab and Bengal."

An ongoing Soviet military presence in Afghanistan could have had significantly more far-reaching social consequences than it did in East Europe in 1920. The East European countries are pretty well-defined social, national and historical entities, whereas Afghanistan has long been a more amorphous and polyglot region.

To narrow-minded nationalists, the perspective of bringing social revolution to a country like Afghanistan may seem like bizarre adventurism; in fact, there are numerous historical precedents.

The Great French Revolution inspired and aided the momentous slave revolt in the colony of Haiti led by Toussaint L'Ouverture. Later, under Napoleon, the "export" of the revolution destroyed feudal monarchies and brought bourgeois-democratic institutions and freedoms throughout much of West Europe. When French armies entered Frankfurt and other cities, they tore down the walls around the Jewish ghettos. It is no accident that the founder of modern communism, Karl Marx, was a Jew from the Rhineland, the section of Germany most radically affected by the French revolutionary occupation. In Italy, too, Napoleon's armies were welcomed as agents of social liberation.

More directly relevant to Afghanistan is the case of Soviet Central Asia. In the 1920s, this area looked remarkably like contemporary Afghanistan. A foothold of Soviet power had been established in the Turkistan city of Tashkent in 1917, a Soviet Republic was declared at Bukhara in 1920, but for years the region was the scene of repeated reactionary onslaughts and rival governments led by mullahs and landowners. In 1922 the Red Army finally suppressed a rebellion by the so-called Basmachi, the *mujahedin* of the time, who mobilized the countryside "by depicting the Soviet regime not just as a foreign occupier but as a despoiler of Islam and of primordial institutions and sentiments" (Gregory J. Massell, *The Surrogate Proletariat* [1974]).

After the suppression of the Basmachis, Bolshevik women activists were sent into the region, the powers and authority of the clerical courts and tribal chiefs were gradually undermined through legal and administrative measures, and the constitutional guarantees of equal rights for women proclaimed by the revolution were increasingly imposed on the region. Even then, every step toward emancipation was met by fierce resistance from the khans and mullahs, including wholesale murder not only of Bolshevik agitators but of any woman who rejected *pardah* (total seclusion) and the veil, while remnants of the Basmachi continued to wage



**Communist agitator distributing literature in 1920-21 Bukhara Soviet Republic. It took the Red Army (below) to suppress reactionary Basmachi rebellion.**

Faber





guerrilla warfare against Soviet authorities throughout the 1920s. It was the imposition of Soviet power in the region, ultimately through the military might of the Red Army, which created the conditions for dismantling centuries-old feudal-clerical domination and opening the road to the emancipation of women. Interestingly, many of the defeated Basmachi fled to Afghanistan, making the *mujahedin* not only their political heirs but in some cases their physical offspring.

Mongolia in the early 1920s offers an even more striking analogy to recent events in Afghanistan. In 1920, under the impact of the Russian Revolution, a tiny handful of young pro-Soviet intellectuals formed the Mongolian People's Party in opposition to the domination of the Buddhist hierarchy and Chinese suzerainty. In March 1921 they proclaimed a Mongolian People's Government and invoked Soviet assistance. They were immediately set upon by a cabal of reactionary forces—led by a Russian tsarist, aided by Japanese imperialism and promoting the clericalist emperor, known as the "Living Buddha"—who launched a counter-offensive into Soviet territory. The People's Government was installed literally on the bayonets of the Red Army. The following month, the new government was assured by Soviet foreign affairs

commissar Chicherin that Russian troops would not be withdrawn until "the threat to the free development of the Mongolian people and to the security of the Russian Republic and of the Far Eastern Republic shall have been removed" (quoted in E.H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923*, Vol. 3 [1953]).

The Soviet government of Lenin and Trotsky was true to its word. Within months it began to implement a series of far-reaching social and political reforms—nationalization of lands and natural resources, land distribution, abolition of titles and prerogatives of the Living Buddha and the nobility, democratic elections, and the establishment of health and education services under Soviet control. According to a Chinese observer at the time, for 18 months "not a day passed without its clashes between the new and the old groups" in Mongolian society. Soviet and progressive forces had to wage a civil war which lasted until late 1922 against indigenous counterrevolutionary bandits. But in the end the Red Army was triumphant. In succeeding decades, Mongolia was transformed from a prefeudal nomadic backwater—in which fully 40 percent of the adult male population were Buddhist priests living in monasteries—into an urbanized society with a standard of living comparable to that of the Soviet Union and a 90 percent literacy rate.

Around the same time, Afghanistan itself was undergoing its only attempt at significant social reforms prior to the PDPA seizure of power. In 1919 Amir Amanullah Khan, leader of the "Young Afghan" movement, took the throne, immediately declared independence from British suzerainty and signed the first Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet republic in 1921. Amanullah attempted to implement a broad range of reforms along the lines of Kemal Atatürk's Young Turk movement. He encouraged schooling for girls, outlawed child marriage, proposed a sovereign national assembly to be elected by all adult men and women, and declared that "the keystone of the future structure of the new Afghanistan will be the emancipation of women." Amanullah's wife was the first Afghan woman to



Ulan Bator, capital of the Mongolian People's Republic, today enjoys standard of living, health, literacy comparable to the Soviet Union.

Photos: Conger/National Geographic

appear in public unveiled. But, as Raja Anwar comments, "What the reformist king failed to understand was that he could not change the visible aspects of social and religious traditions without first changing the infrastructure of his society." In 1929, after years of reactionary resistance, Amanullah was overthrown and tribal and clerical "traditionalism" restored to its position of power.

Writing on "The War in Afghanistan" that year, Fedor Raskolnikov, who served as the first Soviet envoy to Kabul in the mid-1920s, observed:

"Afghanistan is a small country with a considerable historical past. Its small connection with the economy of the world, its centuries of artificial isolation, have preserved in Afghanistan quite a number of antiquated forms of feudal rule....

"The political power lies in the hands of the landowners, the so-called 'sirdars'....

