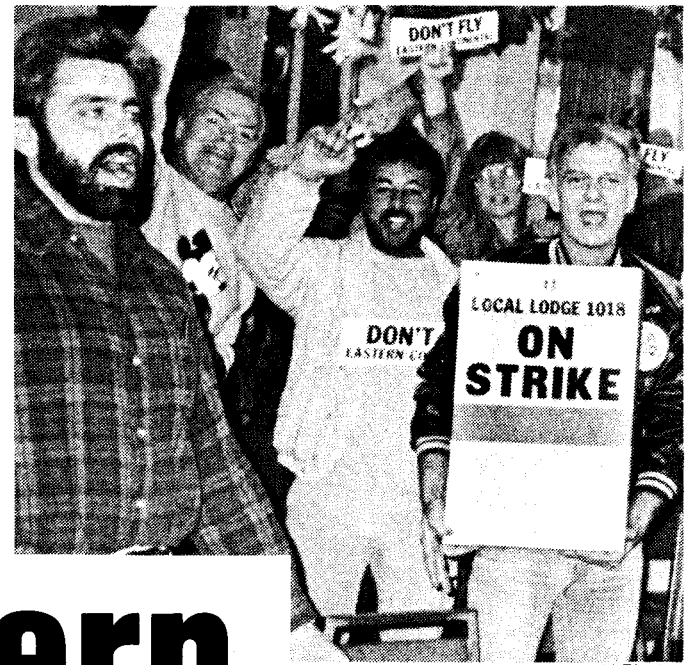


No More PATCOs! To Hell with the Labor Boards!



Machinists march against Lorenzo in Atlanta, April 1988.



IAM Lodge 1018 meeting, February 23. WV Photos

Strike Eastern, Spread the Strike, Shut Down the Airports!

FEBRUARY 27—The International Association of Machinists (IAM) is preparing to go into battle at midnight, March 3, against labor-hater Frank Lorenzo and Eastern Airlines. Lorenzo has ordered wages slashed by half. His real aim is to destroy the union. The future of a key section of the organized labor movement is now on the line. That mouthpiece of American capitalism, the *New York Times*, editorialized that "Labor Threatens the President" and

called on Bush to put an end to the "appeasement" of the unions at Eastern! Just as the Reagan years opened up with the campaign to "roll back" Communism and "roll back" the unions, today the ruling class wants to use the fight at Eastern to go after the entire labor movement. They are out to give the IAM the "PATCO treatment" and labor must make a stand: *All out with the IAM—Shut down the airports!*

The ranks of the IAM, who have been

insulted, harassed and fired by Lorenzo and his arrogant yuppie managers since the corporate raider took over, are ready to fight. There are plenty of airline workers, fed up with two-tier wages and givebacks, who want to join them. But the labor tops, who fear class struggle like the plague, are preaching faith in "mediation" through Bush's labor boards and the Democrats in Congress, who are no friends of labor. The National Mediation Board has just

asked Bush to impose another 60-day "cooling off" period; this will be more of the same slow death that has wiped out the jobs of thousands of Eastern workers. To win, Machinists and their allies must forge a new leadership in struggle, one that will use the workers' social power to take on Lorenzo, the bosses' politicians and the bosses' courts. *Don't bow to the labor boards—Strike big to win big!*

continued on page 8

Salman Rushdie Must Not Be Silenced!

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League/U.S. on February 22.

Ayatollah Khomeini promises heaven and \$5.2 million to the assassins of noted author Salman Rushdie as punishment for writing *The Satanic Verses*. Demonstrations of Islamic fanatics against the book in Pakistan and India killed eight. In New York Cardinal O'Connor chose Sunday morning mass to denounce *The Satanic Verses*. Three major U.S. bookstore chains controlling 2,400 outlets ordered the book off their shelves. Racist South Africa joined the Islamic world in banning the book altogether while French and West German publishers suspended their translations. "Who kills a man kills a reasonable creature," wrote Milton in his eloquent

17th-century defense of freedom of conscience and press, *Areopagitica*, "but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself."

Using the *jihad* against Rushdie, Iran's rulers manipulate passions in order to divert concern for the millions who died in the pointless war with Iraq, and from a shattered economy and endless repression. The Shi'ite theocracy launched its holy war against *The Satanic Verses* after executing thousands of leftists and other dissidents, seeking to drown every manifestation of social discontent in rivers of blood. The so-called "community of civilized nations" watched the mounting wall of corpses in total silence, while the *New York Times* applauded the "liberalization" of Iranian society. Khomeini's Iran is a foretaste of what a mujahedin victory would mean in Afghanistan, where the

CIA-backed "freedom fighters" skin alive schoolteachers for teaching girls and women to read. Pursuing its policy of conciliation with the mullahs, the Afghan government just banned the book also!

But the exploitation of religious bigotry in the service of political tyranny is by no means the monopoly of the Islamic world. In the name of "national security" Nixon tried to suppress the *Pentagon Papers*; Thatcher attempted the same with *Spycatcher*. Crying "blasphemy," Christian fundamentalists together with assorted fascist scum have launched a crusade against Martin Scorsese's film *The Last Temptation of Christ*. Book-burners in white sheets and black robes have tried to ban Darwin and even *Goldilocks* from public and school libraries. Following Ed Meese's porn commission, the government uses

RICO to prosecute the sale of books and videos with sexual content as "racketeering."

The German Jewish radical poet Heinrich Heine's apt warning is now poignantly displayed at the memorial to the victims of Hitler's Dachau concentration camp: "Once they burn books, they will end up burning people." To preserve a social system which had outlived its progressive mission even before the dawn of this century, the capitalist ruling classes are compelled to revive religious obscurantism, superstition and terror; the pogrom is industrialized, the Inquisition goes high tech, and Armageddon is nuclear. The defense of the social, scientific and cultural achievements of the Renaissance, the great bourgeois-democratic revolutions including the American Civil War, and the conquests of the proletarian October Revolution in Russia—from freedom of conscience to freedom from exploitation—is inseparable. In defense of the fundamental democratic rights and elemental human decency we demand: Let *The Satanic Verses* Be Read!

See article on page four.

S.F. Labor: Defend Greg Wiggins!

SAN FRANCISCO, February 24—The frame-up trial of black Muni bus driver Greg Wiggins ended its fourth day today with officer Eugene Yoshii on the witness stand, the third cop to testify. Last October, while Wiggins was driving his bus he was beaten viciously by four cops screaming racist insults. He is on trial now on trumped-up charges of battery on a police officer, resisting arrest and more. In addition to severe injuries to his neck, back and throat, Wiggins has a fractured hip that keeps him in constant pain.

As in the January 12 pretrial hearing, "inconsistencies" keep cropping up in the testimony of the cops. Their story stinks; it won't hold together because they have too much to cover up. Yoshii is the cop who's being sued by his former rookie partner, who says he raped her in March 1987. In his testimony Yoshii also admitted he shot an unarmed man in the face during an arrest last December. Yoshii revealed that some of the other cops present at that brutal shooting were the same ones involved in beating and arresting Wiggins.

For several months Wiggins' fellow drivers in Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 250-A have worked to get



Greg Wiggins (center, with cane) and supporters from TWU Local 250-A in front of the courthouse.

out the word about the frame-up. A leaflet calling for the membership to stand behind Wiggins was signed by 89 drivers last December and circulated in all

the bus barns. Before the trial began, some 2,000 copies of a 10 February leaflet with an update on the case were distributed among the drivers, calling for "a big continuous show of union support to send a message to the court, the cops and the racist city officials from Agnos down, that labor won't tolerate racist police terror!"

Each day in court Muni drivers in uniform have turned out, many coming for as much time as they can between split shifts. Their presence has not gone unnoticed: during jury selection the prosecutor asked one prospective juror

if he would find the presence of 30 or 40 Muni drivers in the courtroom intimidating! TWU Local 250-A gave a trial update in the union newsletter of 23 February, saying, "The strong show of support & solidarity from our members is very much appreciated." The drivers are standing solid behind Greg because they know these racist labor-hating cops. Almost every driver has his own story of harassment or worse at their hands. Tito Torres, Wiggins' attorney, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (24 February), "They had no reason to even arrest him. They come in here like choirboys, as if they did nothing wrong."

The *Chronicle* article, headlined "Contradictory Versions of Assault Case Told," also referred to support for Wiggins from other unions. Telegrams and letters to the D.A. have been sent by officials from Bay Area unions including Machinists Local 739, Amalgamated Transit Local 1555 (BART workers), AFGE Local 1457 (Presidio workers), Teamsters Local 315 and more, responding to the Partisan Defense Committee's call for union solidarity on behalf of Wiggins. In New York, 107 transit workers from TWU Local 100 signed a letter to the SF district attorney demanding the charges be dropped. The Bay Area Labor League for Social Defense has called on the labor movement to defend Brother Wiggins. As the February LBL newsletter, distributed among Muni and other SF workers, says, "S.F. is a labor town! Let's use that strength to win a big victory for Greg Wiggins and all of us." ■



TROTSKY

Capitalist Offensive and Labor Revolt

During the depths of the Great Depression in 1931, as the working class was taking it on the chin, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon insisted that American workers would again show their fighting capacity. Within three years workers in three cities had undertaken general strikes, launching what became the mightiest labor upsurge in American history. But that upsurge was ultimately channeled

into the arms of the Democratic Party by the reformist misleaders of labor. Today, after a decade of wage-cutting and union-busting—notably the smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981—American workers are fed up. The key to victory in the upcoming battles lies in forging a revolutionary leadership in political opposition to the giveback bureaucrats and their reliance on the two capitalist parties of union-busting, war and racism.

Wage cutting began with the first manifestations of the crisis and has been proceeding ever since at a continually accelerated pace. For quite a while this practice was masked by denials and all kinds of subterfuges....

But now the process of beating down the living standards of the workers has reached a new stage. The figures on wage cuts are accumulating in such a volume that the facts can no longer be hidden or denied. And there is no point in it, for the exploiters, emboldened by the practical absence of labor resistance, have begun a real assault on the wage scales. They are coming out in the open with this policy....

Will the workers fight back? Will they take up the defensive struggle on a wide front within the year?... The figures alone take no account of the accumulation of grievance and discontent as yet unexpressed and therefore unspent. It is by no means assured that the new encroachments will pass unchallenged. On the contrary, they are more apt to bring matters to the combustion point.

The capitalists, bent on loading the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the workers, are preparing thereby the necessary conditions for a labor revolt. In this way they will convince the workers, as propaganda has been unable to convince them, that there is no way out but to fight. Under such conditions the prospect of a series of stormy battles, of which the American workers have many times shown themselves capable, is by no means unreasonable. In that event the communists would get a hearing the like of which has not been granted before.

