

Put Butcher Duarte on the Run!

Invasion Elections in El Salvador

MAY 6—Ronald Reagan is waging his dirty war in El Salvador with bullets, ballots and bullshit. And none of it is working. From the battles in Morazán province to fighting the “Vietnam syndrome” on the home front, the Yankee butchers are losing. The Reaganites are becoming more desperate, and thus more dangerous. U.S. imperialism is trying to prop up its falling dominos as Navy war flotillas converge off the Central American coasts for one “exercise” after another. *Newsweek* asked if the latest, “Ocean Venture '84,” involving 32,000 U.S. military personnel, were “Invasion War Games?”

This operation spanning more than two weeks included a mock evacuation (and real reinforcement) of the U.S. base at Guantánamo, Cuba—a naval fortress held in defiance of the Cubans' demand for its return—and a full-scale invasion of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. Ocean Venture '84, a gigantic war provocation, was a dry run for an invasion of Central America, as well as an attempt to intimidate the Cuban deformed workers state and Sandinista Nicaragua. We say: Smash Reagan's Caribbean war drive! Defense of Cuban/USSR begins in El Salvador! U.S. out of Guantánamo! Independence for Puerto Rico!

To send in the Marines and the 82nd Airborne to “save democracy,” it always helps to have a “democratically elected

Pentagon war machine poised on Honduras-Salvador border as phony “election” of Butcher Duarte covers for Reagan's invasion plans.



Nickelsberg/Time

government” to “request” Washington's aid. (It was awkward enough in Grenada where they had to dig up an obscure representative of the British queen.) So yesterday the second round of the “Intervention Elections” were held in El Salvador. The U.S. embassy and the Salvadoran army picked their man, the



AP

CIA provided the publicity apparatus, and Christian Democrat José Napoleón Duarte was duly “elected” president of the republic. Duarte should have no trouble serving as front man for a U.S. invasion. For years he has been the “moderate” front man for death squad terror.

How did he get to be a “moderate”? By running against a certified pathological killer, the cashiered colonel “Blowtorch Bob” D'Aubuisson, who earned his nickname because of his torture techniques. Notorious for carting his death squads around town in armor—
continued on page 10

Soviet Athletes Targeted by Reagan

Cold War Provocations Force Russia Out of Olympics

MAY 8—The government of the United States has incited and sanctioned a campaign of intimidation, harassment, possible kidnapping and right-wing violence against the Soviet Olympic team during the summer games in Los Angeles. After putting up with countless provocations, the Soviet authorities have had enough. They announced today that they're pulling out of the L.A. Olympics because the U.S. government “does not intend to ensure the security of all athletes, respect their rights and human dignity, and create normal

conditions for holding the games.” According to TASS, the International Olympic Committee agrees that the Soviet position is “just” and “substantiated” (UPI, 8 May). Indeed the LAPD and FBI were turning the Olympics into an armed camp while the bourgeois press whipped up anti-Soviet hysteria.

The Reagan gang's targeting of the Soviet Olympic team is part of a series of flagrant attacks on Soviet diplomatic personnel, civilians and military forces around the globe. To take but a
continued on page 11

Russian world record breaking swimmer, Vladimir Salnikov.

Long Photography



Labor Solidarity Rally in NYC

Black Caribbean Workers vs. Hess Oil Empire

Black workers who have been slaving away for Hess Oil Company on the small Caribbean island of St. Croix in the U.S. Virgin Islands are today fighting a bitter class battle against oil magnate Leon Hess. Nearly 400 workers were locked out at the HOVIC refinery on April 16 after they had voted down the company's racist union-busting contract "offer." Hess wants to return to the days of plantation slavery, cracking down across the board, eliminating the right to grieve layoffs, recalls, promotions or demotions. Attacks on seniority rights include Hess's plan to administer tests to employees. As the union put it in their full-page ad in the *St. Croix Avis*, if this contract is rammed through, when Hess wants to get rid of someone, they merely test him and it's "out the gate!"

In New York City on May 7 an emergency protest was held outside the Amerada Hess international headquarters at Sixth Avenue and 47th Street, to support and publicize the struggle of these locked-out black workers. More than 40 demonstrators marched, chanting "Teamsters, longshore, maritime, steel—Hot cargo Hess! Make him kneel!" and "PATCO, Greyhound, now Hess—Smash union-busting!" The New York demonstrators carried placards with slogans raised by the St. Croix workers including: "No rest for St. Croix workers: You work our brothers for 12 hours. Now you lock your gate and we have to protest" and "Don't forget: The whip that beat the black dog beat the white dog also. Unity!" The NYC protest was called by area rank-



1,200 black unionists and supporters march through Christiansted, St. Croix on May 2: "Get up, stand up for your rights!"

and-file trade unionists—including members of the National Maritime Union, Transport Workers Union, Communications Workers of America, AFSCME, carpenters, plumbers—and the Labor Black League of America.

Militant seaman Gene Herson called for labor action starting with transport workers "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) all Hess Oil products. Maire Hayes—who marched in the impressive solidarity demonstration on the island last week—stressed the urgency of the New York support action "because Hess

thinks nobody is going to find out what's happening down there in St. Croix." A statement by Ronnie Davis, recording secretary of the embattled oil workers union, was read thanking people on the mainland for their support.

Hess oil workers, organized into United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8526, already toil under barbarous conditions, with the company having replaced the three shifts needed to operate the refinery around the clock by two brutal 12-hour shifts. The giant refinery—the world's largest, with a capacity of 700,000 barrels of oil a day—operates on St. Croix exempt from all corporate taxes. Under the ruthless domination of rogue-capitalist Leon Hess and his Amerada Hess Corporation, the oil company is now operating at the refinery with scabs from Hess's Mississippi plant, subcontractors and management. Workers at St. Croix make more than \$2/hour less than workers at the Hess oil refinery in Purvis, Mississippi, that notoriously racist, low-wage state!

On May 2 in Christiansted, the island's capital, the locked-out workers took to the streets. A massive solidarity march of 1,200 unionists and their families and supporters—reportedly the largest labor demonstration ever held in the Virgin Islands—in a festive mood marched in step with Bob Marley's "Stand Up For Your Rights" blaring from a sound truck. As the workers approached the marketplace by the harbor at the site of the old slave auction block, their placards took on a special meaning: "Dark Ages Slavery by \$ Diplomacy—We Will Stand Up for Our Rights!" was one sign. Here, Lonnie James, president of Steelworkers Local 8526, vowed: "We marched here today to show we will not be sold and we will not be bought."

Like the old plantation owners, Leon Hess and his ilk have nightmares about slave uprisings on their "paradise" islands of tax shelters and naked racist exploitation. From the time the St. Croix refinery was first opened until recently, "bonded" black workers, little more than indentured servants, were "imported" from islands throughout the Caribbean for six-month periods, and threatened with deportation if they got

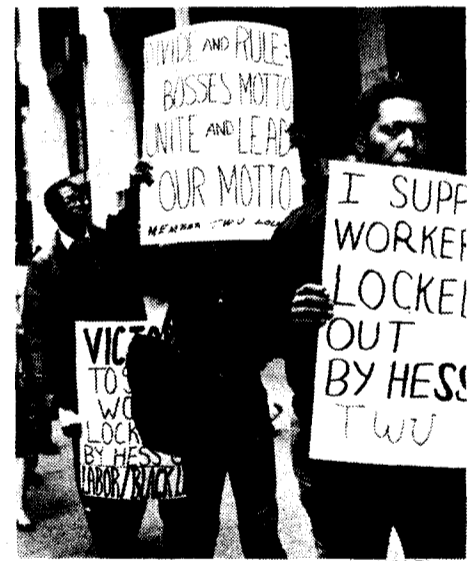
out of line. Hess Oil making St. Croix its own private colony is standard procedure for these oil multinationals: Exxon in Aruba, Texaco in Trinidad, Royal Dutch Shell in Curaçao.

The spectre of "another Cuba" haunts the capitalists who have established hugely profitable enterprises with enormous tax dodges throughout the Caribbean. At every outbreak of labor struggle, they tremble with fear of revolution. Hess & Co. surely sleep better knowing that the white U.S. imperialist slavemasters didn't hesitate to send down troops to crush the people of Grenada when they got "uppity." With Reagan's enormous military buildup in the region—aimed most directly at toppling Sandinista Nicaragua, backing the murderous Salvadoran regime and menacing Cuba—the tiny Caribbean ruling classes and their imperialist masters know that the U.S. military isn't just their ultimate but their first line of defense.

But the Virgin Islands, although as small as tiny Grenada, have a black proletariat with significantly more social power. This weight is seen in the more than 8,500 workers organized into the USWA throughout St. Croix and St. Thomas, from the big Martin-Marietta aluminum plant to phone workers to HOVIC oil workers to a 1,000-strong USWA construction local. These black workers are conscious of their ties to their brothers and sisters on the U.S. mainland, as evidenced by signs at the May 2 Christiansted mass march: "First it was Reagan, then the Greyhound bus line, now it's Hess—These union-busters need a busted ass!" And, in turn, the strategically important black proletariat of the U.S. will be decisive in shattering American imperialism from within and so liberating the desperately poor colonial masses of the Caribbean.

Hot Cargo Hess Oil!

In Leon Hess the black oil workers are up against one of the most ruthless figures in a ruthless bunch. Hess, known to New Yorkers as the football Jets' owner who took the team to New Jersey, has had it all his way in St. Croix since



New York protest at Hess Oil headquarters May 2 supports locked-out oil workers in St. Croix.

he established the giant HOVIC oil refinery on the island in 1966. A Howard Hughes-type eccentric, Hess avoids the public and won't talk to the press. He tries to personally control every aspect of his far-flung operation right up to surprise inspections of Hess gas station attendants. He is a "buccaneer," wrote Tad Szulc in his profile of the sinister Hess, "Playing for High Stakes in the Virgin Islands," in *Forbes*, 1 August 1977. Indeed, Hess's oil piracy has paid off plenty. The company is officially listed as worth some \$3 billion, but given the secretive nature of his operation, analysts say it is systematically undervalued.

Hess lords it over the black workers on St. Croix, because that is what the Virgin Islands setup is all about. Known as a tourist spot by most Americans, the Virgin Islands are the scene of a multi-

continued on page 11



TROTSKY

Let the ports of the South be blockaded; let business there be arrested; let provisions, arms and ammunition be no longer sent there; let the grim visage of a Northern army confront them from one direction, a furious slave insurrection meet them at another, and starvation threaten them from still another, and they will begin to murmur a discontent which will surely break out at last in bitter execration and curses upon the guilty authors of their triple woes. The confederate slaveholding traitors are now only on the outer wave of the whirlpool of treason; every circle they now make will bring them nearer the centre that is certain to swallow them up, and hurl them to the bottom of its howling waters.

—Frederick Douglass, "Sudden Revolution in Northern Sentiment" (1861)

Destroy the Slavocracy!

When the Civil War began in 1861 with the South's attack on the Union garrison at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, the great black abolitionist Frederick Douglass called for total war against the slaveholders from without and a massive slave rebellion from within.