"The small number of industrial workers have not yet begun to feel themselves a special class and are thus altogether unorganized. They figure just as little in the political arena as do the artisans who are dispersed all over the

country. The Islamic clergy, on the other hand, have long since grown used to exercising an important political influence, amounting in the main to a pronounced support of reaction....

"The feeling of State citizenship is not very pronounced in Afghanistan. Each citizen is in the first place a member of a tribe and only in the second place an Afghan....

"From the standpoint of war-preparations against the Soviet Union, Afghanistan is a highly important base for the British."

—reprinted in *Labour Review* (February 1980)

For 50 years, this picture remained virtually unchanged, but for the fact that the U.S. replaced Britain as the imperialist power which sought to use the country as a base for war preparations against the Soviet Union. Had the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky, marching behind the internationalist banner of authentic Bolshevism, been in a position to go into Amanullah's Afghanistan at the time, the people of that country would be centuries in advance of where they are today.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



Princeton University Press

Amanullah Khan, the modernizing Afghan king of the 1920s.

## Save Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 12)

spirited crowd for Mumia's freedom. Dramatically setting one of her husband's dreadlocks aflame, she noted that "this is what they intend to do to Mumia—to burn him, to destroy him until he is no more." TV reports on the rally were run prominently by both ABC (Channel 6) and CBS (Channel 10) affiliates.

The fight to save Mumia is today a focal point of opposition to the racist death penalty, and this rally sparked a resurgence of commitment to his de-

fense. A student from nearby Cheyney State, a predominantly black college, rose during the discussion period to present over 100 signatures collected on petitions to Pennsylvania governor Casey. A postal worker described how she enlisted her friends and family to collect 109 signatures. Supporters of the Spartacist League presented 600 signatures on petitions collected in Philadelphia during the preceding two weeks.

The rally, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson, was a watershed for the campaign in Philadelphia, bringing together for the first time participants from diverse organizations and backgrounds, in the tradition of class-struggle defense work.

A representative of the PDC told the crowd that 11,000 people—including union officials, civil rights organizations, religious leaders and other death penalty opponents from Paris to the San Francisco Bay Area—had earlier signed petitions demanding that Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die.

Increasingly, international attention is being drawn to Mumia's case. In West Germany, the unofficial newspaper of the "Green Party," *Die Tageszeitung* (21 October), covered Mumia's case during Amnesty International's "Week of the Political Prisoner." The *taz* article noted, "His case is exemplary of the persecution of a whole generation of black women and men in the '70s and for the 'racially discriminatory application of the death penalty in the USA' (Amnesty International, 1989 report)."

The October 14 Philly rally represents a new stage in the battle for Mumia's life. These forces, and many more beyond them, must be mobilized to save Mumia Abu-Jamal! ■

## Chicago Cop Terror...

(continued from page 3)

own home by five cops in 1987 and then framed up on charges of battery, resisting arrest and obstructing a police officer. When transit workers of ATU Locals 241 and 308 and other trade unionists and supporters mobilized to

spike the frame-up, Seay and her mother, Callie Bryant, were acquitted. Out of this victory came the Labor Black Struggle League (LBSL). Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, the LBSL is "an integrated organization which stands for mobilizing the masses of labor and blacks for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America."

The Democratic politicians have scheduled a City Council hearing on police brutality for September 28. Their goal is not to end the terror by "the toughest gang in town" (as Martin has called the police force), but to defuse the fury building throughout the city. Already the remnants of Harold Washington's political bloc are attempting to channel this issue into their 1991 mayoral campaign against Daley. Labor and minorities must bust up this capitalist shell game and fight for a *workers party*. Such a party will avenge the numerous victims of Chicago's racist cops by organizing mass, militant and integrated class struggle to abolish the profit system they defend and forge in its place a *workers government*.

For more information about the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League, write to: LBSL, Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680. In California, contact the Labor Black League for Social Defense, P.O. Box 751, Oakland, CA 94604.

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SAN FRANCISCO



# Bay Area Quake...

(continued from page 1)

preventing emergency rescue operations. Both Japan and the Soviet Union, with substantial expertise in earthquake relief, volunteered assistance. They were turned down by the arrogant, bureaucratic American authorities, who preferred to keep the operation "in house." They had to haul Deukmejian back from Europe in an Air Force jet. SF mayor Art Agnos picked a squabble with Vice President Dan Quayle, who used the occasion for a photo op. And the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) showed it was "on the scene" by opening 200 phone lines (which were promptly jammed) and doing surveys!

The racist Oakland cops, who only know how to shoot down unarmed people in the streets, actually appeared to be running this major disaster "relief" effort at the Nimitz collapse. Skilled construction workers with heavy building equipment, volunteers from Ironworkers Local 378 and Operating Engineers Local 3, many of whom work in the area, showed up on Tuesday evening to help with the rescue effort. Local 378 Business Agent Ray Trujillo bitterly told *WV* how his members were frustrated over their inability to help: "We've had 30 riggers here, professional riggers, willing and ready to go to work." Trujillo explained that per-



WV Photo

**Oakland Ironworkers official Ray Trujillo (left) charged that skilled union workers volunteered to aid rescue, but cops drove them away.**

sonnel from the Oakland Police, the Navy and Caltrans couldn't decide who was in charge, so "the OPD chased off the Ironworkers."

After last year's Armenia earthquake, when the Soviets considered cutting off rescue efforts after seven days, American newspapers raved about their "inhumanity." In Oakland, the rescue was effectively stopped *less than six hours* after the quake. The effect of this was dramatically related in the account of one rescue worker at the Nimitz site reported on CNN (18 October):

"He said that last night at this time, when he and his rescue team were in there, they had room between the sections of the bridge of maybe a foot and a half, maybe as much as three feet, for them to maneuver their bodies around. And they were able to rescue some people successfully last night. He went back to some of those same areas tonight, and found this much room [a hand's breadth] to maneuver. Just the weight of this has taken all of his hope away."

When friends of a woman trapped under a collapsed building in Santa Cruz started protesting and chanting "Don't stop digging!" Tuesday night, the cops arrested four of them. Two days later, the woman was found dead.