—James P. Cannon, "The Capitalist Offensive" (July 1931)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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PRODUCTION MANAGER: Jorge Ramirez

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Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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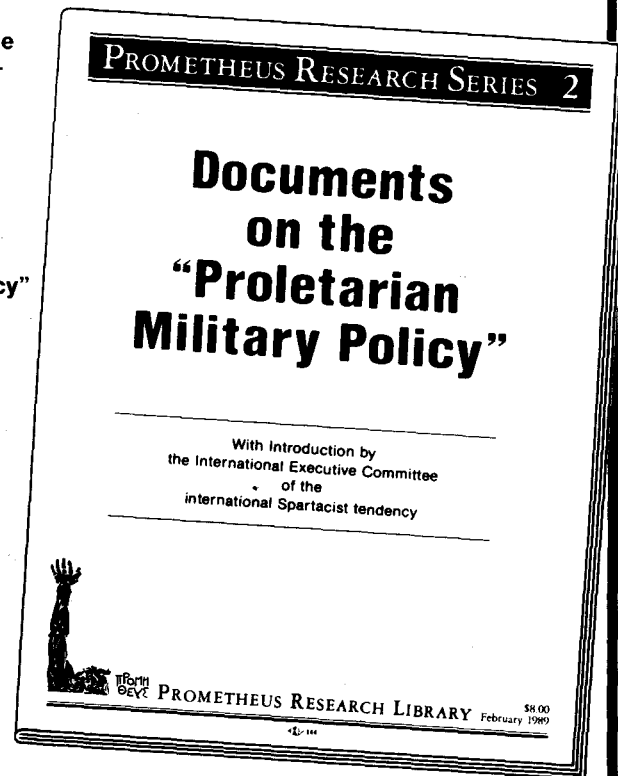
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Louisiana Racists Vote for KKK Terror

The election of "ex-"Nazi and KKKer David Duke to the Louisiana state legislature from the lily-white New Orleans suburb of Metairie last week is an invitation to racist terror by emboldened Klan nightriders, Nazi and skinhead scum and racist killer cops. While he now appears in three-piece suits instead of white sheets, Duke is still the fascist he always was. His phone number is the same as that of the local KKK chapter and he heads up the sinister "National Association for the Advancement of White People," whose activities include selling tapes of George Lincoln Rockwell, founder of the American Nazi Party.

Duke's run for office as a Republican is the deadly "natural child" of the bipartisan war on blacks and minorities in America as both capitalist parties scramble for the white racist vote. His campaign brought sanctimonious disavowals from Klan-endorsed ex-president Reagan as well as Bush campaign architect and now Republican Party chairman Lee Atwater, author of the infamous Willie Horton rape ads and former aide to Dixiecrat Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, one of the biggest opponents of civil rights in the South from the 1940s on.

The fascist Duke says that the difference between him and Atwater is that "David Duke has said openly and loudly what a lot of the other Republicans have not been willing to talk about on the campaign trail" (*New York Times*, 20 February). Indeed, Duke's lips were saying much the same thing as George Bush's, from "no new taxes" to attacking affirmative action programs.



New York Times

Fascist David Duke: as Nazi stormtrooper in 1970, organizing KKK anti-immigrant patrol on Mexican border in 1977.

idential campaign.

Moreover, many of the racist themes of Duke's campaign are part and parcel of the *bipartisan* war on minorities and the poor by the twin parties of property. The fascist Duke railed against the "threat" of the "rising underclass" with the "illegitimate welfare birthrate." But these longtime battle cries of the Reaganite right have been taken up by the Democrats as well, as Congress last fall overwhelmingly passed the genocidal "workfare" law which will cut off millions of single mothers on welfare and leave them on the streets to starve.



UPI/Bettmann

graduated in 1974 to become the slick, media-sharp "Imperial Wizard" of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which grew rapidly, expanding from Louisiana into the rest of the South and into New York, Connecticut and California.

Duke attracted and then spun off Tom Metzger, who is now notorious for racist cable TV shows and as a guru for the Nazi-loving, violent skinheads organized by his son John. Duke also recruited Bill Wilkinson, who renounced Duke's "mod" cover, flaunting the Klan's racist violence. Duke's successor, Don Black, called a 27 No-

stench of the gas ovens that are the stuff of his dreams.

Finish the Civil War— Smash Klan Terror!

The white-flight New Orleans suburb of Metairie that is sending Duke to the state house is in eastern Jefferson Parish, divided from integrated New Orleans by the 17th Street canal. "People here describe their district as though they were boasting of the purity of a bar of soap—99.6 percent white," noted the *Washington Post* (14 February). Jefferson Parish is infamous for its racist sheriff, Harry Lee (himself a Chinese American), who in 1986 ordered deputies to stop blacks traveling through the lily-white area. Metairie became notorious when it erected a barrier across a main artery connecting it to New Orleans to keep blacks out! This prompted the New Orleans black mayor to send a crew of city workers to tear it down.

Southern Louisiana is one of the most backward areas of the country, where sheriffs run their parishes (counties) like feudal fiefdoms, ruling over poor whites and blacks alike with an iron hand. Bible-thumping bigots chose Louisiana as the test case for state-mandated teaching of the religious obscurantist, anti-scientific doctrine of "creationism" in the public schools. In 1986 the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee joined as *amici curiae* ("friends of the court") in arguments before the Supreme Court against this attempt to fill the minds of schoolchildren with the superstitions and bigotry of the Dark Ages.

But there is another tradition in Louisiana, of black and labor power. The largest slave revolt in American history, inspired by the Haitian Revolution, took place there in 1811. Some of the first black troops to fight on the Union side in the Civil War were raised from the free black population of New Orleans. During the civil rights movement of the 1960s, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, organized by a group of black veterans in Bogalusa and Jonesboro, used armed self-defense to protect CORE voter registration workers.

And while unions are weak in the "open shop" South, New Orleans longshoremen demonstrated integrated class unity in the militant wildcat strike of 1973. New Orleans dock workers will have a leading role to play in preventing Klan river rats emboldened by David Duke's election from terrorizing the streets of the Crescent City.

In Atlanta this January the Partisan Defense Committee together with the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization which brought out over 3,000 anti-Klan protesters in a militant, integrated demonstration under the banner "Act Now! Stop the KKK!" Only because 2,000 riot cops and National Guardsmen turned downtown Atlanta into an armed camp were the seven KKKers and skinhead thugs who showed up that day able to slither through town. As we wrote about Atlanta:

"The January 21 labor/black mobilization can be a beacon for the black and working people of the Deep South, and for the oppressed throughout racist America. That giant, the power of labor, united in defense of its real interests, must uproot the fascist scourge once and for all through proletarian revolution."

—WV No. 470, 3 February

Labor and black struggle, to finish the Civil War by smashing Klan terror and opening the road to workers revolution, must be the answer of New Orleans labor and blacks to David Duke and his nightriding buddies in and out of their white sheets! ■



Atlanta: Spartacists picketed KKKer Duke's radio talk in 1987 (left). Three thousand turn out in response to Partisan Defense Committee call for labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK, January 21 (right).



WV Photos

Duke's opponent, John Treen, was heavily backed as the "respectable" Republican candidate by the party tops, with staff and sound bites from Bush and Reagan. Who is Treen? According to longtime New Orleans civil rights activist Llewellyn Soniat, John Treen is a former member of the fascist States Rights Party, whose race-hate rag *Thunderbolt* sported swastikas and whose co-chairman was Birmingham church-bomber J.B. Stoner.

The Republicans have certainly been chasing after the Southern racist vote. But the Democrats are the classic party of Klan terror and Jim Crow segregation in the South, from the overthrow of black Reconstruction to "massive resistance" to school integration and up to today. Former "Imperial Wizard" Duke and ex-"Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger in California ran for office as KKK Democrats. And with its "Southern strategy" and "win back the Reagan Democrats" campaign, the Democratic Party engaged in an obscene competition for racist support in the '88 pres-

The ominous election of a KKKer in Louisiana has gotten nationwide publicity. Meanwhile, in Connecticut and elsewhere other "Klandidates" are appearing. In the 1920s, the Klan was able to elect hundreds of local officials as it grew to an estimated three to five million members. Along with the KKK's political clout came tar-and-featherings and lynchings of blacks, Jews and immigrants, and anti-union terror.

But the hooded fascists are widely despised. *Racist and fascist terror must be crushed in the egg, through mass mobilization of labor, minorities and all the fascists' intended victims!*

Once a Fascist, Always a Fascist

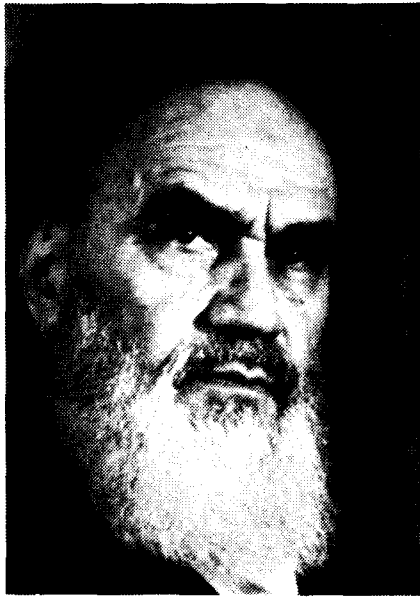
David Duke got his start as a swastika-clad Hitler-lover at Louisiana State University, where he was known as "The Nazi of L.S.U." In 1970 he disrupted a speech by noted civil rights lawyer William Kunstler at Tulane University, dressing as a stormtrooper and carrying a sign that read "Gas the Chicago 7" New Left radicals. Duke

member 1982 KKK march in Washington, D.C. But though the Klan had been given the green light by the White House, this provocation against black Washington was stopped by 5,000 blacks and unionists in a Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization.

Duke is also rabidly anti-immigrant. In 1977 he organized a "Klan Border Watch" in Southern California. When he ran as the Populist Party candidate for president last year, Duke presented a program to seal U.S. borders, railing that "the alien presence in this country affects the welfare system, the quality of education, the crime rate."

When Duke came to Atlanta to announce his presidential candidacy in June 1987, the Spartacist League organized a picket of a radio talk this fascist used as a platform for his "program" of genocide. SL supporters carried a sign proclaiming: "What Does Free Speech Mean for David Duke, Klaus Barbie, Charles Manson? Murder!" Make no mistake: Duke's magnolia-scented media message barely covers the

Khomeini's Blood Terror Targets Author

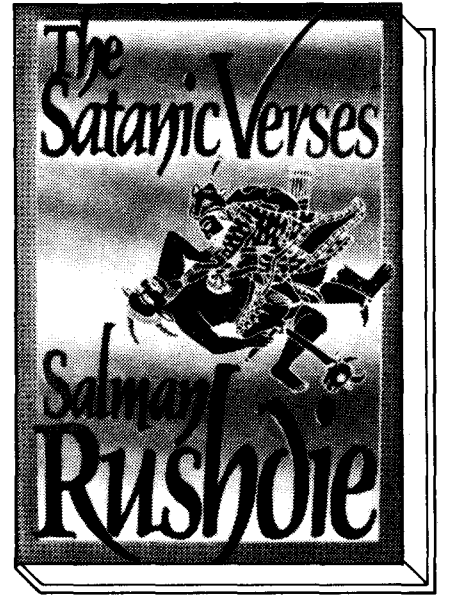


Dejean/Sygma

Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini calls for assassination of author Salman Rushdie.



AP



Bloodthirsty Teheran mob (left) demands death to Satanic Verses author.

When Ayatollah Khomeini issued his decree of death against novelist Salman Rushdie and the Viking/Penguin publishers of his *Satanic Verses*, a shudder spread around the world. Here was the ultimate statement of theocratic totalitarianism: not only must the book be banned, but its author must be executed for the "crime" of having written it. It was a throwback to the days when heretics were burned at the stake and witches boiled in oil. As Rushdie's book was removed by the largest bookstore chains, suddenly the dark past of the Inquisition was no further away than B. Dalton's at the local mall. There it was, the benighted superstition of the Middle Ages in the middle of the Computer Age.

From the moment it was published last September, Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* drove Islamic fundamentalists around the world into a frenzy, leading to its banning by one government after another. In Rushdie's own country of Britain, protests and book-burnings swept through the sizable Muslim communities in the inner cities, as recounted in the article "Let *Satanic Verses* Be Read!" reprinted on the next page from *Workers Hammer* (February 1989), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain. Then, on February 12, the furor became deadly as six people were killed in Islamabad, Pakistan when police fired into a crowd of thousands protesting publication of the book in the U.S. Fifteen more have since died in protests in Kashmir and Bombay in India.

