"Rambo" Reagan Sends In the 82nd Airborne

Smash Yankee Imperialism in Central America!

Defend Nicaragua—Complete, Extend the Revolution!

The 3,200 U.S. troops Ronald Reagan dispatched to Honduras March 16 were a big step up the escalation ladder in Central America. Inventing the pretext of a supposed "invasion" by Sandinista Nicaragua, this war move was a convenient means to distract attention from the indictments of four of the Iran/Contra-gate conspirators announced that same day and to stonewall Congress into voting for aid to Reagan's contra terrorists. The administration's all-purpose ploy also helps undercut the Democrats' Arias "peace" plan, and perhaps a whiff of gunpowder would rally voters to the Republicans. But meanwhile, there are four battalions of the United States Army's Rapid Reaction Force (two each from the 7th Light Infantry Division and the 82nd Airborne) poised along the Nicaraguan border. They won't intimidate the Sandinistas, but they're available for whatever provocation the lame ducks in the White House dream up: a border skirmish, "restoring order" in Panama, you name it.

In the streets of America, Reagan's dispatch of U.S. troops to Honduras was met with an outburst of demonstrations (see article below). The protests were only a taste of what would happen in this country if large-scale U.S. military intervention were attempted. And they intersect divisions in the ruling class over Nicaragua. For the Democrats, it was another shootout at Credibility Gap with an administration that runs on lies. At the Pentagon, reaction was unanimously negative: one top official said, "I don't know of any military person who thinks [sending troops] is a good idea" (Washington Post, 17 March). The generals are still gun-shy over the U.S.' humiliating defeat in Vietnam, the liberals think Reagan's cowboy act has flopped and want to clean it up, and the reformist lefttag along with their calls for a "democratic" foreign policy. In contrast, we Trotskyists seek to smash Yankee imperialism, calling on American workers continued on page 12

Reagan's War Moves Provoke Coast-to-Coast Protests

A wave of protests has swept the country against Reagan's sending U.S. troops to Honduras. Within hours, thousands of demonstrators have hit the streets, demanding "U.S. Troops Out" and "No Contra Aid" everywhere from Washington, New York and Boston through Cleveland, Minneapolis, Chicago and scores of other cities, to the San Francisco Bay Area, where angry protests have escalated daily in some of the most volatile street demonstrations since the Vietnam War. The growing Bay Area actions have been greeted by many who recall those '60s protests and today have sons or even grandsons they fear will be swept up in another bloody, losing "Vietnam." At Fort Ord, some anxious wives of the soldiers being shipped out joined pacifist demonstrators; one soldier's pregnant wife carried a sign reading "Stop the Lies."

The breadth and depth of the American population's opposition to Reagan's bloody mass murderers in Central America is clear in this instant response. And U.S. troops aren't even involved in direct combat yet—these protests are only a hint of the explosion that a direct U.S. invasion of Nicaragua would ignite. Many of the protests were organized by pacifist groups like Pledge of Resistance, and the familiar tactics of "civil disobedience" have been played out in many cities, with hundreds arrested for blocking traffic, sitting in at military recruiting stations, and so on. continued on page 13
March 16—Mourners at Catholic Milltown cemetery duck for cover as crazed Orange terrorist pours gunfire and grenades into crowd, killing three. Catholic Belfast were burning, as outraged youth hurled Molotov cocktails. And three days later, the funeral procession for one of those killed at the earlier funeral was itself attacked, as a car driven by two gun-wielding plain clothes British soldiers rammed into the crowd. The outraged crowd dragged the two men away and they were shortly dispatched. Now the arrogant British rulers who only a week earlier assassinated the three IRA members in Gibraltar are hypocritically screaming bloody murder. Northern Ireland is on the boil again, with the flames of anti-Catholic terror and sectarian violence being stoked by Thatcher’s death squads. British troops out of Ireland now!

British intelligence in collaboration with Spanish police had McCann and Savage under surveillance for months. On 6 March, the IRA members parked a car and began to walk toward the border, British agents tracked them on foot and shot them to death. By Monday morning, the government’s story—reported as fact in the press—was that the car contained a 500-pound bomb which had been defused by a controlled explosion and that the IRA members were “believed to be heavily armed.” However, Foreign Secretary Howe was to announce on the same day that the car did not contain a bomb at all and that “Those killed were apparently fighting to avoid being carried away by the car.” In other words, it was a blooded murder!

The British bourgeoisie did not bother to conceal its glee over this bloody crime. Snapping to attention, the foreign press, spoke of George Robertson “congratulated the security forces” and went on to howl for more of the same. Indeed this lackey of imperialism was so eager to endorse the Gibraltar massacre that he asked Howe if he could be sure that all those in the conspiracy had been shot! The accolades to the SAS commandos are fully in keeping with Labour’s pro-imperialist policies on Ireland. As Workers Hammer (No. 88, May 1987) wrote: “What can we expect from the British party which enacted the Prevention of Terrorism Act and unleashed the SAS killers in the mid-1970s, which obscenely told [IRA hunger striker] Bobby Sands to go ahead and die in 1981?”

But, in no small part due to their preservation and endlessly shifting stories, Thatcher & Co. have not quite pulled this off. The press began running gory articles like that in the [London] Guardian (9 March) which read: “What happened in Gibraltar on Sunday... begain to look rather less simple than it did in the headlines next morning.” Through the heavy tissue of government lies it emerges that the SAS hit was a planned assassination. As the Independent (8 March) reported: “According to a source formerly in a key position at the Army’s HQ Northern Ireland, when the SAS is committed there it is normally an understanding that no prisoner will be taken.”

While nothing can be believed from the lying accounts of the bourgeois press, if there is any truth to the story that the three IRA members were considering an attack on the Royal Anglian Regiment, such an attack—unlike the indefensible, indiscriminate bombing at Enniskillen several months ago—would clearly have targeted the armed forces of British imperialism which have been oppressing the Irish people. The British military installation on Gibraltar is part of a chain oflistening posts operated by GCHQ at Cheltenham; the Rock itself has been buttoned to house NATO centres and even a mock-up of Belfast side streets to provide training for British troops awaiting transfer to Ulster.

Grenade Attack on Belfast Funeral March

The following article was adapted from Workers hammer No. 96 (March 1988), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.

Margaret Thatcher’s Britain is carrying out a systematic policy of cold-blooded execution of Irish Catholic militants. On 6 March, three unarmed IRA members—Sean Savage, Mairead Farrell and Daniel McCann—were assassinated by British commandos in Gibraltar. Mairead Farrell, aged 31, was imprisoned for ten years from 1976 to 1986, during which time she led protests against the brutal strip searches of Republican prisoners; McCann, 30, was a leading IRA member; Savage was only 24.

Then, on 16 March, as the coffins of the murdered IRA members were lowered into the grave, a crazed Orange fanatic rained grenades and gunfire into the crowd of thousands of mourners. Three people were killed instantly and more than 50 wounded, some critically. People scrambled to flatten themselves on the wet ground; hysterical mothers threw themselves upon their children to shield them; blood-drenched victims were thrown into cars from the funeral procession and rushed to a hospital. Hundreds of youth chased the killer and began beating him, until Royal Ulster Constabulary police arrived 15 minutes after the bombing to take him away. By nightfall, cars, trucks and buses in
Labor Solidarity Frees Humberto Centeno

When Salvadoran trade-union leader Humberto Centeno was seized and savagely beaten by government troops on March 10, it touched off a wave of international labor protests. The Partisan Defense Committee had already aided in publicizing the plight of Centeno's two sons, who had been kidnapped and held in Duarte's dungeons. Upon learning of his arrest, the PDC mobilized immediately, and within a few hours contacted several dozen unionists around the country. We print below the PDC statement issued upon Centeno's release.

We have learned from San Salvador that at 11:30 a.m. today trade-union leader Humberto Centeno was released by the notorious Treasury Police to the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS). His union brothers are now protecting Centeno in the Diagnostic Center hospital where he remains in stable but serious condition as a result of the brutal beating he received following his arrest on Thursday evening, March 10.

In response to the vicious assault on Centeno, Salvadoran workers mobilized in militant protest. There was also an immediate outcry of protest internationally, expressed by the source of social betterment for El Salvador and others who are fed up with the terror regime which has piled up mountains of corpses of their class brothers and sisters in El Salvador.

The Partisan Defense Committee holds the Salvadoran government of President José Napoleon Duarte and his U.S. government godfathers responsible for this atrocity. We hail the freeing of Centeno as a signal victory for international labor defense, while calling for continued vigilance against the death squads in and out of uniform.

