

**Mobilize Labor, Minorities to Defend Women's Rights!**

## Supreme Court Ruling Threatens Abortion

Threatening women's fundamental right to abortion, the U.S. Supreme Court July 3 restored a reactionary Missouri law forbidding use of public funding or facilities to perform abortions. Although of several state laws being appealed the Missouri case presented the narrowest conflict with *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 ruling that legalized abortion nationwide, this decision marks a watershed. For months, "pro-choice" defenders of abortion and "pro-life" bigots have faced off at clinic doors around the country. Now the previously deadlocked court has thrown the door open for anti-woman reactionaries to restrict abortion rights in every way. The high court has agreed to hear three more abortion cases in October—practically begging for that "perfect" case to criminalize women and doctors for ending unwanted pregnancies. In an eloquent dissent, Justice Harry Blackmun, who authored *Roe v. Wade*, declared:

"For today, at least, the law of abortion stands undisturbed. For today, the women of this Nation still retain the liberty to control their destinies. But the

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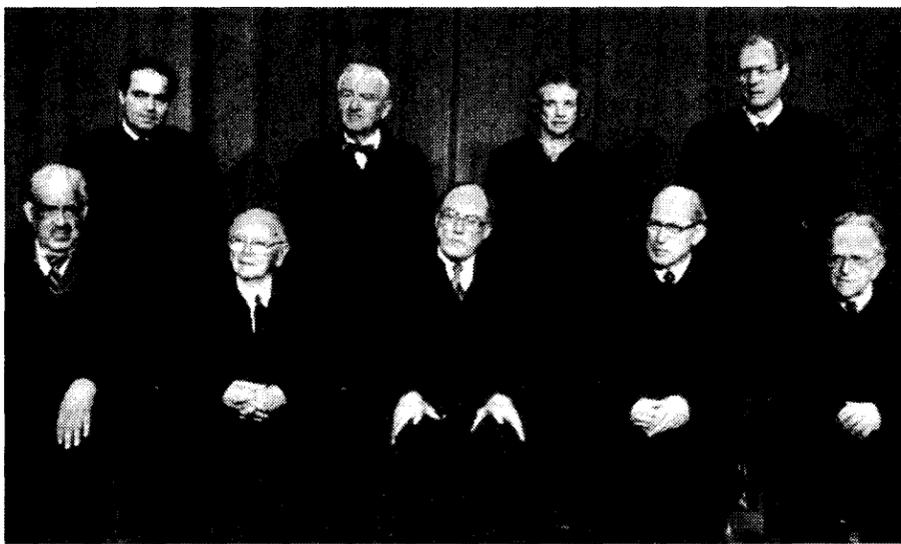
Spartacist contingent in New York abortion rights march, April 1988.

WV Photo

## High Court Racism

With an onslaught of racist rulings that have undercut the ability of blacks and other minorities to challenge discrimination through the courts, the bigots of the U.S. Supreme Court are carving the "Reagan legacy" into the legal system with a vengeance. The 1980 Republican platform had declared it a top priority to pack the courts with right-wing ideologues who would "respect traditional family values" and undo liberal decisions of the '60s and '70s. And over the next eight years, the Reaganites did just that, appointing nearly half of all federal appeals court justices, three of the nine Supreme Court justices (Scalia, Kennedy and O'Connor) and promoting Nixon appointee William Rehnquist to Chief Justice. By gutting even minimal hindrances on the "free market" system of wage-slavery, these black-robed arbiters of capitalist justice yearn to return to the "original intent" of the slaveholders' Constitution.

In a triple whammy of chilling decisions last month, the Court ruled that white men claiming "reverse discrimination" can sue at any time against affirmative action programs; that black women fighting discriminatory demotions, on the other hand, were "too late" because they had to sue *before* they were demoted; and that massive statistical evidence of discrimination in hiring didn't matter, that minority workers had to show which policy produced it, and the burden of proof was shifted from businesses with their armies of



Grace/Syigma

Amid barrage of reactionary decisions, Rehnquist court rolls back "affirmative action" measures for blacks and other minorities.

lawyers onto the workers who weren't hired, to show that it wasn't just good business to discriminate. The now-familiar 5-4 majority also upheld confiscation of suspects' assets and property *before* trial (under the sinister RICO act), to prevent them from hiring "high-priced lawyers." And most recently they ruled that states can execute children and the mentally retarded (even South Africa doesn't hang kids)!

The intent behind the wholesale gutting of civil rights and affirmative action legislation is, as Justice Kennedy stated, to bring the laws into conformity with the "prevailing sense of justice in this

country." The blatantly racist character of the Court's "colorblind" decisions reflects a social climate in which Jesse Helms is in the "mainstream," where skinheads spread racist terror in the streets while KKKers like David Duke are elected to office. Drug czar William Bennett recently opined that *beheading* drug dealers was "morally plausible," and the Supreme Court would probably agree, given their position that executing children is neither "cruel" nor "unusual." In fact, the *Wall Street Journal* (29 June) reported that at a 1987 party celebrating the 198th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, Chief Justice Rehn-

quist "said he personally would have preferred to mark the anniversary of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798," which outlawed speaking out against the government (and were finally struck down as unconstitutional in 1964).

The response of liberals to the all-sided attacks on black rights is to call on the Democratic-controlled Congress, especially Ted Kennedy, to reverse them through legislation. *Newsday* (14 June) wrote, "For four decades, the Court has been the bulwark of civil rights sanity in this racially polarized society. Now Congress must be persuaded to accept the charge." The liberal myth that an "activist court" would right the wrongs of society is long gone. But the Democrats have turned their backs on any defense of black rights, in their pursuit of the racist vote. And the "5th man" of the Supreme Court majority is JFK's wonder boy Byron "Whizzer" White. Within the framework of racist capitalism, any legal gains are easily reversible if their "social cost" to the capitalists is too high.

