



Reuters/Bettmann  
The streets of Santiago, August 30.



Cambio 16  
Bloody dictator Augusto Pinochet.

## Chile: Smash Pinochet Plebiscite!

On August 30 in Santiago de Chile, four military commanders—Army general Augusto Pinochet, decked out in Prussian dress gray and full-length cape, accompanied by the chiefs of the Navy, Air Force, National Police—filed up a red carpet into the Ministry of Defense. After a closed meeting, in a televised ceremony they announced their “decision”: Pinochet’s will be the sole name on the ballot October 5, when Chileans

get to vote “yes” or “no” on continuing the tyrant’s rule until 1997. This fraudulent “national consultation” is a typical plebiscite of the sort that bonapartist military dictatorships, from Napoleon on down, have used to legitimize the rule of the mailed fist.

Earlier in the month, when Pinochet announced he was ending the state of emergency, the imperialist press gave his proclamation great fanfare. But aside

from letting a few more exiles return, it didn’t make a lot of difference. When youths took to the streets in their anger and barricades went up in the workers’ shantytowns (*poblaciones*) after Pinochet nominated himself, the water cannons drenched protesters with streams of water filled with untreated sewage, to infect them with typhoid. Once again, the air was thick with tear gas, sprayed from the little armored vehicles Chi-

leans call *zorillos* (skunks). Once again, the jackboot was heard at the door as more than 1,000 were rounded up, scores injured, three killed.

Pinochet has run a war against the Chilean masses ever since he seized power in the bloody coup of 11 September 1973. In his “nomination” speech, Pinochet declared the “Marxist danger” still has not been rooted out and

*continued on page 9*

## Russian Nazis Raise Their Heads

# Soviet Workers Must Crush Pamyat!

Recent statements in Soviet newspapers report an ominous development. An outfit calling itself the “Russian National-Patriotic Front Pamyat” has been staging weekly demonstrations in the city of Leningrad. An Italian tourist who witnessed a Pamyat demonstration wrote to *Moscow News* (14 August), “A week has passed, and I’m still horrified. I felt as if I’d attended a real fascist meeting of the 1930s.” “Surrounded by bodyguards in black shirts,” Pamyat leader Dmitri Vassiliev rails against Jews while his cohorts blame the Chernobyl nuclear disaster on “enemy forces.” The blood of every decent Soviet citizen boils over Pamyat’s racist outrages. Leningrad must be cleansed of this fascist filth!

There is scarcely a street in Leningrad which does not evoke memories of this hero city’s 900-day stand against the Nazi invaders and of the million or more who died to defend this western gateway to the Soviet homeland. From the somber mass graves of the Piskarev-

skoye Memorial Cemetery, burial place of more than 500,000 Leningraders who died in the Nazi siege, it is but a few minutes’ drive to the Rumyantsevsky Garden. Yet here, every Thursday, in this public park in the heart of Leningrad—the city of Lenin, the birthplace of the internationalist October Revolution—Pamyat has staged its disgusting spectacle. The proud people of Leningrad can’t allow this to continue.

Leningrad writer Valery Voskoboinikov described one of the Pamyat rallies (*Moscow News*, 14 August):

“One speaker demanded that it should be forbidden for Russian men and women to marry members of definite alien races. Another called for the immediate deportation of Jews and members of other ‘alien races’ to ‘their historical motherland.’ Still another suggested declaring a ruthless war on those who ‘concealed their ethnic origin under a Russian name.’”

In recent months, leaflets have appeared on walls demanding, “Russia is for Russians—Death to Yids!” Jewish

*continued on page 4*



Pamyat fascists march in Moscow, May 1987.

Novosti-Press

# For a Proletarian Fight Against Stalinism and the Popular Front

## Trotsky Belongs to Workers of the World

MEXICO CITY—In the garden of the Trotsky Museum in Coyoacán, in the house where Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky was murdered by a Stalinist assassin in 1940, some 250 people attended a September 17 meeting called by the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), Mexican section of the “United Secretariat of the Fourth International,” to demand, in the words of the PRT newspaper, “the political rehabilitation of Leon Trotsky” (*Bandera Socialista*, 12 and 14 September).

Speakers at the event included Trotsky's grandson Esteban Volkov, who underlined Stalin's criminal sabotage of Soviet defense in World War II; United Secretariat (USec) leader Ernest Mandel, who lauded recent Soviet denunciations of the Moscow Trials while stating that the USec's demand is for juridical, not “political” rehabilitation; and popular-front presidential contender Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, who stated that as a supporter of freedom of ideas he joined the call for juridical rehabilitation of Trotsky.

Among the speakers from the audience were Luciano Galicia, who in 1939 deserted the Fourth International claiming the leadership was forcing him to capitulate to Lázaro Cárdenas over the nationalization of the imperialist oil companies. Ironically, Galicia spoke today in support of the popular front of Cárdenas Jr. The only opposition to the



Pathfinder Press

Leon Trotsky at Coyoacán, Mexico. The Fourth International was forged in struggle against the class collaboration of the popular front.

popular front's attempt to exploit the name of Trotsky came in the remarks made by a representative of the international Spartacist tendency. In response to the iSt, Mandel explicitly disavowed the PRT's call for “political rehabilitation” of Trotsky.

At the end of the event, following a moment of silence at Trotsky's memorial stone, the popular-frontists chanted: “Long live Leon Trotsky! Long live the Fourth International! Long live the victory of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas! Long live Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas!” In our view, this explicit support for bour-

geois politics is tantamount to desecrating the memory of the Bolshevik revolutionary who fought unremittably against the political subordination of the working class to its class enemy.

The following is a translation of the statement by the Spartacist tendency representative:

“In view of recent declarations by Soviet spokesmen, it seems that the juridical rehabilitation of Leon Trotsky in the USSR is under way. Nevertheless, today's meeting was called—according to the announcement in the newspapers—to ask for his ‘political rehabilitation.’ But what is really posed now is a political struggle. In this struggle, the international Spartacist tendency believes, revolutionary workers must not place their confidence in the Stalinist bureaucracy. On the contrary, they must struggle against the bureaucracy—the gravedigger of the proletarian, internationalist and revolutionary principles of Lenin and Trotsky—in order to defend the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution.

“The battles over perestroika are a

battle over the heritage of Stalin. The Stalinist bureaucracy continues to exist, balancing atop and deforming the collectivized economy established by the Revolution of 1917. Perestroika is a bureaucratic response which endangers the planned economy. The problems of the planned economy can only be solved through the re-establishment of soviet democracy by the workers of the USSR and by the international extension of the October Revolution.

“Instead of calling upon the Stalinist bureaucracy, it is necessary to direct oneself to the Soviet masses. The works of Leon Trotsky must be published in the USSR. Then the Russian workers can decide for themselves if those works are as important as we consider them to be.

“Today in Mexico a new popular front has been formed. Trotsky defined the popular front as a class-collaborationist alliance subordinating the proletariat to a sector of the exploiters. Today the popular front is trying to exploit Trotsky. But Trotsky does not belong to the popular front; he belongs to the workers front, to the party of authentic Bolshevism. It was Stalin who pushed a policy much like that preached by many here today. The Stalinist dogma of ‘socialism in one country’ translates into the politics of the popular front in the other countries—a policy whose tragic outcome was seen in Spain with the triumph of Franco and later with the triumph of Pinochet in Chile.

“Against the popular front, and against the apologists for the popular front, Trotsky founded the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. It is necessary to reforge that Bolshevik-Leninist Fourth International of Trotsky. To defend the conquests of the great October Revolution, it is necessary to return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, fighting to extend socialist revolution to the entire planet.” ■



TROTSKY

### Teach the Fascists a Lesson

Hitler's coming to power in Germany in January 1933 fueled the growth of fascism throughout capitalist Europe. In France, responding to a fascist march in February 1934, workers began mobilizing in united-front actions. Leon Trotsky wrote to his French comrades commenting on a local incident and indicating the tactics needed to disperse the fascist menace. The key to answering the naked terror of capitalist reaction, Trotsky insisted, is mass proletarian action.

What is the objective, not just for the moment but for the entire coming period? It is to get the workers to take up the struggle against the fascists before these elements have become the dominant force in the state, to get the workers used to not being afraid of the fascists, to teach them how to deal blows to the fascists, to convince them that they are stronger in numbers, in audacity, and in other ways.

In this period it is very important to distinguish between the fascists and the state. The state is not yet ready to subordinate itself to the fascists; it wants to “arbitrate.” We know what this means from the sociological point of view. However, this is not a matter of sociology but of giving blows and taking them. Politically it is part of the nature of a pre-Bonapartist, “arbiter” state that the police hesitate, hold back, and on the whole are far from identifying with the fascist gangs. Our strategic task is to increase these hesitations and apprehensions on the part of the “arbiter,” its army and its police. How? By showing that we are stronger than the fascists, that is, by giving them a good beating in full view of this arbiter without, as long as we are not absolutely forced to, directly taking on the state itself. That is the whole point....

The tactical, or if you will, “technical,” task was quite simple—grab every fascist or every isolated group of fascists by their collars, acquaint them with the pavement a few times, strip them of their fascist insignia and documents, and without carrying things any further, leave them with their fright and a few good black and blue marks.

—Leon Trotsky, Letter to the Ligue Communiste (March 1934)



LENIN

## Free Salvadoran Bank Workers' Leaders!

In mid-August the Salvadoran National Police arrested three top leaders of the militant bank workers union and are holding them on charges of being “subversives.” The seized unionists, whose union is affiliated with the Revolutionary Labor Federation (FSR), are General Secretary Jorge Alfonso Aguilar, Mario Ramírez Nuñez and José Aguirre Gómez. They are accused of membership in the Clara Elizabeth Ramírez Front (FCER), a split-off from the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrilla coalition. The FCER, which rejects the FMLN's call for a “government of broad participation” including bourgeois parties, claimed credit for the attack on U.S. Marines in the center of San Salvador in June 1985.

Continuing labor combativity in the face of renewed death squad terror has led the tottering regime of Washington's puppet president José Napoleón Duarte, who is dying of cancer, and the military butchers to single out union leaders as a special target. In March, UNTS labor federation leader Humberto Centeno was seized and brutally beaten by the notorious Treasury Police. In re-

sponse, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee joined with others in an emergency campaign mobilizing international solidarity which helped secure Centeno's release.

Following a militant electrical workers strike which blacked out most of the country for three weeks, in late July the Salvadoran legislature, dominated by the fascistic ARENA, passed a “national emergency” law allowing the government to militarize public services and subject union leaders to summary court-martials. Now Aguilar, Ramírez and Aguirre are the first targets of the new crackdown, charged with membership in a “subversive association” (which they have denied).

The Partisan Defense Committee calls on the workers movement internationally to defend the arrested Salvadoran bank union leaders. FSR international representatives and the Latin American solidarity groups CONICA and CADENA have called a demonstration demanding their freedom at 11 a.m. on September 24 in San Francisco, at 2966 Mission (near 25th Street) outside the offices of the Banco Agrícola Comercial de El Salvador.