Humberto Centeno is a leader of the UNTS, the principal labor federation of the country, and general secretary of the Association of Telecommunications Workers of El Salvador (ASITEL). He and his family have suffered beyond measure from the bloody Duarte terror regime. In November 1986 his sons José and Jaime were kidnapped, tortured, and jailed for two years.

In the Thursday attack Centeno was traveling with an American delegation to the Ministry of Labor where union representatives were surreptitiously seized by several hundred government soldiers. The bus was stopped by Air Force troops, Centeno was singled out and repeatedly kicked and punched, receiving numerous blows to the head and neck, thrown onto the floor of a truck and driven off. Troops forced the other unionists back into the bus, and then fired their weapons, wounding four.

Upon learning of Centeno's arrest the Partisan Defense Committee mounted an emergency international protest campaign. The PDC issued a statement demanding his immediate release, declaring: "The utterly legitimate social struggles by phone workers and other unions are the source of social betterment for El Salvador. The attack against the workers leader Humberto Centeno raises the lunar vista of gullies full of victims of the death squad... In this land where murder has begun to murder, instead of killing three leaders, it has been done to hundreds of Salvadoran workers leaders before them, as well as the Archbishop Romero, listen to the voices of the exploited and oppressed.

A PDC delegation went to the Salvadoran consulate in New York with the protest, which was also delivered to the San Francisco consulate and Salvadoran embassy in Washington, and telegraphed to President Duarte and the American Embassy in San Salvador.

The New York delegation included present and former telephone unionists and a spokesman for the Spartacist League. The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the SL. The PDC also alerted trade unionists, parliamentarians, human rights organizations and others in Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Australia.

Across the U.S. there were protests. The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CIS PES) called demonstrations in New York, Washington and San Francisco. SF mayor Art Agnos called the Salvadoran consulate on behalf of Centeno. The ASTTTEL Support Project of the New York Area Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador mobilized union officials to send telegrams. Together with the Salvadoran Labor Defense Network in the Bay Area they are putting together a full-page ad to be published in a San Salvador newspaper, signed by several hundred American trade unionists, protesting anti-labor repression.

The PDC called unions in Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco. Telephone workers were among the first to respond. In San Francisco, officials of Communications Workers of America participated in the protest outside the Salvadoran consulate and signed a telegram along with 17 members of CWA locals in SF and Oakland. CWA union officials in New York and Cleveland also sent protests.

Dozens of local union leaders of the postal workers, auto workers, oil workers, municipal workers, machinists and teachers told the PDC they would send off protests immediately. Mike Olszanski, president of Steelworkers Local 1010, fired off a telegram to Duarte "on behalf of our 11,000 members."

The outpouring of condemnation was instrumental in obtaining the release of Salvadoran union leader Humberto Centeno in a single day. This is a tremendous victory for a land where thousands of trade unionists have been gunned down and "disappeared" by the "forces of order." But the bestial anti-labor repression continues. In the past three months, three ASTTTEL phone workers have been assassinated, as well as two teachers and union members.

The UNTS, which brought out 3,000 workers Friday to demand freedom for Humberto Centeno, is campaigning for "justice and peace" called at the behest of the U.S. as part of its counterinsurgency war on the Salvadoran working people. Under the guns of this U.S.-sponsored terror regime, tens of thousands of workers are courageously striking against the bloody Duarte regime of IMF starvation and death squad "democracy."

We pledge them our militant solidarity and support.

![Image of Humberto Centeno with his sons Jaime and José](image)

**Workers Vanguard**

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- $5/24 issues of Workers Vanguard (includes Spartacist)
- $2/4 issues of Women and Revolution
- $2/10 introductory issues of Workers Vanguard (includes Spartacist)

Name ___________ Phone (___) ___________ Phone (___) ___________

City ___________ State ___________ Zip ___________

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 12777 GPO, New York, NY 10116
Gorbachev's Afghan Sellout: Some Russians Say Nayet

Faced with a massive imperialist militar­
ity buildup and domestic economic stagnation, the response of the Gor­
bachev regime has been to institute market-oriented reforms at home while seeking to accommodate the rapacious imperialist warhorses abroad. Gorbachev's policy of economic "restructuring" labeled "new thinking." Now the 1979 Red Army intervention is called a "mistake" of the "old way of thinking under Brezh­
nev." To be sure, it was the first time since World War II that the USSR has committed troops outside the borders of the Soviet bloc. But this was in response to the growing aggressiveness of the U.S. imperialist, seeking to recover from its humiliating Vietnam defeat. In addition to Washington's arm­
ing of the Afghan counterrevolutionary mujah­
edin, 1986 was the year that NPO voted to deploy first-strike Pershing 2 missiles in Europe, only six minutes fly­
ing time from Soviet territory.

The stodgy Brezhnev was hardly the global class warrior he is now made out to be. The conservative bureaucracy in the Kremlin simply wanted to make sure an unstable, strategically placed country, "the soldiers of 1917," was not an obstacle to the spread of the empire abroad. In fact, it was the abandonment of a policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan that was a "mistake." To be sure, it was the first time since World War II that the USSR has committed troops outside the borders of the Soviet bloc. But this was in response to the growing aggressiveness of the U.S. imperialist, seeking to recover from its humiliating Vietnam defeat.

Moscow club of Afghan war veterans with decorated veteran of World War II! Soviet soldiers are demanding official recognition for their internationalist duty in Afghanistan.

Indeed, there is clearly significant opposition at all levels of Soviet society to pulling out. The regime has been pushing withdrawal as a popular de­
mand, yet a recent poll in Moscow found only 53 percent in favor. A sur­
vey of Soviet youth—the age group who would end up going to Afghanistan—
found that almost half opposed pulling out until a stable, neutral government could be left behind, and fully two out of three people were concerned that "the Western powers want to establish con­
trol over Afghanistan in order to use it as a base against the Soviet Union." One

veteran of the Afghan war, Aleksandr Simonov, warns: "The CIA would be a great threat. And if they deployed missiles there, I think that would be the end of everything... "I don't think they [Soviet troops] should be pulled out, because then the throat-cutting will really begin. There will be a sea of blood and fights all over the country between different Afghan groups."—New York Times Magazine, 14 February

Likewise, Victor Hirschfeld, a retired Soviet military commander, predicts, "If a bloodbath occurs after Soviet troops are brought home, people will blame him [Gorbachev]."

Contrary to the Western media and propagandists, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was generally welcomed by the population at large. This was especially so in Soviet Central Asia, which well within living memory had been a wretchedly backward, mullah-ridden society like Afghanistan. In the early days of the war one young student

the Afghan war is Dushanbe, in Tajikistan.

In order to bring the Turkic peoples of Soviet Central Asia into the 20th cen­
tury—liberating women from the veil, teaching girls as well as boys to read and write, introducing modern medicine—
during the 1920s the Red Army had to fight a savage war against Islamic Fundamentalists, the Baamachi, similar to the Afghan mujahedin. Today, the Gorbachev regime not only repudiates social revolution in Afghanistan but actually blames the civil war there on the left-nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) for seek­
ing to modernize the country! Thus, Aleksandr Prokhanov, an apologist for pull­
ing out Afghanistan to the CIA-backed Islamic fanatics, argues: "Mistakes in the political line, incorrect formulas for directives, the spread­
ing of socialism in such an 'un-Islamic', 'un-Islamic' form that offended tradi­
tion, flowing over into violence and repression... "...the political course of the Kabul

government has repeatedly changed. State events were preceded by 'martial' prayers. The flag ceased to be red and included a green Islamic fragment. The country's star and sickle disappeared. The party stopped speaking of con­
structivism and national socialist..."—Literaturnaya Gazeta, 17 February

In fact, it was the abandonment of a policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan that was a "mistake." To be sure, it was the first time since World War II that the USSR has committed troops outside the borders of the Soviet bloc. But this was in response to the growing aggressiveness of the U.S. imperialist, seeking to recover from its humiliating Vietnam defeat.

In his attempt to prepare the Soviet population for pulling out of Afghan­
istan, Gorbachev has called the Afghan war "a mistake." This is an attempt to echo the sort of imperialist propaganda that this was "Russia's Vietnam." For years the Americans have been hoping that the Soviet Union would get bogged down in a losing war in Afghanistan like the U.S. was in Indochina. The regime which has spurious: America was defeated on the battlefield by the Vietnamese workers and peasants in a social revolution whereas the Soviet bureaucracy never really tried to win in Afghanistan because it refused to implement a social revolution. One bourgeois commentator recently argued: "The Soviet army has never committed itself fully in Afghanistan" (London Independent, 2 March).