### Supreme Court: Racist Discrimination "Inevitable"

Segregated company housing, segregated dining halls, racial labels for job categories, lower pay and even inferior food for nonwhite workers, discrimination in hiring and promotion—these are the working conditions for Asian, Filipino and Aleutian workers at the Wards Cove and Castle & Cook

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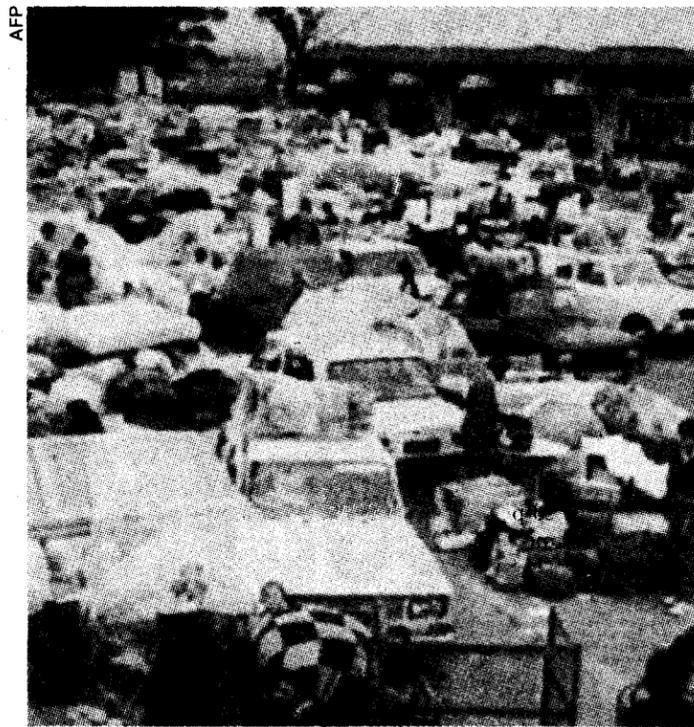
# Stop Expulsions of Turks from Bulgaria!

For the past two months the Bulgarian Stalinist regime has been expelling its Turkish minority. Each day over a thousand of these refugees, who are native Bulgarians, have been forced out of their own country. Some cross the border pushing carts piled high with clothes. Many leave in cars and trucks stuffed with personal belongings. Each day the border checkpoint at Kapikule, Turkey is choked with newcomers. Some are forced to spend days waiting at tent cities set up at border crossings.

Bulgaria's mass expulsions are the culmination of a failed five-year campaign of forced assimilation. Beginning in 1984 Turkish-language schools and newspapers were shut down, mosques closed except for religious holidays, and

Turkish names removed from tombstones. According to refugees, Turkish boys are examined to see if they were circumcised!

National antagonisms, fueled by "market socialism" under its various names, have deeply threatened the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states, much to the glee of world imperialism. In the Soviet Union, Armenians fight Azerbaijanis and Uzbeks unleash pogroms against Turkic Meskhetians forcibly transferred from Georgia in the 1940s; Romania deports Hungarians; contending Serbian and Albanian nationalisms threaten to tear Yugoslavia apart. The Bulgarian Stalinists may foolishly believe that by expelling the Turks now they can pre-empt similar



Over 50,000 of Bulgaria's Turkish minority, fleeing persecution by Sofia Stalinist regime, take refuge in Turkey.



TROTSKY

## Commemorating the French Revolution

July 14 marks the 200th anniversary of the fall of the Bastille fortress-prison, which was the opening shot of the French Revolution, the greatest of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions. Reporting on an 1845 celebration of the founding of the French Republic of 1792, the young Friedrich Engels noted that the French Revolution had inspired the international communist movement, which alone could



LENIN

make the principles of "liberty, equality and fraternity" a reality throughout the world.

Despite the fact of the French Republic having been "superseded," the Communists of all countries are fully justified in celebrating it. Firstly, all the nations which were stupid enough to let themselves be used to fight against the Revolution have owed the French a public apology ever since they realised what a *sottise* [stupidity] they committed out of loyalty; secondly, the whole European social movement today is only the second act of the revolution, only the preparation for the *dénouement* [outcome] of the drama which began in Paris in 1789, and now has the whole of Europe for its stage; thirdly, it is time, in our cowardly, selfish, beggarly, bourgeois epoch, to remember those great years when a whole people all at once threw aside all cowardice, selfishness and beggarliness, when there were men courageous enough to defy the law....

Finally, fraternisation between nations has today, more than ever, a purely social significance. The fantasies about a European Republic, perpetual peace under political organisation, have become just as ridiculous as the phrases about uniting the nations under the aegis of universal free trade, and while all such chimerical sentimentalities become completely irrelevant, the proletarians of all nations, without too much ceremony, are already *really* beginning to fraternise under the banner of communist democracy. And the proletarians are the only ones who are really able to do this; for the bourgeoisie in each country has its own special interests, and since these interests are the most important to it, it can never transcend nationality....

The great mass of proletarians are, by their very nature, free from national prejudices and their whole disposition and movement is essentially humanitarian, anti-nationalist. Only the proletarians can destroy nationality, only the awakening proletariat can bring about fraternisation between the different nations.

—Friedrich Engels, "The Festival of Nations in London" (1845)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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turmoil. So they violate everything that Lenin stood for on the national question, despoiling all norms of proletarian internationalism, and expelling thousands to a Turkey which was never their home, and whose jails are filled with leftists and workers imprisoned after the 1980 NATO-supported military coup.

The Partisan Defense Committee sent a protest letter to the Bulgarian embassy, demanding an end to the expulsions and brutal oppression of Bulgaria's Turkish population, stating:

"Russia's October Revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik party, was a beacon and inspiration to the world's working people. The Bolsheviks won the allegiance of the Turkic-speaking nationalities of Central Asia by demonstrating the superiority of the Soviet system in practice—at the same time respecting the cultural differences of the many nationalities brutally oppressed in the tsarist prison house of peoples. Lenin's Moscow provided refuge for those fleeing reactionary terror. And following the suppression of the 1923 insurrection the International Red Aid launched a worldwide campaign to raise assistance for Bulgarian workers and peasants in the grip of white terror.