On February 14, the Shi'ite theocracy's *wali faqih* (Supreme Leader) issued his edict to the world over Ira-

Censorship by Assassination

nian radio, that Rushdie and "all those involved in its publication who were aware of its contents, are sentenced to death." Khomeini called on "all Muslims to execute them quickly wherever they are found so that no others dare to do such a thing." As though to underscore the seriousness of the threat, the regime executed 70 people that day for "drug smuggling." Assuring any assassin killed in the attempt that he "will be regarded as a martyr and will go directly to heaven," the ayatollah added a more earthly reward of \$3 million for Rushdie's head (\$1 million if the killer happened to be an infidel), which was then raised to \$5.2 million.

Rushdie and his wife, the novelist Marianne Wiggins, immediately went into hiding. When Iranian president Khamenei offered to lift the death threat if Rushdie apologized, the writer issued a cautious statement expressing regret over distress the book had caused. The Iranian regime first accepted Rushdie's statement, then repudiated it later the same day. Even if Rushdie had become "the most pious man of time," the Imam declaimed, "it is incumbent on every Muslim... to send him to hell." Khamenei immediately fell into line, declaring: "an arrow has been shot toward its target." The Imam in Qum acted as if to confirm Rushdie's portrayal of the imam in *Satanic Verses*

who declared history to be the work of the devil, and unleashed his fury against "the greatest of the lies—progress, science, rights."

The initial reaction in the imperialist West, whose governments habitually rant against "terrorism" whenever they want to terrorize some defenseless people, was breathtaking in its silence. Rushdie's friend and fellow writer Christopher Hitchens remarked caustically: "I observed that the normally vociferous 'anti-terrorist' lobby is unusually cautious in its choice of terms, and that the spokesmen for the godly are uncharacteristically silent." Hitchens also noted that the Jewish talk show host "Alan Berg was murdered in cold blood in Colorado by Nazi Christians for failing to shut up, and in this very decade in America there are book burners ready to muster" (*New York Times*, 17 February).

Rushdie's American tour was canceled. The country's largest book distributor, Waldenbooks, pulled *Satanic Verses* off the shelves, followed by the second largest, B. Dalton. Canada banned imports of the book with the line that it might be "hate material." The Spanish, French and West German publishers with translation rights decided to suspend publication. In England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, head of the established church, called for extension of Britain's blasphemy laws to cover religions other than the Church of England—so that the next time a Rushdie comes along he can be nailed with the more "refined" methods of English jurisprudence.

On February 22 in New York, some 1,000 people, mostly writers, demonstrated outside the Iranian mission to the United Nations behind a banner of the National Writers Union quoting George Bernard Shaw: "Assassination Is the Extreme Form of Censorship." Speaking to an overflow crowd at a reading from Rushdie's book sponsored by PEN later that day, Leon Wieseltier, an editor at the *New Republic*, said: "Europe, too, was once a theocratic society that burned books and people. We know all about the debt that democracy owes to heresy.... It was blasphemy that made us free. Two cheers today for blasphemy." Indeed the great bourgeois revolutions of the 17th-18th centuries were aimed at breaking

the stranglehold of theocratic censorship over society and asserting the separation of church and state.

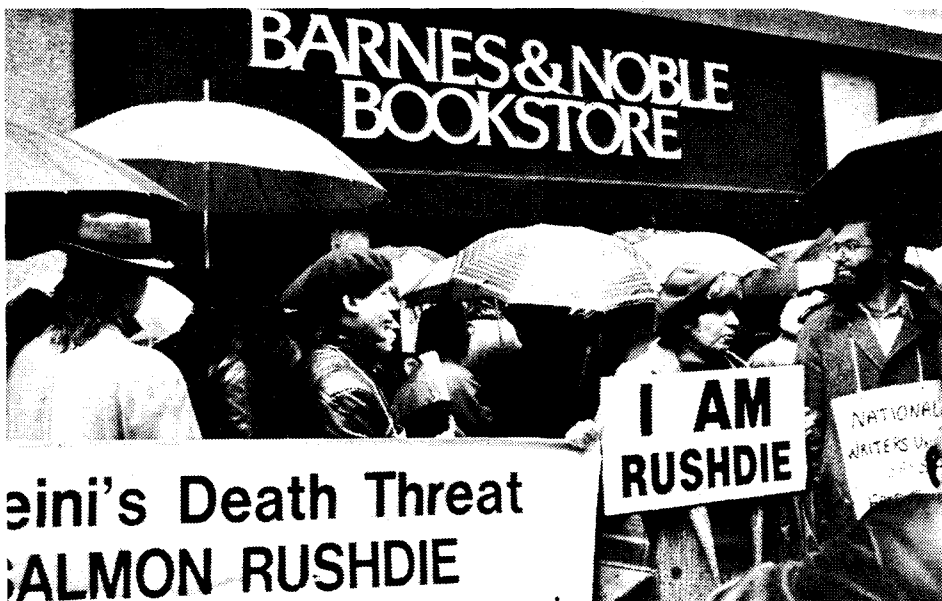
Liberalism and Chauvinism

Now that Khomeini has extended his writ to London and New York, dictating who is to read what, people around the world are shocked by the medieval brutality of his "Islamic republic." But when the mullahs first took power in 1979, their Islamic "revolution" was supported by most of the Western left, who hailed Khomeini's theocracy as "anti-imperialist" and denounced our slogan: "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! Workers to power!" And from the fake-left to the pro-imperialist liberals of PEN, they all fell into step behind Carter's "human rights" outcry against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, where a gang of CIA-backed cutthroat *mujahedin* were carrying out Khomeini's program of torture and terror against Afghan women and leftists.

Even when the Iranian regime recently executed thousands of women, national minorities and leftist political prisoners in a massive blood purge, much of the bourgeois press maintained a stony silence and most of the Western left refused to lift a finger. In contrast, the Partisan Defense Committee and international Spartacist tendency organized an emergency worldwide campaign of protest demonstrations to demand: Stop the Executions! On February 22, the PDC and Spartacist League/U.S. issued a statement solidifying with Rushdie (see page one). And we warned that outrage against Khomeini's death threat could fuel nativist backlash targeting all Muslims in America and Europe.

At the PEN reading from Rushdie's book in New York, Professor Edward Said, a member of the Palestine National Council who has himself in the past been targeted for assassination by ultra-Zionists, hailed *Satanic Verses* as "a deliberately transgressive work of nose-thumbing daring." Said also recalled that "Israel bans hundreds of books in occupied Palestinian territories, and Palestinian writers are jailed without trial; where are the protesting voices of Western writers and intellectuals?"

When Muslim counterdemonstrators at the UN protest waved signs reading "*Satanic Verses* Is Satanic," one of the "civil libertarian" types carrying a placard that said "Let Freedom Roar" shouted back "Deport them—Deport those who call for murder!" More-righteous-than-thou Western liberals



Khomeini's Death Threat
SALMON RUSHDIE

New York City, February 22: Writers protest book chains' suppression of *Satanic Verses*.

WV Photo

would do well to recall that there is nothing unique about Islamic intolerance. The Old Testament book of *Leviticus* decrees, "Whoever blasphemes the name of the Lord shall be put to the death." And the first code of law in the colony of Virginia in 1611 prescribed death for blaspheming Christianity and the Trinity. The original settlements were theocratic to the core—anyone who didn't agree with the supreme *faqih* of Plymouth colony had to leave, or else. Remember the Salem witch trials?

Of course, there have been some advances since then, such as are embodied in the Bill of Rights. By the time of the robber barons, John D. Rockefeller Sr. could go around saying "God gave me my money"—and nobody ever tried to get him for blasphemy. Even the Mormon church, which believes in blood atonement and comes as close as you can get under the U.S. Constitution to running a theocracy in Utah, doesn't execute people for blasphemy. But in 1978, when Larry Flynt ran a drawing in *Hustler* magazine of President Jimmy Carter's mother Lillian in the nude with Jesus Christ, he was threatened with jail and then shot by a white vigilante and almost killed while walking to court in a small Georgia town.

Afghanistan: Defeat Islamic Reaction!

The initial tepid reaction of the Western imperialist "democracies" to Khomeini's death edict against Rushdie was of a piece with their unperturbed silence over the recent bloodbath of political prisoners in Iran. U.S. president Bush finally declared that the order to kill the author was "deeply offensive"; State Department sources explained that anything more would serve the interests of those "who are using the book affair as a way of bringing a halt to the trend in recent months of Iran improving relations with the West" (*New York Times*, 22 February). The Common Market countries pulled their diplomats out of Iran when Khomeini made it clear that no "apology" would do. As Washington learned earlier (remember the Iran/contrafiasco) Khomeini is a fundamentalist zealot for whom "normal" state relations with infidels don't count for much.

The growth of Islamic fundamentalism in recent years is in no small measure a by-product of the billions of dollars lavished on the fanatically reactionary and anti-Communist Afghan "freedom fighters" and the billions more funneled to maintain Zia/Bhutto's Islamic regime in Pakistan as a staging area for the anti-Soviet insurgency in Afghanistan. A small taste of what Afghan women have in store, should the *mujahedin* win in the face of the Gorbachev regime's criminal withdrawal, was provided by a recent example in Teheran. When a woman interviewed on Teheran Radio had the audacity to say that the prophet Mohammed's daughter Fatima was not relevant as a role

model because she lived 14 centuries ago, Khomeini decreed that she—and the program's producers—be shot. Consistent with its treacherous pull-out from Afghanistan, the Gorbachev regime and its pro-*glasnost* intelligentsia have not even dared issue a verbal protest in defense of Salman Rushdie for fear of offending Khomeini. Meanwhile, the Kabul regime, which is now facing a fight to the death—while the life of every leftist and unveiled woman in



New York City, January 19: Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist tendency called worldwide emergency protests against Khomeini's mass executions in Iran.

the country is at stake—has actually banned *Satanic Verses* in its continuing suicidal attempt to appease the mullah cutthroats. The battle line for elementary freedoms and social progress against Islamic fundamentalism is today drawn in beleaguered Afghanistan. Those who back the feudalistic *mujahedin* "freedom fighters" would do well to remember that, next time they feel like reading a "heretical" novel, not to mention looking at *Playboy*.

ment of Rajiv Gandhi, threatened by even more communalist rivals, hopes to pick up the Muslim vote. At the same time the Congress Party vies with its communalist rivals by fomenting anti-Muslim and anti-Sikh Hindu communalism. The Gandhi family and Congress took the opportunity to get back at Rushdie for his irreverent and scathing allegorical reference to the Gandhi dynasty in his book, the 1981 Booker Prize winner, *Midnight's Children*. Similarly in Pakistan Islamic fundamentalists denounced his book, *Shame*, which dished out unkindly treatment to General Zia and the Bhuttos. The Congress of South African Writers was forced to withdraw its invitation to Rushdie to speak against apartheid, with sections of the Muslim population suicidally lining up with the butcher Botha to threaten Rushdie. The title of Rushdie's aborted lecture echoed the 19th-century German Jewish radical poet Heinrich Heine's apt warning, now poignantly displayed at the memorial to the victims of Hitler's Dachau concentration camp: "Once they burn books, they will end up burning people."

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Hammer* No. 104, February 1989, newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.

On 14 January, 1500 Muslim fanatics gathered in front of the town hall in Bradford, West Yorkshire and burnt copies of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses*. It grotesquely recalled the medieval Christian Inquisition and book-burning orgies of Hitler's stormtroopers. Confirming the controversial novel's characterisation of the fundamentalist motto "Burn the books and trust the Book," the protesters accused Rushdie's latest book of blasphemy. Leading them all was an unholy alliance of Bradford's Council of Mosques and prominent Labour Party councillors, including ex-mayor Mohammed Ajeeb. One book-burner vowed, "Our next move will be to ensure the book is banned in the whole world. If he [Rushdie] comes here, I tell you he will be dead" (*Independent*, 21 January). Another demonstration in London two weeks later brought out large numbers of Muslims—reportedly overwhelmingly male—to protest the book. This frenzy of Islamic fundamentalism could provoke a wider *racist backlash* engulfing fundamentalist and secular minor-

Let Satanic Verses Be Read!

ities alike. Down with religious obscurantism! Let *Satanic Verses* be read!