Furthermore, the Soviet Union shares a 1,000-mile border with Af­
ghanistan, which has traditionally been an anti-Communist regime in Ka­
bul poses a direct threat to Soviet security. By contrast, the Vietnam War was an ideologically motivated anti­
Communist adventure on the other side of the globe. continued on page 11
Afghanistan: Soviet Pullout Would Mean Bloodbath

Fake-Lefts Caught in Cold War Vise

The nuclear nuts in Washington are gloating over the prospect of achieving at the bargaining table in Geneva what they couldn’t win in more than eight years on the battlefields of Afghanistan: the withdrawal of Soviet troops sent in to combat a bloodthirsty CIA-sponsored feudalist insurgency. In a dramatic February 8 announcement on Soviet TV, Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed his intention to pull the Red Army out, if an agreement was reached with the U.S. and Pakistan at the Geneva talks by March 15. Gorbachev’s deadline has since been buried under an avalanche of even more humiliating “conditions” and ultimatums by the Americans and their Pakistani clients, forcing Moscow to postpone the beginning of the withdrawal. But the Kremlin remains adamant about pulling out, agreement or no.

From the outset, all wings of the imperialist rulers loved the Afghan war. Here the Democrats were the hardliners, seeing an opportunity to get Russian soldiers killed on the cheap without drawing back at calling for withdrawal. A recent recap of the USec’s positions on Afghanistan laments that “there is no mythical ‘third camp’: because in bloody Afghanistan there is no ‘own’ bourgeoisie. The bottom line was anti-Sovietism.”

Left Apologists for CIA’s Afghan Warriors

Within Ernest Mandel’s “United Secretariat of the Fourth International,” one wing (led by Tariq Ali) openly declared Cold War II over Afghanistan, parroted by their lackeys on the left and in the labor bureaucracy. We Trotskyists, however, loudly proclaimed, “Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!” Within Ernest Mandel’s “United Secretariat of the Fourth International,” one wing (led by Tariq Ali) openly declared Cold War II over Afghanistan, parroted by their lackeys on the left and in the labor bureaucracy. We Trotskyists, however, loudly proclaimed, “Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!”

When the imperialists declared Cold War II, you had to choose which side you were on. Many of the fake-Trotskyists had already enlisted as foot soldiers in Carter’s anti-Soviet “human rights” crusade. And as the Soviets fought CIA-backed mujahedeen, these “anti-imperialists” joined the imperialist hue and cry over Afghanistan. In different ways—some squirming, some cheering—they took their side: with Islamic reaction and their own “bourgeoisie” line was anti-Sovietism.

Because over Afghanistan there was no middle ground. When the imperialists declared Cold War II, you had to choose which side you were on. Many of the fake-Trotskyists had already enlisted as foot soldiers in Carter’s anti-Soviet “human rights” crusade. And as the Soviets fought CIA-backed mujahedeen, these “anti-imperialists” joined the imperialist hue and cry over Afghanistan. In different ways—some squirming, some cheering—they took their side: with Islamic reaction and their own bourgeoisie. The bottom line was anti-Sovietism.

Afghan women march through Kabul (left); Reagan’s Afghan cutthroats pose over downed Soviet pilot. Victory of Islamic reactionaries would mean re-enslavement of women, mass slaughter in Kabul.

1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan posed Russian occupation. This was an elementary position for any leftist, let alone a Trotskyist. But the Spartacist tendency was unique. Why?

1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan posed Russian occupation. This was an elementary position for any leftist, let alone a Trotskyist. But the Spartacist tendency was unique. Why?

Nahuel Moreno flaunted the absurdity of trying to combine opposition to the Soviet intervention with any sense of Trotskyism. First Moreno’s followers denounced the Soviets’ “criminal action against the Afghan people” and responded to the “possibility of extending the Iranian revolution within the borders of the USSR” as “Morenoites Call for Counterrevolution in USSR.” WY No. 240, 8 February 1980. The CIA was putting its money on precisely this “option.” But in a 1985 resolution, after luridly denouncing Soviet “barbarism,” “massacres,” “economic pillage” and “genocidal war” against the Afghan people and calling for Soviet withdrawal, they then call on the Red Army to carry out a social revolution by “expropriating the landlords and laying the political basis for the emergence of a workers state in Afghanistan” (El Socialista [Nicaragua], May 1985).

For years the Morenoites denounced Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a “counterrevolutionary operation in the service of democratic stability and imperialism.” But now that the Kremlin has agreed to withdrawal, they have the chutzpah to denounce Moscow for the “great global agreement between imperialism and the counterrevolutionary-soviet bureaucracy . . . to prevent revolutionary processes in those hot spots” such as Afghanistan and Nicaragua (Working Class Opposition, November 1987). David North’s Workers League pushes a similar “danged if you do, danged if you don’t” line—in the same sentence—claiming that the “deal between Moscow and Washington” to pull out of Afghanistan confirms the “counterrevolutionary character” of the Soviets. For North to say “we are not in Afghanistan!” As Stalin is reported to have remarked, paper will take anything that is written on it. Most of the pseudo-Trotskyist left, however, has taken refuge in empty “factual” reporting about the prospect of the Soviet withdrawal. They should be working for, with a deafening silence about the mass slaughter which will accompany it. This is the case for both the American SWP and the Mandelite USec majorities. But some in this anti-Soviet swamp have no compunctions whatever. See Matgamna’s group, buried deep in the NATO-loyal British Labour Party, continued on page 5.
Bay Area Labor Tops Wave Flag for Democrats

Rally Pushes Racist Prohibitionism

POSCO is a totally non-union operation. The 1,100 steel workers in the plant and members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and, in fact, for the past 15 years or more steel workers have performed the dock work at the Pittsburg plant facility. The steel workers at the USX-POSCO plant, like their brothers in the rest of the steel industry (and the ILWU), have had a concessionary contract rammed down their throats. Invoking the “no strike” clause in their contract, USWA bureaucrats have herded them across building trades picket lines through the usual “two-gate” arrangement. The construction workers are fighting to shut down a scab outfitted BE&K Construction from Birmingham, Alabama. Accidents have already claimed the lives of two of the non-union workers. BE&K, which is also providing 1,000 scabs at the struck International Paper plant in Jay, Maine, pays less than half of union scale. Using the “no strike” clause again as an excuse, the scabherding local USWA leadership wouldn’t endorse the rally and had its members working in the plant on the day of the demonstration.

Many of the workers who came to the rally were expecting some action, but were sorely disappointed. But they didn’t go home empty-handed. Workers Vanguard sales teams worked hard to bring our program of workers revolution to the rank and file of these unions who know the bosses are acting to destroy their organizations. A total of 1,472 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold, including 1,265 copies of W.V. Comrades distributed 2,000 “Labor’s Gotta Play Hardball to Win!” supplements as well.

This dull and dreary affair was in sad contrast to the 5,000-strong building trades demonstration in San Francisco on March 7. Then the bureaucrats were barely able to prevent angry workers from breaking into Moscone Center and running a scabherding contractors’ convention out of town. While the union hacks crowded that the POSCO rally was the largest labor mobilization in California in 40 years, this rally and march was a diversion from the necessary class-struggle fights that must be waged to defend union conditions in the Bay Area. Instead of this orgy of Democratic Party vote hustling, poisonous prohibitionism and jurisdictional raiding, there could and should have been a powerful mobilization of longshore, steel and construction workers to shut out the scab contractor and raise pay and working conditions to the highest union levels.

The ILWU tops claimed they were shutting down the West Coast on Saturday because Reagan had sent over 3,000 U.S. troops to Honduras to slaughter anti-imperialists. But they’ve often said that anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. The red-baiting USWA bosses of the ILWU, Koch & Co. have another program: class collaboration to preserve and support for imperialism abroad. Dump the bureaucrats, break with the Democrats to build a fighting workers party!

NYC Transit Workers: Tear Up the Taylor Law! No Contract, No Work!

The New York Democratic Party politicians, and the transit bosses who crack the whip for them, are demanding huge giveaways from Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 when the contract covering 37,000 subway and bus workers expires March 31. Governor Cuomo and racist pig Mayor Koch think Reaganism is still riding high—their Metromite Transit Authority's perspective was captured by their main slogan, “We Shall Return!”—a paraphrase of General Douglas MacArthur’s well-known quote, the anti-Japanese battle-cry. U.S. imperialism in World War II. Herman uses this bureaucratic distortion to whip up longshoremen for his intended raiding operation against the USWA, but he has no stomach to fight union-busting outfitters like Crowley Maritime, where he is a shrine himself. In the back.