"In mockery of this tradition you for-

cibly expel thousands into the hands of the reactionary Ozal government—jailers and torturers of Communist Party leaders Kutlu and Sargin, butchers of the town of Fatsa and of countless Kurds. The moral authority among the international working class won by Lenin's Bolsheviks was vital to defend the young workers state from the assaults of world imperialism. Decades of Stalinist betrayals have imperiled the defense of Bulgaria and all the deformed workers states from capitalist counterrevolution."

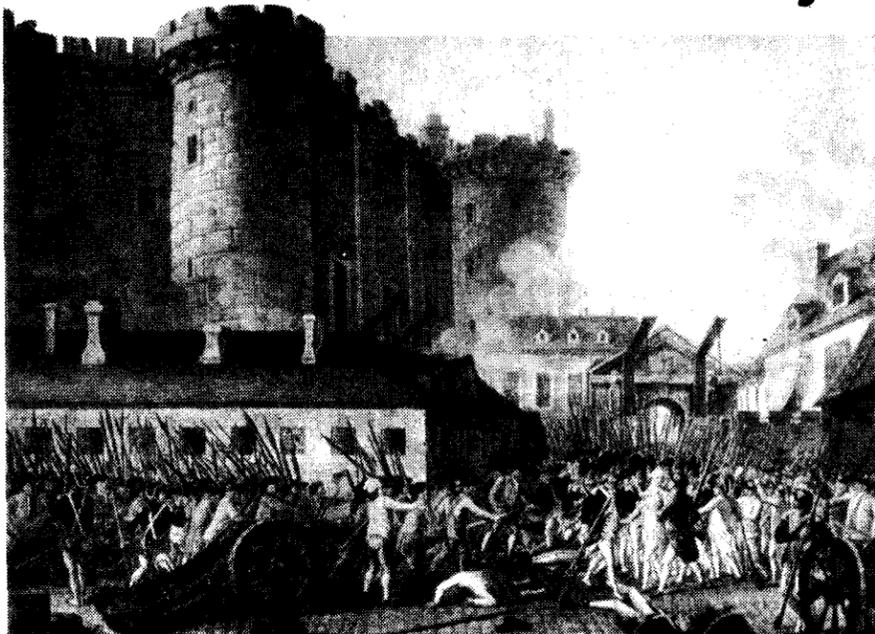
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On May 3 the Louisiana Pardon Board accepted Gary Tyler's application for a hearing. Tyler, 29, has spent 15 years in a Southern prison hellhole, convicted in a racist frame-up so blatant that a federal appeals panel declared the trial unfair. Yet this country's racist rulers are refusing to let Gary Tyler, this victim of racist injustice, walk out a free man.

Tyler was arrested 7 October 1974 after he and 60 other black students, aboard a school bus on the way to a recently desegregated high school outside New Orleans, were attacked by 200 KKK-organized thugs. A gunshot fired

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## Celebrate Bastille Day!



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# Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

## Women Miners Say Shut Down the Coal Fields Now!

Over 43,000 coal miners—half of United Mine Workers (UMW) members across the country—have walked out in sympathy with miners engaged in a tough strike against the union-busting Pittston Coal Group. With 20 percent of total coal production shut down, and some utilities caught with low stocks, the bosses ran to U.S. District Judge Dennis Knapp in Charleston, West Virginia. On June 27 Knapp ruled the walkout an "illegal" secondary boycott and ordered the union back into the mines. Coal miners well know from experience that their own determined action and solidarity can turn such injunctions into worthless wastepaper: in 1978 the UMW ranks answered Jimmy Carter's Taft-Hartley no-strike order with militant roving pickets. But the current union tops have capitulated to Knapp's injunction. UMW president Richard Trumka announced, "These work stoppages are not sanctioned by the union, and the International has requested the affected members to return to work."

Trumka's legalistic bowing before the coal bosses' judge won't go down well in the coal fields, where embattled UMW members know their jobs, wages and working conditions depend on winning the Pittston strike. This mood was in evidence at a women miners' conference held June 23-25 in Springfield, Illinois, where the keynote speaker was UMW Secretary-Treasurer John Banovic. When he announced that he had some things to say about Pittston, one miner shot back from the floor: "As long as you don't tell us to go back to work!" Later, in a workshop, a woman miner

from western Kentucky complained about the union leaders' hush-hush response whenever anyone suggested calling out *all* the locals. Why doesn't the union call the two-week memorial period granted by the contract, she asked: "I think it's a good idea, and I don't care who knows it."

Some at the conference observed that the outcome of the Pittston strike will affect the union's ability to organize non-union mines, which now produce two-thirds of this country's coal. Kerr-McGee owns one very large mine in southern Illinois, where former UMW members make up most of the workforce and yet, according to International Executive Board member Tony Kujawa, less than 10 percent support the union. This is because, with the International's no-fight policies, the union is seen as a loser. Now comes yet another diversion from organizing the coal fields: Banovic announced at the conference that the UMW will henceforth accept "associate members"—*anyone* who is willing to pay dues for a few benefits.

It's time for the union to play *hardball*! Burn the injunctions, like they did in '78! Send out roving pickets and spread the strike! The rest of the labor movement, especially railroad workers and longshoremen, must come to the miners' aid by refusing to handle scab coal. Victory to the Pittston strike!

## Union Victory at Tavern on the Green

Waiters, busboys and dishwashers who struck NYC's swank Tavern on the Green held out for eight weeks and won big against restaurant owner and Ed Koch crony Warner LeRoy on June 21. The heavily Hispanic and black strikers had joined Hotel and Res-

taurant Union Local 6 last January. LeRoy, who rakes in over \$25 million a year at the Tavern on the Green, refused to recognize the union. On April 30 he fired 100 workers, including stewards, in retaliation for holding a union meeting.