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# 1,000 in NYC Protest Attacks on Gays

## Democrats, Republicans Fuel Bigotry

On August 30 an integrated demonstration of over 1,000 gathered on 103rd Street near Amsterdam Avenue in Manhattan to angrily protest recent brutal assaults against homosexuals—including murder—particularly in the Upper West Side. Despite a heavy police presence, and at one point a shower of ice cubes from neighboring buildings, protesters held their ground chanting "Stop the violence!" "No more victims!" and "Shut the city down!"

The militancy and outrage of the demonstrators and a determination not to be driven off the streets by this anti-gay terror was voiced by speaker after speaker. When John Brandon of the New York City Human Rights Commission spoke "on behalf of Mayor Koch," he was roundly booed and his remarks drowned out.

After a series of speeches by community activists, local politicians and two recent victims, Barry Finnegan and David Frank, the demonstration marched off to the 24th Police Precinct with signs saying, "We Demand Police Action." But when 500 protesters blocked Broadway at West 100th, stopping traffic for more than two hours, they got police action all right: cops arrested 105 demonstrators.

This anti-gay violence is the jagged edge of the AIDS witchhunt, and in Koch's New York gays are catching hell. Barry Finnegan and David Frank were walking down the street on August 22 when they were set on by a gang of white, black and Hispanic lumpen thugs shouting anti-gay epithets and wielding a baseball bat and knife. Frank was badly beaten and Finnegan was stabbed, suffering a collapsed lung. Then the very next night a black man on the west side of Central Park was brutally stabbed to death, the victim of an anti-gay gang attack.

And these are only two of hundreds of reported incidents of anti-gay harassment, intimidation, assault, arson, bombing and murder that have been increasing in New York in the last few years. This terror against homosexuals is on the rise nationally. According to

the Anti-Violence Project of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) in 1986 there were 4,946 such incidents, in 1987 7,008 incidents including 64 homicides, and so far in 1988 the figures are up sharply over 1987.

The NGLTF estimates that the number of reported attacks is only a small fraction of those that actually take place, due in no small part to the legitimate fear of the victims of further victimization if they go public. David Frank, for instance, was evicted by his landlord after his case was publicized in the media. And in September 1987 in Long Beach, California an AIDS sufferer was attacked by three young thugs and suffered a broken hip and other injuries—the cops caught his assailants and then let them go when they found the victim had AIDS!

It was important that the August 30 demonstration drew large numbers of both blacks and whites. In America anti-gay bigotry and racism go hand in hand. Fascists and other reactionaries see homosexuals as particularly vulnerable, and black people are the special targets of American fascism, which aims to whip up a frenzy of race-hate as a battering ram against the working class. The way to fight this was shown by the 27 June 1982 Spartacist League-initiated labor-centered mobilization of 3,000 to stop a Nazi provocation against Chicago Gay Pride Day.

At the New York demonstration there was a lot of talk from local Democratic politicians against the Republican-dominated state senate, which for the second year running failed to pass an anti-bias law including gays in the categories of victims. The gay movement is one of the most loyal Democratic Party "constituencies." Yet the Democratic presidential candidate, Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis, made it state policy to deny gay couples the right to be foster parents.

In recent years anti-homosexual bigotry in this country has focused on the bipartisan AIDS witchhunt. The Republican program is billions for nukes to bomb the Soviets back to the stone



Protest against anti-gay terror, New York, August 30. Labor must defend the democratic rights of gays!

age and to finance the CIA's cutthroat contras in Nicaragua and Afghanistan, and a pittance for AIDS research and care. Moreover, last year the Democrat-controlled Senate voted 96 to 0 for mandatory AIDS testing of immigrants. (Homosexuals are already banned by law from entering the U.S. under outrageous "sexual deviance" exclusion clauses.)

Meanwhile, arch-hypocrite Cardinal O'Connor of New York called those who attack gays "stupid," while condemning the "sin" of homosexuality. In the same vein, a Vatican statement on homosexuality said that "when civil legislation is introduced to protect behavior to which no one has any conceivable right"—i.e., homosexuality—people should not be surprised when "irrational and violent reactions increase" (*New York Times*, 23 November 1986). This is a grotesque justification for "gay-bashing"! Gays are up against all the forces of reaction in this decaying bourgeois society. Fascists and lumpen gangs carry out their bigotry with guns and knives; more "respectable" bigots do so by withholding billions needed for AIDS research and

leading a scare campaign against the "homosexual disease."

One of the central demands of the August 30 demonstration, organized by the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation and endorsed by the AIDS coalition ACT UP as well as the Coalition for Lesbian & Gay Rights, was for "increased police interest and action in all cases of anti-gay and anti-lesbian violence." This reliance on the capitalist state is at best a dead-end strategy; more often, as recent history shows, it's suicidal. And to call on the NYPD is downright perverse. Koch's cossacks busted every head in sight at Tompkins Square Park in August, allowed anti-abortion bigots to blockade abortion clinics in April, and have raised cop killings of blacks and Hispanics to almost epidemic proportions!

The only way out of the murderous cycle of hatred, ignorance, bigotry and terror is through socialist revolution, liberating all the oppressed by sweeping away this decaying imperialist society. Labor must defend the democratic rights of gays! Break with the Democrats and Republicans—build a workers party! ■

## S.F. Cops Rampage—Farmworkers' Leader Brutally Beaten

# Arrested for Feeding the Homeless and Hungry

SAN FRANCISCO—The SF police have been beating and arresting people for the crime of feeding rice and beans to the homeless and hungry in Golden Gate Park. The liberal pacifist group Food Not Bombs has had nearly 100 arrests of its members and supporters in the last several weeks, culminating on Labor Day when dozens of riot-clad Tac Squad cops moved in on the crowd, shoving and arresting homeless activists and dragging them away with their wrists bound. All this in response to complaints of yuppie residents of the neighborhood, which is in the process of gentrification, that "children shouldn't be exposed to the sight of homeless people turning out each Monday for the free food giveaway" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 10 September).

The obscene spectacle of peaceful protesters being arrested for a simple act of humanity toward the city's many homeless people aroused so much indignation that the D.A.'s office is apparently afraid to prosecute. So Mayor Art Agnos, who has posed as would-be savior to SF's homeless, engineered a

"cooling-off period" until October 17 during which time the group can give away food unhassled by the "guardians" of capitalist "law and order."

But then on September 14 at a pro-



San Francisco cops rough up and arrest activists for giving food to the homeless in Golden Gate Park.

test against George Bush at SF's St. Francis Hotel, the cops really went wild. They savagely beat up United Farm Workers co-founder Dolores Huerta, breaking two ribs and rupturing her

spleen, which had to be removed in emergency surgery. An embarrassed Mayor Agnos, a personal friend of Huerta, ordered all kinds of investigations while Police Chief Jordan issued statements that he believed "proper police protocol was in place" (*Chronicle*, 16 September). There was no such beating, they said, on the cops' videotapes of the protest. But then KRON-TV showed footage of a cop wearing helmet #1448 belonging to one Officer Francis Achim repeatedly pulling his baton back and ramming it furiously with all his might into the protesters in front of him. The woman you could see crumple and fall was 58-year-old, 110-pound Dolores Huerta.

Huerta and other UFW workers were present at the protest to distribute a statement protesting Bush's earlier denunciation of the UFW's grape boycott campaign. Huerta's son Emilio told the press that a cop grabbed a UFW black eagle flag Huerta was holding, threw it on the ground and stomped on it. A *WV* salesman also witnessed a gang

continued on page 9

# Crush Pamyat...

(continued from page 1)

gravestones in cemeteries in Moscow and elsewhere have been defaced. At a poetry reading by Andrei Voznesensky, who recently published a poem denouncing these acts, anonymous notes were sent to the stage reading, "All of you are Jews or sold out to Jews," "We will kill you." With their appeals for an anti-Semitic "Final Solution," with their ostentatious black shirts, with their racist diatribes against all non-Russian nationalities, these Great Russian "patriots" are more than extreme nationalists or latter-day Black Hundreds tsarist pogromists. *They are dyed-in-the-wool Nazis, the Great Russian offspring of Hitler.*

Pamyat should be made to feel the wrath of the survivors of the 20 million Soviet citizens of all nationalities who died fighting the Hitlerite invaders. For every one of these Pamyat fascists, there are tens and hundreds of fascist-hating workers, students, veterans and youth in military service who would eagerly come out to the Romyantsevsky Garden on a Thursday to teach the Russian Nazis a lesson. Who can doubt that a single militant demonstration of 50,000 outraged Leningraders, suitably prepared to defend themselves, coming out to burn Nazi swastika flags in Pamyat's face, ready to chase these Nazis to the nearby Neva River or drive them into the canals, would put an end to Pamyat? The Pamyat Nazis must be crushed before this festering sore becomes a gangrenous cancer threatening the Soviet state and its multinational people.

## Why Has Pamyat Been Tolerated?

Writer Voskoboinikov bitterly relates how at one of the weekly Pamyat rallies:

"One scene was particularly outrageous, when one of the Leningraders raised a poster with the words: 'Workers of all lands, unite!' Before the eyes of both militia and 'commissars' this poster was snatched out of his hands and torn up, and he himself was immediately pushed back by Pamyat militants. Why did the militia officials so carefully 'safeguard' the interests of the sponsors of the meetings?"

It is an open secret that Pamyat has its protectors within the bureaucracy. One of its Moscow leaders is Valery Yemelyanov, a professional anti-Semite attached to the Soviet diplomatic corps in the 1950s, who was convicted of the grisly murder and dismemberment of his wife in 1980. He was let off with a short term in a psychiatric hospital, only to re-emerge in Moscow when Pamyat became active. As we wrote last year,



Yevgeni Khaidei

**Victorious Red Army tramples Nazi swastika, Austria, 1945. Twenty million Soviet citizens died to rid the Soviet Union of Nazi murderers.**

"With the advent of Gorbachev's *glasnost* (openness), everything from leftist currents to sinister ultranationalists are coming out of the closet" ("Pamyat: Russian Fascists Raise Their Heads," *WV* No. 434, 7 August 1987). Obscenely declaring itself the guardian of Russia's "memory" (*pamyat* in Russian), Pamyat crawled to the surface and started organizing.

While still party chief in Moscow last year, arch-*perestroika* advocate Boris Yeltsin granted a two-hour audience to a Pamyat delegation. Both Raisa Gorbachev and anti-Gorbachev "hard-liner" Yegor Ligachev heap praise on Russian artist Ilya Glazunov, whose latest work commemorates the 1,000th anniversary of the Russian Orthodox church by depicting *Stalin, Trotsky and Lenin* leading a Bolshevik mob over a road of skulls, under the gaze of Russian tsars and saints! (The government's official celebration of the millennium in June swelled Russian nationalist obscurantism—and seems to have provided the occasion for Pamyat to initiate its weekly rallies.) Most recently, tsar-lover Alexander Solzhenitsyn (who blames the *gulags* on *Lenin*) was invited to participate in an official committee appointed to erect a monument to the victims of Stalin's crimes.