ILWU bureaucrats’ perspective was captured by their main slogan, “We Shall Return!”—a paraphrase of General Douglas MacArthur’s well-known quote, the anti-Japanese battle-cry. U.S. imperialism in World War II. Herman uses this bureaucratic distortion to whip up longshoremen for his intended raiding operation against the USWA, but he has no stomach to fight union-busting outfitters like Crowley Maritime, where he is a shrine himself. In the back.

The final speaker at the plant gate rally was International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILUW) president Jimmy Herman, whose union shut down all West Coast ports when the bosses fired his members. But Herman has no stomach to fight union-busting outfitters like Crowley Maritime, where he is a shrine himself. In the back.

In fact Herman and the other labor tops who organized the rally deliberately fostered the deception that USX-
During Black History Month the Spartacus Youth Clubs sponsored several forums around the country which centered on the tremendous impact of the 1917 Russian Revolution on the struggle for black freedom in this country. The political counterrevolution led by Stalin in 1924 in the Soviet Union resulted in the progressive degeneration of the parties of the Communist International—from “Third Period” sectarianism to the outright class collaborationism of the Popular Front period. Despite the political zigzags and departures from Marxism, in the area of black work the American Communist Party’s work in the 1930s is rich in lessons for how to wage a revolutionary struggle against racial oppression.

Young Spartacus prints below a speech made by comrade Brian Manning at Howard University on February 11 which has been edited and condensed for publication.

In 1917 there was a revolution in Russia. It was led by the Bolshevik Party and this revolution was a beacon for the world’s workers and oppressed. It emerged out of the carnage of World War I which devastated Europe. Millions and millions of young proletarians, young workers, died in that war. But the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin, for the first time in history, led a revolution that destroyed capitalism, destroyed the system of production for profit. It eliminated the private ownership of the means of production. They carried out their revolution under the slogans, “For Peace, Bread and Land!” And for the first time, there was a workers and peasants government in power, a government of the majority, a Soviet government (the Russian word “sovet” means council). It was this workers’, peasants’ and soldiers’ soviets that ran the government there. It was not a government for the wealthy, which is what we’ve got here and in the rest of the capitalist world.

Aside from distributing the land to the peasants, pulling Russia out of the war, one of the most important aspects of the Russian Revolution was their program for self-determination for national minorities. Tsarist Russia was considered a prison house of nations. Russia is 6,000 miles long, 3,000 miles deep, and it’s not just the ethnic Russians that inhabit that area. One of the first things Lenin and the Bolsheviks did was they enacted the policy of the right of self-determination for nations. That is, people of different nationalities are free to determine their own way of life, free to separate and form their own state. Lenin recognized national oppression and sought to eliminate it. In line with that, the native Russian fascists, the “Black Hundreds,” were smashed, completely smashed, after the Russian Revolution. The Black Hundreds were roughly equivalent to the KKK here in this country.

Lenin and Leon Trotsky and the Bolsheviks appealed to the workers and oppressed around the world to rise up against their masters and expropriate the exploiters. Their call and the example of the Russian Revolution sparked revolts around the world. There were three revolutions in Germany, in 1919, 1921 and 1923. They all went down to defeat. There were mutinies in the French navy, there was a revolution in Bulgaria, there was a revolution in China. There was a revolution in Hungary which actually established a Soviet government for about four months before it was smashed. There were revolutions in Finland. You saw the beginnings, the awakenings of the colonial peoples around the world. So the bourgeoisie tried with might and main to isolate and destroy the Soviet Union. Right after the revolution there were the Russian contras who were funded and armed by the imperialists. Eleven capitalist nations, including the United States which sent its expeditionary force over to Siberia, invaded revolutionary Russia. But they were unable to smash that revolution and it continued to provide inspiration to the workers and the oppressed.

Colorblind Socialists

OK, so how was all this reflected in America? Well, the Marxist movement in the United States was heterogeneous. It was faction-ridden, a lot of programmatic differences. It was almost exclusively white. The Communist movement was dominated by foreign-language federations, and these foreign-language federations, when they discussed the question, if not out-and-out hostile. They didn’t speak English and hadn’t been in the country for very long, so needless to say, they didn’t understand much about the struggles of blacks. Also, the early Communists in this country inherited the native white American backwardness of American social democracy and AFL (American Federation of Labor) craft unionism, the backwardness on the race question. Most of the AFL unions had black exclusionary clauses in them.

One leader of the socialist movement in Milwaukee, this guy named Victor Berger, out and out said, “There can be no doubt that the mulattoes constitute a lower race.” So that was about the worst that these American socialists would do. That got the hell out of Eugene Debs, who was a leader of the socialist movement in the several decades of the 20th century. He was a leader of the rail workers union and spent a couple of years in prison during and after World War I because of his agitation against the war and the draft. He was the Socialist Party presidential candidate several times. His position was that racial oppression in this country was simply an expression of class oppression. The Socialist Party doesn’t have anything “special to offer blacks” in America? Well, the Marxist movement here in this country elected their own state. Lenin recognized national oppression and it continued to provide inspiration here in this country.

The International Labor Defense (ILD) fought against racist capitalist injustice through mass, integrated class struggle.
Black History Forum...
(continued from page 7)

representatives to go to the meetings in Moscow where there was discussion and then there was a series of fights in the South African Communist Party and the net result was that a party was formed that did orient toward blacks and by the late 1920s, in some sections of the country, the majority of the party was black. And the Communists were leading whole sectors of the struggle against racism injustice in that country.

Black Proletarians

The process was a little slower in the United States. Let me talk a little bit about the early 1920s that the Communist youth organization in Cape Town wanted to bring in a couple of "colored" members. And the national organization was just up in arms. They said, "We can't do that." The Communist youth organization sent their representative over to Moscow. It took him about a year to get back but he came back with the word that the Communist Youth International was just furious at what was going on in South Africa and they wanted blacks recruited in massive numbers into the youth organization and into the party. There was a series of fights in the South African Communist Party and the net result was that a party was formed that did orient toward blacks and by the late 1920s, in some sections of the country, the majority of the party was black. And the Communists were leading whole sectors of the struggle against racism injustice in that country.

Black Proletarians

The process was a little slower in the United States. Let me talk a little bit about the early 1920s that the Communist youth organization in Cape Town wanted to bring in a couple of "colored" members. And the national organization was just up in arms. They said, "We can't do that." The Communist youth organization sent their representative over to Moscow. It took him about a year to get back but he came back with the word that the Communist Youth International was just furious at what was going on in South Africa and they wanted blacks recruited in massive numbers into the youth organization and into the party. There was a series of fights in the South African Communist Party and the net result was that a party was formed that did orient toward blacks and by the late 1920s, in some sections of the country, the majority of the party was black. And the Communists were leading whole sectors of the struggle against racism injustice in that country.

Black Proletarians

The process was a little slower in the United States. Let me talk a little bit about the early 1920s that the Communist youth organization in Cape Town wanted to bring in a couple of "colored" members. And the national organization was just up in arms. They said, "We can't do that." The Communist youth organization sent their representative over to Moscow. It took him about a year to get back but he came back with the word that the Communist Youth International was just furious at what was going on in South Africa and they wanted blacks recruited in massive numbers into the youth organization and into the party. There was a series of fights in the South African Communist Party and the net result was that a party was formed that did orient toward blacks and by the late 1920s, in some sections of the country, the majority of the party was black. And the Communists were leading whole sectors of the struggle against racism injustice in that country.

Black Proletarians

The process was a little slower in the United States. Let me talk a little bit about the early 1920s that the Communist youth organization in Cape Town wanted to bring in a couple of "colored" members. And the national organization was just up in arms. They said, "We can't do that." The Communist youth organization sent their representative over to Moscow. It took him about a year to get back but he came back with the word that the Communist Youth International was just furious at what was going on in South Africa and they wanted blacks recruited in massive numbers into the youth organization and into the party. There was a series of fights in the South African Communist Party and the net result was that a party was formed that did orient toward blacks and by the late 1920s, in some sections of the country, the majority of the party was black. And the Communists were leading whole sectors of the struggle against racism injustice in that country.

Black Proletarians

The process was a little slower in the United States. Let me talk a little bit about the early 1920s that the Communist youth organization in Cape Town wanted to bring in a couple of "colored" members. And the national organization was just up in arms. They said, "We can't do that." The Communist youth organization sent their representative over to Moscow. It took him about a year to get back but he came back with the word that the Communist Youth International was just furious at what was going on in South Africa and they wanted blacks recruited in massive numbers into the youth organization and into the party. There was a series of fights in the South African Communist Party and the net result was that a party was formed that did orient toward blacks and by the late 1920s, in some sections of the country, the majority of the party was black. And the Communists were leading whole sectors of the struggle against racism injustice in that country.
language; there's no separate political economy of this supposed black nation. Luckily for the workers, they never made any attempts to implement their program in this country and so their audacity, their, and their revolutionism thrust of their work was what was important.