Adding to the stench of blood and bodies was the blatant class and race bias in the reportage of the disaster. The media focused almost exclusively on destruction in SF's posh Marina district, presenting the quake aftermath as a community "coming together." Meanwhile, thousands languished homeless and hungry in black Oakland and the



WV Photos

**Upper deck of Cypress Viaduct collapsed when unreinforced columns popped out at poorly designed joints (left). One section (right) built with stronger columns to span diagonal street remained standing.**

predominantly Latino Mission district of San Francisco and areas like Watsonville down the coast (see box, page 9). In Oakland alone, 1,400 homes were damaged, generally unreinforced brick apartment buildings, many far more severely than the press or the authorities admit. In some cases, building inspectors were ordering people back into their apartments the next day even where the roof had caved in.

For the racist cops, it was "business as usual" in the black ghetto, which was virtually under military occupation. The *Oakland Tribune* (22 October) reported how residents of heavily black and working-class West Oakland found the usual racist police treatment particularly galling because they were the ones "who first rushed forward to try to save victims of the freeway collapse, even when it meant endangering their own lives.... When police first arrived at the disaster site, they actually pulled guns on would-be rescuers and accused them of looting the bodies." The first cop reports of "looting" suspiciously coincided with the shutdown of the rescue operation Tuesday night. In the aftermath, the police seemed downright annoyed that they couldn't come up with any incidents.

In San Francisco, a shelter was set up in the Moscone Convention Center for some 1,000 made homeless by the quake. But five days later, they were thrown out and bused to the Presidio army base and a Navy transport ship to make way for "paying customers"—a convention of plastic surgeons. Among those moved out were some of SF's several thousand permanently home-

less; one unemployed accountant commented ironically, "Why does it take an earthquake for a bum to get a cup of coffee?" Many complained that color-coded tags handed out to the Marina residents were used to give these yuppies favorable treatment.

Meanwhile the bosses tried to corral workers back into the factories to keep the profits flowing. An auto worker at the Fremont NUMMI plant reported how despite "husted water pipes and air pipes, broken glass from fallen light fixtures and who knows what other damage," GM/Toyota bosses insisted that everybody go back to work: "Loss of money due to loss of line time was more important than people's lives.... People are pissed off that the line was started as usual at 5:30 a.m. Wednesday without structural engineers checking things out." Around the Bay Area, Monday was declared back-to-work day: with delays on the BART system and backups on alternative bridges, many workers had hours added to their commuting time, then walked under badly damaged structures like the Embarcadero viaduct to go to work in buildings that should have been condemned.

## "Caltrans Earthquake"

The quake was estimated at 7.1 on the Richter scale. Beyond that everything was speculation and disinformation. Even the number of fatalities veered from one figure to another; then it turned out that the authorities had no idea—and still don't—how many have died. The high estimate of 250 trapped under the freeway was based on expect-

Lee/Oakland Tribune



WV Photo

**Grieving father Daniel Rubi (being manhandled by cops) accused Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson (inset), Governor Deukmejian and Caltrans officials of killing his son, trapped in Nimitz Freeway collapse.**



ed traffic flow for that time of day, with the assumption of only one person in each vehicle! There was heavy destruction of buildings, bridges and highways for 100 miles south of SF and Oakland. One engineer who toured the destruction area commented, "Everywhere I turn around I have to take a detour because a bridge collapsed."

The predictable whitewash has already begun. Deukmejian's appointee to head the "independent investigation," Dr. Ian Buckle of the National Center for Earthquake Engineering Research, was quickly dropped after stupidly asserting, "now is not the time for knocking" Caltrans. But already, technically knowledgeable observers are calling this the "Caltrans earthquake." Caltrans spokesman James Drago claimed, "I don't think anyone envisioned an earthquake of that magnitude." This is a particularly stupid and ignorant lie. The 1906 quake measured about 8.3 on the Richter scale—a destructive power many, many times greater than on October 17. Recent state planning "scenarios" envision another 8.3 quake. The Bay Area lies astride *two major earthquake fault lines*, the San Andreas fault on the west and the Hayward fault on the east. A 7.6 quake on the Hayward fault has been long predicted. The "big one" has yet to come.

California is the prime earthquake zone of the United States. Particularly since the 1906 killer quake which destroyed San Francisco, the need to design structures to take account of seismic effects has been indisputable. All the more so in the Bay Area, where significant sections rest on landfill, which is known to "liquefy" in a heavy earthquake. Peter Yanev notes in his book, *Peace of Mind in Earthquake Country* (1974), that the soft, unstable soils "act much like jelly in a bowl" during a quake. In 1906, "The parts of the city that suffered the greatest amount of damage... were built on landfill atop the already unstable bay mud." Much of the Marina district is built on such ground, and so is part of the Cypress Street Viaduct. And much of the Bay Bridge, which popped a 50-foot slab of roadway on its upper deck, rests on sand.

Furthermore, a recent study by Prof. Wayne Clough of Virginia Polytechnic Institute ("Seismic Response of San Francisco Waterfront Fills," *Journal of Geotechnical Engineering*, April 1983) predicted that the "dune sands" in these areas "should liquefy under a nearby earthquake of magnitude 7.0 or greater." Was such destruction not "envisioned"? More than two years ago, three different engineering firms warned that in the event of a "moderate" quake, a building south of Market Street "could suffer catastrophic failure with possible loss of life" and called for renovation (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 October).



The owners ignored the warnings. The building collapsed as predicted—five people are dead. Such examples of criminal negligence abound in the Bay Area quake disaster. In the last week, *Workers Vanguard* has interviewed several specialists in the field and reviewed technical materials on the affected structures.

**Bay Bridge:** When the Oakland Bay Bridge was built in the mid-1930s, it was considered a wonder in modern bridge design. Seismic construction technology has certainly advanced dramatically since then, but as Peter Yaney told *WV*: "The perturbing thought is this was not supposed to happen, and it happened in a moderately strong earthquake. What the hell would it have been like if this was a really big one?" A civil engineer at Tokyo University told an October 18 program on Japanese TV, "Since the Bay Bridge was constructed in 1936, after the 1906 earthquake, I'm sure there were anti-earthquake considerations in constructing this bridge." Yet, incredibly, earthquake considerations were *rejected* as an extra factor in the design.