Published last September, *Satanic Verses* is largely a novel about the Asian immigrant's experience in "Mrs. Torture's" Britain. It strongly indicts all forms of bigotry—racial, sexual, religious—across the world. When it was first published the British tabloid press fulminated against Rushdie's attack on racism in Britain. Rushdie's unsparing attack on religious fanaticism and fundamentalism targets the Islamic variety—particularly the harsh religious and social sanctions for the oppression of women under the Sharia (laws). Born into an Indian Muslim family, Rushdie made a special study of Islamic history while at Cambridge University in the sixties. He won the 1981 Booker Prize with his widely acclaimed *Midnight's Children* and the 1988 Whitbread Fiction Prize with *Satanic Verses*. The latter novel was also nominated for the 1988 Booker Prize and was the eleven-to-eight favourite to win the £20,000 overall Whitbread Literary Prize for 1989 until a last-minute

swing by the judges (who numbered among them Home Secretary Douglas Hurd) ensured the "public peace" and voted for someone less controversial.

Rushdie and his publishers Penguin/Viking have been deluged with threatening letters and phone calls. Several well-known "left" Labour MPs noted for their "constituency demagoguery"—including Tottenham's Bernie Grant and Bradford's Max Madden—are stoking this dangerous fire; piling in behind Lancashire Tory Ken Hargreave's early day motion deploring the publication of *Satanic Verses*, these Labourite censors are calling for the extension of the Victorian blasphemy laws to all religions. These laws were last resurrected in 1977 when the notorious Mary Whitehouse prosecuted *Gay News* for publishing James Kirkup's poem about Christ, "The Love That Dares to Speak Its Name." Meanwhile, the Koran-thumping crusaders talk of prosecuting Rushdie under the Public Order and Race Relations Acts. As the disgusted Rushdie bitterly observed, "Any old Act will do."

The anti-civilisation *jihad* by these Khomeinists of the second mobilisation has already managed to cow quite a few nominally secularist establishments. Following threats of violence, Britain's largest bookstore chain W.H. Smith dived for cover, sweeping *Satanic Verses* off their Bradford shelves and in the process hinting at a "similar" purification of their other 400-odd outlets. However, the divine power of mammon prevailed and the devilish offender will stay on the shelves. British sales of the hardback alone, currently being reprinted, already exceed 42,000 copies; 50,000 are due to hit the U.S. market—despite bomb and assassination threats; and the paperback will not be out until later this year.

Rushdie's book is already banned in Pakistan, Malaysia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, [Persian] Gulf States, India and South Africa. The Islamic fanatics have vowed to get all Penguin books banned from Muslim countries if *Satanic Verses* is not withdrawn. When the Indian government banned the book in October Rushdie noted "This is about votes, not literature" (*India Today*, 31 October 1988). Indeed the Congress govern-

Rushdie admirably remains defiant: "They are not going to stop in a hurry, and so the struggle against them has to be continued. I am girding my loins for the fray" (*Sunday Times*, 22 January). The fundamentalists charge that Rushdie's book is pornographic and racist and insults their holy book, the Koran, as well as their prophet/founder Mohammed. The frequently Rabelaisian *Satanic Verses* derives its title from two verses said to have been originally accepted by Mohammed as god-given truth and later excised from the Koran by him, on the grounds that they were in fact inspired by the devil masquerading as the archangel Gabriel. To the mullahs' charges, Rushdie responds: "Intellectual dissent is neither pornographic nor racist. I have tried to give a secular, humanist vision of the birth of a great world religion."

We Marxist secular humanists welcome such visions. It is neither supposed pornography nor racism that really got the zealots' goat. As Rushdie pointed out:

"Nowadays... a powerful tribe of clerics has taken over Islam. These are the contemporary Thought Police... One may not discuss the growth of Islam as a historical phenomenon, as an ideology born out of its time. These are the

continued on page 9

No 36 SPRING 1989

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League

International Women's Day 1989

Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!

SEE PAGE 4

WOMEN'S LIBERATION through SOCIALIST REVOLUTION! SPARTACIST LEAGUE/SYL

Interview with Bill Baird
Fighter for Women's Right to Abortion...9

West Germany: Hundreds Pilloried in Anti-Abortion Witchhunt... 14
Night Witches: Soviet Women Combat Pilots Fought Nazi Germany... 26
Smash Islamic Reaction! No to the Veil! Battle for Afghanistan... 32

Black Freedom, Women's Rights and the Civil War...18

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Young Spartacus

Right-Wing "Minutemen" Target Leftists, Blacks, Gay Students

Defend the Anti-Klan 3!

On February 9, an integrated political meeting of Amherst students became the target of a premeditated, violent assault by a gang of racist right-wingers. A dozen thugs from the College Republicans and Conservative Alliance (grouped around the *Minuteman*) attempted to bust up a Spartacus Youth Club public forum. The forum featured a video of the successful 5 November 1988 mobilization which stopped the KKK and skinhead fascists from rallying for white-supremacist genocide in Philadelphia. Enraged that their friends in white sheets were stopped by a united front of more than 1,000 trade unionists, black activists, gays, socialists and students, the "Minutemen" staged a provocation, attempting to censor anti-racist views through physical terror on the Amherst campus. They did not succeed, thanks to the determination of the Spartacus Youth Club members and others—including members of the Radical Student Union, the student government and a reporter from the *Collegian*—to defend this socialist meeting.

The *Minuteman* cabal admits their planned provocation, advertising that the Republican Club "only tolerates right of center views." Despite repeated warnings, they refused to abide by the democratic discussion rules of our meeting, physically attacked participants in the meeting and were removed. One of the thugs picked up a chair and shouted, "I'm going to kill you!" Then they called in the cops, who shut down the meeting. The "Minutemen" have now resorted to malicious prosecution, pressing false charges with sentences of up to ten years against the *victims*, three socialist anti-Klan activists, including a Hispanic SYC supporter they had previ-

ously threatened to hunt down with a "death squad." A defense committee has been formed for the Anti-Klan 3 who are themselves pressing charges of assault and battery against six of the violent racists: W. Greg Rothman, Paul McGonnigal, Doug Dratch, Ken Rudy, Brian Darling and Scott Kramer.

Even now these thugs continue to run amok. On February 21 College Republicans tried to bust up a student meeting in defense of the Anti-Klan 3—and again they failed. In a letter to the *Collegian*, five people, including members of the student government, the Radical Student Union and the Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club, state: "Republican Club members came to the office and began screaming insults, maliciously banging on the door and windows, and attempting to photograph those attending the meeting...it was Ted Chambers [student government] who called the Campus Police, stating that the Republican Club members posed a clear and present threat to the safety of himself and everyone present." Quite a few people at Amherst have had it with taking abuse from these creeps.

The university administration has outrageously banned the Spartacus Youth Club from holding meetings or distributing literature in the campus center, carrying out through administrative fiat what the *Minuteman* thugs tried to achieve through physical violence. If you're a UMass student, the university has just squashed *your* right to politically associate with whomever you choose. We intend to muster every legal and political resource at our disposal to fight for our rights, and in so doing, will fight on behalf of everyone targeted by this right-wing terror squad at UMass.

The stage was set for the UMass campus brownshirts with the 1986 World Series race riot against black students. Since then, the *Minuteman* thugs have attacked black students, gays and leftists with impunity. This crew is characterized by psychotic, obsessive homophobia. These nuts feel their manhood sharply kneed with every advance by leftists and minorities. They rant against what they call "oppression studies" (any

terrorists: "Ben Linder was a communist killed by anti-communists—what's wrong with that?" (*Minuteman*, 8 September 1987). Rothman and his cronies sport the slogan, "I shot Ben Linder!" Violence is the political "program" they recruit to. The back page of the *Minuteman* (11 February 1988) features a full-page drawing of Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega with a target superimposed on his face and the



Young Spartacus

Philadelphia, 5 November 1988: We stopped the Klan! Now UMass Amherst "Minutemen" try to bust up Spartacist meeting on this important anti-racist victory.

course that deals with women and blacks). They hail the Confederate flag of slavery. They published a "word puzzle" whose clues spelled out a death threat to Jay Festa, former president of the campus Lesbian, Bisexual and Gay Alliance. Allied with the Christian fundamentalist "Students for America," they are violently opposed to abortion rights, like the "Right to Life" terrorists who bomb clinics coast to coast. "Never Again—A Communist Student Government President!" is the slogan of their ongoing vendetta against Jason Rabinowitz, the duly elected student body president who is also a member of the Communist Party's youth group, the Young Communist League (YCL).

Enough! As one of the Anti-Klan 3, SYC supporter Tom Daley, says: "It's high time for a broad, political mobilization of all of their intended victims to drive these reactionary shock troops back under the rocks they crawled out from." No illusions in the university administration! Drop the charges against the Anti-Klan 3! Rescind the apartheid-style ban against the Spartacus Youth Club!

Not Just Campus Contras

The *Minuteman*/College Republicans/Conservative Alliance groove on politics by assassination as practiced by the international contra scum. W. Greg Rothman of the Conservative Alliance says of a courageous American volunteer in Nicaragua assassinated by contra

slogan: "Come join the *Minuteman* and take a shot at a communist."

Rothman is the Amherst liaison for the ultraright "Accuracy in Academia" (AIA), a nationwide network dedicated to McCarthyite purges of all radical and even liberal academics from the universities. With its parent group "Accuracy in Media," AIA is allied with the Moonies and the World Anti-Communist League, a global web of death squads and aging Nazis that "advise" and deliver extraparliamentary terror for right-wing regimes. AIA leader Les Csorba spent an all-expense-paid "vacation" in El Salvador on a search-and-destroy mission with the kill-crazy Atlacatl brigade. The *Minuteman's* godfathers in the Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA) have funded trips for young right-wing "journalists" to act as publicity men for the *muja-hedin* in Afghanistan, for Nicaraguan contra leader Edgar Chamorro and for Salvadoran ARENA death squads of "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson.

The *Minuteman* is one of a host of reactionary sheets funded by the IEA, a creature of William Simon and Irving Kristol, who was exposed as an "indirect" recipient of CIA monies. Formed in 1978, the IEA fuses ultrarightist youth with big business, channeling moolah from the labor-hating beer magnate Adolph Coors, Dow Chemical, Pfizer, Chase Manhattan Bank (to name just a few) to underwrite "news-papers" that function as ideological hit



Peter Blakely

Right-wing shock troops on the home front: College Republicans demolish anti-apartheid shanties on the Dartmouth Green, laud killer contra scum in Nicaragua.

Wohl/Syigma



UC Berkeley Protest

The University of California/Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club held a militant protest on February 23 outside the International House where Nazi propagandist David Irving was giving a fascist speech. Some 40 protesters picketed, chanting, "Remember Auschwitz! Smash Nazi scum!" and "Down with the hoods, off with the sheets—Sweep the Nazis off the streets!" Protesters carried signs including "David Irving Has Never Met a Nazi He Didn't Like!" One protester carried a sign which read "David Duke Makes Me Puke!" referring to the "former" KKK Grand Dragon who was recently elected as a Republican to the Louisiana legislature. Students from the campus Hillel Foundation and a Jewish fraternity also gathered in protest, some of them picking up our placards.

Three Bay Area TV channels covered the event and showed the footage on the 11 p.m. news that night. The 24 February *Daily Californian* quoted Spartacist League spokesman Martha Phillips: "The purpose of this demonstration is clear. David Irving is not an urbane professor, but a fascist.... He has been active in calling for fascist organization." The protest concluded with a short speech from Phillips, who said, "What is needed in America is a third American revolution, a workers revolution, and that is what will once and for all sweep the fascists off the streets!" We reprint below the leaflet distributed by the Spartacus Youth Club on campus.

Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels called it the Big Lie. His disciple David Irving, who is speaking this evening at International House, is well practiced in this art. Hitler, he says, didn't know about the Holocaust, it was all Himmler's doing. And maybe it didn't even happen. While Irving poses as an urbane historian, he is closely associated with fascist outfits in Britain and the U.S. whose program is racist terror against Jews, blacks, Asians, Hispanics—in short, all "non-Aryans." The Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club calls on all students, working people and minorities to protest militantly against this



Young Spartacus Spartacus Youth Club pickets fascist propagandist at University of California at Berkeley, February 23.

David Irving—Nazi Apologist

apologist for fascist genocide.

Hitler innocent and ignorant of the Holocaust? The destruction of the Jews was *always* the stated goal of Nazism, spelled out clearly in Hitler's *Mein Kampf* in the 1920s. When Nazi Germany started to lose World War II, the extermination of the European Jews became the substitute war aim. Hitler was a totalitarian dictator who knew the location of every military company on the Eastern Front. He was constantly giving tactical battlefield orders to his generals. Yet we are supposed to believe he was unaware of the massive mobilization to exterminate the Jews.

But, say David Irving and other Nazi

apologists, Hitler never publicly talked or wrote about the Holocaust. Of course, he didn't. No less an authority than Heinrich Himmler insisted that the death camps must remain *secret*:

"Among us it should be discussed completely openly, and nonetheless we shall never speak of it publicly.... I am speaking now of the evacuation of the Jews, the eradication of the Jewish people."

Yesterday the *Daily Cal* reported that Irving "is convinced that gas chambers never existed in the concentration camps because studies at the sites failed to find toxins there." That gas chambers *existed* in the concentration camps

is attested to by someone who knew a hell of a lot more about them than David Irving, namely the commandant of Auschwitz, Rudolf Hoess:

"I commanded Auschwitz until 1st December 1943, and estimate that at least 2,500,000 victims were executed there by gassing and burning, and at least another half-million succumbed to starvation and disease, making a total dead of about 3,000,000....
"The 'final solution' of the Jewish question meant the complete extermination of all the Jews in Europe...."
—quoted in Burton C. Andrus, *The Infamous at Nuremberg* (1969)

Hoess noted that at Treblinka, an earlier concentration camp, they used carbon monoxide. He didn't think this was "very efficient," so "when I set up the extermination building at Auschwitz, I used Cyclon B." Poison gases like carbon monoxide and Cyclon B *dissipate* rapidly into the air, which is why no traces of them were later found in the camp sites.

In fact, the first acts of the Holocaust did not involve gas chambers, but were mass shootings conducted by the Einsatzgruppen with the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The tens of thousands of bodies of victims at hundreds of locations, like Babi Yar in the Ukraine, were put there with bullets, lots of bullets, that don't evaporate like carbon monoxide and Cyclon B.

David Irving is not just an idiosyncratic historian, a loony right-wing professor. He is a fascist propagandist.

- In 1979 Irving addressed a meeting of the Clarendon Club about founding a new right-wing party in Britain. The audience consisted mainly of members of the fascist League of St. George.

- In 1981 Irving launched the Focus Policy Study Group. Its journal, *Focal Point*, carried advertisements for a wide range of racist and pro-Nazi groups.

- In 1983 Irving spoke to a meeting of activists of the fascist British National Party.

- The same year he was the star attraction at a conference of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) in Anaheim, California. This year again he was the main speaker for this Institute, which through its parent corporation is associated with outright Klan and Nazi propaganda. The main beliefs of the IHR are:

- that the Jews and not Germany started the Second World War.
- that Hitler was only an anti-communist defending European civilization against Bolshevism.
- that the Holocaust is a hoax.
- that the United States was dragged into the war by the Jews.

Joseph Goebbels once wrote that the Nazis could easily have been crushed in the mid-1920s when they were still weak. We must crush the likes of David Irving and his friends now, when they are still weak, before they have an opportunity to wreak another Holocaust, this time maybe a nuclear holocaust destroying all mankind.

Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club
23 February 1989



Universal Pictorial



Bison Books



Florea/Life

Hitler look-alike David Irving (left) whitewashes Hitler's monstrous crimes. Slain victims in Nazi death camp at Nordhausen, 1945.

squads on the campuses. Their flagship journal is the infamous *Dartmouth Review*—a very upper-crust and deeply racist gang that acts like young prep masters of the universe, donning their Brooks Brothers best to heave sledgehammers against occupied anti-apartheid shanties on the Dartmouth green. The *Minuteman* calls the *Dartmouth Review* crowd "our brothers to the north" and is cut from the very tattered end of the same cloth. The low IQ "southern brothers" at Amherst are more reminiscent of the dangerous backwoods idiots depicted in the film *Deliverance*. Their role models are run as front-page *Minuteman* pinups: especially Contragate criminal Ollie North. "Neutralizing" political opponents through terror is the method these thugs

would like to employ on the home front. They see the Trotskyist Spartacus Youth Club—with our forthright defense of the Soviet Union, our campaign to raise material aid for Nicaragua against the CIA's contras, our labor/black mobilizations against racist terror—as convenient "surrogates" to target. Unable to *convince* people of their views, the *Minuteman* cabal aims to *coerce* the student population through thuggery and endless legal harassment. They also resort to a method perfected by Goebbels: the Big Lie. In the March issue of the *Minuteman*, they retail the deadly lie that the "Spartacist [sic] League advocates the violent overthrow of the United States Government."

A day in court might teach these thugs

the meaning of the word libel. A similar violence-baiting slander was retailed by the *Minuteman's* "Accuracy in Academia" cohorts—they were forced to prominently run a retraction of that smear. Given the *Minuteman's* direct membership overlap with AIA, it is impossible that they don't know it. The point of the Big Lie however is not that it be true, but that it be repeated enough in the hope that someone will start believing it. Unfortunately for the campus contras at UMass, they have about as much credibility with the population as a Texas savings and loan.

YCL: Which Side Are You On?

The *Dartmouth Review* says, "Genocide is never having to say you're sorry"

(*Nation*, 3 April 1982). These young Republicans call themselves "the New Right" but their style and program imitates the Third Reich whose stormtroopers turned German universities into fascist recruiting grounds in the '30s. People had better recall the words of Martin Niemöller:

"First they came for the communists, but since I was not a communist I did not protest. Then they came for the Jews, but since I was not a Jew I did not protest. Then they came for the Catholics, but since I was not a Catholic I did not protest. When they came for me, there was no one left to protest."

The campus contras have cut such a wide swath at UMass that a broad mobilization against them could be as popular as it is necessary. Many students and

continued on page 10

Eastern...

(continued from page 1)

After a decade of union-busting and bleeding the poor and working people of America, there is a lot of anger. For Teamsters targeted by the feds' RICO witchhunt, for the black population of Miami under the guns of the racist police, for all workers and minorities, the battle at Eastern is a chance to draw the line—and strike back. At the airports, every union—Machinists, Teamsters, Transport Workers, Flight Attendants—must seal off the fuel, the food, the buses and trains, everything. And that includes the Eastern Shuttle which mega-landlord Donald Trump is buying from Lorenzo. Machinists must paralyze IAM-organized aviation service outfits like Hudson-General and Butler Aviation which are recruiting scabs. The cowardly union tops will hide

They threaten not only the livelihood of their workers but the very lives of their passengers. To cut costs, they are not only driving down wages but keeping old planes in the air, overworking pilots and generally degrading safety standards. As *Business Week* (16 January) put it recently: "Terrorism is scary. But the rattletrap U.S. air fleet is even scarier." Last week a gaping hole ripped open in the fuselage of a 19-year-old Boeing 747, and nine passengers on this United flight were sucked out over the Pacific to their death.

Frank "Darth Vader" Lorenzo is the most notorious union-busting cut-throat capitalist in the United States. When he took over Eastern in 1986, he was determined to smash the union, even if it meant destroying the company. Lorenzo is eager to provoke a Machinists strike because he expects that the full power of the capitalist state will be used to break it. Certainly the

other unionists turned out for two lunchtime demonstrations at Miami airport.

In New York, workers in La Guardia IAM Lodge 1018 met on February 23 to plan strike activities. The local issued a leaflet "to all airline workers and all other workers" explaining that "Whether you are a mechanic at Butler Aviation, a cleaner at United Airlines or an unemployed worker you have a stake in the battle at Eastern." One Machinist reported that air freight facility truck drivers, members of the Teamsters union, have promised to honor IAM picket lines. The meeting adjourned to picket a nearby hotel, where Eastern has set up a scab recruiting office.

On February 24, the executive board of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 553, representing 7,000 Eastern flight attendants, voted to request "that each of its members not cross IAM picket lines." Local 553 president Mary

try to stay here. It is also crucial that labor fight for union-run training and apprenticeship programs to provide jobs for black youth, imprisoned in the Miami ghetto as they watch successive waves of immigrants pass them by. And strikers must convince potential strike-breakers that *scabbing is dangerous to your health*.

Wimpy's Trap

As Lorenzo has been sucking Eastern dry through various financial schemes which funnel cash into Continental Airlines and his Texas Air empire, the Machinists have been tied up in the courts and labor boards by IAM president William "Wimpy" Winpisinger and District 100 chairman Charles Bryan. All this time labor has been eating it at Eastern—thousands laid off, hundreds of the best union militants fired, and the remaining workers forced to work massive overtime under the observation of "security" cameras installed by management. Endless union appeals to the bosses' courts and labor boards have come to naught. In February, the courts ruled in favor of the company's "attendance control" harassment program and allowed forced overtime.

Now Winpisinger is blustering that he will call upon his 500,000-member union to carry out sympathy strikes at railroads and other airlines. President Lane Kirkland and the AFL-CIO executive board, taking time out from their winter meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida, promised "the fullest possible support." The *New York Times* (24 February) quickly called Kirkland to order, saying he "threatens the public with...sympathy strikes against the railroads." Like a dog coming to heel, Kirkland sent the *Times* a cringing letter the next day, vowing "I did not say or even suggest that," and "I do not have, nor do I desire, that power" to call sympathy strikes.

The real strategy of the Winpisinger and Bryan "team," to pressure Bush to appoint an "emergency board" and have Congress impose a contract, is a strategy of *defeat*. The Democrats are among the staunchest Lorenzo backers, and they were the ones who drew up the government plan, later implemented by Reagan, to crush PATCO. But this hasn't stopped Winpisinger from sitting on the Democratic Party's National Committee. Both the partner parties of capitalism are enemies of the working class.

The road to betrayal of the IAM strike is already well paved. Kirkland was careful to promise only "the maximum degree of support that is *legally possible*" (our emphasis). As soon as some judge issues the inevitable injunction against sympathy strikes Wimpy will capitulate. He has already sent out the "Don't Fly Eastern" signs and bumper stickers, setting up strikers for a toothless consumer boycott, sinking the IAM just like they sunk PATCO. Machinist locals have been instructed to picket travel agents and downtown company offices. This is a *diversion* from the key task: *Shut down the airports!*

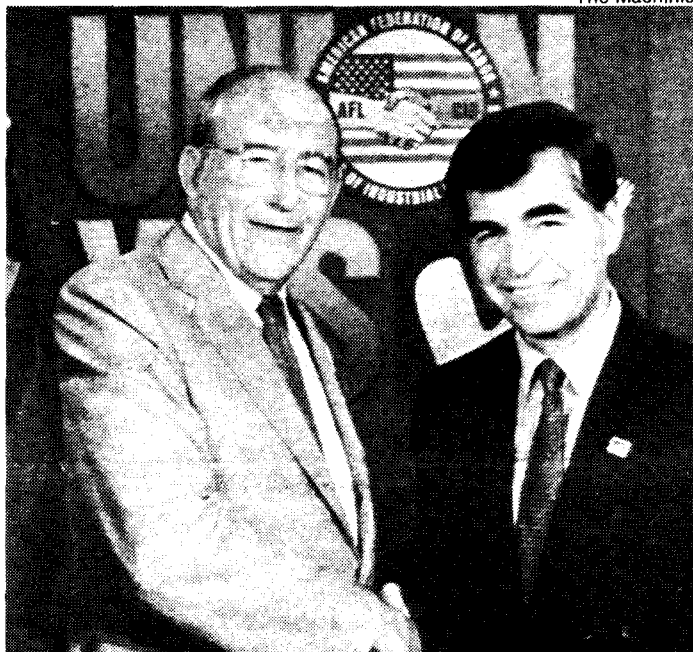
At Bal Harbour, Kirkland lavished praise on Elizabeth Dole, Bush's labor secretary: "I count her as a personal friend." Dole, who was Reagan's transportation secretary, helped make air travel what it is today. Adding insult to injury, when Kirkland made his "solidarity" appearance at the February 23 rally outside Eastern's Miami headquarters, a plane flew overhead trailing the banner "Eastern Airlines, official airline of the AFL-CIO." (Obscenely, the AFL-CIO tops contracted with Lorenzo's airline to fly them to Florida's beaches.)