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Darlene Kamiura

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stenberg (Closing editor for No. 354: Liz Gordon)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 354

11 May 1984

NYC Transit Union: Smash Koch/Kiley/Gunn Gang!

New York mayor Ed Koch, Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) czar Robert Kiley and Transit Authority (TA) president David Gunn have brought their union-busting machine to the 207th Street subway repair shop in Manhattan. A traditional center of Transport Workers Union (TWU) militancy, this work location now constitutes the union's front line against a system-wide attack by the TA bosses. At least 213 workers have been disciplined in a ten-day period since Gunn's hatchetman Ronald "Col. Jefferson" Davis took over the shop. In response to massive management provocations, TWU members have refused to work overtime and have implemented a "work to rule" enforcement of safety standards.

On a Sunday TV news program TWU president John Lawe denounced the TA's "Gestapo tactics" at 207th Street. But Lawe's program (like ex-UAW head Fraser at Chrysler) is to offer his services in disciplining the workforce by getting a seat on the MTA board. On May 3 WCBS News came up to the shop and recorded the workers' angry response every time Davis ventured out onto the floor. Amid shouts, horn honking and the din of banging tools, Davis was driven back into his office.

But protests, no matter how vocal, are not going to stop Kiley's union-busting.

TWU Has the Power!

The TWU is the most powerful and strategically located municipal union in the country. And transit workers acutely feel the need to mobilize that power in their defense. Under mounting pressure from the ranks the 207th Street shop committee on May 2 convened a morning shop stewards and delegates meeting and a lunchtime shop gate meeting attended by 800 workers. We reprint at right a leaflet issued for those meetings by the class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU, calling for mobilizing the power of the entire union against the victimizations. Defend the 207th Street shop!

This assault on the TWU is merely the latest in ex-CIA spymaster Kiley and "Hired" Gunn's union-busting offensive. Kiley (appointed by "friend of labor" Democratic governor Cuomo) and Gunn began their tenure by proclaiming they were going to give the supervisors association the "PATCO treatment," taking away their civil service status so the TA can hand-pick its slavedrivers and impose a sweatshop regimen on a workforce already subjected to lousy working conditions. When

Committee members proposed a simple statement of solidarity with the supervisors against the crackdown, Lawe first responded with redbaiting. But even this pincer recognized that the TWU

was the real target of this attack and finally issued a watered-down, class-collaborationist statement opposing this attack on the supervisors.

In early April, five elected officers of the Track and Power Division including division chairman Benny Foster were summarily fired from their elected safety committee posts for distributing so-called "unauthorized literature."
continued on page 11

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet

"Stop Victimizations With Solid United TWU Action!"

Koch, Kiley and Gunn have brought a grueling occupation mercenary army under colonel "Jefferson" Davis to bust our union! They act like British troops in Ulster! The 207th street shop is at this point the front line of the TWU. In accordance with Kiley's and Gunn's grand scheme to crush the TWU, the appointee to the 207th street shop, "Jefferson" Davis, has provoked, intimidated and victimized union members. Under the smoke screen of "improving productivity" Davis has attempted to impose speed-up and disregard safety standards in subway cars repaired at the shop. Davis' "Final Solution" for the 207th street shop is to provoke, victimize and isolate us so he can impose sweatshop conditions on the whole union! His disregard for safety standards on subway cars will result in more deaths of conductors and motormen and poses a deadly threat to the riding public! In response to this provocation we have refused to work O.T. And we insist on enforcing safety standards!

This isn't just a 207th street shop fight—this is a TWU and city workers fight! The following motion is posed to the 207th Shop Stewards and Delegates meeting and the 207th street Shop Gate meeting:

MOTION: That an immediate emergency executive board meeting be called tonight, and that the power of the entire TWU be brought to bear against all victimizations of TWU members at the 207th street shop. These members are now acting in accordance with the union leadership's call to refuse to work overtime to protest management's speed-up, intimidation and disregard of safety standards! Lawe and the entire executive board must make it clear to the Kiley appointed shop boss Davis that if all victimizations are not immediately dropped the entire subway system will come to a solid halt!

P.S.,

We've heard that foremen have been working our jobs on the weekend. Scabs are a brand of disgusting filth. This filth will sell blood from the veins of its dying, crippled mother for a quick buck. This ugly, blood-sucking worm likes to work overtime while TWU workers are protesting speed-up and safety violations. On the NY docks there is a saying: "You Can't Cross a Picket Line on Two Broken Legs."

—KARTSEN, BREWER, SMITH
and the COMMITTEE FOR
A FIGHTING TWU

2 May 1984



Der Spiegel

Derailment! TA's speedup and attacks on safety standards are a deadly threat to transit workers and riding public.

National Guard Out of the Copper Fields!

Defend Phelps Dodge Strikers!

On May 6 Arizona Democratic governor Bruce Babbitt ordered hundreds of National Guard troops into the mining towns of Clifton/Morenci after striking copper workers pelted scabherding cops with stones at a union rally the day before. It is the second time this "friend of labor" Democrat has called out the National Guard to help Phelps Dodge break the largely Chicano and Indian copper workers union. Beginning last July, this strike has become one of the longest and most violent labor struggles in the U.S. in recent years. Phelps Dodge, the country's largest copper producer, has assembled an army of gun-toting scabs backed up by the cops and National Guard. Now the copper bosses are trying to evict 400 strikers and their families from the company-owned

housing where they live.

The copper workers have held out militantly and courageously for almost a year against the massive company/state strikebreaking effort. But they cannot win alone. Labor solidarity is the key to victory. Phelps Dodge's pure copper ingots are transported in Southern Pacific's unionized freight trains. This scab copper is too hot to handle! All copper miners have a stake in this fight. Shut down the entire industry! What's needed is a massive mobilization of the labor movement—and not just from Arizona—to put the fear of god into the Phelps Dodge bosses and Governor "Scabbitt." National Guard out of the copper fields! Victory to the Phelps Dodge strikers!



UPI

Phelps Dodge strikers battle cops at union rally, May 5.

Smash IMF Bloodsuckers—For Workers Revolution!

Hunger Revolt in Santo Domingo

Army, Police Shoot Hundreds

It was the social explosion everyone knew was coming. Sooner or later, somewhere in Latin America desperate masses would revolt against the monstrous austerity measures imposed by their capitalist rulers at the instigation of the imperialist bankers cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It broke out in Santo Domingo, on April 23. Pushed beyond endurance, crowds of starving slum dwellers broke into grocery stores in search of food. Cops and troops responded with a vengeance, killing scores, wounding hundreds, arresting thousands. It was the eve of the anniversary of the 1965 uprising when a people in arms rose up against the Yankee puppet, managing to hold out for weeks against the Dominican military and 40,000 U.S. Marines. This time it was the Dominican Republic, but throughout the region nervous presidents and generals knew the next volcanic eruption of popular anger could mean their downfall.

The day after the Easter holidays, Dominicans were confronted with drastic government-decreed price increases for basic necessities like sugar (up 17 percent), bread (35 percent) and cooking oil (nearly a 100 percent increase), while the cost of an airplane ticket to New York tripled. There was an outpouring of rage in the poor barrios of the capital. But in the absence of revolutionary leadership, the protests became classic hunger riots. On the night of the 23rd, tires were burning on virtually every street corner in the slums of the Dominican capital; within two days, 21 cities and towns of the Caribbean island republic had been hit. The police responded with murderous gunfire and soon there were running battles between stone-throwing youths and cops with machine guns and shoot-to-kill orders.

Scores of stores were looted and at least ten local offices of the ruling bourgeois-liberal Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) were burned to the ground. The police eventually announced that 62 people had been killed, all shot by the forces of "law and order," but there were at least another 300 seriously wounded and a reported 100-200 disappeared, so that the actual death toll could run into the hundreds. Some 6,000 people were arrested. Yet President Salvador Jorge Blanco went on national TV, flanked by the entire general staff, to praise the "equanimity," the "professionalization" and "respect for life" shown by the uniformed thugs of the police and army.

The French Revolution of 1789 was sparked by hunger. As the historian Michelet wrote of the bankrupt *ancien régime*, "Famine is a normal condition of existence; hunger comes by royal decree." Showing all the historical perspicacity of a two-bit Louis XVI, Jorge Blanco denounced the hunger revolt of April 1984 as the work of "sinners, delinquents and conspirators." The head of the Dominican Central Bank sounded like a Marie Antoinette in pinstripes: "Some are shifting their consumption habits." As the people were starving, the government declared, "Let them eat lead." Official unemployment is over 30 percent in the urban



AP

Santo Domingo poor rise up against bankers' starvation/austerity program (above). One of the thousands of victims dragged off by police (right). Free the hunger protesters!



El Caribe

areas and disguised unemployment in the countryside probably twice as much. The minimum wage (many make less) is \$48 a month, while sugar cane workers get a bare \$1.35 a day! Even factory workers next door in impoverished Haiti make more than this. And when looters broke into stores all over the country, they didn't cart away color TVs—they were after food.

This is a chronicle of a long-awaited revolt. At the beginning of the year, Jorge Blanco wrote to his imperialist master in the White House warning that the drastic cutbacks and price rises dictated by the IMF "could undoubtedly provoke social tensions so strong that it could alter the peace." Three months later Ronald Reagan replied, telling the Dominican president to bite the bullet and tighten the belts of the poor. When Jorge Blanco visited Washington in mid-April, Reagan said the Dominican Republic "shines like a beacon for freedom-loving people everywhere."



WV Photo

New York City, 26 April—Spartacist contingent says: Workers power not capitalist salvation!

Two weeks later the government shut down two radio stations and a TV channel for accurately reporting the mass revolt, and sent troops to occupy union headquarters in order to prevent labor from organizing protest demonstrations. A planned May Day march was called off in the face of official threats to break it up.

There was no leadership, and yet the people fought. The streets were dyed red with the blood of the Dominican people. The hungry were shot for looting stores, by the armed butchers of a "democratic" regime which loots the national treasury. "Subsidies must go," declare the PRD "social democrats" who raise the price of bread while subsidizing the profits of Gulf and Western through exchange rate devaluation. The country is mortgaged to the bloodsucking Wall Street bankers just as it was 70 years ago; in 1916 the U.S. sent in the Marines to collect the interest due out of customs receipts—today the IMF issues a stop payment order on a puny \$400 million loan and the Dominican army does the dirty work. But they may yet need the Marines, for the Dominican masses vividly remember April 1965, when the "Santo Domingo Commune" held off the U.S. expeditionary force until a sellout "negotiated solution" was worked out by their bourgeois leaders at the bargaining table.

And this time the Dominican poor and working people are not alone. The spontaneous, undirected outburst of April 23-25 could be—should be—the harbinger of workers' revolts throughout the continent against the starvation policies of the international bankers and their bagmen, the local bourgeoisies. A year ago in São Paulo, Brazil thousands marched on the governor's palace to protest IMF-ordered, starvation policies; when they were brutally dispersed by the police, it turned into a "riot" and soon supermarkets and food warehouses all over the country were overrun

by hungry crowds. In July and August, Brazilian industrial unions called a series of illegal strikes against announced wage cutbacks. Earlier this year, in March, the Peruvian army was called out to put down a union protest against IMF cutbacks. And while fires were burning in Santo Domingo, the Bolivian Labor Central called a 72-hour general strike protesting the 300 percent increase in the price of the dollar.