• In a 1939 study on "Earthquake Stresses in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge," senior bridge engineers Norman Raab and Howard Wood claimed that "well-built structures, even if no definite allowance for seismic forces has been made in their design, have come through the most severe California earthquakes with no structural damage." The bridge was only designed to resist ground forces of 10 percent of gravity, which was no more than the stresses from heavy winds, and therefore involved no extra construction costs to protect against earthquakes. Yet the authors acknowledged that in earthquakes maximum ground accelerations can reach anywhere between 25 and 50 percent. At the very least, this was clearly not a conservative design from a seismic standpoint. Could it have something to do with the fact that when the bridge was being built, as the chief engineers admitted, the "controlling thought throughout the work has been...that the total capital investment must be kept within \$75,000,000" (*Engineering News-Record*, 22 March 1934)?

• A 1972 federal study specifically warned, "The Bay Bridge is very vulnerable in major earthquakes" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 19 October). A statewide program had called for "retrofitting" all California highway bridges to protect against earthquakes. Phase I called for lashing roadway slabs together with steel cables to prevent them from separating. According to an article by Peter Carey and Gary Webb in the *San Jose Mercury News* (19 October): "The Bay Bridge, which saw a 50-foot section of its upper deck drop onto the lower deck, also received deck reinforcement under Phase I of the highway department's earthquake project. But [Caltrans senior structural engineer James] Gates confirmed that the section of bridge that collapsed had not been strengthened with steel cables.... 'We're still looking at why that decision was made'."

**Nimitz Freeway:** The Cypress Street section of the Nimitz Freeway is an even more glaring example of making human safety dependent on the bottom line. This was the state's first double-deck elevated freeway, opened in 1957, built in an area of Oakland known to be landfill and unstable alluvial soil. The \$6.6 million construction contract went to the lowest bidder—Grove, Shepherd, Wilson, Kruege of California, Inc. Hampton Roberts, former vice president of the firm, today professes to be "shocked" at its collapse (*Oakland Tribune*, 20 October). Yet the 24 October *San Francisco Chronicle* reports that the columns did not even "meet accepted safety standards in force at the time the freeway was built." Jim See, an engineer who worked on the project and just examined the original design plans, says "most of the (reinforcing bar inside the pillars) was not braced, or wrapped, with reinforcing ties." The 1952 engineers' manual distributed by the Concrete Reinforcing Steel Institute insisted this was a "necessary structural ingredient" for freeway pillars.

• The weakness of the Nimitz was no news to anybody. In 1977, engineer David Rogers did an exhaustive six-month study, submitting a proposal for a miserly allocation of \$10,000-50,000 for further research to reinforce the structure. Caltrans turned down his

## Desota Barker

Desota Barker, a 30-year-old black San Francisco worker, was shot and killed Tuesday night, October 17, as he was volunteering his aid in the hours after the earthquake struck the Bay Area. With lights and power out in SF, Desota was helping direct traffic in the Western Addition when he was killed, according to a report in the *SF Chronicle* (21 October).

We came to know Desota Barker when he was a member of Local 1457, the American Federation of Government Employees, working on road maintenance at the Presidio. In June 1988, while he was attending a street fair in Haight-Ashbury with his wife and two children he was viciously attacked by a gang of ten neo-Nazi skinheads who had been terrorizing people at the fair. Barker wrote of the assault, "I was wearing a T-shirt with Bob Marley's picture and the words Smash apartheid written in front, which they tore off while beating and kicking me."

Barker and a fellow Local member who is a member of the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense brought this attack to the attention of their union. At its July 1988 meeting, AFGE Local 1457 passed a motion issuing "an urgent call to the Bay Area labor movement and to all decent people to mobilize and act decisively to put an immediate stop to the atrocities of these skinheads." Later that year, Local 1457 was an early endorser of the labor/black mobilization which stopped the KKK and skinheads from marching in Philadelphia November 5.

In March, Barker and several of his union brothers attended a showing of the video documentary, "The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!" He continued to be concerned about growing skinhead violence in San Francisco. Those who knew Desota say he was a conscious and conscientious guy—they were not surprised he was out there trying to help after the quake.

request. As recently as last year, Deukmejian vetoed a \$90,000 appropriation for a new study on quake-proofing (*San Francisco Examiner*, 22 October). And they *knew* it would fail.

• After the 1971 San Fernando earthquake in Southern California in which 65 people died and many freeway overpasses collapsed, state investigations called for tightened earthquake standards for bridge and highway construction. A bridge engineer described to a 1971 state assembly subcommittee hearing how columns "burst in the middle and the [steel] bars were bent out"—just what happened last week on the Nimitz Freeway. An October 1972 Caltrans report directed that "remedial work" be done on selected "vulnerable" structures among the state's 11,000 existing bridges. According to *Newsday* (19 October), "among the top pri-

orities was I-880" because this "top-heavy structure" "rests on landfill."

• There were many more warnings. A 1982 study by the state's Resources Agency warned that "the elevated section through downtown Oakland is expected to be heavily damaged" in an earthquake (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 October). As part of the statewide Phase I retrofitting program, the road decks of the Cypress Street Viaduct were strapped together with steel cable. But a subsequent phase, which called for strengthening the critical support columns, was not even scheduled to begin for several years.

• William Schaefer, chief engineer for Caltrans, claims that phase wasn't even planned for I-880 because "we don't have the technical knowledge, nor does it exist in the world, to tell us how

*continued on page 10*

## Watsonville Quake Victims

*The following is a report from a Spartacist comrade.*

My sister and I went to Watsonville to bring some supplies to the homeless people camped near the high school. We were farm workers as kids, and I had seen the TV news report which showed the encampment and the dire need people are in. There are about four camps at least, I estimate probably a thousand or more in each one who are homeless, mainly Mexican farm workers.