Junk Bonds and Flying Jalopies

The battle at Eastern has repercussions throughout corporate America, for the airline industry exemplifies American capitalism in the '80s—the Reagan years. Corporate raiders, fi-



Bob Kinmonth



The Machinist

Corporate raider Lorenzo (left) stares down pilots; now he's going all out to break Eastern unions. IAM chief Winpisinger (with Dukakis at right) pleads with Bush and Democrats to impose contract.

behind "no-strike clauses" and court injunctions—but any union leader who isn't willing to risk going to jail is in the wrong line of work.

Massive picket lines, including thousands of other unionists and the unemployed, must ring the hangars and terminals—*nobody crosses!* For the unions at Eastern it's fight or die—and we better stand with them. This is not a case of isolated, militant strikers like Local P-9 at Hormel, left to go it alone against the National Guard. From day one, labor action to shut down the key air transportation hubs on the East Coast will electrify workers across the country. It will also bring a response from the government, as in any major class battle—like the 1978 coal strike. Democrat Jimmy Carter repeatedly tried to break that strike with Taft-Hartley injunctions, but the miners tore them up. What happens at Eastern will shape upcoming labor fights, starting with the tens of thousands of airline and aerospace workers whose contracts expire in '89.

Gutting Safety, Gutting the Unions

Lorenzo and the other airline bosses personify unbridled capitalist greed.

Times and other rabid labor-haters would like to see Bush deal with an airline Machinists strike the same way Reagan dealt with PATCO—court injunctions, police scabherding, the jailing of union officials. A strike at Eastern will be *class war*. The workers can defeat Lorenzo/Bush, but only if they use all of their weapons (e.g., secondary strikes) and fight with courage and determination. *Labor's gotta play hardball to win this one!*

"A Fight for All Labor"

As the strike deadline approaches, Lorenzo has been running amok—firing and suspending hundreds of union members and stewards and recruiting scabs up and down the East Coast. In Miami, after workers wildcatted February 7 in a dramatic march off the base in protest over forced overtime, Eastern disciplined over 1,000 workers. IAM members have picketed the scab recruiting centers, and militantly protested when Lorenzo brought scabs onto the Miami base for training on the Washington's birthday holiday. One chief steward told *WV* that IAM members were itching to strike on the spot. And last week, thousands of Machinists and

Jane Barry said that "We realize if Lorenzo destroys the IAM workers' livelihood, we are his next target." Eastern flight attendants know all too well what another corporate raider, Carl Icahn, did to the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) at TWA. Hung out to dry while other unions, including the IAM, crossed their lines, three years later over 1,400 IFFA members still have not been recalled to work. It is crucial that TWU flight attendants be brought out in *joint strike action* with the IAM.

Lorenzo is counting on the pilots to scab, as they did in the last two IAM strikes against Eastern in 1958 and 1966 and repeatedly in strikes in the '80s. On February 14, the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) Master Executive Council met and voted that "it was in the pilots' best interest to respect the picket lines." But a week later, ALPA secretary-treasurer Rick Chapman said pilots will cross IAM picket lines "if they [Eastern management] make it worth our while" (*Washington Post*, 23 February). In exchange for a "fence agreement" with Lorenzo, "guaranteeing" the pilots' jobs, some of the ALPA tops are willing to stab the Machinists in the back. But playing hardball on the picket line can convince potential scabs that it wouldn't be smart. And if there are no fuelers and no mechanics, then any pilots who throw in their lot with Lorenzo can just sit on the runway with him.

In Miami, Eastern is counting on exploiting race, color and national divisions to crack the solid union hatred for Lorenzo. In this "contra capital," where Cuban immigrants are pitted against blacks born in the U.S., who are in turn set against Haitians, Eastern is hiring scabs for \$3.85 per hour from among Nicaraguan refugees paroled from *la migra's* holding pens in Texas. The integrated IAM local 702 at Eastern's Miami base has appealed to these recent immigrants on Spanish-language radio stations not to scab. The IAM must defend the right of foreign-born workers who have made it to this coun-

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WV Photo

Oakland airport, August 1981: Spartacists join PATCO demonstration, demanding "Labor: Shut down the airports!"

nanced by junk bonds, have taken over and looted the airlines while smashing the unions, driving down wages and scrapping safety standards. It is no accident that the popular film *Wall Street* centers around a villainous corporate raider (Icahn? Lorenzo?) taking over an airline. But Machinists better not forget that it was under Borman's "Eastern family" that Charles Bryan forked over millions in givebacks to buy a seat on the board of directors.

Lorenzo controls the biggest airline operation in the Western world with total assets of \$8 billion. Yet he himself owns less than one percent of the stock of this corporate empire centered on the Texas Air holding company. How does he do it? By borrowing. Lorenzo's airline empire owes \$5.5 billion in debt. In 1987 the interest payments alone amounted to \$600,000,000. This is greater than the total revenue of many large U.S. corporations, firms making

up 20 percent of the top Fortune 500 list!

To pay off the junk bond holders, Lorenzo has attempted to drive down the wages of this highly skilled workforce to sweatshop levels. When he took over Continental in 1983, he declared bankruptcy, tore up all union contracts and cut wages nearly in half. When he bought Eastern in 1986, he declared "I don't meet with union leaders." Lorenzo "made no secret of his intentions: to slash labor costs using all available means," reported *Business Week* (11 July 1988). At the same time, he has looted Eastern—selling off its assets dirt cheap, charging exorbitant fees for so-called services provided by Texas Air and Continental.

Driving down costs in the debt-laden airlines industry also means driving down safety standards. And even the rest of the American capitalist class is becoming nervous about that. After all, their relatives, friends and executives do

fly on commercial airlines. They don't all use private or company planes. Last fall, the *Wall Street Journal* (19 September 1988), no less, ran an article titled, "Some Airlines Narrow Their Safety Margins, Seeking to Cut Costs." The *Journal* exposed all manner of dangerous conditions and practices—an aging fleet of planes, constantly switching pilots from one model to another, cutting back on pilot training. The article quoted one pilot for Lorenzo's Continental Airlines: "Years ago, the airlines were expected to do better than the minimum standards. Now, the attitude is, 'As long as it's legal...'"

But while the capitalist class may worry about deteriorating airline safety, they stand behind Lorenzo 100 percent in his war against labor.

Bust the Union-Busters!

In the *New York Times* 24 February editorial, "Labor Threatens the Pres-

ident," the ruling-class mouthpiece calls for breaking the IAM:

"Mr. Reagan stood firm against a strike by air traffic controllers that could have grounded civil aviation. The question now is whether Mr. Bush will stand up with equal courage....

"The cost of appeasement could be enormous."

The *Times* added, "Mr. Kirkland is probably bluffing."

The ruling class has thrown down the gauntlet. They want to see if labor's bluffing, so let's show them some real power—shut down the airports! To win, the Eastern strikers must forge a new leadership with the determination and strategy to fight. The strike must be taken out of the hands of Kirkland and Winpisinger through elected strike committees which must appeal to all the airline unions. The battle against Lorenzo must be extended into an industrywide strike, fighting for a single union of all airline workers—pilots, Machinists, flight attendants, air traffic controllers, ramp servicemen—with standard wage and benefits scales across the industry.

At stake in this strike is a key section of American industry is the right of organized labor to exist. The defense of a half century of union gains, and the opening up of a future cleansed of corporate parasites like Lorenzo, requires the forging of a class-struggle leadership. While Winpisinger, who calls himself a "seat-of-the-pants socialist," looks to the Democratic Party in Congress to impose a contract, what we need is a fighting workers party to unite labor and its allies to impose the interests of those whose labor produces the enormous profits that the Lorenzos and Icahns and their bankers are looting.

No more PATCOs! Victory to the IAM! Shut down the airports! ■

Rushdie...

(continued from page 5)

taboos against which 'The Satanic Verses' has transgressed (these and one other; I also tried to write about the place of women in Islamic society, and in the Koran)."

—Observer, 22 January

Epitomised by the horrible conditions under Khomeini's Islamic regime in Iran and those which the CIA-backed Afghan "freedom fighters" wish to impose, Islamic fundamentalism reserves special horrors for women. From the stifling and dehumanising *chador* (veil) to the pervasive and humiliating segregation in society (*purdah*) advocated by Islamic fundamentalists, a key question dividing communists and the elders of the mosques is the liberation of women from such barbaric subjugation.

Ominously the white racists and anti-immigrant fascists in Britain might well see a chance to peddle genocidal poison against all Asians in the aftermath of the Muslim fanatics' drive. In a letter to the *Guardian* (22 January) one Dipak Nandy writes:

"The reaction of the Muslim community to Satanic Verses is a profound strategic error. Britain in 1989 is an intolerant, illiberal society anyway. By joining forces with those who have made it so, Muslims in Britain seem to be, with unbelievable naivety, forging the conditions in which their own right to exist and practise their faith will be extinguished.

"I write as one who grew up as a boy amidst the communal massacres which accompanied the partition of India and for whom the ugly, unacceptable face of religion—and particularly of religious fundamentalism—is etched in memories of dead, disfigured bodies littering the streets—and of screams in the night."

The bourgeois mouthpieces have already waxed mealy-mouthed about the glorious "British traditions" of "tolerance" and "democracy," trying to bury the long history of state censorship. Oscar Wilde was jailed for openly defying official bourgeois sexual hypocrisy, D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was banned for decades. Recently the frenzied attempts to ban *Spycatcher*

have been joined by the blanket ban on Sinn Fein and even the musical group Pogues' song about the demonstrably innocent Birmingham Six. Fortunately, the reactionary Christian clericals in this country couldn't deprive people of the right to see the movie, *The Last Temptation of Christ*. But fascists linked with Catholic fundamentalism were able to terrorise theatres throughout France from screening the movie in various areas outside Paris. The ruling class in this country has a long tradition of class-biased hypocrisy backed up with state sanctions. Imitating the worst characteristics of the bourgeois rulers are the weepy liberals and "leftists" who think that Paul Simon's *Graceland* album ought to be banned and his concerts picketed because he worked with South African black musicians or that Jim Allen's anti-Zionist *Perdition* should not be allowed to play.

Less sanctimonious are the right-wing forces busying themselves on the ground, preparing the way for a racist

backlash. Anthony Murphy, chairman of Bradford South Conservative Club, is distributing leaflets calling for an end to all immigration: "I don't think you could impose sterilisation, but we must educate them. The indigenous population see the take-over as a recipe for disaster" (*Independent*, 21 January).