Last week, as a young Dominican poet in New York, Héctor Rivera, wrote: "hunger died on every street corner, with stomachs full of gunpowder." Now the return of "normality" has been announced, the times when the poor starve in silence and their exploiters rule in the name of "the people." Such "tranquility" is the result of a bloody defeat, and for this the Dominican left bears responsibility. The "popular front" of pseudo-socialists and bourgeois populists contented itself with rejecting, denouncing, repudiating the government actions. When it was necessary to organize mass action, however, they lamented the looting. In the middle of the rioting, when everything was stopped anyway, the unions called a meaningless one-day work stoppage. This was then called off, to give the PRD a "deadline" (i.e., a truce) of one week. And once "passions were cooled off," they sagely declared that the army had the upper hand and nothing could be done. But it could have been and can be again. What's needed is revolutionary struggle for workers rule.

Death to the IMF, Workers to Power!

Protests against the PRD government's austerity plans and the agreements with the Monetary Fund have been multiplying for months in the Dominican Republic. A march against hunger called by the five union federations held on February 4 drew some 30,000 people in the capital. A second "day of struggle" against hunger on April 7 was brutally attacked by the police with tear gas and arrests by the secret service. There was much talk of uniting the struggle of different sectors (workers, peasants, housewives, etc.). Some leftists, such as the Movimiento por el Socialismo (MPS), had even been agitating with big headlines "Toward a General Strike!" (*Fuerza Socialista*, 16 and 30 March). Yet at the point when the popular anger boiled over there was no apparent leadership provided either by organized labor or the left. This was key to the government's ability to regain control of the situation.

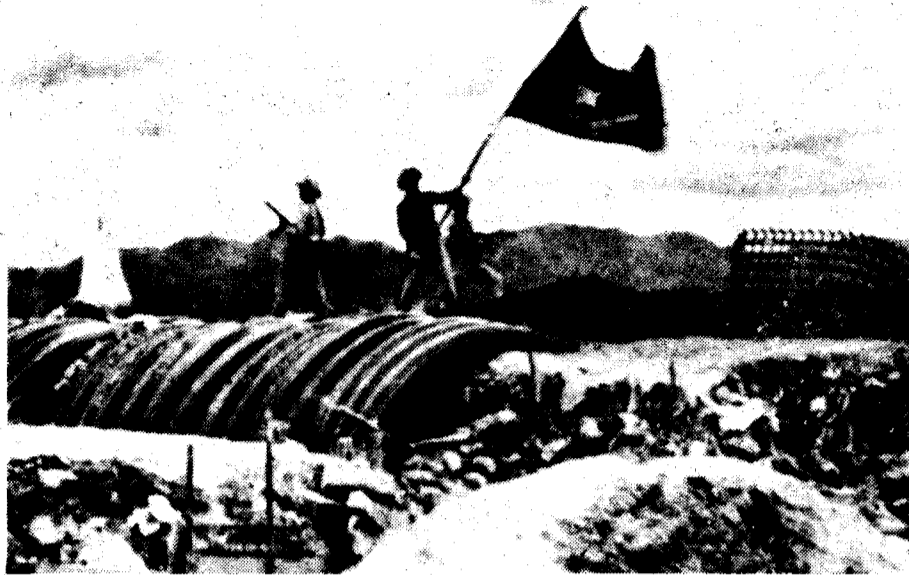
During the April protests when the masses were in the streets, the most "advanced" demand put forward by the Dominican Left Front (FID), the popular-frontist umbrella coalition, was to "broaden the struggle" and turn it into a "great day [of struggle]!" Meanwhile an FID statement "condemned" the numerous popular attacks against offices of the ruling PRD and warned against "adventurist actions" (*Listin Diario*, 24 April). The Communist Party (PCD) contented itself with expressions of "unconditional support" for the movement and a weak protest over the arrest of its leaders Narciso Isa Conde, José Israel Cuello and others. Of the leaflets put out by the various Dominican groups in New York, the maximum demand was the MPS's call to "continue the national protests until the government gives in to these popular demands"! But the masses did continue the struggle as long as possible—what

30 Years After Dien Bien Phu

Hail Victory of Vietnamese Revolution!

The following article is translated from *Le Bolchévik* No. 46, April 1984, published by our comrades of the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*.

Thirty years ago, on 7 May 1954, French imperialism lost its "dirty war" in Indochina in the valley of Dien Bien Phu. What was intended as a trap for the Vietnamese was turned into a memorable rout of the cream of the crop from Saint-Cyr [the French West Point]. The Navarres, Bigeards and other beribboned butchers commanding the professional criminals of the Foreign Legion—the elite French expeditionary corps—wading in the mud and muck, hammered relentlessly by Viet Minh artillery, were caught in a bloody trap. Humiliated and crushed after 57 days of fighting, they surrendered to those "little yellow men" they so despised in their arrogant race and caste "superiority." Imperialist France wanted to make Dien Bien Phu a symbol of its colonial power. The Vietnamese workers and peasants inscribed it in history as one of the most glorious pages in the struggles of the oppressed and exploited masses for their emancipation. But the Stalinist leadership gave up at the negotiating



Vietnam News Agency

Historic defeat for Western imperialism: Viet Minh overruns French garrison at Dien Bien Phu, 7 May 1954.

table much of what had been won on the battlefield; the war ended with the taking of Saigon 21 years later.

Dien Bien Phu nevertheless gave tremendous encouragement to the independence struggles in the French colonies. Six months after Dien Bien Phu, the national liberation movement

erupted in Algeria. But the French war in Indochina was not simply a colonial war; it was explicitly part and parcel of the imperialist policy of "rolling back" Communism. Indochina was also a front line in the imperialist war drive against China and the USSR, to the point that the U.S. ended up financ-

ing almost all the French military operations in Indochina. Dien Bien Phu dealt a blow to imperialism's ambitions.

On both these counts we today commemorate the anniversary of the victory at Dien Bien Phu, first and foremost as a victory against our "own" imperialists. We are carrying forward the fight the Trotskyists waged in 1946-47 when the first Indochina War began. Just as the French Communist Party today votes for Mitterrand's anti-Soviet war budget, their ministers in 1947, members of the popular-front ("tripartite") government that unleashed the war, approved the budget for war against the Indochinese peoples. In contrast, our comrades, faithful to proletarian internationalism and intransigent opponents of the popular front, declared themselves at this very moment "for the military defeat of French imperialism, for the victory of Vietnam" (resolution of the PCI [Parti Communiste Internationaliste] central committee, February 1947).

Our commemoration of Dien Bien Phu has a burning relevance today. Vietnam is once again on the front line in the new imperialist Cold War drive. China, Reagan's pawn, is bombarding northern Vietnam. Pol Pot's gangsters, based in Thailand and supported by the CIA, are attacking Cambodia—where they were driven out by the Vietnamese army in 1979 after they subjected their people to genocide. Hands off Vietnam! U.S. imperialism out of Southeast Asia! Dien Bien Phu was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for imperialism!

was needed was direction.

Question: why was there no general strike? Answer: because things were so explosive that such a measure, even called by the reformists, could have brought down the government of Jorge Blanco, and *no one* on the Dominican left was prepared to wage a revolutionary struggle for power. This was recognized early on by the head of the PRD, Francisco Peña Gómez, the most sophisticated and "leftist" leader of the ruling party, in a two-hour speech directed at the left. The bourgeois-liberal PRD is a member of the social-democratic Second International, and to buttress the government position Peña Gómez pointed out that "social-

ists" like Mitterrand in France and Felipe González in Spain are slashing thousands of jobs as part of austerity programs; and that countries like Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia are members of the IMF, not to mention the economic mess Poland is in. He then warned the FID and the populist bourgeois opposition party, Juan Bosch's PLD (Dominican Liberation Party) that:

"...any action headed toward bringing down this government directly affects the Dominican left, whose leaders will be persecuted, jailed, deported or killed."

—*El Nacional de Ahora*, 25 April

Challenged to put up or shut up, the left shut up.

The perspective of the entire panoply of self-proclaimed revolutionaries was to *pressure* the PRD regime. This was seen clearly in New York at a demonstration on April 26 where the chants were dominated with such calls as "Raise wages, lower food prices!" and "IMF out of the country!" There were no calls for a general strike. The Spartacist League was present with signs calling for: "Workers: Smash the IMF and Its Local Bourgeois Puppets!" "Down with the PRD and Its Imperialist Masters—Workers to Power!" "Free the Leftists—Troops Out of the Barrios—For Workers Militias!" and "For a Trotskyist Party in the Dominican Republic!" Thus the program of the Trotskyists, in sharp contrast to the reformists, was to lead the masses' anger and will to struggle toward *workers revolution*.

The question of power was posed sharply by the most popular slogan of the demonstration: "*La guerra de abril, la vamos a repetir*" ("We are going to repeat the April war"), calling for a replay of the 1965 struggle. But the first time was a disaster, which led to 20 years of bourgeois strong-arm regimes, both under the former Trujillo puppet president Joaquín Balaguer and under the PRD! What's needed is to go beyond the bourgeois limits that were imposed on the struggle: as an SL sign proclaimed, "For a Proletarian '65!" This question is

also intimately linked to the current struggles in Central America. The FID and virtually the entire Dominican left (with the exception of the MPS) calls for a "negotiated solution" in El Salvador and supports the "Contadora process." But as we pointed out in a recent "Open Letter to the PCD":

"...there is *another* 'negotiated solution' whose ill-fated consequences are well known by the entire Dominican left: that which sealed the fate of the April '65 insurrection. And just as the danger of a 'negotiated' sellout of the Salvadoran civil war is prepared by the popular-front character of the FDR (which includes small social-democratic and Christian Democratic formations who fear that a guerrilla victory could lead to social revolution), the notorious conciliation agreement that put an end to the revolutionary situation in Santo Domingo was prepared by the political submission of absolutely *all* the Dominican left to the 'Constitutionalism' of Caamaño Deñó and Bosch. In the case of a new revolutionary situation on the island, the 'Dominican Left Front' promises to repeat the betrayal of 1965."

—*Spartacist* [Spanish edition] No. 14, April 1984

Now they not only promise to repeat it, as we predicted, they have made it into a slogan!

In the Dominican Republic, the left

failed to fight at all—at most exhorting the masses to keep up the struggle, at worst urging them to call it off. This is an unusually crass example of reformist betrayal. In Bolivia, the powerful COB labor federation called a three-day general strike—amounting to a long weekend holiday—while *refusing* to declare a real, "unlimited" general strike to force the government to rescind IMF-decreed starvation/austerity measures. In both cases, the labor fakery and pseudo-socialists feared a revolutionary struggle for power. Attempts to pressure their "own" bourgeoisies to "share the sacrifices" are a vile betrayal—and doomed to failure besides. A "debt moratorium" for a few years does not take the burden of paying for the capitalist crisis off the working masses, but only stretches out the agony. *Canceling the imperialist debt*, on the other hand, is a revolutionary measure which not even Castro's Cuba has dared to propose. Only the Trotskyists, advocates of permanent revolution, have a program to break the imperialist financiers' stranglehold—through socialist revolution on a continental and global scale. From Santo Domingo to Sri Lanka, the battle cry must be: Smash the IMF, for Workers Revolution! ■

CORRECTIONS

In the article "Racist Pig Ed Koch" (*WV* No. 351, 30 March), we noted that NYC mayor Koch was booed by hundreds of thousands of black youth when his name was mentioned from the bandstand during a Diana Ross concert. However, the mayor was not himself present, as we incorrectly stated. Also, the police brutality hearings from which Koch was run out last July were held in the Harlem State Office Building, not the armory (where subsequent hearings were held).