When the workers put up picket lines the next day, LeRoy hung a sign over the Tavern's front entrance baiting the union as "headed by someone indicted as a member of the Mafia." Taking their cue, federal prosecutors got a grand jury to subpoena Local 6 business manager Vito Pitta to answer racketeering charges. (Rudolph "Mr. RICO" Giuliani already tried it in 1984 but couldn't make it stick.) The union-haters at the *New York Times* weighed in June 19 with a lengthy article identifying Pitta as a "Sicilian-born former hotel busboy."

But with the strikers solid, even the feds' threats and the *Times*' mob-baiting couldn't help LeRoy. Business at the Tavern plummeted, as Eastern Airline strikers, postal workers and Teamsters rallied with the Local 6 strikers. In the new contract, the would-be union-buster agreed to immediately raise wages 27 percent, reinstate canceled health insurance and establish a pension plan.

## PL Plays Hopscotch with Nurses' Picket Line

In May, 1,300 nurses struck St. Luke's-Roosevelt Hospital in Manhattan. They were fighting for higher staffing levels, which at times have been as low as one nurse for 40 patients. After five days they won a promise by the hospitals to submit staffing disputes to non-binding arbitration. With many foreign-born nurses on strike, the NYC hospital bosses expected to use racial and national divisions to crack their solidarity. But the strikers were solid on the picket line.

During the strike, members of Hospital Workers Local 1199, representing the non-nursing staff at the two hospitals, knew that their place was on the line with the nurses. But the 1199 misleaders, instead of bringing out the union in solidarity with the nurses, hid behind their "legal obligation" to give the hospital bosses ten days notice before honoring the picket lines! James Boyd, a supporter of Progressive Labor/International Committee Against Racism (PL/InCAR) and member of 1199 at St. Luke's-Roosevelt, distributed a leaflet blasting the 1199 tops and calling on 1199 members to honor the lines...and then he went in to work! When challenged by a striker, Boyd said, "I can't take too much of this working as a scab."

According to an InCAR leaflet, after scabbing for three days Boyd decided "crossing the picket line had become unbearable. He walked into the boss's office, threw up his hands in disgust, and said, I cross the picket line no longer." For his belated recognition of elementary working-class principle Boyd has been targeted by the hospital, and is appealing to hospital workers to defend him, as they should. We might add that if this had been a coal miners strike, it would have become "unbearable" the *first time* PL tried to waltz across the class line. As the Spartacist League has insisted: *Picket lines mean don't cross!* ■



Mine workers "march for justice" in Charleston, West Virginia, June 11. Next day strikes spread throughout Appalachian coal fields.

## PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

toward the bus killed Timothy Weber, a white student member of the racist mob. Tyler was beaten by the cops and charged with murder. The only "witness" recanted four months later, swearing the cops intimidated her into lying. Having found nothing after two extensive searches, the cops planted a .45 revolver on the bus at the police garage (which was disappeared after later evidence showed Weber was killed by a .22).

Black, young and poor, Tyler was sentenced to death by an all-white jury—reduced to life in prison when the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the Louisiana death penalty statute. Declaring the trial "fundamentally unfair" a three-judge panel of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the conviction in 1980. But the full panel of the Fifth Circuit Court upheld the con-

viction on the technicality that Tyler's lawyer failed to object at the trial to violations of his rights! Without explanation the Supreme Court refused to hear the case.

On July 2 we wrote the Louisiana Pardon Board demanding Gary Tyler be immediately released. Send your letters and telegrams to: Pardon Board, 654 Main St., Baton Rouge, LA 70801.

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Efforts by campus thought police and supporters of the Afghan *mujahedin* to drive opponents of the CIA's cut-throats off the University of Illinois-Chicago campus were beaten back. On June 23 bogus "assault" charges were dismissed against PDC supporters Kevin Quirk and Sufyaan Mateen, arrested for defending a comrade from a frenzied *mujahedin* supporter attempting to disrupt our campaign to raise humanitarian assistance for the defenders of the besieged city of Ja-

lalabad, Afghanistan.

In a number of incidents in early May *mujahedin* supporters physically attacked activists collecting money on the UI-Chicago campus for the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund. One attack, on May 9, sent Spartacus Youth Club supporter Eric Jostad to the hospital with a half-inch gash in his head. On May 18 Mohammed Miraki assaulted PDC activist Mary Quirk, and ripped open her blouse. Mary's husband Kevin stepped in and put a decisive end to the attack. The administration and campus cops, who have been riding roughshod over leftist activists on campus, rushed in, pushing black PDC supporter Sufyaan Mateen against a plate-glass door. Mateen was handcuffed and arrested along with Quirk. It took days of persistent efforts before cops let Mary Quirk press charges against the violent woman-hating Miraki.

The PDC and Spartacus Youth Club waged a determined defense campaign. A campus speak-out on May 25 drew

support from student defenders of free speech and women's rights, despite the menacing presence of more than 30 cops. Minutes before the June 23 dismissal the University of Illinois made a final attempt to sterilize the campus from Marxist ideas, proposing the charges be dropped with an agreement that the SYC stay off campus for six months. We refused. Minutes later, charges against all sides were dismissed. This was a significant blow to these reactionary thugs and their friends in high places.

\* \* \*

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal-Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

# Report from Hong Kong

## Chinese Stalinism Courts British Imperialism

An editorial board member of Australasian Spartacist, Andrew Giannakis, spent three weeks in Hong Kong in the wake of the June 4 massacre of workers and students in Beijing and the incipient political revolution against the Stalinist regime. We print below excerpts from his reports.

**June 13**—The effect in Hong Kong is electrifying. There are banners mourning the deaths in China all over Hong Kong and the Kowloon area. On June 7 most people observed a one-day general strike. It was called to mourn the deaths. Some of its participants told me that it was tightly controlled by a conservative trade-union bureaucracy. Since then all planned rallies and marches have been cancelled. This was apparently in response to rioting that occurred early in the morning of the general strike. It was supposed to have been amongst poorly paid workers in South Kowloon. Police used tear gas to disperse the several thousand people who demonstrated that day.