When we got to Watsonville we found a very grim situation indeed. There were about 1,500 people camping near the school. They had few real tents so they're using tarps and sheets of plastic. It had been raining, there was lots of mud and puddles. It is also cold and windy, especially at night.

Mainly there were agricultural workers and also some cannery workers there. Most of the people at the camp were women and children; men were out harvesting in the fields. Most people were Spanish-speaking, little English was being spoken. Old women came up to the car to get some of the supplies but some of them couldn't carry anything because they were on crutches, injured in the quake.

The relief, such as it was, consisted of Salvation Army and Red Cross workers dumping supplies and leav-



Van Dyke/San Jose Mercury News

Homeless survivors take refuge in Watsonville park.

ing. There was massive disorganization, no one coordinating things. We spent some time helping boys put up tents.

Aside from the relief agencies mentioned, there were individuals bringing supplies. We brought Coleman lanterns, stoves, tents, sleeping bags, canned soup, baby formula and food, jackets and sanitary napkins. These

are the kinds of things most needed, in addition to tents and blankets. A lot of kids were running around barefoot and babies with no diapers. Burger King had two trucks and they were giving out free hamburgers.

The Red Cross sent a young Hispanic kid to try to get people to go to the shelters set up by the Red Cross, but for the most part people are afraid

to go there. They're afraid to ask for help or put their names on any form, because it's risking being deported. One relief worker with a Hispanic health agency was quoted saying the rumor is that the INS is going to come in and arrest everybody. FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency) is denying this, but somehow people don't believe them.

There's a lot of fear—a lot of these people were in the earthquake in Mexico City, and now it's happening to them again. There was an aftershock at about 3:00 p.m. today and pieces of the school were falling down, there was a lot of glass falling out of the high school windows.

One old man said, in gratitude for the supplies brought in, "God Bless America." We replied: the people here, yes, but the government, no—Bush and Quayle just tour the devastated areas and fly away leaving people in devastation. That is Bush's "thousand points of light."

Today my sister told me she was at one of the numerous camps set up in Watsonville, and it started to rain, it was getting very cold. She had heard that there were supposed to be 300 tents delivered by the National Guard. Finally she got sick of waiting around and went to City Hall to find out what was going on.

She was told that they were waiting for some decision, some bureaucratic procedure had to be done as to where these tents were to be set up. Meanwhile people were out there in the cold.



# Bay Area Quake...

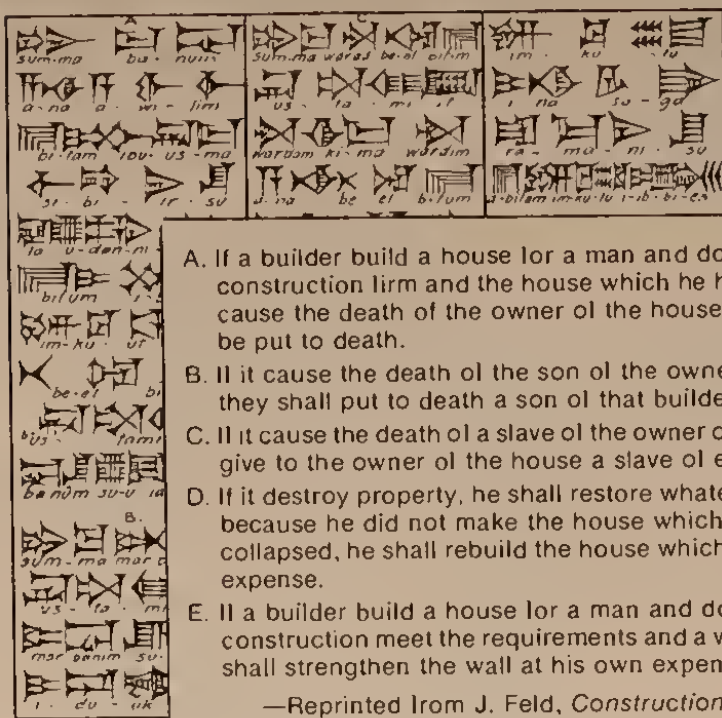
(continued from page 9)

to retrofit" such a multicolumn viaduct. Nonsense, say several structural engineers. Professor Vitelmo Bertero, director of the Earthquake Engineering Research Center at UC Berkeley, asserts flatly: "You can jacket the columns in steel. It's expensive but it can be done" (*New York Times*, 20 October). The Embarcadero viaduct in San Francisco, similar in construction to the Cypress Street structure, already has large four-foot staple-like steel add-ons which helped to keep the columns intact.

• The segments of the vertical columns holding up the upper roadway deck of the Nimitz are connected by "expansion joints" to allow for slight bending. Where there are 20 steel reinforcing rods going through the one-yard-square concrete pillars, there are only four at the connections. This is precisely where most of the columns burst, as can be clearly seen from any photograph. Why did the California highway designer F.W. Panhorst do that? "God only knows," says Rogers. "It creates a tremendous weakness position for the columns." Moreover, as Yanev told *WV*, "in one case there is a diagonal street crossing, and they have different type columns and those held up. Quite black and white when you look at it."

• As earthquake structural expert Ron Mayes, vice president of Computech Engineering Services, commented to *WV*: "The big story here is that the first phase took 16 years to complete." The key is money, as usual. Fifteen years after the post-1971 highway and bridge proposals, a 2 April 1986 state assembly committee hearing charged with "Oversight and Compliance" announced that the 1985 five-year State Transportation Improvement Plan was slashed by \$650 million, "delaying or cutting approximately 300 highway projects." In massive 1976 layoffs under Democratic governor Jerry Brown, Caltrans dumped its entire structural and seismic analysis group.