The depression hit in 1929-1930 and then as now, blacks were targeted: last hired, first fired—that kind of thing. And the depression hit the working class in the part of all, there's a rise in racist terror. This time around, blacks were responded to but the young workers did. The reasons was that for the first time in over 50 years, since the Radical Republic was established, there was an organization that consciously and aboveboard was fighting for black rights. The Stalin faction of the Young Communist League had developed an organization that consciously and aboveboard was fighting for black rights. But the only way black liberation can be

Black and white jobless WWI veterans marched on Washington in 1932 to demand the peacetime bonus. Bonus marchers resist eviction from taperrshanties by capital police.

I will get credit where credit is due: the civil rights movement broke the back of the McCarthy era, opened the doors to the much water social struggle of the 1960s, and the civil rights movement did accomplish a few things, many of which have been reversed in these past few years of reaction. But what the civil rights movement did was that it led blacks into the arms of the Democrats, the ruling class. You know, you scratch a Democrat, you get a Dixiecrat. That's what Malcolm X said 25 years ago and the saying is true today. The defense of the working class can be accomplished through a fighting alliance of militant blacks and the working class. That's what we in the Partisan Defense Committee are trying to do—build the kind of party that the Communist International bought it. Not the blacks. Blacks were absolutely unheard of. The NAACP couldn't make their rent because they were sentenced to death, and they were guilty! And here we have the Communist Manifesto, young Marx wrote: a development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise of [Communism], because

Black Liberation Through Socialism! When WW II ended, the bourgeoisie tried to build its “American century” on the basis of anti-Sovietism, McCarthyite witch-hunting, and racist status quo. And much of the American population bought it. Not the blacks. Blacks resisted, however, and the American dream has always been a nightmare for blacks. This time was no exception. But this time around, at the end of WW II, the tame reformist CP had no thought of leading audacious fights against racism and anti-communism wherever it raises its ugly head and fight for the liberation of all the world's workers and oppressed.

Most importantly, what the CP was doing was recruiting thousands and thousands of black militants to what they regarded as being communism. The CP also played an important role in organizing the workers in the factories, the CIO, the unions, the steel unions. Blacks in their hundreds and thousands were fought and expelled from the line. There were no hidebound, wimpy unions. We're talking about blacks and white workers fighting for a place in the picket line together for these unions. It was the CP that was fostering this integrated struggle, the key to a socialist revolution.

There was the Stalinist Betrays Black Struggle The integrated class struggle of the 1930s did not result in a successful socialist revolution and in fact the CP pissed away all their good work and their good members, both black and white. They betrayed the black struggle. What happened was they stopped pursuing objectively revolutionary international goals and pursued their own bourgeoisie instead. Why did they abandon

25 MARCH 1988

Black workers take the lead in fighting bosses' union-busting drive. Teamsters join striking Greyhound drivers on the picket line, Philadelphia, 1983.
Warning: Your term paper research may be deemed a "hostile intelligence activity." The Federal Bureau of Investigation gamshees are asking librarians, particularly in the Northeast, to keep an alert, warning librarians to keep an eye out for FBI agents violating the supposed constitutionally protected right to privacy. The chancellor of the City University of New York is demanding an internal investigation into the FBI's cloak-and-dagger machinations.

The program for the FBI's "Library Awareness Program" is the case of Gennadi Zakharov, a Soviet Uzbek who was accused in 1986 of "spying" (and later traduced for New York Times agent Nicholas Daniloff). He supposedly found a student "gofer" in a Queens College. But the FBI has been prowling and poking at librarians for years. In 1972 an informant was planted in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania's Bucknell Library to spy on Phyllis Berrigan and the "Harrirburg Seven" Vietnam anti-war activists. Librarian Zora Horn went to jail in this case for refusing to testify against the defendants—all of whom were acquitted. An Onoextra, New York librarian noticed a threat to President Reagan scrubbed a returned book, notified authorities and found himself in the middle of a federal case. She refused to testify unless subpoenaed.

BT Says Don't Hail Red Army in Afghanistan

...or anywhere else. Looking down the barrel of Cold War II, the crew of soy ex-members who now make up the "Bolshevik Tendency," formerly Ex-Spartacist League, asked: Why do we ever make out the Soviet Union so? "Soviet defensism too hot to handle. As we pointed out in "The External Tendency: The Spartacist League in flat contrivial Soviet Union's come screaming. What the inevitable blood-sweat threats?" to the U.S. government. Such as the Soviet Union." Gee, Mr. diplomat who hands in Afghanistan is counterrevolutionary through and through.

What the BT "disappears" is the case of Gennadi Zakharov, a Soviet Uzbek who was accused in 1986 of "spying" (and later traduced for New York Times agent Nicholas Daniloff). He supposedly found a student "gofer" in a Queens College. But the FBI has been prowling and poking at librarians for years. In 1972 an informant was planted in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania's Bucknell Library to spy on Phyllis Berrigan and the "Harrirburg Seven" Vietnam anti-war activists. Librarian Zora Horn went to jail in this case for refusing to testify against the defendants—all of whom were acquitted. An Onoextra, New York librarian noticed a threat to President Reagan scrubbed a returned book, notified authorities and found himself in the middle of a federal case. She refused to testify unless subpoenaed.

They're not the only ones asking librarians, particularly in the Northeast, to keep an alert, warning librarians to keep an eye out for FBI agents violating the supposed constitutionally protected right to privacy. The chancellor of the City University of New York is demanding an internal investigation into the FBI's cloak-and-dagger machinations.

The program for the FBI's "Library Awareness Program" is the case of Gennadi Zakharov, a Soviet Uzbek who was accused in 1986 of "spying" (and later traduced for New York Times agent Nicholas Daniloff). He supposedly found a student "gofer" in a Queens College. But the FBI has been prowling and poking at librarians for years. In 1972 an informant was planted in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania's Bucknell Library to spy on Phyllis Berrigan and the "Harrirburg Seven" Vietnam anti-war activists. Librarian Zora Horn went to jail in this case for refusing to testify against the defendants—all of whom were acquitted. An Onoextra, New York librarian noticed a threat to President Reagan scrubbed a returned book, notified authorities and found himself in the middle of a federal case. She refused to testify unless subpoenaed.

What the BT "disappears" is the case of Gennadi Zakharov, a Soviet Uzbek who was accused in 1986 of "spying" (and later traduced for New York Times agent Nicholas Daniloff). He supposedly found a student "gofer" in a Queens College. But the FBI has been prowling and poking at librarians for years. In 1972 an informant was planted in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania's Bucknell Library to spy on Phyllis Berrigan and the "Harrirburg Seven" Vietnam anti-war activists. Librarian Zora Horn went to jail in this case for refusing to testify against the defendants—all of whom were acquitted. An Onoextra, New York librarian noticed a threat to President Reagan scrubbed a returned book, notified authorities and found himself in the middle of a federal case. She refused to testify unless subpoenaed.

What the BT "disappears" is the case of Gennadi Zakharov, a Soviet Uzbek who was accused in 1986 of "spying" (and later traduced for New York Times agent Nicholas Daniloff). He supposedly found a student "gofer" in a Queens College. But the FBI has been prowling and poking at librarians for years. In 1972 an informant was planted in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania's Bucknell Library to spy on Phyllis Berrigan and the "Harrirburg Seven" Vietnam anti-war activists. Librarian Zora Horn went to jail in this case for refusing to testify against the defendants—all of whom were acquitted. An Onoextra, New York librarian noticed a threat to President Reagan scrubbed a returned book, notified authorities and found himself in the middle of a federal case. She refused to testify unless subpoenaed.

What the BT "disappears" is the case of Gennadi Zakharov, a Soviet Uzbek who was accused in 1986 of "spying" (and later traduced for New York Times agent Nicholas Daniloff). He supposedly found a student "gofer" in a Queens College. But the FBI has been prowling and poking at librarians for years. In 1972 an informant was planted in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania's Bucknell Library to spy on Phyllis Berrigan and the "Harrirburg Seven" Vietnam anti-war activists. Librarian Zora Horn went to jail in this case for refusing to testify against the defendants—all of whom were acquitted. An Onoextra, New York librarian noticed a threat to President Reagan scrubbed a returned book, notified authorities and found himself in the middle of a federal case. She refused to testify unless subpoenaed.
Afganos, Kabuli and Tankies: What Now?