With its conservative program of "socialism in one country," its repudiation of Leninist internationalism, its embrace of the hoary traditions of Russian nationalism, the Stalinist bureaucracy at best politically disarms the Soviet masses in the face of nativist fascist reaction and at times dangerously over-

laps with outright Great Russian reactionaries. In his murderous campaign to smash the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition led by Leon Trotsky, Stalin resorted to vile anti-Semitism. The Russian fascist groups that flourished among the counterrevolutionary émigré communities in the 1920s and '30s ultimately came to praise Stalin because he "had killed more Communists than Mussolini, Hitler, and Chiang Kai-shek combined," as one historian of Russian fascism observed.

## Is This Where Gorbachev's Russia Is Heading? To Pamyat? It Had Better Not Be!

Describing the dual character of the nationalist bureaucratic caste, resting atop the internationalist foundations of the workers state created by the October Revolution, Trotsky wrote:

"If it were possible to X-ray politically the whole Soviet apparatus, we would find in it: concealed Bolsheviks, confused but honest revolutionaries, bourgeois democrats, and finally, candidates for fascism."

—"New Defectors" (March 1938)

Under *glasnost* and *perestroika*, a whole political spectrum which had lain dormant under decades of heavy-handed repression has come to the surface in Gorbachev's Russia. Pamyat stands at one extreme—outright fascist counter-revolution. Lopping off that excrescence would open up possibilities for a revolutionary transformation that would bring authentic socialism to the Soviet Union.

Having in the past suppressed everything which was seen as a threat to its

bureaucratic order, now that the lid has been somewhat lifted, the Stalinist regime allows Great Russian fascists to run loose in the streets. We certainly do not look to the Stalinist regime, which won't recognize genuine fascists under its very nose, to now crush the Pamyat menace. Many Soviet citizens may be fearful, with good reason, that any crackdown would be a signal for renewed all-sided repression. The Soviet people must reassert their right to mass political demonstrations.

What is necessary now is an aggressive mobilization organized as widely as possible—from below, independently of the authorities—in Leningrad, to ensure the greatest preponderance in the relationship of forces against the dangerous Pamyat fascist fanatics. People from many different political persuasions can join together in *action* to smash Pamyat. They will undoubtedly attract many Leningraders with embittered memories who make up in zeal what they lack in physical stamina. Massive and determined demonstrations must eliminate this nativist Hitlerite menace, presenting the authorities with an accomplished fact.

It will take a Trotskyist party at the head of the Soviet working people to restore genuine soviet democracy. The crushing of Pamyat as a necessary measure of self-defense by the Soviet people will be a step on that road.

Reporting on an attempted Nazi demonstration in Moscow in 1982, the *New York Times* (29 April 1982) commented: "Memories of the war against Nazi Germany and its 20 million Soviet victims remain sacred in the Soviet Union, and Muscovites who heard reports of the attempted rally generally expressed shock that anyone would openly profess fascism." When the handful of Russian Nazis showed up in Moscow's Pushkin Square to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday, they were immediately pounced on and given short shrift by hundreds of students and youthful sports fans from the Spartak, Dynamo and Red Army Clubs.

The political climate which emboldens Pamyat to show its face has been enhanced by the Gorbachev regime's encouragement of capitalist profiteering and its disavowal of even lip service to the cause of the international class struggle. But there are many thousands of Red Army vets who remain proud of having fulfilled their "internationalist duty" combatting CIA-backed reactionaries in Afghanistan, and are well trained in defending themselves and the Soviet state against reactionary rabble. They are not about to let a ragtag gang of Nazis muscle their way into the city of the October Revolution. The mullah-led child-murderers should have been wiped out in Afghanistan; the Pamyat Nazis had better be stamped out in Leningrad! ■



USSR Embassy



Lenizdat

**Leningrad: birthplace of October Revolution and hero city in fight against Nazi invaders. Armed workers mobilized to defend the city during 900-day siege (left). Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery, burial place of over 500,000 of the one million Leningraders who died in the siege.**



# Metro North Workers Flex Their Muscle

"We made a stand for our safety," declared a Teamsters union steward for New York's Metro North commuter railroad, as track maintenance workers picketed outside Grand Central Station. Taking the NYC transit bosses completely by surprise, 800 members of Teamsters Local 808 threw up picket lines at 4:00 a.m. on September 9—and the lines were honored by thousands of engineers, trainmen, cleaners and electricians. Commuter service to the northern suburbs was stopped cold, snarling traffic and reminding the Wall Street bankers just whose backs they ride on.

After almost three years of working without a contract, constantly pushed around by the railroad, workers have reached the boiling point. The immediate cause of the walkout was Metro North's provocative suspension of 37 Teamsters for their refusal to work dangerous forced overtime three days earlier, when the arrogant management ordered an exhausted track gang to work an extra five hours. The trackmen were replacing 600-pound timbers on a bridge east of Port Chester station, working without safety nets or catwalks 30 feet in the air. When the men refused to knuckle under, the railroad put them "out of service" (and took away pay for Labor Day). The local struck in protest.

Faced with the first successful labor action in five years, Metro North squealed like a stuck pig—and ran to the nearest federal judge for an injunction, demanding a \$1 million fine against the Teamsters local. But Local 808 secretary-treasurer John Mahoney vowed that "if we've got to pull it again, we will," and United Transportation Union (UTU) general chairman Jim Phelan told *Workers Vanguard* that "any picket line that goes up is one that we recognize."

The intervention of the capitalist state is nothing new to Metro North workers. Local 808 members, who earn less than trackmen in other Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) divisions, have been working without a contract since December 1985, as the union tops have knuckled under to the anti-labor Federal Railway Labor Act (RLA). Ever since the government's bloody suppression of the rail strikes of 1877 and



Teamster track maintenance workers picketing at Grand Central Station as railroad bosses were put "out of service."

the Pullman strike of 1894, where federal injunctions and the army were used to crush the early rail unions, the state has used endless "mediation" and "cooling-off" periods, backed up by the threat of troops.

And it has been the "friend of labor" Democrats, supported by the union tops (and by reformists like the Communist Party), who have wielded the ax, from Roosevelt to Truman to Kennedy. But even the RLA isn't anti-union enough for Democratic Party politicians in New York, who want to put the LIRR and Metro North workers under the no-strike Taylor Law, which was used to break the 1980 walkout by NYC subway workers.

All MTA workers are under the gun, facing unsafe conditions, anti-drug witchhunts and union-busting two-tier wage scales. On the Metro North and LIRR commuter lines, workers are split into a score of craft unions, all played off against each other. NYC subway workers are forced to work in dangerous, heavy fumes from cleaning chemicals and paints. Metro North was just fined for leaking toxic wastes, including deadly PCBs, at its Hudson River

maintenance yard with 600 workers. And the MTA bosses harass workers daily with drug and alcohol tests, making them scapegoats for unsafe trains and tracks.

If a one-day walkout at Metro North made the MTA bosses squeal, a joint battle by all rail and transit workers in New York can bring them to their knees. But this means challenging the partner parties of capitalism and their strike-breaking laws and cops. Any decent union leader ought to be prepared to go to jail, to tell the labor-hating judges "to drop dead in [their] long black robes," as transit union president Mike Quill did in 1966.

But the transit union chiefs in New York, like president Sonny Hall of Transport Workers Union Local 100, call for more cops, and have invited the racist, strikebreaking transit police "unions" into the labor movement, even as the cops gun down ghetto youth for the "crime" of turnstile jumping. Metro North cops were recently exposed for their racist taunts and persecution of homeless blacks at Grand Central during the UTU's six-week strike against the railroad in 1983—and the PBA

"union" officials backed the racist cops to the hilt.

The labor lieutenants of capital and their reformist supporters tell workers to crawl for Dukakis and the Democrats. Sonny Hall and CP supporters in the TWU were united in using Jesse Jackson's campaign to derail transit workers' anger over last spring's stinking contract. And under Dukakis as Massachusetts governor, current MTA head (and former CIA spymaster) Robert Kiley lorded it over Boston transit workers, slashing jobs and trying to cut cost-of-living protection. Cuomo brought Kiley in to do the same job in New York—even before he was appointed to the MTA, he acted as a consultant in mugging the '83 UTU strike.

Rail and transit workers have enormous power in NYC—they can shut this city down tight, turning judges' injunctions into worthless scraps of paper, as the coal miners did to Jimmy Carter's use of Taft-Hartley during the 1977-78 coal strike. But this requires a leadership that will stand up to the twin parties of capitalism with hard class struggle, a leadership committed to forging a revolutionary workers party. ■

# Eastern Workers: Sock It to Lorenzo!

## For Industrywide Strike Action!

The 12,500 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Eastern Airlines are voting on a contract "proposal" by union-buster and Texas Air chief Frank Lorenzo. Accepting the "offer" would amount to mass suicide, with drastic pay cuts and massive layoffs. The vote (where Lorenzo's contract will be lucky to get any support) is a delaying tactic by IAM aircraft District 100 and the International, in the hopes that federal mediators will rule that Lorenzo's empire is a "single carrier employer" and extend unionization to Continental Airlines.

But the capitalist judges and mediation boards won't defend embattled Eastern workers. Lorenzo, known as the Darth Vader of the industry, has already begun laying off over 4,000 workers, as he gears up to dismember Eastern and tries to break the unions. Even as the union tops plead with the National Mediation Board in Washington, Lorenzo's managers are waging war on the unions in the hangars and terminals:

harassment, forced overtime, short manning scales and physical intimidation occur daily. Since Lorenzo took over Eastern, 30 IAM stewards have been fired in New York airports alone, including two chief stewards at LaGuardia and three at JFK. A former IAM chief steward at LaGuardia told *Workers Vanguard* that he was physically assaulted by one of Lorenzo's command managers, then fired because he refused to violate essential safety rules.

In the face of Lorenzo's assault, the IAM leadership can only preach that "we will take casualties," as they stall in the hopes of getting a better shake from a Dukakis White House. But it was Democrat Carter who opened up the deregulation assault on airline workers. And Lorenzo's union-busting outfit is full of "liberal" Senate staffers from Ted Kennedy's office. IAM president William "Wimpy" Winpisinger, who postures as a "socialist" and nominated Jesse Jackson at the Democratic Party



At Machinists convention in Atlanta thousands march against union-buster "Darth Vader" Lorenzo.

convention in Atlanta, is setting up Eastern workers for a massacre—just as he abandoned the air controllers to Reagan's mass firing when he refused to honor PATCO's picket lines in '81.

Machinists, Transport Workers and pilots must prepare now for the fight against Lorenzo, mobilizing solid support in action from the rest of the labor movement—especially the Teamsters who deliver fuel—to shut down Eastern and Continental. The battle with Loren-

zo must be extended to all the airlines, who use the Mutual Aid pact (called the "rat pact" by one Eastern worker) to carve up the unions one by one. A mechanic at LaGuardia told *WV*: "What we need is an industrywide contract. This is the only way the unions can survive." But it won't come from the likes of Wimpy and his crawling for the Democrats. Bust Lorenzo! For an industrywide strike with mass picket lines that nobody crosses! ■

# Appeasing U.S. Imperialism, Gorbachev Turns Screws on Hanoi

## Vietnam—Don't Abandon Kampuchea!

The following article is adapted from Australasian Spartacist No. 127, August/September 1988, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand.