That event raised a spectre in Hong Kong—a spectre that haunts the British administration and the Hong Kong capitalists. They fear losing control of the “masses.” The arrogant, vindictive and brutal financiers and industrialists of Hong Kong expect “passivity.” Their recurring nightmare is working-class struggle throughout the region. It has happened before in Hong Kong and it will happen again.

The events of the last month have been shattering previously held conceptions. And for the time being there is a common refrain from the upper echelons of Hong Kong society down to the media and the trade-union leadership for a return to “stability.” A couple of days ago the Malaysian government was reported as warning Chinese in Malaysia to refrain from support actions.

I mention this example because in a certain way it points to the very significant internationalist effect of the last month in China. There is a deep insularity that permeates Hong Kong society and China. No doubt it is fostered by the Chinese Stalinists and their politics of “socialism in one country.”

The 1949 Chinese Revolution that unified the country through destroying imperialist/capitalist rule had deep reverberations throughout the region. Right through the '50s and '60s (despite criminal betrayals by the Chinese Stalinists) the Chinese workers state was seen as a beacon for anti-imperialist struggle. The Chinese Stalinists bought their peace with U.S. imperialism via support for the genocidal Pol Pot and their 1979 invasion of Vietnam. The workers state in China can be a beacon for the exploited and oppressed throughout the world. In Hong Kong at the moment one feels the need to learn the lessons of history. It has got to be one of the central tasks of forging a revolutionary and thoroughly internationalist leadership.

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**June 15**—My *Lonely Planet* tourist book informs me:

“Of a workforce of some 2-1/2 million people only about 350,000 are unionised, a situation which appears to suit

Hong Kong capitalists as much as it does the Chinese government which, arguably, believes that a strong independent union movement could become the focus of mass political discontent and upset the ‘stability and unity’ of the colony which is of such great importance to China’s economic development.”

The Federation of Trade Unions has a membership around 180,000. They are



Hong Kong demonstration against hardline China premier Li Peng. June 4th Beijing massacre of workers and students threatens to upset partnership between Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy and British imperialism.

linked to the pro-Beijing Hong Kong Macao Working Committee (HMWC). They participated in the one-day general strike in Hong Kong on June 7. The Hong Kong press is gloating about their loss of morale. In fact, even before June 4, many pro-Beijing, HMWC-connected groups participated in the demonstrations.

Britain’s immigration policies together with Vietnamese boat people are the other dominant issues around Hong Kong. In fact, the Hong Kong dailies run the items front page, almost adjacent to each other. I wonder if they realise the irony of running the “let us out” article right next to the “don’t let them in” article. Vietnamese boat people are incarcerated in virtual island prisons like Chi Ma Wan and Lantau island. They have no running water and no electricity. There was even a demonstration by Hong Kong residents protesting proposals to set up Vietnamese camps near their neighborhood.

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**June 24**—To put it bluntly, the Hong Kong left, at least those who proclaim some sort of allegiance to Trotskyism, do not impress. I have now talked to each of the three ostensible Trotskyist groupings. They are October Review (also known as the Revolutionary Communist Party), the Revolutionary Marxist League and the New Sprout grouping. I can’t help but conclude that they are all (each in their own separate way) trapped within a framework that condemns them to be nothing more than the left wing of a thoroughly wretched liberal-bourgeois popular-front alliance called the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic and Democratic Movement in China, which includes everything from business groups

to church and student groups.

OR and the RML exist within the Alliance under the name of a propaganda bloc coalition called the April 5 Action Group. The New Sprout claim to participate under their own name. This horrified me particularly as I had been reading much about the Alliance in the media and concluded that it would be the very thing a revolutionary would

want to draw the sharpest class line against. All in all there is an underlying swamp character to the pseudo-Trotskyist milieu here. They count their milieu at about 100 strong and they are constantly coming together in various coalition outfits. In fact, they all express an overriding concern for building the “movement.” They are all divorced from the working class. The problem is that they have generalised their isolation into a program—its essence is acute Stalinophobia.

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**June 26**—There was a demonstration held over the weekend by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic and Democratic Movement in China. It was probably about 20 to 30 thousand strong. It met in Victoria Park where a huge replica of the Beijing students’ Democracy statue has been erected. The demonstration went on to march to the New China News Agency offices. The demonstration gave me a sense of the Alliance’s support and social base. It appeared overwhelmingly middle class with a significant student base. The whole affair was kept tame and well ordered.

As you can appreciate, the buzz word all around town is “democracy.” The media and the Alliance positively reek of bourgeois hypocrisy. I wonder if they have cared to consider presently existing British-style “democracy” in Hong Kong. Seasoned, arrogant and utterly cynical commentators like Richard Hughes once reported, “there is no nonsense about democracy in Hong Kong.”

What they do have in Hong Kong is the sinister, anti-working-class Public Order Ordinance. Historically, it has been used to outlaw unionists and leftist organisations. Sections of the Ordinance

were tightened after 1967 in order to “control riots.” Officially, public meetings of 30 or more people are prohibited unless the Commissioner of Police has been notified in writing in advance. The administration here underpins their much vaunted “stability” with it. In the '60s and '70s it was used to bludgeon union struggles with severe jail sentences for unionists and communists.

Avid readers of the Hong Kong English-language press are told that Hong Kong is an economic miracle. Apparently it ranks eleventh in the world of trading nations. Looking out over Hong Kong’s impressive harbour one can believe that it has the largest container port in the world. I have never seen so many ships in one place at one time anywhere. It is described variously as a monument to free enterprise and a marvel of capitalist ingenuity.

Of course, the type of people who write these odes to their own wealth don’t live in the walled city of Kowloon. Nor for that matter do they work in the sweatshops of Hong Kong where the word superexploitation may have first got its meaning. We are told to marvel at the “ingenuity of the Chinese,” but they don’t mean the thousands of squatters who construct shanties out of scraps and struggle desperately to scratch out a living.