**San Francisco Marina District:** While people lay buried and dying under the rubble of Cypress Street, a huge fire in San Francisco's Marina district burned for hours, fed by gas mains. It was just such gas fires that burned down much of San Francisco after the 1906 quake. On October 17, Pacific Gas & Electric workers operating on 20-hour shifts frantically popped manhole covers searching for underground gas valves to shut them off. An angry PG&E worker told *WV* that not only were the valves not clearly mapped, but some of them needed to be literally bandaged with tape before they could be shut off. Many work crews had been reduced from four to two in a recent cost-cutting measure, as the workforce was reduced through attrition. Moreover, emer-



From the  
Code of  
Hammurabi  
(2200 B.C.)

- If a builder build a house for a man and do not make its construction firm and the house which he has built collapse and cause the death of the owner of the house—that builder shall be put to death.
- If it cause the death of the son of the owner of the house—they shall put to death a son of that builder.
- If it cause the death of a slave of the owner of the house—he shall give to the owner of the house a slave of equal value.
- If it destroy property, he shall restore whatever it destroyed, and because he did not make the house which he built firm and it collapsed, he shall rebuild the house which collapsed at his own expense.
- If a builder build a house for a man and do not make its construction meet the requirements and a wall fall in, that builder shall strengthen the wall at his own expense.

—Reprinted from J. Feld, *Construction Failure* (1968)

**Mankind's first legal code made punishment fit the crime. Those who killed through shoddy construction were held liable for murder.**

gency lighting units were removed so they had to operate with flashlights. A laudatory article, "How PG&E Came to Grips with Herculean Task" in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (23 October), praises the bosses, who had to eat K-rations. But the workers isolated in quake-hit areas were provided nothing to eat through their shifts.

## Capitalist Criminals

So a week later, tens of thousands of Bay Area residents are still without gas and power, and it will be a matter of months before the Bay Bridge is fully functional. This is the result of decades of neglect by the American bourgeoisie, which doesn't want to pay for the cost of repairing its rapidly deteriorating infrastructure. And there's only so much money that can be taxed from the lifeblood of the working class and poor. (Adding insult to injury, a current proposal before the California legislature calls for a regressive 25 cents a gallon increase to the gasoline tax to help finance highway repairs.) The reactionary Proposition 13 movement in California a decade ago, led by enraged small property owners, put further political restraint on tax solutions. From Democrats Pat Brown and Jerry Brown to Republicans Reagan and Deukmejian, one administration after another passed the buck by cutting and postponing capital projects, hoping the deadly consequences would not become apparent during their terms of office. Now the chickens come home to roost, but the question remains: who pays?

As we noted last year in our article, "New York Bridges Are Falling Down" (*WV* No. 456, 1 July 1988), "From factories to people, the ravages of the country's productive forces reflects the decay of American capitalism." In particular, it reflects the siphoning off of America's resources from industrial production to

the trillion-dollar war drive. The sharp decline in public services and maintenance can be pinpointed pretty closely to the dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese people. Significantly, the response of the federal government to the Bay Area Quake of '89 was to praise the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which Reagan turned into a sinister

to decide what's safe and what's not. Everything has to be absolutely safe, so they don't allow anybody except technical experts to go there. What happens is suddenly you don't have any people to help you to save lives."

In the wake of this murderous catastrophe, you can bet there are going to be a lot of multimillion-dollar lawsuits and insurance claims flying around. Big business will make up its losses (though plenty of working people will lose apartments, houses, jobs). But the dead will not be brought back to life, nor will the criminals responsible be brought to justice under capitalism. They belong in jail, not in a claims court. As far back as 2200 B.C., the Code of Hammurabi mandated criminal justice for fatally slipshod construction: "If a builder build a house for a man and do not make its construction firm and the house which he has built collapse and cause the death of the owner of the house—that builder shall be put to death." The Code of Hammurabi represented a significant leap forward for civilization for its time, fitting the punishment to the crime. We can be more "civilized" today—put the capitalist criminals in jail, and throw away the keys!

Even after years of Stalinist degeneration, Gorbachev's Russia acknowledges that the health and safety of the population deserve protection from criminal negligence. Following the Chernobyl disaster, the managers and engineers responsible for criminal neg-



California Highways and Public Works

**Who's guilty? Secretary of State Highway Commission C.A. Maghetti (far left) and state highway engineer F.W. Panhorst (third from left) open deathtrap Cypress Viaduct in 1957.**

agency for military rule in a fabricated "emergency." In a long interview on PBS the day after the earthquake, Bush defended his "emergency management" outfit against charges of a late response to Hurricane Hugo in the Virgin Islands and South Carolina. But FEMA's role in the Virgin Islands was a practice run for racist martial law in the U.S.

The events surrounding the Bay Area earthquake are powerful testimony to the need for a workers government. Workers committees in industry would see to it that shoddy designs and penny-pinching construction could be vetoed before they endangered people's lives, that lifesaving repairs and maintenance would not fall victim to the ax of "austerity." And when it came to the rescue efforts, it was evident even to much of the bourgeois press that the capitalist authorities acted as an *obstacle* to spontaneous attempts by working people to save lives. Engineer Peter Yanev was part of a commission of American specialists who visited Soviet Armenia after the December 1988 quake. In comparing the official response in the USSR and the U.S., he told *WV*, "Armenia had a much more severe problem," but "they were less bureaucratic, which shocked me." He noted how in Oakland:

"People responded at the bridge in the Nimitz overpasses. They immediately jumped in there with ladders and all this to try to help. Then we get all the bright people from the state and the federal government coming in here trying

ligence were locked up. Likewise Gorbachev called for the arrest of anyone responsible for the use of shoddy materials or violation of building codes in the wake of the Armenian earthquake. But manmade disaster is endemic to the capitalist system, where the bottom line has always been the only one that counts. Even "natural" disasters reveal and exacerbate the class tensions in this decadent capitalist order, and can sometimes contribute to the downfall of corrupt rulers, as former Nicaraguan dictator Somoza discovered after an earthquake destroyed downtown Managua. It will be the outcome of the class struggle which decides who pays. ■



Arnold Genthe

**Broken gas lines fueled fires which destroyed much of San Francisco after 1906 killer quake.**

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# Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

## Boeing Strikers: Win It Big!

SEATTLE, Washington—Longshoremen, electricians, nurses and public employees, black and white, came out October 21 to show their solidarity with striking International Association of Machinists (IAM) members and their families. Some 1,500 strikers and supporters marched from the IAM hall to Boeing corporate headquarters, as the strike of 58,000 Machinists closed its third week.