The Vietnamese army has begun a partial withdrawal from Kampuchea. On 26 May Hanoi announced that it would withdraw half of its military contingent, some 50,000 men, before the end of this year. On June 23 the Vietnamese army command in Phnom Penh was wound up amidst farewell ceremonies. Deputy commander of the Vietnamese forces, Major General Le Kha Phieu, announced that Vietnam lost 55,000 dead in the war in Kampuchea since 1977. Significantly, 30,000 of these were killed in the bloody border fighting in 1977-78 against Pol Pot's murderous raids into Vietnam, which was finally goaded into overthrowing Pol Pot in January 1979. The remaining fighting men are to be "put under the command" of the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), led by Heng Samrin and Hun Sen, until final withdrawal in 1990. Hanoi expressed confidence that the PRK and its army was now sufficiently strong to guarantee Kampuchea's security against the murderous counterrevolutionary bands holed up along the Thai border, which receive massive aid from the imperialist West, the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) bloc and the Chinese Stalinists.

But the timing of the statement, only days before the Moscow Summit between Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, made it clear that Hanoi's decision was the result of arm-twisting by the Soviet leadership. Vietnam is totally dependent on Moscow for economic and military aid to stave off the all-sided and relentless imperialist pressure upon this heroic people. Confronted by imperialist militarism and in fear of renewed economic stagnation, the Gorbachev regime has chosen to attempt to accommodate the U.S. through a policy of global appeasement—burying the struggles of all the peoples who look to the Soviet Union for aid in liberating themselves from the imperialist yoke. Gorbachev thinks that he can buy "peace in our time" by extinguishing "regional hot spots" from Afghanistan and Angola to Kampuchea. All he will do is fuel Washington's counterrevolutionary ambitions to roll right up to the Kremlin gates.

With the Vietnamese withdrawal under way, the imperialists, ASEAN and China see a chance of gaining at the conference table what their Khmer contra proxies had no hope of winning on the battlefield. In late July the diplomatic ice was broken by the informal "cocktail party" talks in Bogor, Indonesia between ASEAN, Vietnam, PRK prime minister Hun Sen and the three factions of the "resistance" coalition. This consists of the Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, with Khieu Samphan as front man; the ultrarightist KPNLF of Son Sann; and the followers of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who staged yet another theatrical resignation as president of this unholy and uneasy "coalition" just before the talks. All are on the CIA payroll, but the last two are military phantoms. Pol Pot's remaining



Vietnamese troops pulling out of Kampuchea. Vietnamese army liberated Kampuchean people from nightmare of Pol Pot rule.

forces, now openly standing for capitalist restoration, are the "coalition's" only military muscle.

For its sponsors the "cocktail party" wasn't much of a party. Hun Sen declared there was no way the PRK would dissolve itself to form a coalition government with the contras, but offered Sihanouk a place on a "national reconciliation council." It's far from likely that the Khmer rebels can patch together any kind of lasting coalition. The Khmer Rouge are the major obstacles to a deal. For the imperialists, the Khmer Rouge were a useful instrument of military pressure against Vietnam, but they don't want them back in power and what to do with them now is a problem. Likewise for Sihanouk, most of whose family was murdered under Pol Pot and whose latest resignation was prompted by more Khmer Rouge killing off his men. Thus the talk of shunting off Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, their wives and several key henchmen—the "Pol Pot clique"—into Chinese exile, although the Peking Stalinists don't seem

all that keen to host their Khmer creatures.

The Vietnamese Stalinists, thoroughly nationalist and wedded to the dogma of "socialism in one country," went into Kampuchea in 1979 out of a sense of self-preservation. In so doing they rescued the Kampuchean people from the horrendous holocaust of the insane Pol Pot regime, which had turned the country into one huge concentration camp. There is absolutely nothing to negotiate with the murderous Khmer contras and their imperialist paymasters. All the Western talk of a "coalition government" and "free elections" is a transparent cover for their real design—to force a bloody capitalist counterrevolution against the terribly weak PRK bureaucratically deformed workers state. This could only mean a terrible new reign of terror for the Kampuchean people and, given the military and political weakness of the contras, direct imperialist military intervention doubtless in the guise of a "peacekeeping force," which the Japa-

nese government has already offered to finance.

But that is not all. Not only are the nations of Indochina a geographic and in part economic unit, but the Kampuchean border is less than 50 miles from the heart of Ho Chi Minh City. The imperialists are rubbing their hands with glee at the prospect of massively tightening the military/economic squeeze on Vietnam, already one of the poorest countries on earth, in order to wreak bloody vengeance against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, whose historic defeat of U.S. and Australian imperialism in 1975 marked the end of the "American Century." And wherever there's a whiff of counterrevolution, there is the Pope—in a symbolic act in June, the Vatican canonized 117 Vietnamese priests killed last century in anti-colonial uprisings. The Hanoi regime must know that the possibility of counterrevolution in Kampuchea, opened up by too rapid a military withdrawal, potentially poses a mortal threat to the Vietnamese workers state itself.

### Gorbachev Undermines Defense of the USSR

The Gorbachev leadership, in pursuit of the profound illusion of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, is leaning on its toughest ally, Vietnam. For what? Even bourgeois commentators accept that there is one thing that all Kampuchean agree on. The Vietnamese army must stay in Kampuchea until the threat of the return of the Pol Pot gang and their Sihanoukist front men is obliterated. To do that against the sinister U.S./Chinese Stalinist alliance, Vietnam and the PRK need massive Soviet-bloc aid. The Soviet working class has a direct interest in demanding that they get it, for it was the decades-long heroic revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism that bought precious time for the USSR to achieve nuclear parity with the U.S. And it is the Soviet nuclear shield that stays the hand of the war-crazy imperialists. The Vietnamese should get whatever they need to complete their internationalist mission and clean up the Khmer reactionaries for good.

In putting the squeeze on Hanoi, the Kremlin is angling to improve relations with China as well as appease imperialism. Next on the agenda is a Soviet-Chinese meeting in late August to discuss Kampuchea. The Deng regime has long demanded Kampuchea as the price for the normalization of relations with Moscow. Peking's alliance with U.S. imperialism predates the Vietnamese intervention against Pol Pot but it has been drawn in blood against Vietnam ever since. The invasion of Vietnam in 1979 was a bloody disaster for the Chinese army but they have maintained the pressure ever since, reflecting the frustrated chauvinist appetite of the Chinese bureaucracy to dominate Indochina like the Han Chinese empires of old. The Chinese Stalinists' alliance with imperialism against the Soviet Union, accompanied domestically by policies of "market socialism" which fuel pro-capitalist forces, is ultimately suicidal. If U.S. imperialism were ever to prevail over the USSR then the gains of the



1949 Chinese Revolution would be in deadly peril.

In confronting the U.S. drive to war against the Soviet Union, anti-imperialist unity from Moscow to Hanoi to Peking is necessary. In 1982, at the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the international Spartacist tendency addressed this question:

"What is the necessary response to the insane American provocations? In the first place, reach an understanding with the Chinese.... Rectify the 17th century (and later) treaties between the tsars and the Manchu emperors. A generous gesture explicitly motivated: 'Well, it looks like the U.S. is going to come for us now, and we hardly want you people to hit us from behind. And while you're at it, take the pressure off the Vietnamese so they can finally clean up the Cambodian mess. So you have a grievance; whether it's just or unjust is immaterial to us at this point, within the framework of practicality just tell us what you want and we'll give it to you.' That's what sensible defenders of Soviet interests, not to mention proletarian internationalists, would do. But every single one of these Stalinist bureaucracies is nationalist to the core and refuses to give up one sacred inch of the motherland.

"Next, clean up Afghanistan...."  
 —"Reagan, Begin and Hitler,"  
*Workers Vanguard* No. 308,  
 25 June 1982

Instead Gorbachev is abandoning Afghanistan, opening the way for a blood-bath of Afghan leftists and women, and putting the squeeze on Vietnam to pull out of Kampuchea, which could be equally disastrous. The Kremlin is simultaneously appeasing the U.S. and attempting to improve relations with Peking *within the context* of the Deng regime's ongoing alliance with imperialism. This "new thinking" can only undermine the defense of the Soviet Union. Real communist unity *against* imperialism requires nothing less than proletarian political revolution to sweep aside the parasitic, nationalist bureaucratic castes in Peking and Moscow on the basis of a *rebirth of Leninism*—the program of Trotskyism.

### Hail the Reconstruction of Kampuchea!

In January 1979 the Vietnamese army in a typically brilliant campaign liberated the Kampuchean people from Pol Pot's death grip. The Vietnamese and their Kampuchean allies of the Salvation Front—surviving Kampuchean communists who had led desperate revolts in the eastern provinces against Pol Pot in 1978—found an utterly devastated land and people, a veritable hell on earth, littered with corpses. Urban areas, including Phnom Penh, were depopulated ruins. Factories, schools and hospitals no longer existed. Even currency and markets had been abolished. The staple rice crop failed and famine stalked the land as the surviving population searched for lost relatives.

Pol Pot's murderous horror had helped bring the Khmer nation to the point of extinction but the mass murder had begun long before—by the U.S. imperialists and their allies including Australia. For Washington their aerial onslaught against Cambodia and its people was a "side show" to their decades-long effort to crush the Vietnamese Revolution. For four years after 1969 the U.S. Air Force, directed by Nixon and Kissinger, dropped the conventional equivalent of 150 atomic bombs of the Hiroshima type (or 100 tons of explosives for every person in Cambodia) on the countryside, wrecking the primitive rural economy and social fabric and killing hundreds of thousands of peasants. Now Reagan and Hawke have the nerve to lead a "crusade" against Vietnam in the name of Kampuchean "independence."

It was the U.S. bombing, above all, that ensured the ascendancy of the xenophobic Pol Pot clique within the Kampuchean Communist movement, creating the conditions for the bizarre and utopian peasant autarky of "Dem-



Phnom Penh in 1979 after overthrow of Pol Pot (above) and today (below). Heroic sacrifices of the Vietnamese mean that Kampuchean people now have a future.