The sheer disproportion in the relationship of forces between the white Christian majority and the Muslims would suggest that Islamic fundamentalist frenzy is contrary to the objective interests of the Muslim communities as well as other minorities. The fundamentalists are centred in the mosques of the most deprived inner-city areas such as Bradford and East London. In this vile racist society the mosque offers some pie-in-the-sky solace to the community's most oppressed. Faced with unemployment or toiling in the satanic mills of Bradford—not to mention the sweatshops run by the petty capitalists who are the mullahs' closest supporters—some of the oppressed Asian

Muslims are driven back into the arms of the most reactionary elements of their traditional society.

There is an established church in this country and ominous moves to further erode secular education threaten everyone. The Tories' Education Reform attacks the educational rights of all working people and is a particular affront to minorities. The government is insisting that religious education in schools be implemented and that it be essentially Christian. This has fuelled the Islamic fundamentalists' drive to establish single-sex schools for girls and force young women into *purdah*. The growing pressure for separate (and single-sex) schools coming from a small but loud bunch of Muslim fanatics only plays into the hands of white segregationist outfits like the Parental Alliance for Choice in Education in Dewsbury. These people do not seem to know what country they, and their followers, live in. We demand free secular education for all, including the teaching of minority languages such as Bengali and Urdu. Keep the mullahs, nuns, priests and above all the reverends of the established Anglican church out of the schools!

Of the party that presided over the British-engineered partition bloodbath in India, the racist Labour Party that brought you virginity tests for Asian women seeking immigration to Britain, Rushdie notes "the true conservatives of Britain are now the Labour party" and that "It is very sad to see this alliance of the left and the mullahs, for heaven's sake" (*Sunday Times*, 22 January). Indeed, Labour's "party of the people" talk is a pro-capitalist fraud—from its longstanding bloc with the Catholic church in places like Glasgow based on protecting religious schools, to the Gypsy bans in Islington to Bernie Grant's appeal to the Victorian values of the blasphemy laws. Britain needs a revolutionary Bolshevik party, a true tribune of the oppressed, built by splitting the Labour Party in the struggle for socialist revolution. Having thus gotten rid of all the old crap, we can then enjoy *Satanic Verses* in peace. ■



Asadour Guzelian

Bradford, England: Muslim fundamentalists torch Salman Rushdie's book.

El Salvador...

(continued from page 12)

revolution, pose the struggle in broader terms. The liberation of the Central American masses requires a fight for workers revolution throughout the region, extending to the Mexican proletariat and above all waging sharp class struggle in the heart of Yankee imperialism.

Civil War Escalates

The front-runner in the Salvadoran presidential election is Alfredo (Freddy) Cristiani, the Georgetown-educated millionaire coffee baron and industrialist. Cristiani was chosen to present a cleaned-up image of ARENA, made infamous by D'Aubuisson, the former head of Army intelligence who personally ordered the 1980 assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero. Yet Cristiani complains about a "human-rights psychosis" crippling the war against leftist guerrillas. In the *Frontline* (14 June 1988) TV program on "Our Forgotten War," the ARENA standard-bearer was asked:

Frontline: What country in Latin America would you point to as the sort of system that you think would work for El Salvador?

Alfredo Cristiani: Chile.

The independent Salvador Human Rights Commission reported on December 29 that 1,741 civilians were killed in El Salvador in the first eleven months of 1988.

Ironically, the Arias "peace plan" has meant a resurgence of death squad terror. After the U.S. Congress made a fuss about "human rights," they cut down on the mass killings for fear of losing U.S. dollars. They figured the urban population was sufficiently terrorized anyway. But under the Esquipulas agreements, the government is supposed to allow at least the appearance of a political opposition. The military was furious that FDR leaders Guillermo Ungo and Rubén Zamora were allowed to return, and that Ungo is running in the presidential elections on the Convergencia Democrática ticket. So with the leftist opposition active in the streets and with guerrilla actions multiplying in the heart of San Salvador, the right has responded by revving up its Murder Inc.

After the defeat of the leftist rebels' "Final Offensive" in 1981, it was militarily pretty quiet in the capital even as fighting was heavy in the countryside. But in the last year the FMLN has brought the war to San Salvador. *Newsday* (16 January) writes that "San Sal-

Death squad murder on the rise: Air force paratroopers (right), another victim found on road (below).

Photos: Hinterlang/J.B. Pictures



vador...has taken on the trappings of an armed camp.... Heavily armed troops now man roadblocks throughout the city, and most days low flying helicopters buzz residential zones." The most spectacular of the FMLN's strikes was the broad daylight attack on the Ministry of Defense and General Staff headquarters in the middle of San Salvador on December 23. It was the first-ever assault on the army high command in eight years of civil war and put 14 high officials out of action. The FMLN used imaginative tactics, launching explosives over the 20-foot-high wall of the compound by use of a catapult.

Earlier, on December 20, urban commandos of the FMLN exploded two car bombs in front of the headquarters of the Air Force at Ilopango, on the outskirts of the capital. On December 5, they launched an attack on the headquarters of the Third Infantry Brigade and the elite Arce Battalion in San Miguel. Before that, on November 1, the FMLN "welcomed" incoming army chief of staff René Emilio Ponce with an attack on National Guard headquarters which destroyed half the installation. And on September 13, an FMLN attack hit the heavily fortified El Paraíso military barracks in Chalate-

nango for the third time in five years, causing hundreds of casualties.

Most recently, on February 21, the rebels staged an attack in San Salvador on the headquarters of the 4,000-man First Brigade, the country's most important military installation. Simultaneously the rebels attacked an army engineering base at Zacatecoluca. A U.S. "adviser" stationed at the base reported to the U.S. Military Group commanders in the capital: "The shit's hitting the fan pretty bad out here.... I'm bailing out of here. I'm getting out of here...."

While full-time guerrilla forces have been reduced because of the government's control of the air, meaning that mass attacks must take place at night, the areas under FMLN control have expanded to a third of the country. And in the urban areas, the FMLN has organized militias and "insurreccional detachments" which they claim now number 40,000 men, women and youths. "The rebels are showing they're the only order in many parts of the country," a Salvadoran analyst said.

But now a new group of officers have taken power in the military—the *tandona*, the "big class" of 1966, whose leader is Colonel René Emilio Ponce, the new

Army chief of staff. These gung ho field officers argue that they are getting whipped on the battlefield because of restrictions imposed by civilian politicians and the U.S. strategy of "low-intensity conflict." Ponce wants to "dry up the sea" by "draining" the peasants out of areas where the guerrillas operate. Instead of "low-intensity conflict," the *tandona* advocates the strategy of "total war." One of their godfathers in ARENA told a human rights delegation that in order to win the war it will be necessary to kill perhaps 100,000 people. "We could do it in 10 years or in one year.... I would prefer to get it over within one year."

War of the Mayors

One of the FMLN's most effective tactics in establishing dual power in the countryside has been to issue threats to the local mayors, telling them to resign or be executed. As of February it was reported that over 50 mayors have resigned, and an equal number have fled to the departmental capitals, so that there are no functioning local authorities in one-third of El Salvador. Even the mayor of Usulután, El Salvador's third-largest city, resigned. Mayor Marta Gómez de Meléndez of Cojutepeque, who is the head of ARENA in Cuscatlán department, was the 45th mayor to quit. After receiving a letter from the FMLN ordering her to quit in 72 hours or "face popular justice," Gómez read her resignation on national TV:

"The army promised to protect me, but those soldiers can't even protect themselves, can't even shoot straight. How could they protect me?... If I had soldiers walking behind me, the people would say, 'There goes Dona Marta and her death squad'."

Newsday (16 January) quoted a Western military adviser as saying, "It is a brilliant strategy destroying government attempts to deliver goods and services to the people." But there has been an outcry from liberals, "human rights" groups in the U.S. and even Rubén Zamora of the FDR, who claims that by killing or threatening "civilians" the guerrillas are violating the Geneva Convention on warfare. To begin with, the mayors are hardly "civilians." In this civil war situation, they are local representatives of the bloody regime which has killed more than 70,000 Salvadorans. They were selected in gunpoint "elections" in which no leftists could run. And the eight mayors who were killed by the guerrillas last year were all members of ARENA, the fascistic party of the death squads.

Moreover, the mayors are directly in the pay of U.S. AID, as an integral part of the CIA's Vietnam-style "counterinsurgency" program. Each municipality now receives \$55,000 for projects under the control of the mayors. Among these projects promoted by the mayors to "win the hearts and minds" of villagers are the paramilitary patrols known as "civil defense," some of the most notorious killers in the rural areas. El Salvador correspondent Chris Norton quoted from a study done for the U.S. embassy on the AID "Municipalities" program:

"It is often overlooked that Municipalities in Action is a counterinsurgency strategy," says the study. "Indeed, we will argue that in El Salvador it is the most effective counterinsurgency strategy."

"But in forcing the mass resignations of the country's mayors, the guerrillas have undercut the program, frustrating the government's ability to project itself in the countryside, especially in the most trouble-plagued zones where the government most needed to assert its presence."

—San Francisco Examiner, 13 January

Yes, the guerrillas' "war of the mayors" is based on terror. But in a civil war, in which the government forces spread indiscriminate terror through bombings, massacres and death squad assassinations, revolutionary struggle may require such tactics. Leon Trotsky, the organizer of the Bolshevik Red Army, wrote in *Terrorism and Communism*

Amherst...

(continued from page 7)

organizations have responded positively to our appeal for support to defend the Anti-Klan 3, recognizing an opportunity to defeat their own enemies and defend themselves. But not the Young Communist League. On February 22, College Republicans were admitted to a publicly advertised YCL event featuring a *People's Daily World* columnist,

but the YCL called the cops against Spartacus Youth Club members who stood outside the meeting distributing *Workers Vanguard* and a press release about the attack on our comrades. Was it the YCL the next night who called campus cops again to stop SYC supporters from distributing literature outside a talk by Chip Berlet on the danger of the far right on American campuses? The *Minuteman* (March 1989) even peddles a violence-baiting slander from the YCL to justify the right-wing

assault on the Spartacus Youth Club's anti-Klan meeting!

Well, Stalin tried a pact with Hitler too, and that didn't work out so well. The YCL's shameful sectarianism will backfire against them. Stalinist reformism renders the YCL incapable of politically fighting repression. In order to prove its loyalty to the ruling class during World War II, the Communist Party (CP) hailed the prosecution of the Smith Act against its first victims, the American Trotskyists, only to discover later that the Smith Act became the centerpiece of the government's Cold War witchhunt against the CP itself. In contrast, we Trotskyists stand firmly in the tradition of *non-sectarian, united-front defense* of every victimized member of the workers movement, regardless of our political disagreements. Last year, we went to bat for the CP when they were attacked by the same *Minuteman* crowd at Amherst (see "Campus Contreras Assault Gus Hall Meeting," *Workers Vanguard*, 1 January 1988) and we defend the right of the reformist Rabinowitz to take office.

Like the Wobblies used to say: *An injury to one is an injury to all! Put the "Minutemen" on the run! Defend the Anti-Klan 3!* ■

WHAT YOU CAN DO

By prosecuting three Spartacus Youth Club supporters who defended an anti-racist meeting against a premeditated violent assault, the *Minuteman* crowd hopes for a court declaration of open season against leftists, black activists, gays, fighters for women's rights, defenders of civil liberties. Don't let them get away with it!

Defense of the Anti-Klan 3 is in the urgent interest of everyone targeted by the *Minuteman* thugs. Send letters demanding the dropping of

charges against the Anti-Klan 3 to: Clerk of the Court, Northampton District Court, 15 Gothic St., Northampton, MA 01060. Send letters demanding that UMass rescind the ban against the Spartacus Youth Club to: Office of the Chancellor, 374 Whitmore Building, UMass Amherst, Amherst, MA 01003. Pack the Northampton District Court March 23 in solidarity with the Anti-Klan 3!