As Boeing's order books have filled up, so have its coffers. From Seattle to Wichita, Kansas, Boeing workers who haven't had a raise in six years are fed up, demanding a big pay boost and a stop to the brutal and endless mandatory overtime. "I can hold out one day longer than they can," one determined striker told *WV*.

With bitter strikes being fought by Pittston coal miners and Eastern Airlines workers, and contracts coming up at Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas, the Boeing strike could be the spark that ignites a labor offensive. But the IAM leadership is determined to run a "business as usual" strike, which means letting supervisors, engineers and others go in to work. And profit-bloated Boeing hasn't moved an inch: on October 17 they came back with the same crummy offer that the Machinists massively rejected more than two weeks earlier.

Instead of occupying the plants and grabbing Boeing by the short hairs, the bureaucrats prefer to hold rallies for the Democrats, some of Boeing's best friends. Remember Cold Warrior "Scoop" Jackson? Like AFL-CIO chief George Meany, the Democratic "Senator from Boeing" was a rabid supporter of the Vietnam War who attacked the Nixon White House for being "soft on Communism." In their own way, the anti-Communist IAM tops wanted to make "their" rally safe for the Democrats, setting their goons to manhandle and harass leftists.

The featured speaker at Saturday's rally was Jesse Jackson, who wrapped himself in the stars and stripes of American capitalism, lamenting that "our flag" is now being made in Taiwan, and that jobs are being given away to "foreign textile workers." This racist protectionism merely feeds Boeing's lie that wages have to be kept down and workers have to put in 80-hour weeks in order to be "competitive."

This strike, like any serious labor battle, is a confrontation between two opposing *class* forces. And Boeing workers are in a position to win big. In order to unlock labor's power, Boeing strikers have got to take control of the strike and the union from the pro-capitalist bureaucrats tied to the Democratic Party of



Machinists on the picket line outside Boeing plant in Auburn, Washington. Haley/Tacoma News Tribune

racism and war. For elected strike committees! For an industrywide strike! Make the Boeing strike the kick-off for a general labor offensive.

## United Airlines—An ESOP Fable

When the stock market took a 190-point plunge in 90 minutes on October 13, financial markets from Hong Kong to London were rocked. The immediate cause of the Friday the 13th dive was the unraveling of the United Airlines buyout, a piece of financial chicanery unusual even by Wall Street's standards.

Arbitrators drooling over the United buyout—through an Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP) run by the pilots, company management and British Airways—had run the company's stock up to \$300 a share. In what would have been an incredible bonanza for the banks, United was priced at almost \$7 billion, \$2 billion more than it is worth by any estimate. Workers' wages and benefits would be slashed to pay the interest on the bank loans, *some \$600 to \$700 million per year!* That's even more debt than the king of the airline junk bonds, Frank Lorenzo, is carrying.

The Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA), which brokered the deal, offered a seven-year no-strike agreement and a 10 percent pay cut, and pledged to cross Machinists' and flight attendants' picket lines. But the whole thing came unhinged when the four big Japanese banks everyone was counting on for cash backed

out after IAM bureaucrats objected to the massive debt load.

The "ownership" workers would get out of such a deal would be only the "right" to exploit themselves for the junk bond holders. And their stock would be worth about as much as the shares Frank Borman unloaded on Eastern workers before the airline was sold to "Darth Vader" Lorenzo. The AFL-CIO traitors pile disaster on top of defeat as they offer up union pension funds to one takeover con man after another to buy Eastern from Lorenzo. Instead, airline workers at United should join with their class brothers at Eastern in an industrywide strike that shuts the airports down tight. Don't fall for the ESOP fable!

## Feds Rip Off Teamsters

When the feds began their RICO "racketeering" suit against the Teamsters union we wrote: "If 2,000 lawyers of the crooked 'Justice' Department get mixed up with the Teamsters, who is corrupting whom?" A court imposed "settlement" in March gave the capitalist state unprecedented control of the 1.7-million-member union. Now the troika of court-appointed overseers are milking the union's treasury: administrator Frederick Lacey is getting \$340 per hour; "investigations officer" Charles Carberry (\$250 per hour) is leasing plush Manhattan offices and charging the union \$1.1 million a year for his staff of G-men; union dues will foot the bill of over \$4 million for the feds' control of local union delegate elections for the 1991 Teamster convention.

This is the bitter fruit of the "reformers" like the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), who conspired with the Labor Department to draw up the government's takeover plans and applauded the March court order. In April the TDU worked hand in hand with the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations when it grilled Teamster president William McCarthy—the same outfit that was Robert Kennedy's weapon against Jimmy Hoffa.

The referendum election of International officers which the TDU crows about is *less* democratic than open debate over program on the floor of a union convention. Estimates are that it will take *\$1.5 million* to run a campaign for Teamster International president—and that kind of money can only come from the feds, the mob or the bosses. "Elections officer" Holland is importing his staff from the United Mine Workers, where another set of Labor Department "reformers" under Arnold Miller shackled the coal miners to the bosses' state. Teamsters must clean their own house. The rebirth of class-struggle leadership in the Teamsters would send the sellouts, finks and government lawyers packing. ■