What I see as the “marvel” of Hong Kong is a huge parasite made up of profit-bloated imperialist firms leeching off the Chinese deformed workers state as well as the majority of Hong Kong’s own population. Under an unwritten arrangement the Stalinist bureaucracy has helped to guarantee Hong Kong’s present existence. In 1997 they plan to formalise another arrangement to be called “one country, two systems.”

Because of the wretched Stalinist bureaucracy, the Chinese people (including those of Hong Kong) are threatened with a denial of the benefits which the incorporation of Hong Kong’s massive industry and economic wealth into a centralised, planned economy would have on their livelihood. Instead the bureaucracy promises to imperialism the continuation of capitalism in Hong Kong, more anti-working-class “free market economic reform” on the mainland and (judging by the exchange of noises high up) continuation of the criminal U.S./China alliance.

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**June 29**—While Hong Kong’s fake-left are busy swimming around in the puddles of the Alliance, there is a real potent force in Hong Kong which could radically alter the shape of things here. It is Hong Kong’s very strategically placed working class. The leadership of Hong Kong’s major unions is pro-Beijing. All the indications are that they are involved in an intense political crisis as a result of the events on the mainland.

The news that has been coming from China indicates that there have been very significant developments occurring amongst China’s working class that have affected even the official unions. Most strikes [in the past few years] seem to have been occurring in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, located just across the border from Hong Kong. There is one example which I thought was quite revealing. A Hong Kong-owned toy factory fired a worker for organising a strike of 30 female workers. The workers were unhappy with having to work four to six extra hours a day, including Sundays.

You may have already seen the book *Smashing the Iron Rice Pot*. I thought this featured quote was most interesting. It comes from a restaurant worker in Shenzhen:

“All bosses are the same—they’re only there for making money. God damn it, I’ve worked for thirty years and still have to serve dishes to capitalists! I still don’t understand why we have to enter into joint ventures with bosses and that the masters of our country, the workers, have to work for capitalists.”

# Dateline Kabul

KABUL, July 4—Flying over Afghanistan in a military cargo plane and by helicopter, one can really see that this is a country in the throes of civil war. I am sending, for the readers of *Workers Vanguard*, these notes on what I saw, the people I met and what I was told, in my first three days here.

Unlike other airports, landing in Kabul involves the pilot not only in a show of expertise, but it requires from him also some flair for dodging obstacles. After landing I watched two Soviet Aeroflot planes land, and they were dropping flares while circling in a very tight spiral before the final plunge onto the tarmac. The reason is simple: the U.S.-made Stinger missiles in the hands of the counterrevolutionary bandits which have already downed and killed so many pilots and civilian passengers. Furthermore, Kabul airport is both a civilian and a military airport.

The very first impressions of Afghanistan are of the great poverty and backwardness of the country. The traffic is a chaotic mess of cars (from Soviet Ladas to Mercedes), buses and trucks, bicycles and donkeys and carts. Kids go to school in their neat school uniforms walking along the streets, other kids roam around endangering themselves. You see beggars in the streets, lots of them are kids, but their faces aren't emaciated.

I am also struck by the level of self-confidence of the military, from generals to ordinary soldiers, which is quite high and justifiably so, as the army beat the hell out of the *mujahedin* outside of Jalalabad. But the reactionaries "have destroyed my city," a PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) member bitterly told me yesterday. He was glad he had "managed to move the family out before the destruction."

Last night the television broadcast a short interview with Colonel Khatol, a

much-decorated woman paratrooper in her mid-30s (she took part in over 450 missions), who has been active for eleven years. She complained that her "women colleagues" were no longer in the forces. Recently rockets fell on her Kabul home, luckily without injuring anybody. Col. Khatol and the thousands of armed militiawomen and the schoolgirls of Afghanistan have a lot at stake in the fighting around Jalalabad.

Last week there were four days of "criticism" on TV. President Najibullah had promised "glasnost," but this was a first. I'm told you couldn't find a taxi anywhere, people were following it so closely. One professor said that on military matters, fighting the *mujahedin*, he gave Najibullah good marks; on foreign affairs, fair; but on internal

policies, poor.

The Sunday *Kabul Times* prominently printed a statement from the military Supreme Command that an attack is being prepared by the enemy and may very well start in the next couple of weeks. But the Afghan armed forces and population are at the ready. And they are prepared to take on the Pakistanis (who have so far lost 3,000 men around Jalalabad) as well. As General Ulumi, head of the armed forces section of the PDPA and Secretary of the Supreme Defense Council, told us on Sunday: "The aggressors will only carry their coffins away from here!"

I asked three pilots from the Afghan Air Force present at the Sunday press conference whether they could "describe their role in the heroic defense of

Jalalabad against the counterrevolutionary forces directed by and at the service of the Pakistani government and the CIA." Col. Shapor, mid-30s, a Pushtun-speaker, proudly explained that contrary to the lies spread by the enemy, the pilots are not Soviets or Indians, but "Afghan pilots who volunteered to inflict heavy blows on the concentrated forces of the rebels." The brave young men (some in their teens) who fly Soviet-made planes and helicopters to the attack have a motto: "Swiftly and mightily inflict blows on the enemy!" And they certainly do.

Later I spoke briefly with the three pilots, we shook hands, and I told them how their victory in Jalalabad is a victory for the workers of the whole world.

On Monday we flew in the early morning by military cargo plane to Mazar-i-Sharif, whence by chopper to Maimana. In Maimana I was taken by a local PDPA member and a militiaman, who became my Russian-Farsi interpreter for the occasion, to the local children's home, where 50 kids (16 girls) from three to ten years old are cared for by the state, provided a home and a place to study.

I was able to briefly interview the head teacher, Mina Mushfeq, a vivacious woman in her mid-30s, and showed her the materials from the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund campaign. In reply to my question about how things have changed for women since 1978, she said that before there were few female students, and also there are now childcare centers for the women who work, and many do.