The left-Stalinist milieu has seen a symptomatically opposite development. A decade ago, most of the West European CPs sharply divided between Moscow-loyal Stalinists and so-called Eurocommunists who sought to integrate themselves into mainstream social democracy. When the Red Army crossed the Afghan border, the “Euro” joined with their own bourgeoisies in anti-cold war mutiny. We are all seeing a seething cauldron erupted in open factional war, as those Stalinists and Euro-communists (in Spain), “kabuli” (in Italy) and “tankies” (in Britain)—who wanted to maintain some semblance of opposition to NATO imperialism came out in support of the Soviet tanks moving into Afghanistan. As a Kennedy did in Russia, Gorbachev now finds himself in the position of Stalin. However, these rather exceptional declarations, the Leninist current still carries with it much of the political baggage of Stalinism. Against Gorbachev’s “anti-Soviet vituperation. What had

Anti-drift demonstration in 1980—Sparktac Youth League stood out in hailing Gorbachev & Co. against Islamic reaction in Afghanistan.

Soviets Must Win Afghan War!

Editorial Board

For more information: (212) 261-1105
Central America...

(continued from page 1)

to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution with militant class struggle at home.

U.S. Invents Invasion Scare

For years the Reaganists have attacked Managua as a "Soviet surro­
gate," supposedly to counter "Sandino­Communism." They have intimidated the Democrats, fearful of accusations of "appeasement," and everything Washington has tried for the last seven years to smash the radical-nationalist govern­ment in "America's backyard" has failed. Bloody contra terror, CIA sabotage and a U.S. trade boycott have succeeded in making life miserable for Nicaraguans. But instead of creating a mass base for counterrevolution, this blockade has produced mass anger and determination to defend their "small country with a big revolution" against the Yankee colonists. Since the contras have failed, if Reagan is to make good on his vow not to leave this "prob­lem" to his successor all that's left is direct U.S. military action. But the White House gang that can cut straight from the Near East to Central America doesn't have the political sup­port at home to pull off an invasion. So they have to resort to provocation.

The "Sandinista invasion" story was born in a nightmare the U.S. generals knew it. "If looked more like an American invasion of Honduras," reported CNN. "In fact, the Sandinista fighters were dropping into Palmolvo." "I know of nothing that justifies sending troops," said Democratic Senator Frank Church. It was recalled on Capitol Hill how in March 1987 the administration invented anoth­er invasion scare, twisting the Honduran president's arm to get him to request U.S. military aid. At the order (success­fully) get the Senate to vote for contra aid. This time, too, the Honduran mili­tary had to be informed they were "invaded," and puppet president Arzo­na never did formally request U.S. troops.

In Managua, Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega went on nationwide radio aug­menting Managua's "peace" plan. Some 100,000 rallied in Managua Sunday night to send off the govern­ment delegation to the Sao Paulo talks, and thousands more lined the highway to the negotiations site. But despite a decade of guer­rilla war against the lackeys of U.S. imperialism, which has cost more than 50,000 lives, the Nicaraguan masses were combative and aggressive. The crowd chanted "Contran, either sur­render or we will crush them," and the "contra has two options: surrender or die." Their determination to "give it to the contra hard" points the way to a gristle piece with justice in Nicara­gua, which can never be achieved by the Sandinista top's "cheerleader" of "reconciliation" with the CIA's hired killers. The Ortegas will have a hard time selling the Nicaraguan masses a deal that allows the Somozaist tortur­ers and murderers to go free.

Class Struggle Sharpens in Nicaragua

Already, the attempts by counterrev­olutionaries to take advantage of the opening given to them under the Arias deal have provoked repeated sharp confrontations with supporters of the revolution. On February 7, several thousand members of U.S.-financed anti-Sandinista trade union staged a protest march in Managua. The next day several hundred residents of Masaya rioted against a sweep by Interior Ministry troops to round up draft dodgers, burn­ing police jeeps and stoning govern­ment offices. On February 8, about 300 youths rallied in support of the compul­sory military service, a vital necessity in order to fight the contra war. Follow­ing the changeover to a new currency in mid-February, an attempt to halt 1,000 percent inflation, hundreds of Sandi­nista Trade Union Federation (CST) members swept through Managua's East­ern Market, overturning stacks of boxes on March 20 at gunpoint. A

282 Airborne parachutes into Honduras.

under the auspices of the Arias "peace" plan.

The Sandinista offensive that chased the contras out of the remote Boca River valley in northern Nicaragua was secret. Washington only started scrambling when the CIA's mercenaries had been driven back to their base camps. Washington officials kept talk­ing of a "no-fly zone" to fight the contra, against the contras, said to be in a "des­perate" situation, only to express sur­prise that the Sandinistas (unfortu­nately) pulled back instead of finishing them off. But the Nicaraguan drive was clearly aimed at flushing out the con­tras for ceasing fire talks, by cutting off their escape routes and going after their stores of supplies. (Official U.S. aid was supposed to stop at the end of Febru­ary.) And on March 21, Nicaraguan dem­ocratic opposition leader Daniel Ortega sat down with a contra delegation in the border town of Sao Paulo, calling a tempo­rary cease-fire during the negotiations for "people's power" and "The streets belong to the people" - the right wing has no more right to reign. Through vigilant mobilization, sup­porters of the Nicaraguan Revolution should be able to keep control of the streets. But the counterrevolution can­not be smashed by blacked brawls or political action while the government signs agreements guaranteeing political and economic "rights" to the contras. Their power must be broken by expropriat­ing the bourgeoisie, which still controls 60 percent of the Nicaraguan economy. The FSLN opposes this necessary step.

The crowd chanted "Contras, either surrender or die." Their determination to "give it to the contra hard" points the way to a gristle piece with justice in Nicaragua, which can never be achieved by the Sandinista top's "cheerleader" of "reconciliation" with the CIA's hired killers. The Ortegas will have a hard time selling the Nicaraguan masses a deal that allows the Somozaist tortur­ers and murderers to go free.

Class Struggle Sharpens in Nicaragua

Already, the attempts by counterrev­olutionaries to take advantage of the opening given to them under the Arias plan have provoked repeated sharp confrontations with supporters of the revolution. On February 7, several thousand members of U.S.-financed anti-Sandinista trade unions staged a protest march in Managua. The next day some 200 residents of Masaya rioted against a sweep by Interior Ministry troops to round up draft dodgers, burn­ing police jeeps and stoning govern­ment offices. On February 8, about 300 youths rallied in support of the compul­sory military service, a vital necessity in order to fight the contra war. Follow­ing the changeover to a new currency in mid-February, an attempt to halt 1,000 percent inflation, hundreds of Sandi­nista Trade Union Federation (CST) members swept through Managua's East­ern Market, overturning stacks of boxes on March 20 at gunpoint. A
Coast-to-Coast Protests  
(continued from page 1)  
The social-patriotic protest organizers want to keep "our boys" out of Central America by supporting the Democratic Party-inspired "Arias Peace Plan," whose aim is to strangle the Nicaraguan Revolution without sending in the 52nd Airborne.

But working people have a side to take in this question. Tens of thousands of Central American workers and peasants! In Boston, at a 6,000-strong March 10 march, fired workers and organized groups of workers organized by the Christian Workers Union had the audacity to protest against the deployment of troops to Honduras. A crowd of 1,000, mostly government employees, have just chanted slogans such as "Defend Nicaragua, No More Vietnams!" Fifty or more members of the Nicaragua Solidarity Movement have been arrested in the past few days. With arrest warrants out for many of the organizers, Nicaragua is in real turmoil.

Over the next several days the protests grew, 2,000 on Friday, over 5,000 the next day. "People hung out of their apartment windows to cheer the marchers on," said the San Francisco Examiner.

Meanwhile, the U.S. government - which has spent billions of dollars on war in Central America - has increased the political atmosphere in the region.

The capture of Centeno was a frontal assault on the Salvadoran labor movement. The government has the right to control workers, the right to force out their former leaders. The government unions are the most corrupt in the world.

The capture of Centeno was a frontal assault on the Salvadoran labor movement. The government has the right to control workers, the right to force out their former leaders. The government unions are the most corrupt in the world.

The capture of Centeno was a frontal assault on the Salvadoran labor movement. The government has the right to control workers, the right to force out their former leaders. The government unions are the most corrupt in the world.

The capture of Centeno was a frontal assault on the Salvadoran labor movement. The government has the right to control workers, the right to force out their former leaders. The government unions are the most corrupt in the world.

Theapture of Centeno was a frontal assault on the Salvadoran labor movement. The government has the right to control workers, the right to force out their former leaders. The government unions are the most corrupt in the world.
IRA...