In "Sri Lanka: Deadly Lies Target Spartacists" (*WV* No. 352, 13 April), we incorrectly stated that a Spartacist protest last August 6 was physically attacked by rightist Sinhalese thugs. On that date a Spartacist League spokesman received anonymous phone calls threatening bloody revenge if we dared to demonstrate, and a handful of Jayewardene supporters attempted to disrupt the protest. But despite their jeering and menacing from the sidelines, demonstration monitors successfully prevented physical attack.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

\$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*) International rates
 New Renewal \$20 24 issues—Airmail
\$5/24 issues—Seamail

\$2/4 issues of *Women and Revolution*

\$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

\$2/9 issues of *Young Spartacus*

Name _____

Address _____

Phone () _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

354

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

PDC's Harlem Benefit a Big Success

Good Jazz for a Good Cause



WV Photos

More than 300 celebrate anti-racist victories at jazz benefit at Small's Paradise in Harlem (left). Performers from left: David Braham, Houston Person, Etta Jones and Frankie Jones.



More than 300 people packed Small's Paradise on Sunday, April 29 to hear the classic jazz combination of Houston Person and Etta Jones, backed up by drummer Frankie Jones and organist David Braham, at the Partisan Defense Committee's first benefit in Harlem. The highly integrated crowd included many union members, black activists, socialists, students and jazz enthusiasts

who talked politics, danced and simply enjoyed great music from 6 p.m. till midnight. The atmosphere was vibrant and many new supporters became acquainted with the PDC and the Spartacist League.

It was a celebration of important victories for working people and blacks in Reagan's racist America. When you entered the club you saw a big photo of

SLer Richard Bradley cutting down the hated Confederate flag of slavery and racist terror from atop a 50-foot flagpole in front of the San Francisco Civic Center on April 15. Other placards read, "Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero Must Not Go to Jail!" Thanks to the PDC-backed defense campaign, they won't. These victimized phone company strikers, an interracial couple, have beaten back a vicious state/company frame-up. "Stop the KKK!" proclaimed posters from the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Klan from marching in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982. Recently the Spartacist League forced the *Washington Times*, owned by the sinister political cult of Rev. Sun Myung Moon, to retract its deadly violence-baiting libel against that demonstration. Currently the PDC is backing an SL lawsuit against the FBI's McCarthyite "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines."

The noted Harlem jazz club was a fitting place for a labor/black benefit. Malcolm X once worked at Small's Paradise, and his portrait now hangs prominently in the front bar. As far back as the 1930s, performers at Small's

contributed their talents to benefits for causes like the Scottsboro Boys defense led by the Communist Party. The PDC, a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, stands in the tradition of the early CP's International Labor Defense. The PDC benefit raised over \$3,000 to help pay the costs for PDC-supported cases. Transit workers of the powerful and heavily black TWU Local 100 were especially active in building the event, purchasing more than 100 of the 500 tickets sold.

During the evening veteran civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn was warmly applauded as he described his first introduction to the black militants of Harlem in Small's Paradise in 1932 (see box). Ed Kartsen, speaking for the Local 100 Committee for a Fighting TWU, summed it up: "For November 27 and continued victories to come, against every manifestation of ruling-class oppression, we should celebrate the existence of the PDC and fight to organize a proletarian offensive in this country that will bring Reagan, the Klan and the Confederate flag down!" ■

Conrad Lynn at Small's Paradise

Black and Red in Harlem



WV Photo

In 1932 my first job was right on the corner of 135th Street and Seventh Avenue. That's where I got my first introduction, it actually was in Small's Paradise, to the black militants of Harlem who used to drop in. That was at the bottom of the Depression. Occasionally a man from Abyssinian Baptist Church, who liked his liquor—his name is Adam Powell—used to drop in and then he would meet with Ben Davis [later Communist Party city councilman from Harlem]. Now, Ben Davis was a black lawyer from Georgia who

had defended Angelo Herndon, a young black man who was charged with insurrection because he led a huge crowd of blacks and whites, in Georgia, in the state capital, to demand food for starving people in 1932.

So it was in *this* place, and you have a great historic tradition here. The Harlem Riot of 1935, I remember that very well. When the riots started, I was with a young Russian, who was a Russian Communist—his name was Epifanovich, and we were in the Alhambra Theatre, 126th Street and Seventh Avenue. And as I came out the mob was very angry because they had heard that a black boy had been beaten to death by the cops in Woolworth's on 125th Street. When they saw the white face of Pyotr, the mob came at him. And I just stood in front of him and said, "He's a Russian and he's a Communist!" And they embraced him.

You have a great tradition. It sometimes seems, you know, 52 years ago now, and you feel that, what's all this struggle been about? It is true that history ebbs and flows, but I believe this meeting tonight is an indication again, like in the Latin Quarter of Paris where some students planned the overthrow of an oppressive status quo, so Small's Paradise in 1984 will live up to the reputation it gained in 1934, and be the source of a new movement in order to transform American society.

BLUES BENEFIT

Sponsor: Partisan Defense Committee

Phil Lowman Blues Band and
JIMMY JOHNSON • JIMMY WALKER • BYTHER SMITH
SUNNYLAND SLIM • STEVE FREUND • DIANE HOLMES

Monday, May 21

North Branch Saloon

8:00 p.m.—Midnight

1505 West Fullerton (east of Ashland)

Tickets: \$5 advance

\$8 at the door

\$10 contributing

- Celebrate the victory against the Moonies' *Washington Times* libel of the November 27, 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK!
- Celebrate! Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero—victims of racist union-busting frame-up—will not go to jail!
- Support the Spartacist League lawsuit against the sinister, McCarthyite FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines!

CHICAGO

For more information: (312) 427-0003

Hail Ritchie Bradley—Feinstein Flops

SAN FRANCISCO, May 3—Everybody knows that SF mayor Dianne Feinstein is as haughty and arrogant as Chicago's racist, union-busting former mayor Byrne. Now Feinstein seems intent on proving she's just as nuts as "Crazy Jane." When Richard Bradley of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense twice tore down the Confederate flag of slavery, racism and the Ku Klux Klan from an official display in the city's Civic Center and subsequently replaced

it by hoisting the historic Union flag that flew over Fort Sumter, black people and all decent people throughout the Bay Area cheered his actions. But Feinstein and her district attorney Arlo Smith are pressing three separate sets of petty criminal charges against Bradley for his widely hailed feats, including on a truly obscure park code violation of "climbing a monument without authorization!"

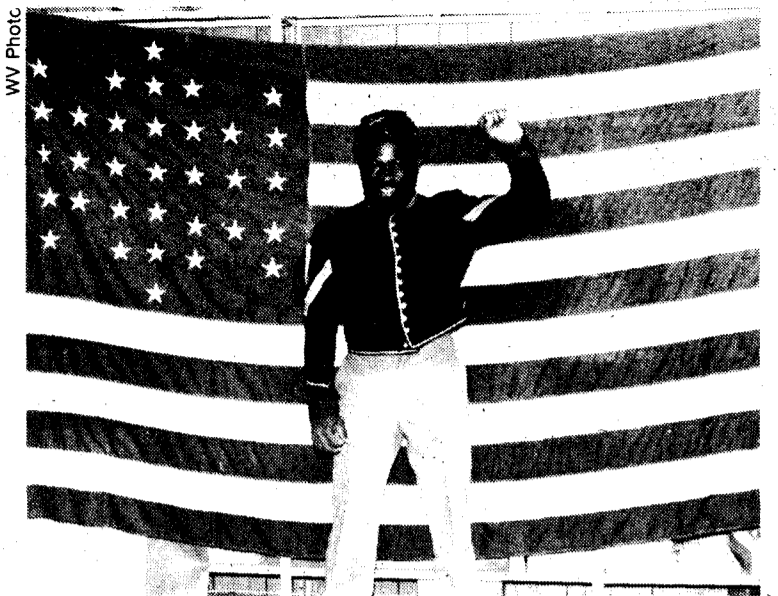
Do the mayor and the D.A. really want a public trial in San Francisco, on the eve of the Democratic National Convention, to prosecute a black militant for tearing down the racist banner of the slavocracy—used today by the murderous KKK—and replacing it with the flag of the victorious Union? If they do, let them come ahead. Our defense will be to put Mayor "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein and her cohorts on trial: for flying the Confederate flag of race-terror for years, for immediately replacing it after we tore it down the first time, for arrogantly removing the Union flag we donated to the city!

These issues were joined at a pre-trial hearing on May 2 in the SF Municipal Court. Before a judge who was clearly conversant with the whole story, an assistant D.A. presented the charges on Ritchie's taking down the Confederate flag the second time. The possibility was raised of offering Bradley a "deal": to plead guilty in exchange for 15-20 hours of "community service" (like picking up garbage), following which the charges would be expunged from the record.



"Dixie Dianne" Feinstein sports police jumpsuit.

Richard Bradley in Union Army uniform stands in front of historic Fort Sumter garrison flag, presented to City of San Francisco.



Ritchie's attorney, Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Valerie C. West, responded that Bradley had already done his community service in twice tearing down the Confederate flag. She added that Ritchie is 34 years old, has no record, and is not particularly concerned about one stemming from these absurd charges. In ripping down the Confederate flag twice, Ritchie has already handled enough garbage. Let Dianne Feinstein pick some up to pay for flying the filthy racist Confederate rag!

The D.A. also said her office wants Ritchie to make "restitution" to the city for the destruction of the Confederate flag. At this point, the judge intervened

to note that Ritchie had already given a flag of historic significance to the city. The judge has set a trial date of May 29. When his clerk asked if he wanted the trial scheduled in his courtroom, the judge replied, "Would I miss trying this case?" We share this sense of anticipation. If "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein wants to prosecute this case on behalf of the Confederacy, if she wants to fight out in the courtroom the battle over slavery that was settled by blood and iron in the Civil War, we are ready!