Greg Davis

ocratic Kampuchea." Returning from their studies in Paris after the end of the war against French colonialism in 1954, Pol Pot & Co. steadily took over the Kampuchean party from the veterans of the Vietnamese-allied Issarak guerrilla struggle, by murder and whipping up anti-Vietnamese chauvinism. For this purpose, Pol Pot demagogically exploited the betrayal of the Cambodian Issaraks at the 1954 Geneva conference, betrayals forced upon the Viet Minh by their Soviet and Chinese Stalinist allies, most of all Zhou En-lai. Though they controlled large areas of the country, the Issarak delegates were excluded from the conference, their forces denied even a regroupment zone and finally completely disarmed. Of the thousand or so Khmer communist cadre evacuated to Hanoi in 1954, only 30-40 remain alive. Most were murdered by Pol Pot after returning to Cambodia after 1970, alongside all other communists who fell foul of Pol Pot's murderous paranoia, many in the ghastly torture chambers of Tuol Sleng prison. *Pol Pot killed the real Khmer communists, then committed genocide!*

When the peasant-based Khmer

Rouge guerrilla army entered Phnom Penh in April 1975, it smashed the ramshackle U.S.-backed capitalist state. But, violently opposed to any alliance with the victorious Vietnamese Revolution, the dominant Pol Pot clique instead shut the country off from the world and carried out the brutal, total and immediate depopulation of the cities. From the outset, as many leftists were blindly cheering the Khmer Rouge, we condemned "the actions of the victorious Cambodian peasant army marching into Phnom Penh not to liberate the poor and working people but rather to impose an immediate and total depopulation of the city" (*Indochina: Deformed Revolution*, *WV* No. 72, 4 July 1975).

Subsequently, we reviewed the evidence of the murderous destruction of urban life wreaked by Pol Pot in an article (*"Cambodia: Peasant Stalinism Run Amok"*, *WV* No. 180, 4 November 1977), referring to the regime as "A *Really Deformed Workers State*" and noting the resemblance to the bloody peasant revolts of the pre-capitalist era. But while it was plenty deformed, Pol Pot's "Democratic Kampuchea" wasn't

any kind of workers state. As we wrote some years later:

"The logical extension of Pol Pot's Cambodia wasn't even Stalin's purges and labor camps, it was Jonestown! Pol Pot's abolition of cities, of factories, of money and his massive reversion to subsistence agriculture—a pre-feudal program based on fantasies of recreating the barbaric Angkor Wat slave kingdoms—utterly shattered any rational economic base for the regime, thus any restraints on the ruling clique."

—"Oust Genocidal Pol Pot Gang from UN!" *WV* No. 338,  
 23 September 1983

Most of the economic infrastructure of a modern society that existed was abandoned or destroyed; the educated strata and small working class necessary to operate it were deported to become rural slave labor.

Endemic mass starvation and accompanying mass terror produced violent instability and a widening spiral of purges within the regime. In desperation, the ultra-chauvinist Pol Pot clique recklessly picked a fight they couldn't win with Vietnam. By the time the nightmare was over, at least one million and perhaps as many as two million had died.

In 1979 we said that history would decide whether or not the Vietnamese occupiers in Kampuchea would be seen as national oppressors or liberators. The verdict has long been in on that question. Kampuchea, although still a desperately poor country, has made a remarkable recovery. Phnom Penh, then a ghost town, is now a bustling city of 800,000 people. The critical rice harvest has gone up from 538,000 tonnes in 1979 to nearly two million tonnes in 1986. The always tiny industrial base has been largely revived with aid from the Soviet bloc and Vietnam. A small layer of trained health, education, technical and administrative personnel—strata which were either wiped out or fled to the West—has been recreated mainly through scholarships to the Soviet Union.

Politically the Popular Revolutionary Party of Heng Samrin and Hun Sen has grown to have over 20,000 full members and nearly 50,000 candidate members, reaching into all regions of the country. The Phnom Penh army is increasingly effective and provides reasonable security throughout most of the country, as even the bourgeois *PRO-ASEAN Far Eastern Economic Review* affirmed recently: "the security situation in Kampuchea is essentially under control" (25 February). Over the past three years the Vietnamese have been able to almost halve the size of their army. In spite of incredible difficulties, a real, albeit modest, economic and social reconstruction of Kampuchea has begun. The Kampuchean people now have a future! It needs to be understood that Vietnam, itself struggling with the legacy of 40 years of imperialist devastation, has made great military and economic sacrifices in aiding the Kampuchean people—maintaining the fourth largest army in the world, mainly

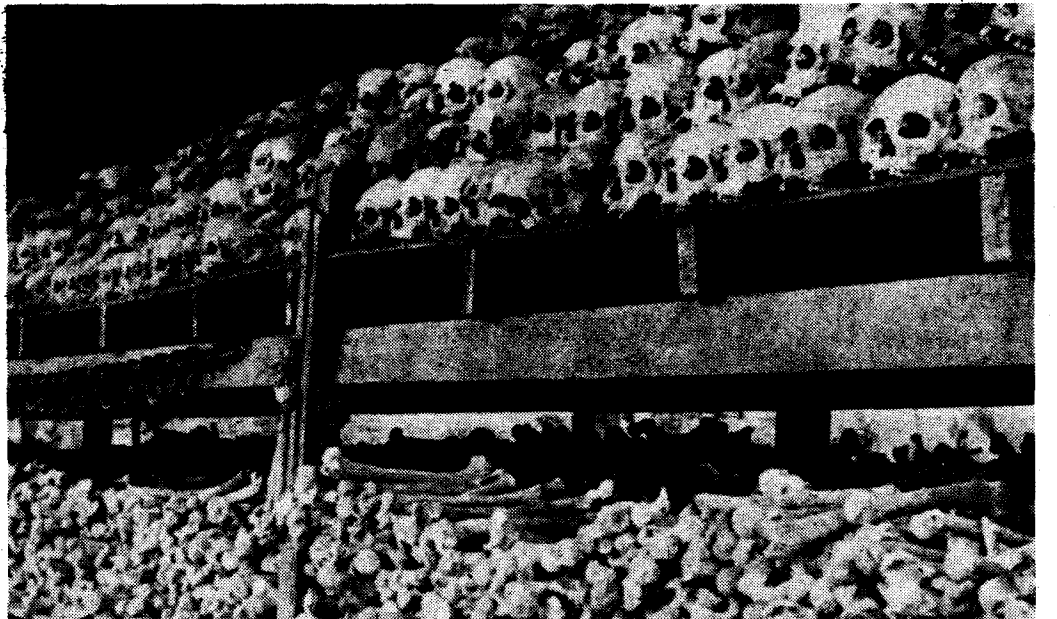
*continued on page 8*

Independent



Der Spiegel

Grisly results of Pol Pot's genocidal terror.



# Kampuchea...

(continued from page 7)

along the northern border to ward off the Chinese.

Since 1979 the strategy of the U.S., Australia, ASEAN and China has been to "bleed Vietnam white" through military pressure and a total economic blockade of Vietnam and Kampuchea. The Khmer contras exist only through Western and Chinese aid, and thanks to their Thai bolt-holes. They live off a "refugee" population in Thailand who are artificially sustained by large-scale Western "humanitarian" handouts and are in effect political hostages ruled by gangster terror. The Western imperialists have banned all governmental aid from reaching the 7.5 million

oil deposits, but the real significance of the Spratlys is their strategic position almost halfway between the huge U.S. bases in the Philippines and the Soviet naval forces at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, and astride Japan's vital trade routes with the oil fields of the Middle East and with Europe.

## Defend Vietnam! Down with Hawke/Hayden!

Australia under Prime Minister Hawke has been a gung ho participant in the relentless U.S./China/ASEAN drive against Vietnam. On taking office Hawke and Foreign Minister Hayden, as one of their first acts, reversed Labor's pledge of economic aid to Vietnam. This was the signal that Hawke was Reagan's man in Southeast Asia. Since then, Canberra has consistently

The Spartacist League has insisted that it is the duty of the left and labor movement to defend Vietnam through hard class struggle against our own racist capitalist class. For instance, when Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang (now CCP party leader) visited Australia soon after Hawke's election during a period when China was bombarding Vietnam's northern provinces, we held a spirited rally outside his state banquet in Sydney chanting "Zhao/Hawke/Reagan—Hands off Vietnam!" and "Smash ANZUS/ASEAN—Defend the Soviet Union and Vietnam!" Amongst our placards was one proclaiming: "Stalinism Undermines the Workers States!"

Class-struggle defense of Vietnam is all the more urgent because Australia has become the second most important

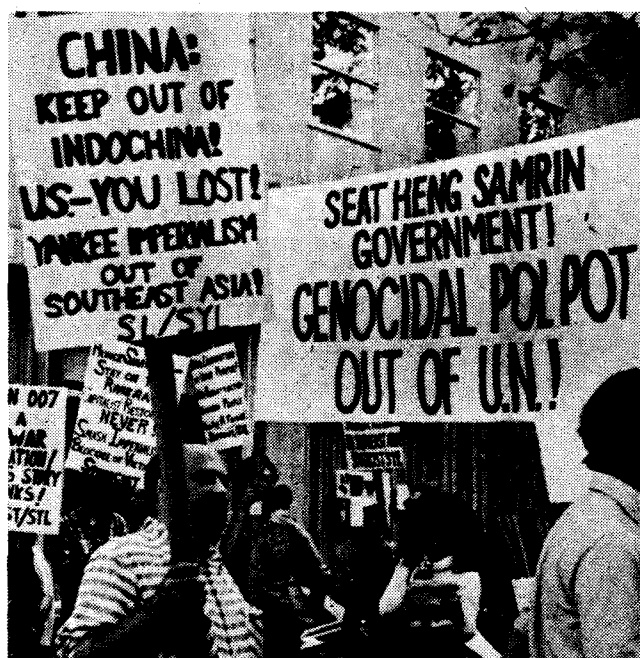
refusal to defend the workers states in the concrete.

## For a Genuine Soviet Federation of Indochina!

For poverty-stricken Vietnam, fending off the counterrevolutionary alliance directed against it is an enormous economic burden. The new Vietnamese leadership under party chief Nguyen Van Linh has reacted to the emergence of the Gorbachev leadership in Moscow by adopting its own policy of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, called *doi moi*. Faced with rapid population growth, economic isolation and with an economy based largely on urban and rural petty commodity production, Vietnam's experiment with "market socialism" appears to have been something of a disaster with inflation running at 700 percent per annum. In June Hanoi announced that up to three million people in the northern provinces were facing famine and appealed internationally for food aid—without success. The imperialists and the Chinese Stalinists see in this growing economic crisis only an occasion for increasing the pressure on Vietnam. The working class and the oppressed of the world owe a debt to the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Down with the imperialist economic blockade of the Vietnamese people!

The Hanoi regime is blinded by its own nationalist/Stalinist worldview. For the leadership the only solution to the country's isolation is to attempt to conciliate the ASEAN rulers rather than seek salvation in the extension of the revolution through the Southeast Asian neocolonies. In particular, Hanoi is seeking an anti-China bloc with the Indonesian military, the butchers of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965. Hanoi has denounced the leftist insurgents in the Philippines as "Maoists," ostentatiously signaling its willingness to strike a deal with the U.S. lackey Aquino regime, which at present sits atop a social volcano. But successful social revolution in this strategic Southeast Asian nation would shatter the imperialist front directed against the Vietnamese people.