(continued from page 2)

case by the same special RUC "anti­
terrorist" unit. They were unarmed:
in the bay head where 17-year-old Michael
tighe was gunned down. The 19-year-old
Martin McCauley wounded, several old
rifles were found, but no ammunition.
Early on, Stalker decided he couldn't "not
overlook the possibility that revenge
killed these men." After investigating and
learned that four of the six had been
implicated by an informant in the planti­
giants' list of a landmine which exploded when
a cop car ran over it.

Stalker was able to determine that false
stories had been planted by senior
RUC officers after the shootings. Fur­
thermore, in the McCauley/Tighe case, he
learned that "An electronic bug, installed by M5, had been operating,
concealed in the rafters, throughout the
entire police apparatus on the barn.
McCauley and Tighe had walked into a
sofisticated operation that had been
camouflaged to look like a chance
encounter." Summarily removed from
the investigation after delivering an
interim report recommending charges
against at least eight RUC officers,
Stalker became the object of a police
investigation into his functioning in
Manchester on manifestly trumped-up
charges.

Not Orange Against Green But Black Against Black

Since an SAS ambush at Loughgall,
keeping eight IRA men and a passing
motorist, the government's campaign has
borne the marks of an orchestrated
effort to take out leading members with
maximal force. Thatcher & Co. have
played a variety of cards in an effort to
stage, ranging from officially sanctioned
cover-up of RUC/Army killings to en­
listing the cooperation of Dublin's
British detective John Stalker was
projected to find out what really
happened in killings of IRA youth.

Garda (police) under the Anglo-Irish
accord. Particularly after the IRA
attract on Eireannach in which eleven
civilians were killed, Irish prime min­
ister Haughey's cops and troops were
unleashed in a joint operation with the
RUC to hit Republican strongholds on both
sides of the border.

Recent events have produced "ten­
siion" between Dublin and London, and
the long-sought extradition treaty is
again on the ropes. But the reactionary,
clergicalist government of the Southern
Republic is up to its neck in repression
against the Republican movement. Yet
it is to this clericalist South that the IRA
looks for salvation, with its nationalist
project of forcible reunification of the
Protestant community in the North into
a Catholic-dominated "Thirty-Two Counties.
There is no solution to the brutal
quagmire of Ireland, to imperial­
ist expression and sectarian division,
short of a struggle for proletarian power
on both sides of the communal divide, on
both sides of the border and on both
sides of the Irish Sea.

The liberation of the English, Welsh
and Scottish working class is in inex­
tricably tied to the struggle of the Irish
masses against British imperialism.
Northern Ireland is a testing and train­
ing ground for repressive techniques
to hit the working class in its "home." In
the inner-city ghettos to the coalfields.
The Prevention of Terrorism Act, now to be
enacted, "permanently," provides the
tools with vastly enhanced powers of
deportation, exclusion and expulsion of
duty and in the immediate interests of
the organised working-class move­
mantop the state's "anti-terrorist" war.
Northern Ireland, to demand the immediate
withdrawal of the troops, the abolition of
the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The IRA
imposed despite massive evidence
that their conviction for the 1974
Birmingham pub bombing was a frame-up)

Such elementary internationalism
necessarily requires a break with the
wretched Labour Party. In Northern
Ireland, the personally courageous and
moral warmth who would come at the
wise squander their lives in the service of
a Great Britain, the mechanism can
must be won to the perspective of prole­
tarian revolution. What is urgently needed is a radical change of the
Labour Party to unite both Protestant
and Catholic workers along class lines
against a revolution­
Liakos, impassioned and
La.Ca. 94604
(415) 636-3537

New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23509

Oakland
Box 35252
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

San Francisco
Box 3712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 883-6693

Washington, D.C.
Box 2346
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Willie Darden...

(continued from page 16)

tide... I have always, in all of the inter­
views that I've ever given since I've been
here, complained about the injustices
about the racism, about the facts of my
innocence.

Hours of millions had watched Darden's image fade from their TV
screens, his body seared by 2,000 volts of electricity. It was state murder,
American-style.

Darden was black, and the simple fact that his body was that of a black
man as he was hissing in the words: "in the Deep South tells the story. "Quite
frankly," said Rev. Joseph Ingle on

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10118
(212) 732-7880

Atlanta
Box 441794
Atlanta, GA 30320

Detroit
Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

Bos ton
Box 441794
Boston, MA 02116
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 91037
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Detroit
Box 30302
Detroit, MI 48244

Ihaca
Box 6678
Ihaca, NY 14895

los Angeles
Box 1777
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 360-8239

Madison
Box 4147
Madison, WI 53704
(608) 251-2061

Cleveland
Box 4911
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 881-3700

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

Norfolk
Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23509

Oakland
Box 35252
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

San Francisco
Box 3712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 883-6693

Washington, D.C.
Box 2346
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

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

WORKERS VANGUARD

Jesse Jackson...

(continued from page 16)

miles from the murder scene at the
time it happened. It was a pure racist
frame-up.

State Murder Accelerates

Since the Supreme Court reinstated the
death penalty in 1976 after a brief hiatus,
the pace of executions has acceler­
ated—96 killed since then, 25 in 1987
alone. Half of the nearly 2,000 people on
death row are black. They are killed by
times their proportion in the popula­
tion, a reflection of the racial bias in the
apportionment of death penalty approa­
ches as well as evidence that the state
has embarked on its economic and execu­
tion into Democratic Party electoral
strategies. Get us black out of the way,
and we'll see how far you can go with your
military and political adventures. We're
seeking to revive enthusiasm for this
party of racism and war by glorifying
Jesse Jackson as its great savior. He is an
out of all the Democratic Party as the
arena, the only arena they can work in. They
do not want us to play the race game,
that they can make change there. This is a terrible
illusion.

The oppression of black people, with
its roots in the old Southern slavery,
negro exploitation, the dehumanization of the
through wage slavery, cannot be eradi­
cated until the capitalist system itself is
rout­ed—this system which has slaughtered
tens of millions of human beings in two imperialist world wars
and countless colonial adventures, which
condemns millions of poor and minor­
your people to go to bed hungry, which
entire country to sink deeper and deeper
while plowing under that is not
profitable to harvest, which holds the
outlandish World in its grasp, which holds
out of debt and military threat. The urgent
is the forging of a revolutionary
leader from the ranks of the black people. Here, among blacks, hispanics, all workers and the
proletariat is the key to an odyssey of revolu­
tionary sociadel revolution. Break with
the Democrats! Black freedom is key to revolutionary workers party!

Running for Democratic Power Broker

In claiming "I can win," Jackson is
pushing the pernicious myth that any­
thing is possible if you are black and want to be president. "America is a better America, a stronger America," he said, after winning Super Tuesday. In New Hampshire, where black people are forcibly seg­
sed in the bottom of the society, ghettosized, terrorized, that is a lie.

While appealing to race pride among
blacks, his plan is to sell "black man as president"—Jesse Jackson is not running for
president. He is running for Dem­
ocratic power broker.

He is planning to broker his front­
runner status into Democratic Party electoral strategy. There will be no way
to tell what the South doesn't want to be a "spoiler" in November. "He doesn't want to be the one to be blamed for a Democratic defeat," says Phil Black Congressmen Bill Kelly, a Texas Congressman. The real Jesse Jackson is the one in the霓
Leoland is one of many of his sup­
porters who have approached while
not a
Jackson is particularly key to the "Southern strategy." The Democrats cannot win an election in the South unless they are losing in the South. They need Jackson for massive black voter registration and turnout, and he is delivering. The "Southern strategy" means racist rollback. Jackson prays the "New South" ("no more governors standing in school house doors") as he glad-hands racist Alabama ex-governor George Wallace. But the white East Texas sheriffs who beat Loyal Garner to death never heard of the "New South." Neither did the Florida governor who had Willie Darden electrocuted last week. After the Supreme Court ruled that racial discrimination is no reason to stop executions, Jackson promised to make opposition to the death penalty central to his campaign. But this was a failed, along with Willie Darden. At every point Jackson, to broaden his base, has sought to distance himself from positions defending black rights. Gearing up for the New York primary in April, Jesse praised Ed Koch for cracking down on crack. What about Koch's cops who are cracking heads, gunning down blacks and Hispanics in the streets and in their beds? No problem, so long as Ed keeps promising "law and order." Jackson courts George "Segregation Forever" Wallace in Montgomery, in policing black America can be seen in the Reaganite company it keeps. The drug witchhunt is sucker bait to dissuade blacks from organizing in defense of race and to sanction cop terror. From narcis police sweeps to vigilante action under the guise of "cleaning up" the black community. It is, as Jackson says, "a message of the '80s," and can only go down in a period like the late Reagan years marked by the glaring absence of black struggle. The most grotesque example of this degeneration is in New York, where a self-admitted FBI informer, Al Sharpton, continues to help the allegiance of black activists. Only in such a climate could there be a "debate" in the black press over "collaborating with the collaborator!"