Keep the flag of slavery down. Let the Union flag fly. Send money for Bradley's legal defense to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Black Press Features Anti-Racist Victory

The collage features several newspaper clippings:

- Amsterdam News (New York):** "He rips down Dixie symbol" - A member of the Spartacist League wearing a Union Army uniform climbed a 40-foot pole and tore down a Confederate flag last week that had flown outside the San Francisco City for several years.
- LOCAL NEWS BRIEFS (PAGE - 22):** "Confederate Flag Torn From Pole In S.F., Cal." - Richard Bradley, former Spartacist candidate for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, and founding member of the Labor Black League for Social Defense, climbed a 50-foot flagpole in San Francisco's Civic Center and tore down the Confederate flag.
- THE ATLANTA VOICE (THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE):** "Confederate Flag Ripped" - Members of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense say they are determined that the Confederate flag will not fly in San Francisco's Civic Center Plaza.
- OAKLAND POST:** "Confederate Flag Ripped" - The flag was first torn down Sunday by League member Richard Bradley and burned while about 50 League members cheered. The flag was replaced Monday but Bradley returned to tear it down again.
- The Sun Reporter:** "An Unneeded Symbol" - We were bemused and at the same time indignant at some activities that occurred in the Civic Center not long ago.
- new york Voice:** "Commission P... At Queens Hos..." - Down With Old "Dixie!"
- DAILY CHALLENGE:** "The Spartacist pole at Civic Center and race d against use"
- The Hilltop:** "League member Richard Bradley in San Francisco's Civic Center tear down Confederate flag. The flag was then burned by City officials on Monday but he will continue to tear down any flag in the Plaza."
- POST:** "Confederate Flag Downed In San Francisco" - For two straight days, a man dressed in a Union Army Civil War uniform climbed atop a 50-foot pole in front of San Francisco's City Hall and cut down a Confederate flag as a protest that denounced the flag as a "banner of racist terror."
- BIG RED NEWS:** "Confederate Flag Downed In San Francisco" - The protest was conducted by the Spartacist League and other leftist groups to commemorate the 119th anniversary of the surrender of the Confederacy and the April 16 acquittal of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party members who were involved in the deaths of five civil rights and labor activists during a demonstration in 1979.
- Chicago Defender:** "CHI/DEF - Mon., April 30, 1984 P. 2"

Witchhunters' Lies Exposed

No sooner had the Confederate flag come down in San Francisco than unnamed "police sources" launched a disinformation campaign aimed at, among others, the Spartacist League. Even as San Franciscans hailed the successful and eminently peaceful action of pulling down the hated flag of slavery, the *San Francisco Chronicle* listed the SL among groups "that police fear may play a violent role in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in July" (see "*S.F. Chronicle: Retract Your Dangerous Smear*," WV No. 353, 27 April 1984).

This threatening frame-up was picked up and further elaborated with outright inventions by *New York Post* disinformers Niles Lathem, who claimed the SL had played a violent role at the anti-Kissinger demonstration which was hit by a cop riot. Subsequently, the *San Francisco Examiner* (24 April) published the lie that the SL would "provoke a violent confrontation" at a recent demonstration against U.S. war minister Weinberger. And it all fits too neatly with the Reaganites' "anti-terrorism" crusade against political opponents. Thus right-wing columnist Guy Wright lectures SF mayor Feinstein because she supposedly "caved in to terrorist tactics" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 1 May) in not putting the Dixie flag up for the third time!

This chain of lies is typical of "disinformation" campaigns. Libel begets libel. And at the source you will invariably find it linked to government authorities, from local police red squads to the FBI. We will not stand for this frame-up which threatens not only our reputation, but the safety of our members and friends. We have successfully fought such libels in the past, compiling an impressive record of victories against the witchhunters. So we are not about to sit back and let ourselves be set up for government repression as "violence"-mongers and even "terrorists." Our lawyers immediately demanded retractions from the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Examiner* and the *New York Post*.

Already the record is being set straight. Importantly, Katy Butler who wrote the original article in the *Chronicle* did the right thing instead of pulling the usual "absence of malice" alibi. We are reprinting above her letter of rectification to the Associated Press. She has also written to the UPI, the *New York Post* and Niles Lathem. On 21 April the *Chronicle* published a statement by SL spokesman Al Nelson in another article on the subject, and followed this with the publication of a letter (28 April) which we reprint below.

San Francisco Chronicle
THE VOICE OF THE WEST

The Managing Editor
Associated Press
Fox Plaza
San Francisco, CA.

April 25, 1984

Dear Managing Editor:

On April 20, I was co-author of an article about fears of certain political groups disrupting demonstrations near the upcoming Democratic National Convention.

In the interests of fairness, I would like to make sure you also saw the article we ran the next day, in which the Spartacist League specifically said it has no desire, nor any plans, to attend or disrupt the convention or related demonstrations.

In addition, the Spartacist League was removed in 1981 by then-Attorney General Deukmejian from a list of left-wing terrorist organizations. Copies of the relevant clippings are enclosed.

I would particularly like to point this out because the *New York Post* recently ran a column using some of the information from the first story, in a distorted form. That article specifically said the Spartacist League had attended and disrupted the anti-Kissinger demonstration, when it was not present.

Sincerely yours,
Katy Butler
Katy Butler

777-7153

(415) 777-1111

S.F. Chronicle reporter Katy Butler's letter (left) helps to expose the media smears of SL (below).

—23 April 1984

NEW YORK POST

led to the mass arrests. San Francisco police and FBI agents are known to be paying particular attention to three militant groups operating in San Francisco — the revolutionary Communist Party, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, and the Spartacist League. Officials say these groups were involved in agitating the crowd last week.

—24 April 1984

San Francisco Examiner

Police intelligence sources had expressed concern that radical dissidents — members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Spartacist League and the Prairie Fire group — would attempt to infiltrate last night's rally and provoke a violent confrontation with officers in riot gear and on horseback.

The smear stands exposed!

One of the police "sources" cited for "fears" of violence at the Democratic Convention by the *New York Post* was the U.S. Secret Service. Spartacist League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein wrote on May 3 to John R. Simpson, director of the Secret Service. Wolkenstein not only stated the absolute falsity of the charges, but reminded the director of the Jane Margolis case in 1979. Margolis, a well-known supporter of the Spartacist League, was dragged from the floor of the Communications Workers of America union convention where she was an elected delegate as if she were too dangerous to be present when then-president Jimmy Carter spoke. After a lawsuit, the Secret Service was obliged to issue an apology along with \$3,500 in damages (which she donated to the CWA's defense fund). As Wolkenstein insisted in her letter to Simpson:

"There should be no repetition of the Margolis case. Your office must stop the dissemination of false, defamatory

and dangerous accusations that the Spartacist League and its supporters are engaging in or planning violent conduct or provocation of violence."

This campaign of disinformation is part of a wider "anti-terrorism" witch-hunt by the Reaganites. They are setting up left-wing groups for secret police surveillance and "preventive strikes" by "anti-terrorist" hit squads. This latest smear campaign centers its witchhunting on a supposed threat to the Democratic Convention. Rachel Wolkenstein wrote on April 26 to Charles Manatt, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, making it known to him that "not only has the Spartacist League no intention or desire of disrupting the Democratic National Convention, but it has no intention of even selling its newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*, to convention delegates." She quotes Spartacist spokesman, Al Nelson, speaking to the *Chronicle*: "For our part, we think the Democratic Party Convention will be a monumental bore. We have no interest in seeking to lob-

by or pressure this party of racism and imperialist war." Wolkenstein asked just who will benefit from all the witchhunting hysteria being generated around the Democrats' Convention.

"The real facts thus compel the conclusion that the *S.F. Chronicle* and *N.Y. Post* articles, falsely characterizing the Spartacist League as violent and intending to disrupt the Democratic National Convention, are a renewed governmental COINTELPRO-type effort, an attempt to foment the Reagan administration's "anti-terrorist" campaign and intimidate all those who want to exercise their democratic rights. Although not within the domain of the Spartacist League's direct concerns, one wonders if an object of this provocative and false reportage is the Democratic National Convention itself? The beneficiaries of this campaign of 'fears of violence' at the Democratic National Convention is the Reagan administration—certainly not the American people."

We have spent much of our precious resources in the fight against the "terrorist" smear, particularly the current governmental campaign to define Marxists and other political opponents as "terrorists." Against this sinister campaign of "McCarthyism with a drawn gun," the SL has launched a lawsuit against the new FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines. In 1981 we sued then-attorney general of California George Deukmejian when the Spartacist League was included in the "Terrorism" section of the 1979 Report on Organized Crime. And we forced Deukmejian's office to issue a statement of error to police agencies throughout the country. Most recently the Spartacist League libel lawsuit secured a retraction from the Moonies' *Washington Times* which had falsely accused the SL of provoking violence against the police at the successful Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 which stopped the Ku Klux Klan in November 1982. We cannot help noticing that the *Washington Times*, predictably, has published a column on "fears" of violence at the Democratic Convention, including the question: "can a riot be far behind?" But this time the *Washington Times* had the good sense not to mention the Spartacist League. ■

San Francisco Chronicle —28 April 1984

Peaceful Protests

Editor — In the article "Three Militant Groups Cause Convention Fears," April 20, you falsely list the Spartacist League as among "some of the small, ultra-left groups operating in the Bay Area that police fear may play a violent role in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in July."

The story was picked up by a *New York* newspaper in an even more distorted form, claiming the Spartacist League had "agitated the crowd" at the demonstration against Henry Kissinger. In fact, and unfortunately, we were not present at that demonstration as we were then preparing to tear down the Confederate flag a second time. Linking our peaceful protests against that banner of slavery with police fantasies of

violence at the Democratic convention is a smear calculated to diminish the popularity of our actions.

We have no desire to even sell our newspaper, let alone demonstrate at the Democratic Party Convention. But we emphatically uphold the right of those who do wish to demonstrate, despite our belief that the working class can only realize its historic interests if it breaks with this capitalist party. Further, the climate of hysteria produced by your article benefits only Ronald Reagan.

Your false branding of us as violent sets us up as "terrorists", to be targeted for infiltration, investigation and harassment. We are Marxists not terrorists or criminals and as a workers party have the right to organize for our views.

AL NELSON, for the Spartacist League



WV Photo

San Francisco, April 29—Supporters cheer as Union flag goes up where Confederate flag once flew.

S.F. Examiner on Battle of the Flags

-Reprinted from San Francisco Examiner, 30 April 1984

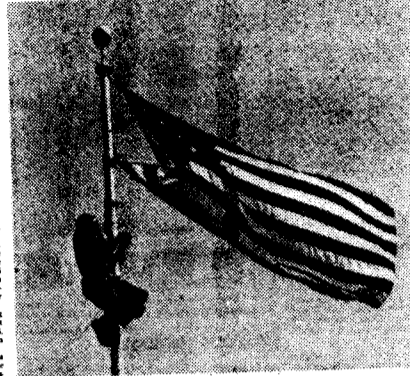
The Bay East Bay



Richard Bradley hangs flag he said was replica of last Union banner flown at Fort Sumter

Man who tore down flag now hangs one

By Leslie Carver... Clad in the uniform of a Union sergeant, activist Richard Bradley shinnied up a Civic Center flagpole...



When he got down, Bradley was arrested and led away by police officers

Bradley first climbed on the pole supporting the "Stars and Bars" — one of 18 flagpoles in Civic Center plaza — on April 15. He cut the flag down and set it ablaze.

Clad in the uniform of a Union sergeant, activist Richard Bradley shinnied up a Civic Center flagpole—the same 50-foot staff he'd scaled twice this month to rip down Confederate flags—and unfurled a replica of the 33-star Fort Sumter banner.