Whatever the bureaucratic deformations of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, their desperate poverty is overwhelmingly the legacy of four decades of imperialist war. Socialized property relations lay the material basis for rapid reconstruction, but there can be no significant improvement without massively increased Soviet-bloc aid. When Vietnam again came under Chinese attack in 1983, we commented: "It is with bitterness that we view the resources of the Russian collectivized economy being spent to fatten the bellies of clerical-fascist Pilsudskites in Poland, while the heroic people of Vietnam endure grim poverty..." (WV No. 328, 22 April 1983). But Gorbachev's Kremlin, wedded to the narrow bureaucratic-nationalist outlook summed up by Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country," is more interested in accommodating imperialism abroad and encouraging aspiring capitalists at home. The plight of the Indochinese peoples can be solved only with a revolutionary internationalist perspective, within the political/economic framework of a genuine soviet federation of Indochina. Ultimately, not only in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, but also in China, the construction of socialism requires proletarian revolution in the advanced imperialist countries—the U.S., Japan and Australia. In particular, the Japanese proletariat in power could render immense material/technical aid to the rapid socialist transformation of Indochina. The precondition for socialist revolution in the capitalist countries, as well as for proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states, is the building of internationalist, Trotskyist parties forged in the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■



WV Photo



Australasian Spartacist

Protests by international Spartacist tendency in New York (far left) and Sydney, September 1983, demand "Genocidal Pol Pot Out of U.N.!"

people actually living in Kampuchea in order to tighten the screws further on Vietnam.

As the diplomatic maneuvering is stepped up, the military pressure against Indochina continues. The Thai military, armed by the U.S. and China and frustrated at the military impotence of their Khmer allies and agents, fought and lost a border war with tiny Laos from August 1987 to February this year, attempting a naked land-grab operation along the poorly defined frontier. In March this year China launched an offensive against the Vietnamese presence in the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea, sinking three Vietnamese cargo ships. According to Hanoi 70 Vietnamese seamen were missing after the attack. While the far-flung Spratlys are little more than a collection of rocks whose ownership is disputed by virtually every country in Southeast Asia, the Vietnamese occupy the largest of these islets. There are unconfirmed reports of

given political and financial support to the Khmer contras while attempting to distance itself diplomatically from the notorious Pol Pot. In his various forays through Southeast Asia and Indochina, Hayden's brief has been clear—to get the Vietnamese army out of Kampuchea and above all the Soviets out of the Cam Ranh Bay naval base. Now Hayden crows that the Vietnamese troop withdrawal vindicates his "peace" diplomacy. The Soviet presence is vital for the defense of Vietnam and provides a real, albeit small, counter to Washington's nuclear war plans against Vietnam and the USSR, in which the U.S. bases at Subic and Clark in the Philippines as well as the closely interconnected U.S. bases in Australia, such as North West Cape and Pine Gap, play a vital role. It is the retention of those U.S. bases in Aquino's deeply unstable Philippines which is now the main foreign policy preoccupation of the Hawke government.

haven, after the U.S. itself, for the Vietnamese fascist leftovers from the Saigon puppet regime. Admitted to White Australia as the anti-Communist exception to the racist rule, the contras use Australia as a base for funding and recruiting for terrorist action against Vietnam. Australian-resident mercenaries were amongst those killed and captured when a 150-strong band was wiped out by the Laotian and Vietnamese armies in Laos during an attempted raid on Vietnam late last year. Canberra hushed up this affair but this activity could not happen without the knowledge and sanction of the government. For the white racist Australian bourgeoisie the war against the Vietnamese Revolution has not stopped.

Much of the left, typified by the pro-Soviet Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, affect a paper "solidarity with Vietnam." But when the local Vietnamese fascists rampaged around the country in 1985 against left events celebrating the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Saigon, they all took a dive. Now they hail in advance the Vietnamese withdrawal in the name of Gorbachev's "peace offensive." The future of the Kampuchean people, exposed anew to the CIA gangs on the Thai border, bothers these reformists not at all.

As for the political bandits of the Socialist Labour League (SLL) of Nick Beams and Mike Head, for a time they actually printed a local Vietnamese fascist organ, the *Bell of Saigon*, which in 1985 was inciting the rampaging contras to "kill communists." To this day the SLL defends this class treason as a "commercial" arrangement. Having for a period proclaimed the leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party to be objectively anti-Stalinist revolutionaries, Beams would now have his membership believe that the Soviet and Vietnamese party leaderships are out-and-out "pro-capitalist"! The SLL posits a cold, linear transformation of the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states into capitalist states, imposed from the top. This is both stupid and completely third-campist, yet it does reflect the SLL's

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## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA



## Chile...

(continued from page 1)

that "liberty can be an instrument of its own death." (This was backpedaling—earlier this year he triumphantly proclaimed, "Chile is the only country that has defeated communism.") For the generals and admirals, the plebiscite is a counterinsurgency tactic to fortify military rule, just like the phony "elections at gunpoint." Washington engineered to dress up its death squad "democracy" in El Salvador. According to the terms of the vote, if Pinochet wins, he gets to rule another eight years. If he loses, he's still in office for another year (and don't hold your breath after that).

Pinochet took power at bayonet point, overthrowing Salvador Allende's left-bourgeois Unidad Popular regime, crushing the workers organizations and in the process trampling on Chile's constitution and the rest of the democratic trappings. He's already been in power longer than Hitler. Now the Christian Democratic leaders of the opposition are pretending the bloody butcher can be voted out of power. But they won't be any more successful than they were in '73, when they whipped up middle-class frenzy against Allende, only to have themselves declared "in recess" by the generals. They're playing Pinochet's pseudo-electoral game because they're deathly afraid that Chile's desperately oppressed and repressed working masses could explode in a workers insurrection that will bury the *momios*

(mummies), the aristocratic reactionaries, for good.

What's really criminal is that most of the socialist and even ostensibly communist left is going along with this farce in the name of "unity." The still-banned Communist Party is caught betwixt and between. In June, reportedly after internal wrangling, the CP held a press conference in a downtown Santiago hotel to call on its supporters to vote "no" in the plebiscite, in order to "permit coordination with the opposition forces" (*Le Monde*, 17 June). Yet the Christian Democrats won't let the CP into the "Command for the NO," just as they kept them out of the "Democratic Alliance" in 1984-85. Naturally, because these are the same "democrats" who a decade and a half ago called out the *cacerolazos*, housewives banging on their pots and pans, mobilizing to drown the workers in blood, and paid for with CIA dollars.

Today, once again, American money is all over the place, reportedly half a million dollars paying for TV ads, voter registration, high-tech poll-watching for the "Command for the NO," funneled through the "AFL-CIA" and the "National Endowment for Democracy." The bourgeois and reformist Chilean "opposition" is trying to pull a Cory Aquino, as in the Philippines, where a used-up U.S.-backed dictator is replaced with a supposedly "democratic" representative of the landed oligarchy. In order to give a popular veneer to the show, they may even have some mass demonstrations as a display of "people's power." But Pinochet isn't about to



Der Spiegel  
Christian Democrats call to vote "No" in Pinochet's plebiscite fraud.

walk out of his Mussolini-modern HQ (built to replace the Moneda Palace where Allende met his death) because of a few pieces of paper or pots and pans. And the U.S. hasn't dumped him yet.

The Pinochet plebiscite is an obscenity. This ploy, ordered by the U.S.-backed dictatorship and joined by the U.S.-financed "opposition," aims at preparing the way for an "ordered transition" to something more closely resembling a bourgeois democracy, but still under the heavy-handed control of

the army's guns. It could be stopped. A genuine communist opposition would place itself at the head of the workers and the poor, mobilizing in the factories and the *poblaciones*, not for one more one-day *protesta*, but for a real general strike against the dictatorship. And that inevitably poses the question of power. As Lenin wrote of the Bolsheviks' call for a boycott of elections for the Russian tsar's phony Duma in 1905:

"As distinct from passive abstention, an active boycott should imply increasing agitation tenfold, organising meetings everywhere, taking advantage of election meetings, even if we have to force our way into them, holding demonstrations, political strikes and so on.... Such work, however, is unthinkable without a clear, precise, and immediate slogan. Only an armed uprising can be that slogan."

—"The Boycott of the Bulygin Duma, and Insurrection" (August 1905)

In Chile, if anywhere, this can be done. The Chilean workers and poor mobilized repeatedly in 1983, 1984, 1986, in general strikes, national work stoppages, mass demonstrations of tens and hundreds of thousands, to bring down Pinochet. But these mobilizations were *called off* in order not to scare the bourgeoisie. Likewise, the balance sheet of Allende's UP drawn by the CP and other reformists is that they "went too far." This is exactly backward. The UP popular front held back the workers, returned to their "owners" factories that had been seized by strikers, supported laws permitting the military to search plants and left-wing offices for arms, turned over to court-martials soldiers and sailors who vowed to fight to defend democracy. The popular front politically disarmed the masses—it was a *roadblock* to revolution.

Today there are a myriad of small leftist groups, rank-and-file committees, dissident socialists, ex-guerrillas, etc. calling for boycotting the plebiscite. They repeatedly form and dissolve all manner of coordinating committees and fronts, because they do not have a coherent program for proletarian revolution, drawing the lessons of the UP and based on the experience of the Bolsheviks as carried forward in Trotskyism. The international Spartacist tendency uniquely called for no vote to the Allende popular front, while centrists from the MIR on down were tailing the UP. Today the key remains forging a Trotskyist vanguard party, the memory of the working class, its central organizer in the struggle for proletarian revolution. The battle cry of the Chilean workers must be: Pinochet to the wall! Workers to power! ■



Armando Cardoso  
Gamma  
March of *cordones industriales* (workers committees) in Santiago, 1973 (above). Unidad Popular of Allende (right) broke strikes, refused to arm Chilean proletariat, paved way for coup.

## S.F. Cops...

(continued from page 3)

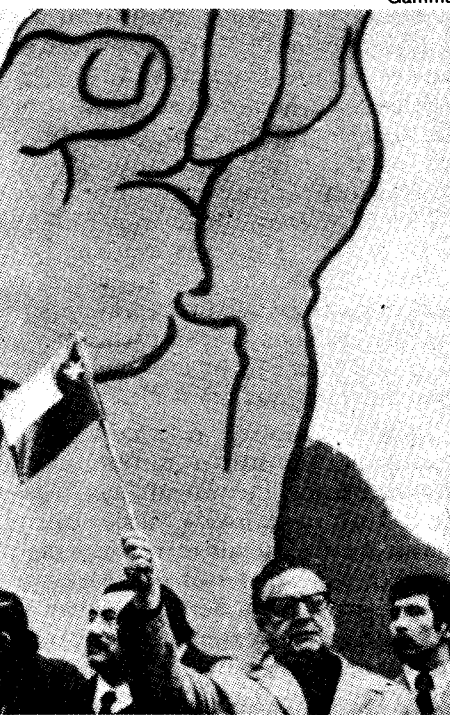
of five cops jabbing their clubs into a black woman who was just walking down the street, and smashing a protester who attempted to rescue her.

SF cops have gone berserk at demonstrations with some regularity. One of the more memorable incidents was the November 1984 protest against Reagan's war minister Caspar Weinberger, where the cops rioted wildly, cracking heads and smashing TV news camera lights to ensure their dirty rampage wouldn't be clearly recorded. *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen related an incident where cops patrolling Clement Street at 2 a.m. the morning after Reagan's re-election announced over their cruiser's loudspeaker: "Ronald Reagan has just been re-elected president of the United States. Martial law has been declared. Please clear the streets!"