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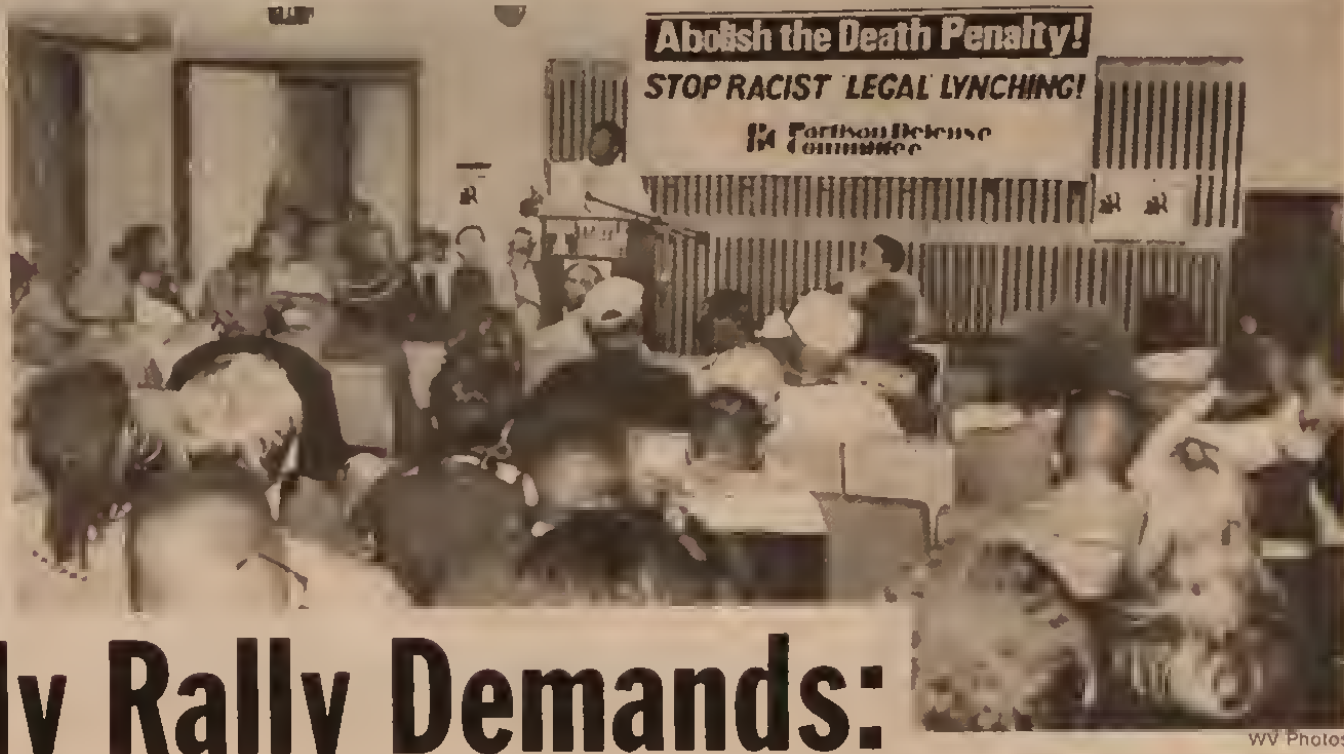
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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!



## Philly Rally Demands: Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

WV Photos

PHILADELPHIA, October 14—Two hundred opponents of the barbaric death penalty came together today at Temple University in a ground-breaking united-front rally against racist "legal" lynchings. They represented a broad cross section of Philadelphia's black community, from members of MOVE to Muslim women with sons in prison to ex-Black Panthers, as well as students,

representatives of Hispanic organizations and trade unionists. The rally focused particularly on the urgent campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, black political prisoner on Pennsylvania's death row.

Mumia, a former Philadelphia Black Panther, prominent journalist and outspoken defender of the MOVE organization, was known throughout the city

as the "voice of the voiceless" for his courageous political broadcasts against injustice. Hated and feared by the racist Philadelphia cops, in 1981 he was nearly fatally wounded by the police, then framed up on charges of murdering a cop. Mumia's political views and writings and his past membership in the Black Panther Party were the explicit basis for his death sentence. Yet the

Pennsylvania Supreme Court cruelly rejected his appeal in March of this year.

Today's rally marked the 14th day of a desperate hunger strike by Mumia and other inmates to protest the despicable conditions on death row at Huntingdon prison. In a moving speech, Wadiya Jamal, Mumia's wife, appealed to the  
*continued on page 7*

## Pittston Coal Strike



## The Occupation of Moss No. 3

Joe Baker/Cumberland Times

When 98 members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) occupied the control room of Pittston Coal's strategic Moss No. 3 coal preparation plant in late September, miners poured in from West Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio to defend the occupation. The sitdowners had taken a key position in the six-month-long battle with Pittston, inspiring the ranks of the UMW and the battalions of organized labor who know the Pittston strikers are on the front line of the class war. For almost four days they held the plant, as between 2,000 and 5,000 defenders clogged the approach road to the plant, the choke point in Pittston's scab operations.

It was the first mass plant occupation in five decades, since the late '30s sit-down strikes which brought General Motors to its knees. Not surprisingly, the bosses' media instituted a virtual press blackout of the occupation. *Workers Vanguard* is pleased to publish this photograph of the occupation, courtesy of the *Cumberland Times*, a southwest Virginia paper which has stood with the Pittston strikers.

The miners pictured above, standing high atop the prep plant, looked out on a sea of their union brothers at the entrance to Moss No. 3. A second group guarded the rear of the plant, while a third rested. The groups were

rotated around the clock. Inside the prep plant, the miners communicated with their families massed at the gate by walkie-talkie. Workers monitored the plant's systems from the control room. Sitdowners even cleaned up garbage the scabs had thrown about. For 80 hours they shut Pittston down tight—what the civil disobedience and "corporate campaign"-style boycotts have failed to do. But the sitdowners were pulled out by the UMW tops, who feared the class power that was unleashed. One strike supporter told *WV* that none of the men wanted to leave.

The sit-down strike should have been backed up by a national coal

strike—it could have been a rallying point for all labor. Now UMW president Richard Trumka is looking to the labor-hating Bush administration's "super-mediator" Elizabeth Dole to produce a "deal" with the Pittston Corporation. But Pittston president Michael Odom hags he is willing to hold out "for four or five years." Miners already showed what's needed when they wildeatted 50,000 strong last summer for two weeks. They powerfully demonstrated their strength again with the militant occupation of Moss No. 3—with the capitalists' "sacred" property in the workers' hands. Victory to the Pittston miners!