Cheered on by 50 demonstrators from the Socialist-oriented Spartacist League, 34-year-old Bradley made his ascent about 11:30 a.m. yesterday with a copy of the Union standard stuffed in a bright red nylon sack.

Waving their own banners, which bore slogans such as "Down with the Confederate flag of slavery & the KKK," Bradley's supporters chanted "Right on, Richie" as the one-time San Francisco Board of Supervisors candidate hoisted aloft the Fort Sumter flag.

Denouncing the Confederate flag as "a symbol of racism," Spartacist League spokesman Jeff Higgins said, "We took the Confederate flag down and we want it to stay down."

"This flag (the Fort Sumter flag) is a very great and gracious symbol... we think it's a fitting flag for San Francisco."

By some historic accounts, the banner chosen by the Spartacist League is a replica of the standard Northern troops flew above Fort Sumter when the stronghold was besieged by the Confederates in

April 1861.

Fighting went on for two days before the Southern forces seized the fort. But by that time a handful of defenders had retreated and spirited away the 33-star flag.

Police whisked Bradley away in handcuffs to Northern Station immediately after his descent. He was cited for disturbing the peace and trespassing, then released. His previous adventures ended in arrest on charges of malicious mischief. Both times he was released on his own recognizance.

Yesterday's demonstration, staged amid preparations for closing ceremonies of the Cherry Blossom festival, was the latest in a skirmish between the Spartacist League and city officials over the Confederate flag.

Bradley first clambered up the pole supporting the "Stars and Bars"—one of 18 flagpoles in Civic Center plaza—on April 15. He cut the flag down and set it ablaze.

The next day, another Confederate flag was sent up and Bradley tore it down, hurling the shredded remains to the ground.

Shortly after, Mayor Feinstein announced she would not replace the flag a second time. She said her decision was based on a request from Supervisor Doris Ward, not on the Spartacist League's demonstrations.

Feinstein: Anti-Gay "Sex Cops" to Make S.F. Safe for the Democrats Government Out of the Baths!

SAN FRANCISCO—Mayor Dianne Feinstein and the Democratic Party administration, in one of the more crudely cynical political maneuvers in recent memory, finally forced the city's public health director to ban "sexual activity" in gay bathhouses, sex clubs and bookstores. They wanted to shut down the baths permanently; SF health director Mervyn Silverman's "compromise" decision, as he stated April 9, is that, "All sexual activity between individuals [must] be eliminated in public facilities in San Francisco where the transmission of AIDS is likely to occur."

So now in "liberated" San Francisco, Feinstein's "sex cops" are to police the baths! This vicious attack on homosexuals has nothing to do with stopping AIDS and everything to do with furthering Feinstein's grandiose political ambitions. She wants to "clean up" her city before the Democratic Party convention comes to town this summer. As one of Feinstein's political cronies put it: "She wants to be vice-president so bad she can taste it" (San Francisco Examiner, 1 April). But San Francisco's freewheeling "Babylon by the Bay" image doesn't go over well with Southern Dixiecrats and middle-American racist ethnic ward heelers who are a major base of the Democratic Party. When the Democrats came to New York City in 1980, the cops swept the streets of prostitutes, even grabbing a nun who later sued. Feinstein wants to show she can get tough with gays the way she's done with labor and racial minorities. Thus the massive police riot at the anti-Kissinger demonstration April 16 at the Civic Center was an expression of her determination to crack down on any public protest activities as the convention approaches.

The Democrats in San Francisco have a highly organized gay constituency and pro-Feinstein faction. Support for the mayor's sex ban came not only from Board of Supervisors president Wendy Nelder and ex-cop and rad-lib darling Richard Hongisto, but also from gay supervisor Harry Britt, a member of Michael Harrington's DSA

(Democratic Socialists of America) and leader of the city's major gay Democratic club. Nelder admitted the maneuvering that was going on: "I think it's terrific that this idea [for the ban] has come out of the gay community, because none of us wanted to say it and look like we were discriminatory." And one officer of a major Democratic club cynically remarked: "When the Democratic Convention comes to town with 10,000 reporters, we don't want the big local issue to center on gays' right to commit suicide in bathhouses" (San Francisco Chronicle, 29 March).

Of course, "suicide" isn't the issue but the right of consenting individuals to engage in sexual activity. Simply put: government out of the bedrooms—and the baths! As we wrote in Women and Revolution (No. 27, Winter 1983-84) about reactionary uses of the AIDS scare:

"While the fundamentalist, paranoid Puritan ethic encouraged by our rulers alleges otherwise, the fact is: sex does not equal disease, does not equal death. Any kind of sex. Aside from the fundamental question of saving lives, one damn good reason to get this frightening outbreak cleaned up is so people can enjoy sexual activity in safe, healthy conditions—including the baths and bars if that's their scene."

Does anyone think that Feinstein really wants to stop all "sexual activity between individuals in public facilities" in the name of "public health"? She could try to "stop gonorrhea" by shutting down the motels for instance, or the straight hot tub establishments. And what about closing the prisons, which are real hotbeds of AIDS infections.

"Out of the tubs and into the shrubs!" chanted gay protesters wearing bathhouse towels in San Francisco, making the point that Feinstein can't ban sex anyhow. All this new measure will do is increase police harassment and state terror against an already oppressed minority. The Moral Majority is screaming for god's retribution against homosexuals, and California governor George Deukmejian just vetoed a

minimal reform that would ban discrimination based on "sexual orientation" in hiring. As Marxists, champions of democratic rights for the working people and the oppressed, we support bills like AB-1 as a statement of legal equality for gays. At the same time we point out that such laws do little to change the oppressive reality of American capitalist society.

Pro-Feinstein gay Democrats in San Francisco are cynically playing on the genuinely terrifying nature of AIDS. Death rates are still climbing, and while a virus has now been identified which is the possible cause of AIDS, no cure for this deadly outbreak has yet been found. If AIDS is finally eliminated, it will be the result of intensive scientific research—not brutal cop raids on gay bars and baths. The gay communities in America's major cities are already traumatized by the AIDS tragedy. Everybody knows someone's friend or lover who has the dread disease, or who has already died. But AIDS is not a "gay disease" or the "responsibility" of homosexuals to "cure themselves." Nobody suggested banning the "heterosexual lifestyle" because it was responsible for spreading herpes, gonorrhea and syphilis—the latter a genuinely horrible and fatal disease until the discovery of Salvarsan in 1910.

Although the SF ban is presented as a "self-policing" measure proposed by gays, in fact, national gay organizations are rightly fearful and indignant about it. "Personal behavior should not be regulated by the state, which historically has been an instrument of our oppression," stated the National Gay Task Force. The Gay Men's Health Crisis group said, "data has not shown any clear justification for governmental involvement on grounds of public health.... GMHC does not believe that hasty, politically inspired moves benefit either public health or the individual rights of all Americans" (Village Voice, 10 April). And in Toronto, where the cops have brutally and repeatedly raided gay bars and baths, there is much fear that they'll use this latest vicious

assault to crack down again. What's all too likely to happen in San Francisco, where Dan White was acquitted of murder charges after slaying homosexual SF official Harvey Milk and an eco-freak racist was acquitted for stabbing a black woman smoking a cigarette, is the next time someone firebombs a gay bar he will probably get off on the claim he did it in the interests of public health!

The ban on sex in gay baths is part of a broader assault on democratic rights for the oppressed. From the Moral Majoritarians in the White House to the Ku Klux Klansmen in the streets, the central target of the reactionary offensive is black America. Communists, said Lenin, must be tribunes of the people. Thus tearing down the racist flag of the Confederate slavocracy is fighting for the rights of gays as well as blacks. And by mobilizing to stop a Nazi assault on a gay pride march, as the SL did in Chicago on 27 June 1982, we struck a blow for black people against the racist terrorists.

Down with Feinstein's sex ban! Government out of the bedrooms and baths! ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices - MARXIST LITERATURE - Bay Area, Chicago, New York City, Trotskyist League of Canada, Toronto

El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

plated Cherokee Chiefs (locally known as "garkmobiles" because so many oligarchs drive them), Constituent Assembly president D'Aubuisson is unpalatable to the U.S. Congress which has to approve Reagan's multimillion aid bills. So now the Reagan administration has got itself a figurehead with more "moral authority" than the man who ordered the assassination of Archbishop Romero.

"U.S. Said to Plan to Invite Duarte If He Is Elected," headlined the 5 May *New York Times*. Their purpose is to get more bucks in order to drown the Salvadoran leftist rebels in blood. And leading Democratic "dove" Michael Barnes told CNN news today that Congress would indeed show more "patience" and "flexibility" with Duarte, who is popular with both Christian Democrats and social democrats in Europe. But if Butcher Duarte has friends in the White House and on Capitol Hill, it is urgent that opponents of the Salvadoran dictatorship mobilize on the streets to expose this cynical "Operation Moderation."

"Death Squad Democracy"

An American churchman who observed the first round of the Salvadoran "vote" on March 25 reported, "What I witnessed on election day was not an outpouring of 'democratic effervescence' (to use Ambassador Thomas Pickering's phrase) but an outpouring of fear" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 April). Salvadorans must have their identity cards stamped at the polls: to fail to do so would risk losing their jobs... or their lives. In this "death squad democracy," those labeled as "subversives" are likely to wind up a bullet-ridden corpse along the roadside. For the American press, which has difficulty distinguishing baby kissers from baby killers, the important thing is "How long are the lines?"

The Intervention Elections were made to play in Peoria, and on Capitol Hill. One Salvadoran bitterly remarked, "Elections have surpassed coffee as our leading export to the United States." It was the State Department and not its Salvadoran puppets which pushed for (and paid for) these elections. Now Congressional liberals can vote millions in military and "economic" aid to the Salvadoran butchers with enthusiasm (they did it anyway before, albeit "with a heavy heart"). The dictators get their dollars, the Reagan administration gets to escalate U.S. intervention, the Democrats get off the hook for "losing Central America" to the Communists... and the peasants get more phosphorus bombs.

Unless they get a drastic increase in military aid, soon, remarked a "concerned" Robert McFarlane, Reagan's national security adviser, El Salvador could go "down the drain" (*New York Times*, 4 May). Duarte, who is said to talk to more U.S. Congressmen than Reagan, is the man for the job. Salvadoran armed forces minister Vides Casanova opined that, during his term as head of the junta, "many people learned that they could live with Duarte." But as the countryside was stained blood red with his program of "reforms and repression," many of the Salvadoran masses learned that they couldn't. So as the death squads escalated their terror, thousands of the urban and rural poor joined the guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

The *New York Times* (1 May) headlined, "Duarte Vows to Crush Death Squads." What do you know. You and whose army, one is tempted to ask. But the article itself only promises a special commission to study death squad murders. Considering his record covering up for these killers, these are hollow words indeed. While Duarte

headed the Salvadoran murder-junta between December 1980 and March 1982, nearly 30,000 workers, peasants and leftists were slaughtered by the regime. In the movie *Revolution or Death* Duarte appears at a press conference to absolve the security forces of blame for the massacre at Archbishop Romero's funeral. Yet the movie has just shown pictures of uniformed National Police snipers on roofs overlooking the cathedral square shooting down into the crowd.