So no one could mistake the meaning of their November 1984 riot, the cops underlined it this time, doing one for George Bush. The mayors, like Agnos and Dianne Feinstein before him, usu-

ally Democrats, who preside over cities full of ghetto misery make sure their hired thugs have license to kill and maim for the ruling class, raining violence on the working class and spewing out the necessary lies and cover-ups. In the case of Dolores Huerta they slipped up, nearly killing a well-known labor leader respected in Democratic Party circles.

In striking contrast to the vicious assault on the anti-Bush protesters, three days later the cops handled down-right lovingly more than 200 "Operation Rescue" anti-abortion scum in "arresting" them for shutting down a San Francisco Planned Parenthood clinic. At the same time, the cops corralled women waiting to get into the clinic in a holding pen formed by police barricades, where "Operation Rescue" creeps, raw material of American fascism, jeered and harassed them as they were filmed by TV, some of them hiding their faces and several crying. Three abortion rights protesters were also arrested: Roanne Hindin of the Bay Area Coalition Against Operation Rescue, and Kathy Seeley and Kathleen McMahon, supporters of the "socialist feminist" Radical Women. Drop the charges against defenders of abortion rights!



A mass mobilization—drawing on the organized strength of Bay Area labor, blacks and Hispanics, women and gay groups, students, to defend the basic rights of women who choose not to have a baby—would clear the fundamentalist terrorists of "Operation Rescue" from the doors of Planned Parenthood and likely keep their friends-in-blue on their very best behavior.

We Spartacists fight to build an integrated revolutionary workers party based on the might of the unions to destroy the moribund *system* that sics its killer cops on everyone from Hispanic unionists to harmless peaceniks and abortion clinic defenders. Bogus investigations and review boards won't stop bonapartist police marauders. Ultimately only socialist revolution can. ■

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# Puerto Rico...

(continued from page 12)

intimidation used against the Puerto Rican *independentistas* starkly demonstrate that the U.S. imperialists, whose armed forces and secret police have kept Puerto Rico in colonial subjugation for 90 years, are the real terrorists.

The Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League have defended the Hartford 15 from the beginning. We demand: Drop the charges! Free all victims of U.S. colonial repression! FBI, CIA, U.S. military out of Puerto Rico! Immediate, unconditional independence for Puerto Rico!

## COINTELPRO-Style Provocation

Eleven of the 15 charged in the Wells Fargo case were rounded up on 30 August 1985 as hundreds of FBI agents and U.S. marshals wielding shotguns and automatic rifles descended on Puerto Rico; two more were seized in Mexico and the U.S., and the rest in early 1986. The "suspects" were chained hand and foot and hauled away along with truckloads of "evidence," right down to the children's toys! So worried were the feds over an outcry that the victims were arraigned at 7 a.m. on a Sunday, then lifted out by helicopter to the Roosevelt Roads naval base and flown to Hartford, far from their supporters on the island.

The raids came on the heels of a two-year "investigation" headed by Richard Held, who led Nixon's COINTELPRO war against the Black Panther Party as head of the Los Angeles FBI office and sent L.A. Panther leader Geronimo Pratt to jail, where he remains, 18 years later, tagged as a "dangerous revolutionary." The "Free Associated State" of Puerto Rico (referred to as "Commonwealth" in English) was used as a testing ground for COINTELPRO-type government infiltration and provocation (for example, planting a bomb, rifle and revolutionary "terrorist" literature in an office used by Filiberto Ojeda in order to get search warrants).

The FBI bugged houses, meeting places, cars, even bathrooms and bedrooms of alleged Macheteros—on at least three occasions recording their quarries making love. The FBI was forced to reveal in pretrial hearings on the admissibility of their "evidence" that a Puerto Rico federal judge conveniently backdated surveillance orders, illegal duplicate copies of the tapes were made, and the tapes were not sealed as evidence for more than 90 days. Moreover, defense lawyers working from the duplicate tapes the FBI was

forced to hand over found "Rosemary Woods"-style gaps, indicating massive tampering. The FBI's means of obtaining much of this "information" were so grossly illegal that in August trial judge T. Emmet Clarie threw out of evidence 50 reels of tapes, representing the bulk of the government's "evidence" against nine of the defendants.

The feds really let their imagination run riot with the "psychological pro-

anhood" (*Claridad*, 30 August 1986).

During the 30 August 1985 raids, Filiberto Ojeda was surrounded in his home; when the government gunmen smashed down his door, he fired on his attackers, wounding one of them. For this act of self-defense, Ojeda Ríos was labeled a "danger to society" and jailed for almost three years without bail, including during triple coronary bypass surgery last spring. He and Segarra were



Bayamón, Puerto Rico, August 27: Powerful UTIER electrical workers union holds national assembly to vote for strike action against layoffs. WV Photo

files" drawn up before the August 30 raids with the help of the FBI academy in Quantico, Virginia. Such information as whether the "subject" "looks at person" or "uses hands when talking," is heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual or has "gender problems," etc. are the basis for psychological torture to induce "confessions" or cooperation from their victims. The *Hartford Courant* (7 May 1987) wrote, "There is something Orwellian about the FBI's having a behavior-science unit that works up personality evaluations of suspects, nosing deep into their private lives and habits even before arrests are made."

In other cases, they resorted to more "traditional" forms of torture. Lucy Berrios Berrios, the wife of Juan Segarra Palmer, was seized in Mexico where she was beaten and threatened with rape and her children terrorized. Mexican Interpol agents told Berrios' children at gunpoint that if they didn't behave, their heads would be blown off, trying to force her cooperation. Lucy Berrios recounted in an interview, "They hit us constantly, pointed guns at the children and often told me that if I didn't talk, they were going to 'stick it to my wom-

finally released, only to be held under draconian house arrest, as well as being collared like dogs with electronic bracelets tracking their every move. And when the judge threw out much of the illegally obtained electronic "evidence" against Ojeda, the feds cynically rearrested him in August for the shooting of the FBI agent.

Ojeda was then spirited back to Puerto Rico to be indicted on new charges of armed resistance to arrest. After being held in a sweltering cell at Roosevelt Roads naval base, his heart condition worsened. He was then chained hand and foot to a bed in a military hospital. When he went on hunger strike in protest, and with hundreds demonstrating outside the court in San Juan, the U.S. attorney ruled there was no place on the island Ojeda could be "safely held." So the government transferred him to Manhattan Correctional Center in NYC, a notorious hellhole where even minimal medical care is routinely denied.

Facing a life sentence along with her husband, having already spent 16 months in pretrial detention, on September 6 Lucy Berrios pleaded guilty to transporting stolen money for purchasing toys that were given away on Three Kings Day (January 6) in 1985 to children in Hartford and San Juan. She still maintains she did nothing wrong, and will not testify against the other defendants, but she faces five years in prison. In a telephone interview with *WV*, Juan Segarra said:

"Fundamentally, it was so that one of the two of us could be here for the children. Really, she was being held as a hostage in the case. Because of the experience we went through, especially her, being tortured and having the kids threatened with death...we knew that they were going to be really cruel to her."

Paul Weinberg, a Massachusetts lawyer and the only North American charged in the case, also pleaded guilty to lesser charges (a misdemeanor), in return for cooperating with the government. Weinberg "insisted that he had been duped into getting involved in the conspiracy" (*Hartford Courant*, 7 September), and so he's become a federal fink.

From the beginning, the August 30 raids caused an uproar in Puerto Rico. Thousands have marched to protest the colonial repression against the inde-

pendence movement. And as the government got postponement after postponement of its show trial, as more and more facts have come to light about the massive irregularities in the FBI operations against Puerto Rican *independentistas*, the feds' case has begun to unravel.

The persecution of the Hartford 15 was part of a full-scale witchhunt against the Puerto Rican independence movement. This can be seen in the attempt to frame up Jorge Farinacci, one of the 15, a prominent labor lawyer and editor of the left-wing review *Pensamiento Crítico*. In the raids, the magazine's offices were ransacked, its presses destroyed and its mailing lists seized. In 1982 Farinacci was dragged before a grand jury and accused of robbing a Bayamón bank (charges dropped for lack of evidence). Even after his arrest in the Wells Fargo case, the FBI and Puerto Rican police tried to incriminate Farinacci in the 1987 New Year's Day fire at the DuPont Plaza Hotel which took dozens of lives (he is the attorney for the Teamsters local representing DuPont workers).

In 1985 convicted narcotics trafficker, hired assassin and swindler Carlos Rodríguez tried to entrap Farinacci in criminal activities on orders of the FBI. Rodríguez worked as an FBI agent provocateur infiltrating the Macheteros (who expelled him, according to the FBI itself, "for irresponsibility"). He is slated as the major prosecution witness against several of the Hartford defendants. Rodríguez has also been implicated in the shooting, attributed to the Macheteros, of U.S. sailors from the Sabana Seca naval base. In addition, Rafael Moreno, a cop convicted of perjury in the 1978 cop murder of two *independentistas* at Cerro Maravilla that continues to rock Puerto Rico, was used by the FBI as a provocateur against Hilton Fernández Diamante, one of the Hartford 15.

## 90 Years of Colonial Subjugation

The vindictive federal vendetta against the Hartford 15 is part of an all-sided campaign against the Puerto Rican left. From the "subversives lists" of up to 135,000 names kept by the Puerto Rican police—used to blacklist militants and prepare roundup lists for cop dragnets—to the Cerro Maravilla murders, Washington's colonial puppets, backed up by the FBI and the heavy U.S. military presence on the island, have attempted to smash the independence movement since Puerto Rico's subjugation 90 years ago when the Marines invaded the island.

U.S. imperialism is most interested in maintaining its island colony in the Caribbean as a military outpost in its "backyard" (one-sixth of Puerto Rico's entire land territory is occupied by U.S. military installations). Puerto Rico was the jumping-off point for Reagan's rape of tiny black Grenada in 1983; Puerto Rican National Guardsmen have frequently been sent to Honduras on the Pentagon's "training" maneuvers directed against Sandinista Nicaragua; and 500 Puerto Rican National Guardsmen

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were sent to Panama earlier this year as part of the U.S.' attempt to depose Reagan/Bush's erstwhile buddy General Manuel Noriega.

Historically, the people of Puerto Rico have been used as cannon fodder for U.S. imperialist wars—the purpose of the 1917 Jones Act which foisted U.S. citizenship on the conquered population against its will was to draft the men for imperialist World War I. From Kelly Hill in Korea to the swamps of Vietnam, Puerto Rican soldiers were thrown into the front lines to die for the anti-Communist cause of their imperialist masters. Those who resisted were thrown in jail.

Along with militarization came repression. During the 1930s, the pro-independence National Party was brutally suppressed with executions, frame-ups and jailings. In 1936 its leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, and others were jailed for conspiracy to overthrow the colonialist government. In 1937 came the Ponce Massacre, in which at least 20 were murdered and another 150 wounded by the cops as they protested the jailing of the Nationalist Party leaders. In April 1950, President Harry Truman set plans in motion to totally suppress the party, which launched an uprising in the mountain region of Jayuya in response.