The woman question may become explosive. The policy of "national reconciliation" is being interpreted to mean regional autonomy for areas controlled by *mujahedin* commanders who surrender. What would this mean for women in those areas? ■



Franklin/Magnum

Afghan women participate in Kabul rally. Thousands of militiawomen are prepared to fight to the death against Pakistani and CIA-backed cutthroats.

## Abortion...

(continued from page 1)

signs are evident and very ominous, and a chill wind blows."

The "chill wind" is blowing right into the sails of the deadly abortion clinic bombers, the screaming "Operation Rescue" hordes of clinic invaders, who will now redouble their attacks. Hours before the Supreme Court decision, arsonists set fire to a New Hampshire clinic. White House chief of staff John Sununu issued a statement that George Bush wants to see state laws punishing doctors who perform abortions and a constitutional amendment banning abortion. A slew of proposed legislation would hammer away at abortion

rights with a barrage of restrictions and limitations—lengthy waiting periods, "parental consent" for young women, bans on public funding, medical strictures for doctors performing abortions, licensing rules making it nearly impossible to set up an abortion facility.

The Missouri law virtually eliminates hospital abortions. Well aware that this will fall most heavily on the poor, the Court crassly declared that there is "no affirmative right to governmental aid, even where such aid may be necessary to secure life." "Drop dead" is their message to working-class and minority women who need public funding and facilities for any decent medical care in this medicine-for-profit society. But this didn't just start with the Reagan years. In 1976 Congress passed the Hyde Amendment banning all federal

Medicaid funding for abortions, while born-again Democrat Jimmy Carter callously intoned: "There are many things in life which are not fair." And last fall, Democrats and Republicans in Congress reconfirmed the ban on Medicaid-aided abortions.

Capitalist "democracy" means women have only the "rights" they can afford to buy, including the "right" to an abortion—for now. But what does that mean to an unemployed black or Hispanic woman, to a young teenager in the Deep South or even in Scarsdale, to any woman or girl who's gotten "in trouble," needs an abortion, and can't afford to pay private doctors' high prices or hop a jet to a more liberal state? It means more unwanted babies, more misery, more desperate attempts at self-induced abortions and deadly back-alley butchery. *For free abortion on demand! For free, quality health care!*

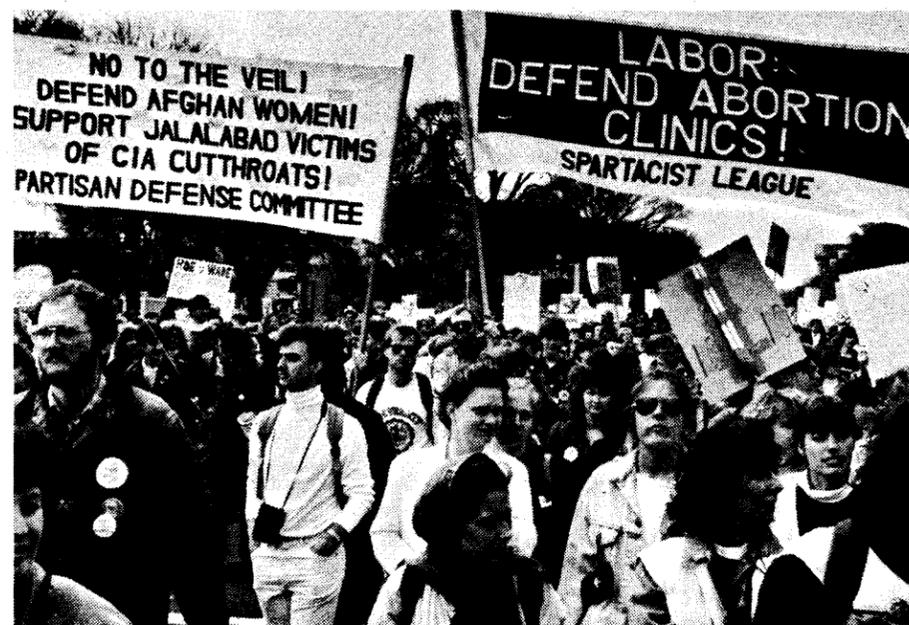
The government has no business meddling in this deeply private sphere of life. In fact this reactionary ruling dangerously threatens the right of privacy for us all, opening the door to demagogues who even want to outlaw birth control methods such as the IUD. The bigots have already effectively stopped the distribution of the French abortion-inducing drug RU 486, which would make abortion a genuinely private act, requiring only a prescription from a doctor. These bible-thumping bigots echo Hitler in declaring that women must be tied to "Kinder-Küche-Kirche" (children, kitchen, church). And Chief Justice Rehnquist has proclaimed an ominously open-ended and totalitarian standard—whether a law "permissibly furthers the State's interest in protecting potential human life"—which would supersede the right of privacy.

Now the "Right to Lifers" are gloat-

ing that a "new era is dawning" for them. Skipping down the Supreme Court steps, Operation Rescue leader Randall Terry called for thousands of bigots to surround abortion clinics across the country. More than ever, the battle to defend abortion clinics is urgently posed—there must be mass mobilizations of women, minorities and the social power of organized labor to keep the clinic doors open. In recent months, abortion rights defenders in cities from Los Angeles to Boston have for the first time outnumbered the abortion bigots in the streets. But the bourgeois feminists of NOW and NARAL have stood *opposed* to clinic defense, pathetically calling on the racist cops to "enforce the law" and "defend women's rights!"

The Supreme Court ruled first on the narrow Missouri challenge because it knows how explosive the abortion issue is. Less than three months ago, hundreds of thousands marched in Washington in support of abortion rights. Repeatedly, opinion polls have reported that, whatever they think of abortion, three out of four Americans think it is a decision each woman should make for herself. Faced with the Supreme Court's ruling there will be a barrage of pathetic lobbying of state legislatures, while NOW and NARAL try to elect more Democrats in the 1990 elections. But women's fundamental rights can never be guaranteed in the high and low courts and legislatures of this capitalist society. As history demonstrates, laws are only a reflection of the relation of class forces.