In May 1980 some 600 refugees were massacred by Salvadoran and Honduran soldiers at the Sumpul River trying to escape across the border. In December 1981 junta troops murdered over 900 civilians in and around the village of El Mozote after FMLN insurgents had slipped through a government army net. That same month the top leadership of the opposition political coalition, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), was seized by a government commando in the capital and executed. A few days later, four American nuns were killed by soldiers armed with American guns. And all this occurred under the reign of the "moderate" Duarte.

Yet it is to this front man for mass murder that the FDR/FMLN look for a "negotiated settlement" (read: sellout) of the Salvadoran civil war. An FDR call for a "provisional government of broad participation" issued in January would only exclude "the oligarchy" (a conveniently elastic category) and D'Aubuisson's ultrarightist ARENA. And who would be the prime candidate to head such a provisional government? None other than Butcher Duarte. And why not? In the 1972 electoral farce, Christian Democrat Duarte ran for president together with small-time bourgeois reformist Guillermo Ungo for vice president. Today Ungo is head of the FDR opposition popular front, seeking to reunite with his former running mate in order to keep the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran masses within capitalist limits.

Put Butcher Duarte on the Run!

How soon they forget. But the amnesia of the reformists and rad-libs is eminently political. In September 1981 when Duarte came to the U.S. on a shopping trip for arms for the junta, he was met in San Francisco by 6,000 angry demonstrators chanting "Duarte asesino!" SF cops in riot gear and on horseback charged into the anti-Duarte demonstrators, clubbing fleeing protesters and passers-by alike. Even then some of the CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) types joined the cops in accusing the Spartacist League of "provoking" the police riot, because we were chanting our slogans for military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador. Today Joe Duarte, "Mr. Political Solution," is the "moderate" sensation in the government of "broad participation." Only the Trotskyist advocates of workers revolution are denouncing Mr. Political Solution.

Meanwhile, two-thirds of the U.S. population isn't buying the Reagan policy on Central America, and nearly half are afraid the administration will land the country in a war over El Salvador. Increased public opposition to U.S. policy has been seen in recent Bay Area demonstrations against prominent Reaganite war criminals, surprising both police and protest organizers by their size and militancy. On April 16, some 1,500 picketed a speech by Henry Kissinger at San Francisco's Commonwealth Club. More than 190 people were arrested as the police TAC squad waded into the crowd; once again the cops blamed leftists, and media disinformers tried to set up the SL. A week later a crowd of 2,000-3,000 came out to revile Reagan's war secretary, Caspar Weinberger. A Spartacist contingent raised the call to "Defend Nicaragua—Kill the Invaders!" and a Spartacus Youth

League banner proclaimed, "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off the World!"

As popular revulsion deepens against the Reagan war policies, however, the reformists are deeper and deeper into the Democratic Party. We have pointed out how in the face of the CIA's increasingly overt war on Sandinista Nicaragua the CISPES cesspool has failed to organize a single sizable protest. The reason for "the movement's slow response," as the rad-lib *Guardian* (9 May) delicately puts it, is that they have been too busy drumming up votes for Democratic "doves." "Jesse Jackson is the real peace candidate in 1984," says CISPES leader Suzanne Ross, calling local Rainbow Coalitions "key forces in the anti-intervention movement." Yet Jackson's position on Central America is virtually indistinguishable from that of the other two Democratic presidential candidates. They all agree that aid to El Salvador should be linked to "progress on human rights." And Duarte's election is considered proof positive of such paper "progress."

If Somozist mercenaries are too unsavory, Reagan will use ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora as figurehead of the *contra* counterrevolution in Nicaragua. And in El Salvador he can sell a Christian Democrat to Congress, as CISPES goes along in the hopes of wangling a "negotiated settlement." But this means preservation of the genocidal army and thus a massacre for the Salvadoran masses. The several hundred workers who courageously demonstrated in San Salvador on May Day rightly denounced the electoral farce (something the FDR/FMLN has been loath to do). The leftist guerrillas must win on the battlefield, to open the way to social revolution against the landlord/capitalist/military dictatorship. A Trotskyist party, forged around the program of permanent revolution, is key to achieving a genuine workers and peasants government.

The Reaganites have turned Central America into the front line of the Cold War. For them, Sandinista Nicaragua is a fallen domino, becoming a "Soviet surrogate" some time ago. While the Democratic liberals have a better grasp on reality, they too are wedded to the anti-Soviet war drive. And thus, despite their pious protests over CIA mining of Nicaraguan harbors, the "doves" have voted for every single appropriation to the *contras*. The only way to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution against imperialist attack is to *complete* it by expropriating the capitalists and *extend* it—for workers revolution throughout Central America.

The CISPES/USOCA/NICA crowd is for "solidarity" everywhere except where it counts. From Washington to Moscow, it is understood that global interests are at stake in Central America. The Spartacist League says openly: "Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in El

Salvador," and "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!" The problem is, Stalinist bureaucrats from Havana to Moscow look at Central America through narrow nationalist eyeglasses. They seek to reduce their exposure to Reaganite counterrevolution by withdrawing advisers from Nicaragua, striking deals with apartheid South Africa over Angola, etc. Authentic communists seek to take advantage of the Yankee imperialists' present difficulties in Central America by waging revolutionary war throughout the isthmus.

Napoleón Duarte, "Mr. Political Solution," will present a hell of a problem for the reformists when he comes to the U.S. Everyone who knows the bloody record of this butcher will want to give him the "greeting" he deserves. But the "solidarity" sellouts know well, even if they do not say it, that Duarte is the political linchpin to a "negotiated" betrayal of the Salvadoran revolution. What will they do when this object of FDR/FMLN wooing comes to town? The Trotskyists, advocates of military victory for the leftist insurgents and workers revolution, are clear on Duarte. We say: put Butcher Duarte on the run. This is a key point in the political struggle over Central America. Reagan knows it. The Democrats know it. The Salvadorans know it. If the administration puts over "Operation Duarte" in Congress, the Salvadoran masses will pay with their blood.

Widespread doubts, fear and anger among the American people over Reagan's war drive in central America and a renewal of anti-militarist protest among student youth present revolutionaries with urgent opportunities. This sentiment must be mobilized through internationalist socialist propaganda and agitation: the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive, from El Salvador to white supremacist South Africa, must be fought by class struggle in America. The Spartacist League calls on U.S. workers to boycott all military goods to Central America. For labor strikes against an imperialist invasion!

While the reformists rely on the cooing imperialist doves, we seek to organize active class solidarity with the embattled working masses of Central America. Where CISPES et al. look to Congress to certify "human rights" progress in the land of the death squads, the Spartacist League calls on labor to "hot cargo" (boycott) all military shipments to Central America. Where the rad-libs look for a pot of gold at the end of Jesse Jackson's mythical rainbow coalition, the Marxists call for a multiracial revolutionary workers party. Where they call for a deal with Duarte, the communists say: "Put the butchers on the run, leftist rebels need Russian guns!"

Drive out Duarte! No negotiated sellout! Military victory to Salvadoran guerrillas! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office

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

Ann Arbor

c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston

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

Chicago

Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland

Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit

Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Los Angeles

Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison

c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-4321

New York

Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

San Francisco

Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.

P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

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

Olympics...

(continued from page 1)

few examples: Last October the U.S. Marines invaded the Soviet embassy in Grenada and marched Soviet diplomats, hands behind their heads, to the airport at gunpoint. World wars have been started for much less. In March a Soviet oil tanker docking at Puerto Sandino in Nicaragua struck an underwater mine laid by CIA demolition squads, ripping a hole in the hull and critically injuring five Soviet seamen. The following day on the other side of the world the U.S. aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* deliberately rammed a Soviet nuclear-armed submarine in the Sea of Japan and almost sunk it. The list of similar bloody provocations is endless and appalling.

Spearheading the campaign against the Soviet Olympic team is the much-publicized "Ban the Soviets Coalition," a melange of right-wing Southern California businessmen, South Korean anti-Communists and East European "freedom fighters." This sinister group planned to practically kidnap Soviet athletes. "Safe" houses were readied as they prepared to send their agents into the Olympic village to "recruit" defectors. Asked about the activities of the "Coalition," State Department spokesman John Hughes stated:

"I know it is difficult for the Soviets to understand, but this is a free country. . . . Many people find things in the Soviet Union to be abhorrent."
—UPI, 8 May

Who could disagree with the Soviet Olympic Committee when it says that the Reagan administration is using "the games for its political aims," while "chauvinistic sentiments and an anti-Soviet hysteria are being whipped up in the country."

Groups like the "Ban the Soviets Coalition" are not to be taken lightly. They are not playing games. Southern California, in particular, is fertile terrain for right-wing crazies. An open member of the Ku Klux Klan, Tom Metzger, ran for Democratic Congressman from San Diego. And there's a joke about an Orange County politician who joined the John Birch Society because he wanted to be seen as a middle-of-the-roader.

While the Reagan gang incited its friends in the "Ban the Soviets Coalition," it prevented the Soviet government from protecting its athletes. In early March the State Department refused to allow a senior Soviet Olympic official, Oleg N. Yermishkin, into the country on the grounds that he was a KGB agent. It is irrelevant whether or not Yermishkin had any connections with the KGB, but the Soviet government was duty-bound to try to provide its athletes with some protection and security.

This is the second time that U.S. imperialism has used the Olympics as a major provocation against the Soviet Union. When in December 1979 the Soviet army intervened against the CIA-backed feudalist cutthroats in Afghanistan, the Carter/Mondale administration announced it was boycotting the Moscow Olympics the following summer. This, along with cutting off grain shipments to the USSR, marked the opening shots of "Cold War II." At the time we wrote:

"Unlike the liberal athletes opposing Carter, communists are not sports purists. Rather we oppose Carter's Olympic boycott because it is a diplomatic attack by U.S. imperialism on the Soviet degenerated workers state, one momentarily important in mobilizing popular support for Washington's war drive. Oppose Carter's Cold War iron curtain! Let the U.S. Olympic team go to Moscow!"
—"Break Carter's Olympic Boycott," *WV* No. 248, 25 January 1980

The intent of the Reagan gang and its right-wing vigilantes to make life hell for Soviet Olympic athletes expresses the U.S. ruling class's drive to destroy the USSR, which despite Stalinist bureau-

cratic degeneration retains the fundamental social gains of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. We fully understand the decision of the Russian authorities to protect Soviet athletes targeted by the U.S. government's virulent anti-Communist hysteria. As American communists we are committed to smashing the American imperialist order and building a socialist world which alone can end the threat of war. It will be under the banner of socialist internationalism that individuals can at last begin to realize their full potential and athletes will compete without fear of political violence. ■

Hess Oil...

(continued from page 2)

billion-dollar scam for the capitalist oil looters like Leon Hess. On the one hand, the refinery can be regarded as "foreign," meaning it is exempt from the Jones Act, which requires American companies to use much more expensive American (unionized) ships. But since the Virgin Islands are a U.S. territory, Hess Oil can claim various U.S. benefits, such as federal subsidies for those who must use expensive "foreign" crude oil (Hess accumulated a total of \$1 billion in these entitlements in the late 1970s, until his competitors got most of it canceled). To rely on appeals for "better labor laws" for the Virgin Islands really misses the point: the laws are set up to make these territories an exploiters' paradise.