For decades, the population of Puerto Rico was systematically impoverished as giant U.S. sugar companies drove small producers out of business. Beginning in the '40s, efforts were made to industrialize the island using the lure of cheap labor and tax exemptions. But as the mountains were depopulated there weren't enough jobs in the cities. The government began organizing massive migration to the north, so that today one-third of all Puerto Ricans live in the mainland U.S. Meanwhile, the island was used as a testing ground for Washington's social programs for the Third World. More than 46 percent of the island's women of childbearing age have been sterilized. Many others became human guinea pigs for the pharmaceutical companies in testing birth control devices.

#### For Proletarian Internationalism!

Colonial rule has triggered a host of nationalist political responses. Albizu Campos' Nationalists were destroyed following the suppression of the 1950 Jayuya uprising and a failed attack on Truman at Blair House in Washington, followed by the 1954 pistol attack on the U.S. Congress. The Macheteros are the

Spartacist League joins protest in defense of Hartford 15, New York, 1985.



main heirs of that tradition of "armed struggle," which amounts to a series of impotent gestures, some heroic, others less so. In 1981 the Macheteros attacked the Muñiz Air Force Base in San Juan, destroying the bulk of the Puerto Rican Air National Guard fleet. Yet following this glorious stunt, unfortunately and inevitably, a few days later the planes were replaced by new ones flown in from the U.S.

Other nationalist groups are not so selective in their targets. Some of the bombings attributed to the FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), such as the 1975 Fraunces Tavern bombing in New York City which killed four, have been utterly criminal acts of indiscriminate terror whose victims were ordinary North Americans. The most militant of the pro-independence organizations have never transcended the petty-bourgeois program of individual terror, which Marxists oppose as a strategy of despair based on a lack of confidence in the revolutionary potential of the working class. U.S. imperialist domination of Puerto Rico will not be ended by bombing a few banks or planes. Such gestures bring down the fist of Yankee oppression on the Puerto Rican working people all the harder while doing nothing to forge a revolutionary leadership.

Spokesmen for the political arm of Los Macheteros, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTP), may put a "left" face on their nationalism, stating that "national independence must be socialist" (*Punto Final*, April 1984). Yet their program is for nothing more than a "Democratic Republic of Puerto Rico," waxing lyrical about "developing agriculture" and returning

The use of Nazi war criminals was begun under the Democratic Truman administration and continued ever since by both capitalist parties in power. The reason is simple: like Hitler, their main objective is to do away with the "Bolshevik menace" which they see embodied in the Soviet Union and those countries, from East Europe to Cuba, where the bourgeoisie and its fascist thugs have been sent packing, mainly to the U.S. No wonder Dukakis kept quiet about Bush's "captive nations" campaigners.

Last spring Dukakis came out for a first strike against Russia when he announced he was "prepared to use nuclear force" against Soviet armies in Europe. In so doing he had merely inadvertently blurted out longstanding U.S. policy. From the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba to the contra cutthroats in Nicaragua, the U.S. bourgeoisie will use anything to maintain its rule. Anything, including fascism.

The historic mission of the American proletariat, led by its Trotskyist vanguard, is to triumph in workers revolution before the dying ruling class unleashes another holocaust employing the madmen of the last one. ■

to the age of the independent *jibaro* (peasant) in this heavily industrial island. Moreover, in the November colonial elections, the PRTP-Macheteros is calling for a vote for the bourgeois nationalist Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP). Likewise, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) is supporting the PIP.

This past August 28 in San Juan, a march was held commemorating the anniversary of the 1985 arrests. Drawing 1,500 people altogether, it was a lackluster "politico-cultural" event for the dwindling petty-bourgeois nationalist milieu. But a day earlier, a meeting of the most powerful union on the

island, the UTIER (electrical workers), was held in nearby Bayamón. Drawing more than 3,000 unionists, half the total membership, the meeting voted for a one-day work stoppage against all layoffs. The company, in response, published a flyer promising there would be no layoffs, "now or ever." In addition, health workers (UNTS) and the teachers union have recently marched in San Juan, threatening strike action. Here is a repository of real power, workers power, capable of pulling the switch on Puerto Rican capitalism. What's needed is a Trotskyist party, part of a reborn Fourth International, to mobilize it.

Puerto Rico, with its combative but largely unorganized proletariat, desperately needs not a few dedicated, clandestine, nationalist "freedom fighters," isolated from the population by a romanticized, individualistic petty-bourgeois worldview, but an internationalist workers party armed with a revolutionary Marxist program to lead proletarian struggles not only on the tiny island but throughout the Caribbean and in the imperialist heartland. Puerto Rican workers have strong links with their comrades and even family members in the imperialist metropolis of New York (where more Puerto Ricans live than in all of metropolitan San Juan). And if U.S. imperialism seeks to use Puerto Rico as a jumping off place for its imperialist adventures, workers insurrection on the island could be a springboard for revolution throughout the Caribbean. ■

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## Bush's Nazis...

(continued from page 12)

honorary chairman Florian Galdau, a priest named by Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal as connected to the pro-Nazi Romanian fascist Iron Guard. Bush personally appointed these three to their campaign posts last month. Also resigning were Ukrainians Ignatius Billinsky and Bhodan Fedorak, two more Demjanjuk supporters, and Radi Slavoff, national co-chairman of Bulgarians for Bush and former member of the pro-Nazi National Front.

Fascists in the service of the U.S. ruling class are nothing new. At the end of World War II, those Nazis whose profiles were too high for anti-Soviet espionage in Europe were sent down the "Rat Line" to the "Free World" by U.S. Army intelligence and the Office of Strategic Services, forerunner of the CIA. More than 1,500 Nazi war criminals headed for new careers in U.S. intelligence, as Pentagon advisers and, like SS-officer-turned-NASA-scientist Wernher von Braun, in military and space research. And throughout Latin America, police agencies took on Nazi experts and their torture techniques.

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Puerto Rico: Free All Victims of U.S. Colonial Repression!

After three years of stalling by the prosecution, jury selection in the U.S. government's show trial against 15 Puerto Rican *independentistas* got under way September 6 in Hartford, Connecticut. They are accused of being members of Los Macheteros, a nationalist pro-independence Puerto Rican organization, and charged with plotting the spectacular 1983 heist of \$7.2 million from a Wells Fargo depot in West Hartford. Arrested three years ago, kept behind bars without bail for record periods, facing 17 counts of conspiracy and bank robbery charges, the 15 have been convicted by Reagan's "war on terrorism" before going on trial.

The Macheteros have been attempting to wage a struggle for Puerto Rican independence according to their nationalist and petty-bourgeois outlook, through bombings and expropriations. While we do not share their specific means and goals, we do solidarize with the aim of a Puerto Rico broken free from Yankee domination—through international proletarian struggle and under a workers government, which is far from the Macheteros' program. And anyone in Puerto Rico who seeks to struggle against U.S. imperialism will run head-on into the massive American machine of repression, frame-up and abuse.

Take a look at this machinery of vicious and sometimes random repression. To begin with, the feds sweep into their net a whole range of people, considering anyone fair game who is an *independentista* sympathizer. They're rounded up in dawn raids, in many cases while shotgun-wielding FBI men terrorize their entire families. They're held

### Feds' Vendetta Against Hartford 15 Unravels



Imperialist judicial vendetta against Puerto Rican independentistas. Left: U.S. Marshals drag Filiberto Ojeda to court in chains. Right: Orlando González, Yvonne Meléndez, Juan Segarra, Lucy Berrios.

under the sinister 1984 Bail Reform Act, which Reagan and Meese have used to institute South Africa-like "preventive detention." The pretrial detentions of Juan Segarra Palmer (31 months) and Filiberto Ojeda Ríos (32 months) were the longest ever in U.S. history. Bail in some cases exceeded one million dollars.

The feds' "M.O." in this case is a blueprint for state terror, aimed first at those they consider "fringe elements" that nobody will defend. Yet the left and

everybody's democratic rights are in their gunights. Former attorney general Edwin Meese crowed that the arrests showed a "resolve and commitment to respond to terrorism." For the U.S. imperialists, this trial and the "investigation" by provocation are a club to try to smash all pro-independence dissent in their Puerto Rican colony. The FBI defines the Macheteros as a "clandestine terrorist organization committed to the overthrow of the United States Government

in Puerto Rico by violence." Bandyng about the "terrorist" label, the feds set up anyone they want to be harassed, intimidated or shot down at will.

Prosecutors plan to call some 400 witnesses, many of them friends and associates of the Hartford 15. Since many will doubtless refuse to testify against fighters for Puerto Rican independence, only to then be held in contempt of court, this amounts to a bald attempt to jail hundreds. The terror and

*continued on page 10*

### Flag-Waving, Russia-Bashing Election

## Bush's Nest of Nazis

A nest of Nazis and anti-Semites has been uncovered—not in Paraguay or Brazil but in top posts in the presidential campaign of George Bush. So far eight of these swine have raised their heads, from outright World War II fascists to a reactionary émigré outfit called Bulgarians for Bush. Reagan went to Bitburg to salute Nazis; Bush has them running the show. What is Dukakis' response to this political dynamite? Silence.

So the "respectable" bourgeois politicians condone the fascist killers of six million Jews, and many millions more Slavs. And their offspring are carrying on the deadly work. On the eve of Yom Kippur, vandals set a Brooklyn synagogue ablaze, incinerating Torahs and scrawling swastikas all over the building. Many in the congregation were sur-

vivors of the Nazi Holocaust. This is how it began in Europe, said one elderly lady, shaking as she relived the horror.

A few weeks ago *Washington Jewish Week* revealed that Jerome Brentar, Croatian co-chairman of Bush's Coalition of American Nationalities, was actively involved in a defense committee for Treblinka death camp guard John Demjanjuk, a.k.a. "Ivan the Terrible," who was sentenced to death by an Israeli court. (Brentar, who denies that the Holocaust took place, likened Demjanjuk's prosecution to the persecution of Jesus.) Brentar, it turns out, worked as chief screening officer for the International Refugee Organization in West Germany during 1949-50 and later boasted that he helped thousands of Nazi Waffen SS men get into the U.S. Brentar was suddenly

dropped from the Bush campaign.

Next to go was Republican National Committee deputy national chairman Frederic Malek, who admitted that while working for Richard Nixon in 1971 he counted the number of Jews in top posts at the Bureau of Labor Statistics and provided a list of their political affiliations. Malek said he was just following orders. Just hours after Bush accepted Malek's resignation half a dozen other members of the Coalition of American Nationalities were suddenly out of the campaign. These included co-chair Laszlo Pasztor, a member of the Hungarian fascist Arrow Cross while an envoy to Berlin during Hitler's Third Reich; vice chairman Philip Guarino, a former Catholic priest tied to the Italian fascist lodge P-2; and

*continued on page 11*



Heil to the Chief?

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