Court battles are costly. Please help—send a check to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

(1920), his polemic against the Kautskyites who denounced the Bolsheviks' "red terror," necessary to defend the young Soviet power in the Civil War against the tsarist White Guards and the expeditionary forces of 14 imperialist armies:

"War, like revolution, is founded upon intimidation. A victorious war, generally speaking, destroys only an insignificant part of the conquered army, intimidating the remainder and breaking their will. The revolution works in the same way: it kills individuals and intimidates thousands."

Class War in San Salvador

Not only is the war in the countryside going badly for the government, San Salvador is seething with protest. In an article titled "Things Fall Apart: Trouble Ahead in El Salvador" (*World Policy Journal*, Winter 1988-89), Morris Blachman and Kenneth Sharpe note that there is "an increase in strikes, marches, petitions, demonstrations, and land takeovers" and an explosion of "protests and demonstrations by federations or confederations of unions and other organizations to demand that the government lift decrees restricting union activity and political rights, end disappearances and jailings of members and undertake a dialogue with the FDR-FMLN to end the war."

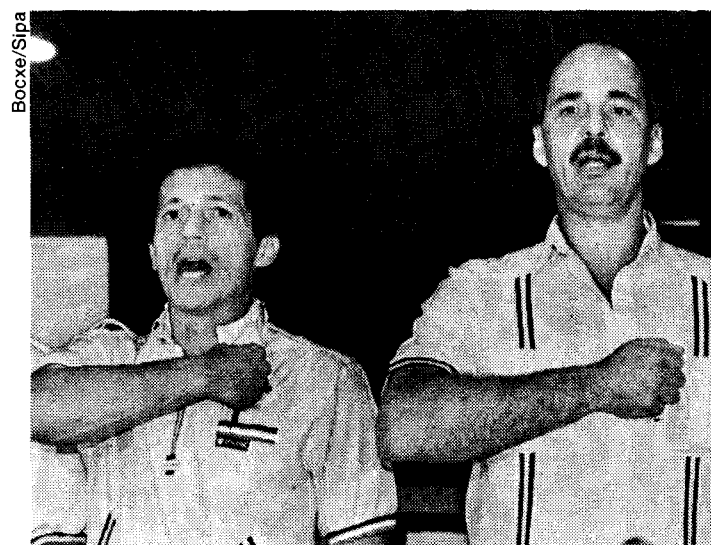
A year ago in March, 50,000 government employees held work stoppages

which attracted more than 60 organizations, mainly unions, and all political parties except ARENA. The "debate" approved a platform calling for a "political solution" to the war and a "government of national consensus." When the Organization of American States came to San Salvador in mid-November, 70,000 people came out for a "peace" march called by the organizers of the National Debate. But a "national consensus" in this deeply class-divided society and a negotiated peace to end the war in El Salvador, which has already lasted three times as long as the Spanish Civil War, is utterly utopian. The choice in Salvador is revolution or death.

For a Trotskyist Party!

In "The Guns of Salvador," *Timesman* LeMoyné writes of the "class-saturated war that Marxist rebel leaders date not from 1979 but from 1932," the first communist-led insurrection in the Americas. The insurrectionary forces were headed by Farabundo Martí, an admirer of Trotsky and internationalist to the core, who broke with the courageous Nicaraguan guerrilla Augusto Sandino over the latter's nationalism. The uprising was drowned in blood as the government slaughtered 30,000 peasants and workers, haughtily rejecting offers of aid from U.S. and Canadian warships which stood by off-

"Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson and coffee baron "Freddy" Cristiani, two faces of fascist ARENA party.



oppose. And in an interview specially directed at the Bush administration, the FMLN's top military leader, Joaquín Villalobos, pledges that they "represent no danger to the United States" and would "avoid confrontation with the United States" (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 1989).

This program for negotiating their "incorporation" into the present Salvadoran political system is directly counterposed to an insurrection and to the revolutionary change for which the insurgent masses have been fighting. The FDR-FMLN leaders are acting as firemen, consciously seeking to damp

In 1979-80, hundreds of thousands of Salvadoran working people took to the streets to repudiate the "human rights" junta, installed with the blessing of the Democratic Carter administration, which gunned down strikers and blocked even minimal democratic reforms. Three general strikes shut down the country. The moment cried out for a revolutionary party to place itself at the head of the mass uprising and lead it in a struggle for workers power. But the petty-bourgeois nationalist leftists like Villalobos refused to call for insurrection until they could get bourgeois support for a popular front tying the Salvadoran masses to their exploiters. And when they called for the January 1981 general offensive, urban insurrection failed because the masses had been abandoned and defeated.

Today once again the possibility for insurrection is posed in El Salvador. After years of civil war, government terror, starvation wages and 50 percent unemployment, plus an earthquake that left hundreds of thousands homeless; with a third of the country in guerrilla hands, a divided regime led by a dying president, the ultrarightists growing and a new administration in Washington which has not defined its policy in Central America—now is a moment of decision, the time to strike for power. But the petty-bourgeois nationalist/reformist leaders are doing everything possible to avoid this. As we wrote earlier in "Workers Revolution vs. the Guerrilla Road," (*WV* No. 325, 11 March 1983), the "guerrilla road could not lead to socialist revolution... because it is not based on the mobilization of the revolutionary class, the proletariat":

"What is needed is above all a communist vanguard to lead it at the head of the urban and rural masses, to carry out a proletarian insurrection establishing a workers and peasants government and extending the revolution internationally. That can only be a Trotskyist party following the road of October 1917, the road of permanent revolution." ■



FMLN leaders Ana Guadalupe Martínez and Salvador Samayoa in Mexico City (left), guerrilla detachment (right). "Peace" plan with death squad regime spells bloody murder for Salvadoran masses.



Venceremos

demanding higher pay and an end to the war. When the head of the UNTS (National Unity of Salvadoran Workers), Humberto Centeno, was seized and severely beaten by government troops, he was quickly freed as militant workers marched through the capital and emergency protests were launched internationally (including by the Partisan Defense Committee). Then the day after a bomb ripped UNTS offices, 60,000 workers, peasants, students and professionals marched on May Day in the face of a massive army presence. On July 21, after a three-week power workers strike which blacked out much of the country, 20,000 workers protested a new strikebreaking "emergency law."

As mobilizations of the workers and poor mounted, even "moderate" sectors of the Salvadoran ruling class began to worry about things getting out of hand. So in August the Catholic church sponsored a "National Debate"

shore. The outlook of the Salvadoran oligarchy, the famous Fourteen Families, and its army was expressed by one Colonel Marcelino Galdamez, who declared:

"Communism is like a tree shaken by the wind. The moving tree causes the seeds to fall; the same wind carries the seed to other places. The seed falls on fertile soil. To be done with Communism it is necessary to make the ground sterile."

—quoted in Thomas P. Anderson, *Matanza* (1971)

This is the same view as that of a Colonel René Emilio Ponce, who today speaks of "drying up the sea" in which the guerrillas move, of an ARENA which calls for "total war," only this time with 100,000 dead. And the nationalist FDR-FMLN want to negotiate a "political solution" leaving state power in the hands of this bloodthirsty bourgeoisie and their military guard dogs! At the moment when leftist rebels are hitting government forces hard, week after week, even in their previously secure redoubts, the FMLN general command announces that "the offensive launched by our forces... doesn't contradict our will for a political solution to the conflict" (*Venceremos*, November 1988).

FMLN comandante Fermán Cienfuegos declares, "It's an offensive aimed at negotiation" (*Chicago Tribune*, 6 December 1988). And the rebel leaders are going all out to show what "reasonable" negotiating partners they are. In an interview with the Mexican daily *La Jornada* (13 November 1988), another FMLN comandante, Leonel González, outlined a "Salvadoran model" seeking the "modernization of capitalism," a project which only the "most backward" elements of the oligarchy could

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For Workers Revolution! No Negotiated Sellout!



Ricardo Ortega

Defiant Salvadoran workers protest strikebreaking law, arrest of union leader.



Hinterlang/J.B. Pictures

Duarte (at left) with some of his officers—their regime is tottering.

El Salvador:

Moment of Decision

Under Ronald Reagan, Central America was declared to be no longer the back yard but the "front yard" of U.S. imperialism. This was where his first Secretary of State, General Haig, vowed within days of taking office to "draw the line" against Communism. It was supposed to be an easy win on home turf, undoing the "Vietnam syndrome" and setting the U.S. on the road to toppling the "evil empire" headquartered in Moscow. But it didn't turn out that way. The CIA's contras were beaten by the besieged left-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. And in El Salvador, Washington's Christian Democratic regime is going down the tubes with Duarte dying of cancer, his party split by internal feuds and battered by leftist guerrillas as fascist rightists gain strength.

Now George Bush is facing his first foreign policy test as the "forgotten war" in El Salvador heats up. This was

supposed to be Washington's model "democracy." They replaced the junta with a civilian façade to disguise army rule. They held five elections in seven years, albeit at gunpoint and paid for by the Americans. This was a laboratory for "low-intensity conflict," the Pentagon's latest counterinsurgency fad. The army was quintupled in size to 60,000 men, supplied with all the weaponry, helicopters and planes they could handle. And yet, by last spring a report from four U.S. Army colonels concluded, "By most estimates, the war in El Salvador is stuck. Unhappily, the U.S. finds itself stuck with the war." A few months later a State Department official declared dismally, "Things are going to hell in a handbasket down there."

It's all coming to a head with the presidential elections, scheduled for March 19, which the party of the death squads, the National Republican Alli-

ance (ARENA) led by notorious killer Roberto D'Aubuisson, is expected to win. Since last September, the leftist rebels of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) have been on an offensive that has pounded the army throughout the country. Guerrillas have landed blows against every major government military objective in the country, including the HQ of the joint chiefs of staff. "They're driving the Army absolutely crazy," said a Western military specialist. "The rebel attacks are making the Armed Forces run from one end of the country to the other like chickens with their heads cut off" (*New York Times*, 16 December 1988).

Yet at the same time the FMLN has been escalating its offers to give up battlefield gains at the bargaining table in the name of a mythical negotiated settlement of this bitter civil war. In January they caused a stir by offering to take part in elections without "power

sharing," so long as the vote was postponed by six months. In February, this was followed up with an offer to call off the war and respect the election results if the armed forces are pared down to 12,000, the level they were at eight years ago. Duarte first denounced the FMLN offer, but after the U.S. twisted his arm, on February 26 the Salvadoran president went on TV offering a cease-fire and postponement of the vote. We warn: if the guerrillas should lay down their arms in any such negotiated sell-out of the struggle, it would be fatal for the Salvadoran masses.

In a wrap-up article on his stint in Central America, titled "The Guns of Salvador," the *New York Times* yuppie contra symp James LeMoyné writes that if the guerrilla proposal comes to naught, "some [rebel] commanders are reported to support a Tet-style offensive to break American and Government morale" (*New York Times Magazine*, 5 February). Indeed, the FMLN's year-end balance sheet highlights the "explosion of the war in the cities, where a popular insurrection is brewing." And the guerrilla front's latest offensive is named "The Whole People to Prepare the Insurrection!" Yet such an uprising would be popular-frontist in character, to install a reform *bourgeois* regime, rather than a *proletarian* revolution led by the combative Salvadoran workers.

As petty-bourgeois *nationalists*, the FMLN guerrillas and their popular-front allies of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) see no alternative to seeking "peace" with the U.S. Before them is the example of Sandinista Nicaragua, ravaged by nearly a decade of contra war and economic strangulation orchestrated from Washington. And now that Gorbachev is turning his back on Third World struggles from Afghanistan to southern Africa, they see no prospect for Soviet aid to an embattled Salvadoran revolution. But Trotskyists, fighting on the proletarian *internationalist* program of permanent

continued on page 10



AP/Wide World

San Salvador, 23 December 1988—FMLN commandos' dramatic daylight attack on joint chiefs of staff HQ shook army brass.