Today, as the island's main employer, Hess has repeatedly blackmailed the local government into exempting it from local and most federal taxes. When the poverty-stricken island regime tried in 1981 to renegotiate the company's 16-year tax "holiday" which was then expiring, Hess threatened to close the entire plant. Hess won.

Among Hess's overtime-wracked employees it is said that Hess stands for working "Holidays, Evenings, Saturdays and Sundays." At the May 2 protest in St. Croix, many marchers brought handwritten signs expressing both their class hatred for this blood-sucker Hess, as well as knowledge of their collective power: "Hess: You are dealing with the people that help build your empire!" St. Croix Central Labor Council president Cecil Benjamin told the workers that "The company has initiated a volcano that is about to erupt."

Hess and the rest of the capitalist rulers of this U.S. colony are now desperate to prevent this erupting volcano. A court order obtained on *Easter Sunday* bars picketing at HOVIC and the workers have been denied unemployment compensation. At the NYC demonstration outside Hess world headquarters May 7, militant trade unionists called on the USWA to back the locked-out St. Croix brothers with generous contributions from the strike fund. Real labor solidarity on the part of the U.S. labor movement is key to bringing Hess to its knees. As NMUer Gene Herson summed up, "Picket lines mean don't cross! Labor should hot-cargo Hess Oil! Seamen, Teamsters, steel workers, oil workers and long-shoremen must refuse to handle Hess oil until the St. Croix workers win!" ■

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 3)

This consisted of union bulletins which called on trackmen to follow the TA's own safety rules and to refuse "voluntary" overtime in response to seniority violations. (Every year 10 percent of the trackmen are seriously injured.) In an April 9 leaflet the Committee demanded:

"** In protest and solidarity with Brother Foster and the other officials effectively expelled from union held offices by the T.A., all union officials must immediately resign their posts. The Lawe leadership must view them-

Class War in Vegas

A 23-year-old striker, Jim Turner, lies pinned under a car driven by a scab "security guard" at Caesars Palace in Las Vegas. Over 17,000 workers, including cooks, waitresses, musicians and other hotel workers in four unions, went on strike April 2 against the takeover demands of the Nevada hotels' association in this racist Mafia-run town. Emboldened by Reagan's smashing of the air traffic controllers union (PATCO) in 1981, the bosses have decided it's open season on unions, blacks, the poor, illegal aliens, radicals, etc. They're not satisfied with wage cuts, they want dead strikers to display, as in the recently defeated Greyhound strike.



Kodey/Las Vegas Review-Journal

The violently racist anti-union bosses in Las Vegas took the cue: the hotels have imported a scab army of over 1,500 and showgirls are making the beds. Local cops have arrested over 600 strikers, including ten union leaders, while blatantly ignoring the murderous scab attacks on picketers. Hauling away strikers like cattle with their hands tie-wrapped behind them is becoming commonplace in the U.S. (As we go to press two Hilton hotels and Caesars Palace, covering 4,300 workers, have settled, but for the rest this bitter and hard-fought strike goes on.)

Upwards of 7,500 unionists and their families marched down Las Vegas Strip in mid-April to demonstrate their solidarity, and the Team-

sters union has vowed that its drivers will not deliver food and liquor or pick up garbage at the struck hotels. AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Thomas Donahue emphasized, "Any time you have 17,000 people fighting for their rights it's a national fight." But actions speak louder than words, and the former PATCO strikers know too well the treachery of the AFL-CIO labor fakers. As we wrote in March, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win": the key to winning is relying on labor's own strength, especially the defense of the picket line through mass mobilization of labor. Genuine labor solidarity could win this strike overnight if the airline unions refused to bring in the daily planeloads of people for the gambling casinos. Smash the scab/cop union-busters! Victory to the Vegas strikers!

selves as being fired as a direct result of the T.A.'s actions against the TWU officials in Track and Power.

"** New elections should be immediately held to re-assert that the power to select union officials rests solely with the membership! These new elections must include elected shop stewards in each area responsible for dues collection!

"** All union officials must be paid by the union! We must protect all of our union officials from financial dependence on the T.A. bosses!

"** The union must launch a law suit against the actions taken by the T.A. against its elected officials. These actions are clear violations of laws protecting the right of unions to organize and the democratic right of free speech! If need be this suit should be taken to the Supreme Court!"

Kiley's Gestapo tactics are not restricted to 207th Street. Recently TA cops beat up a signal helper who allegedly refused to show his pass. A female car maintainer was arrested, handcuffed to a chair and physically abused because transit police didn't believe she was a transit worker even after she showed her pass. Undercover transit cops ("beakies") prowl the Coney Island repair shop disguised as car cleaners to intimidate and discipline workers. It is in this climate that Dennis Dixon—a TWU member who barely escaped the racist lynch mob which killed transit worker Willie Turks near the Coney Island shop in 1982—is thrown out on the street by the TA (while the lynch mob's ringleaders got early parole).

Kiley, Gunn, Davis and their ilk want to turn the clock back to the early 1930s before the TWU was built. To stop the wholesale attacks, the class-struggle tactics that built the TWU and the CIO—solidarity strikes and mass picketing to stop scabs—must be implemented. TWU president Mike Quill went to jail during the 1966 strike but the union ended up with the industry's best contract and the Condon-Wadlin Act, forerunner of the anti-union Taylor

Law, was smashed.

Today in capitalism's world financial center, the transit system and everything else is falling apart. Bridges and tunnels collapse, hundred-year-old water mains burst and major electrical fires and their accompanying blackouts are regular occurrences. Only a workers government can save America, and working people are interested in having a country left to rule. In an open letter to Lawe on April 6, the Committee proposed that "the TWU should make public who really cares for the subways and the interests of the public. In addition to exposing Kiley's fake subway renovation, the TWU should demonstrate concern about the real causes for the decay of the subways." In particular the leaflet described how the city's use of salt for snow removal is leading to massive corrosion of structural support beams in the subway tunnels as well as damage to equipment. Cave-ins, fires and power shortages are the results.

A few years back columnist Russell Baker joked that Carter was planning to deploy MX missiles in the New York subway system. He had a point. And what does Grumman care if their buses break in two? Their real business is hi-tech weaponry for use against the Russian workers. It is to pursue capitalist profits and imperialist wars that Kiley and Koch go after our unions, our standard of living and the cities themselves.

The Lawe regime is badly discredited and the Committee for a Fighting TWU has the program to win. These militants are now seen by important layers of the membership as the alternative to Lawe & Co. Their candidate for Local 100 president, Ed Kartsen, received over 1,000 votes in the last election. If the Committee can grow and root itself among these workers, they can point the way forward for all of NYC labor—a proletarian offensive that can save this city. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

"Dixie Dianne" Feinstein Pulls Down Fort Sumter Flag

Finish the Civil War!

We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery...

On April 15 Richard Bradley of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, wearing the uniform of a Union soldier in the Civil War, tore down the Confederate flag of slavery and racist terror from atop a flagpole outside San Francisco City Hall. This set off a "battle of the flags" as Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein ordered the Dixie flag raised again. After Bradley ripped it down a second time, Feinstein was forced to give in. But when Bradley put up in its place a replica of the Union battle flag which waved over Fort Sumter, it was too much for "Dixie Dianne." In a deliberate act of political racism she had this historic banner of the war against the slavocracy removed.

The dates are significant, both historically and today. April 14, the day Fort Sumter fell after heavy fighting in 1861, is also the date of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln four years later by a Confederate fanatic. And on April 15 of this year, the same day Ritchie Bradley tore down the banner of racism, an all-white jury acquitted the members of a KKK/Nazi death squad who had murdered five leftists, civil rights organizers and unionists during a rally against Klan terror in Greensboro, North Carolina. While blacks and all decent San Franciscans applauded Bradley's action, the government was giving a green light to racist murder. And meanwhile, its journalistic mercenaries were trying to brand the Spartacist League as "violent" and even "terrorist" for peacefully removing a racist provocation (see "Witchhunters' Lies Exposed," page 8). To finish the Civil War and make good on the promise of black equality will require a Third American Revolution, under the red flag of socialism.

We print below the SL press release issued in San Francisco on May 1.

On Sunday, April 29, Richard Bradley—member of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for



WV Photo

Social Defense—climbed the flagpole in San Francisco's Civic Center for a third time and put up an exact replica of the historic 33-star Fort Sumter garrison flag. This historic Union flag was donated to the city by the Spartacist League in celebration of the removal of

the Confederate flag twice torn down by Bradley. Following widespread support for Bradley's actions, Mayor Dianne Feinstein was forced to announce that she would not replace the Confederate flag again in Civic Center.

The Fort Sumter garrison flag has an

...And Put Up the Historic Union Flag

honorable and heroic past. The surrender of Fort Sumter on April 14, 1861, after two days of fierce bombardment by Confederate forces marked the beginning of the Civil War. The besieged defenders retreated with honor taking the garrison flag with them. Four years later to the day, after the Confederacy had surrendered, by special order of President Abraham Lincoln, the very same flag was re-raised with great ceremony at Fort Sumter and every rebel battery that had fired on it was ordered to fire a 100-gun salute in its honor.

On Monday, April 30, Mayor Dianne "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein, in yet another act of calculated political racism, abruptly ordered this proud Union flag taken down. Now the flagpole stands bare again. Dixie Dianne's arrogant actions are despicable, deeply insulting to all decent people especially black people and puts her on the side of the slaveholders defeated in the Civil War.

The Mayor was quite content to fly the racist Confederate flag for years. Yet she instantly removed the flag of the victorious Union side. Mayor Feinstein might recall that the last people to force down this heroic banner were the Confederate forces at Fort Sumter.

We have learned that Mr. Wallace Levine, head of the Veterans Affairs Council, has recommended, and the Mayor—feeling the heat—has agreed, to replace the Confederate flag with the "California Hundred" flag, the banner of the first 100 California volunteers who paid their own way back east to fight against the slaveowners. This is a real victory for all those who hailed the Spartacist League's removal of the Confederate flag!

Raising the California Hundred flag instead of the hated banner of slavery and the Ku Klux Klan rightly puts San Francisco and California back on the Union side of the Civil War. It is a fitting tribute to California's sons who fought and died in the great conflict to end slavery. California entered the Union in 1850 as a free state, over the objections of the slave states, and remained staunchly pro-Union throughout the Civil War.

We have donated the Fort Sumter garrison flag to the city of San Francisco and in view of its historical significance a suitable place for its display is side by side with the California Hundred flag in Civic Center.

On May 2, 1984, Richard Bradley will appear in the San Francisco Municipal Court on charges of malicious mischief for tearing the Confederate flag down a second time after its replacement by Mayor Feinstein. He will be demanding and welcomes an immediate trial on these outrageous and ridiculous charges. ■



WV Photo

San Francisco, April 29—Richard Bradley being arrested after putting up Union Army flag to replace Confederate flag of slavery.

**Hail Ritchie Bradley—
Feinstein Flops 7**

**Black Press Features
Anti-Racist Victory 7**

**Witchhunters' Lies
Exposed 8**