Jesse Jackson vs. black struggle. When 10,000 marched in Norfolk for school busing in 1983, Jesse told them to forget busing, vote Democrat.

Jackson says he is a "Negro mayor," James Farmer's disciples' current chief. Farmer and his racist associates are the real government that rules the South, while this racist symbol was taken down in a period like the late Reagan years marked by the glaring absence of black struggle. The most grotesque example of this degeneration is in New York, where a self-admitted FBI informer, Al Sharpton, continues to help the allegiance of black activists. Only in such a climate could there be a "debate" in the black press over "collaborating with the collaborator!"

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! Jackson is pushing the flag-waving economic protectionism and anti-communism that is standard Democratic Party fare. If Jesse is not as racist as his other name, he is at least his "yellow peril" Japan-Bashing, it's only because this anti-Asian racism is so blatant blacks won't buy it. Jesse's a soft core version. In the chauvinist code words of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy he has the, self-righteousness of the nationalists to jobs "slave labor" markets abroad. "We must reinvest in America. We must try to do it," to go to the GE, to stop putting profits over people and to put America back to work. Some commentators have said that Jackson cannot get elected, not just because he's black, but because he's too radical. But a Washington Post political analyst Kevin Phillips told the Wall Street Journal (1 March), "When Mr. Jackson talks about the right to a good job, running for governor, going to Russia. "I said to him, 'You know, when we fought the contra-aid.... you must protect Nicaragua, the next day you back a constituency that undercuts a constituency base in this country.' But Ortega isn't running in the U.S. elections. His electoral base must be defended. In Panama, Jackson supports Reagan's ouster of Noriega. Playing the Jefferson's game is no new game for Jesse. He's a hustler whose life motto might be "I have a scheme." Jackson came to prominence in Chicago, a product of the defeat of the civil rights movement after the assassination of Martin Luther King. Some Palmer House agreement acknowledging failure in the fight to integrate "Segregation Forever." Ortega is back on integration struggles and built his "Operation Push" on getting his "cut" by brokering black business in the ghetto.Except, in this deeply racist country, there is no space for a black bourgeoisie. So Jesse's brand of black capitalism was to push (or boycott, depending on the percentage) white corporates like Coca-Cola and Burger King.

While the Black Panthers were electrocuted in the ghetto, Jesse was grazing about "green power" against "black power," trying to cool out blacks by telling them the system really works. That the ultimate broker of black defeat was most hideously obvious in May 1983, when Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode ordered the firebombing of the MOVE commune, murdering ten of the six children and burning out an entire block of black West Philly. Jesse uttered not a peep. That's right, he's more a "leader" than a "militant." Murder—but sought to use the building reconstruction as an opportunity to broker a coalition with the conservatives on crime.

A recent study—"The Kerner Report Twenty Years Later"—has documented the deeper roots of black America 20 years after the '60s ghetto explosions in which blacks in their anger began to tear this country apart. That infusion of cash in the poverty programs and state terror against the black militants like the Panthers, the ruling class got out sideways. The installation of the black mayors (supplemented by direct police terror) to hold the lid on the inner cities has been more or less effective. The result: more ghetto poverty, more segregation, more cop terror and most murderous of all) to administer black oppression.

It will take hard class struggle, the integrated power of black workers, to go away with the racism oppressed rooted in the very fabric of American society. As the most advanced sector of the proletariat, have the power to shut this country down. The crying need is for a break with the Democrats and the forging of a revolutionary workers party to kick the politicians out of the class struggle for power.
Jesse Jackson Fronts for Party of War and Racism

After Super Tuesday, the smoke cleared on the primary battlefield for the two parties of American capitalism. The Republican machine has rolled up a commanding lead for Vice President George Bush, the Number Two unindicted Contragate conspirator, over conservative Senator Bob Dole. The program of ex-CIA Director Bush, who combines Texas oil money with Connecticut Yankee prejudice: four more years of Reaganism without Reagan. Dole, they say, is running as a “populist” (the “poor boy from Gucci gulch,” quipped a Bush staffer), meaning that he throws around demagogic rhetoric about invading Nicaragua while Bush was actually trying to do it through his “calm of zealots” in the White House basement. On the Democratic side, the seven dwarfs are dwindling, presaging a “brokered” convention in Atlanta between Massachusetts governor Mike Dukakis’ Northeastern yuppies and Al Gore’s “New South” Cold Warriors. And then there’s Jesse Jackson.

Jesse has been running as a mainstream Democrat, and doing phenomenally well. The specter of a black front-runner coming into the Atlanta convention originally sent panic through the Democratic Party leadership. Novelist Ralph Ellison wrote of blacks as the “invisible Man”—for months the bourgeois media treated Jackson as the invisible candidate. Racist reaction ranged from death threats to a KKK plan to march on the Democratic convention.

In contrast to the inflatable plastic midgets running against him, Jackson seems positively presidential. "America is Listening to Message of the '88 Jack­son," headlined the Los Angeles Times after his big win Super Tuesday when Jesse won five states, and outpolled everyone in the raw vote. It was no surprise that black voters are uniformly voting for Jackson. But Jackson’s mix of “anti-corporate” rhetoric and anti-drug crusading is attracting some white support as well.

White Iowa farmers tearfully embrace Jackson—he’s the only one who stood with them against the banks’ and feds’ repossession of farms that have been in the family since the Homestead Act. Midwestern meatpackers at Hormel and Cudahy, Latina cannery strikers in Watsonville, California shake hands with Jesse—he’s the only candidate who would fly in and walk a picket line. The thousands cheering as the candidate shouts, “we need Jackson Action,” are not black students on cam­pus, but white Appalachian miners in Hazard, Kentucky. At a flag-waving Bay Area labor rally, Jackson said he’d “rather have Roosevelt in a wheelchair than Reagan on a high horse.” Under the gun in the sabre-rattling, unio­n-busting climate of the late Reagan years, sections of the embattled labor move­ment are looking to Jackson as an articulate spokesman for FDR-style “friend of labor” Democratic Party coalitions.

Make no mistake. When Jackson walks the picket lines of striking work­ers, or marches through the streets with black protesters, it’s not to support their struggles, but to cool them out. Today the press (after they could no longer ignore him) patronizes Jackson, prasing his newfound “mellowness,” “maturity” and “moderation” (he’s stopped hugging Fidel Castro and Yasir Arafat). But from his earliest days in the civil rights movement, Jesse has been Mr. Anti-Struggle—the fireman brought in to douse the flames of black revolt. The Jackson message is old-style New Deal liberalism, which from FDR to JFK and LBJ meant a raw deal for black people and the working class. From the 1930s through today the Dem­ocratic Party has masqueraded as the “people’s party” of American capital­ism. Supported for decades by the black establishment and labor officials, as well as the social democrats and Stalinists, they have tied blacks to the Dixiecrats, presided over Jim Crow in

A Workers Vanguard

Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party!

The Legal Murder of Willie Darden

Willie Jasper Darden, aged 54, sat on Florida's death row for 14 years, longer than any other inmate. Six times he was prepared for execution, and six times he was reprieved at the last moment. For the poetry he’d written to the many thousands who wrote him sympathetic letters over the years, he became known as the “sage of death row.” Last week he was readied for execution a seventh time, but last week there was no reprieve. The Supreme Court voted not to review his case. Florida governor Bob Martinez immediately set an execution date of March 15, allowing only seven days for final appeals rather than the usual 30 days. Willie Jasper Darden went to his death proclaiming his inno­cence, yet another victim of the “legal” murder machine of racist America. Among those appealing for his life were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Am­nesty International and even the Pope. Darden never got a retrial, but the night before his execution he was interviewed on ABC’s Nightline with Ted Koppel. Like a scene in a ’30s prison movie, Koppel described how the lights went out during the interview because “they were testing the generator for the electric chair.” His hands manacled, Darden remained calm throughout and firmly told his audience: “If I’ve executed tomorrow morning, it’s not going to change the facts that I’m innocent. I will take that innocence to the grave. I will take my dignity to the grave. I will stand proud, and I’ll walk with my head high, because I have no guilty conscience. I have nothing to

Legal Murder of Willie Darden

Down with Racist Death Penalty!

willie darden murdered by racist injusticce

March 15: Protesters outside Florida State Prison death row.

25 MARCH 1988