The defense of the most basic rights, from the right to abortion to decent education or a roof over your head, requires the fight for socialism. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■



WV Photo

Trotskyists at glant pro-abortion rally in Washington, April 9.

# Alan Dershowitz: Lawyer for Zionist Lies and Spies

The 13 June *Boston Herald*, 11 June *Los Angeles Times*, 18 June *San Francisco Examiner Chronicle* and numerous other papers across the country ran a syndicated column by Alan Dershowitz, claiming that in response to the killings in Beijing's Tiananmen Square "a resounding chorus of silence came from much of the extreme left." Dershowitz is a hotshot lawyer, Harvard law professor and TV talk show regular. He had his "associate" call up "a number of those who are most vocal in condemning the United States, Israel and other Western democracies," he says. And what does he claim to have discovered? Dershowitz writes:

"The extreme left press—the Guardian, the Workers Vanguard, the Revolutionary Worker and other Marxist weeklies—were busy trying to fit the events of China into their political orthodoxies. The Workers World Party condemned the students as counterrevolutionaries and commended the army for its decisive action...."

This is a carefully crafted lie by a slick, libel-conscious lawyer. Anyone unfamiliar with the left press mentioned would conclude, as the writer intended, that the groups cited all "condemned the students as counterrevolutionaries." But the rad-lib *Guardian* (14 June) denounced the "brutal actions" of the Chinese leadership, while the quirky pro-Mao *Revolutionary Worker* (5 June) condemned the regime's use of "brute military force." And anyone who has read any of the recent issues of *Workers Vanguard* knows Dershowitz' account to be a lie. While highly critical of illusions in Western-style "democracy," we emphatically supported the protests, denounced the Stalinist bureaucracy's provocative massacre and saw the outpouring of working-class support in Beijing, Shanghai and other centers as heralding the beginning of proletarian political revolution in China.

Dershowitz knows this as well. In fact, one of his "research assistants" phoned *WV* for our position, and we read him headlines and key passages from the 26 May and 9 June issues. The latter headline reads, in 96-point type across the front page: "Beijing Massacre—Civil War Looms." The article opens:

"Chinese Stalinism has provoked a political revolution that may well spell the doom of this bureaucratic, anti-worker regime. The massacre of students and other protesters by the despised Deng regime has brought China to the brink of civil war."

Some silence!



Jane's Defence Weekly

Chinese T-69 tanks with Israeli-made laser-guided 105 mm. guns (above) were used in Beijing massacre.

Big Lie column by Alan Dershowitz syndicated in *Boston Herald* (below), *L.A. Times*, *S.F. Examiner Chronicle* and other major bourgeois newspapers.

## Left falls silent on China massacre

ALAN  
DERSHOWITZ

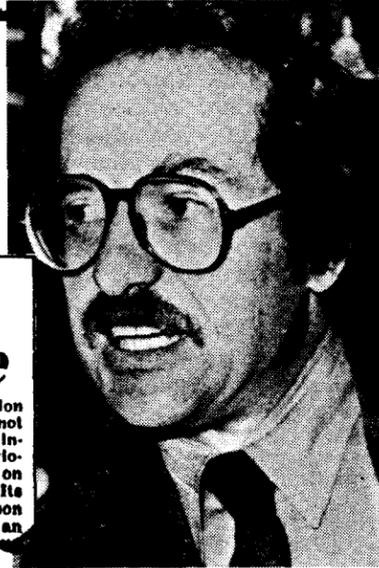
As most of the civilized world reacted with horror and condemnation to the Chinese massacre on Tiananmen Square, a resounding chorus of silence came from much of the extreme left.

The Palestine Liberation Organization, which does not hesitate to intrude into the internal affairs of Israel by violence, refused to take sides on the Chinese massacre. Its U.N. delegation spokesperson told my associate: "It is an internal problem. We will not take sides."

In Dershowitz' entire survey of the "left" on China, the only statement he makes which has any bearing to reality is about the Marcyite Workers World, which did in fact echo the Beijing bureaucracy's lies. The *Los Angeles Times* received a barrage of letters about this frame-up and on 17 June printed a "clarification" on the real position of the National Lawyers Guild. For the manifold ways in which Dershowitz lies about the NLG, William Kunstler, Noam Chomsky, the PLO, the *Nation*, etc., etc., we refer readers to a piece in the *Nation* (10 July) by Alexander Cockburn on "The Lies of Alan Dershowitz." As Cockburn observes, quoting excerpts from Dershowitz: "This is probably as concentrated a number of lies in sixteen lines as in any piece of journalism in recent memory."

### Why the Lies?

So Alan Morton Dershowitz is a lawyer who lies, a not untypical combination. But why lie about the left's line on China? Mr. Dershowitz has, to cop a phrase from the circles in which he travels, a hidden agenda. A curious sentence from his column is a tip-off: "The Palestine Liberation Organization, which does not hesitate to intrude into the internal affairs of Israel by violence, refused to take sides on the Chinese massacre," he writes. The PLO "intrudes" in a country where Palestinian Arabs have lived for centuries, where they are today oppressed as second-class citizens or as stateless victims of an occupation army? This is the language of the Israeli government—whose own silence on China, by the way, is conspicuously neglected



AP

by Dershowitz.

You want to compare positions about the Beijing massacre, counselor? Could Jerusalem's very real silence have something to do with the fact that Israel is one of the major arms suppliers to the Chinese Stalinists, as part of underwrit-



### Silent on China massacre?

ing China's anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism? The *New York Times* (6 June) reports that "Some of the tanks used in the crackdown, for example, are of the T-69 type, a brand new model with an Israeli-made 105-millimeter gun and a laser site [sic]." We note Dershowitz' "selective silence" about Israeli guns killing Beijing protesters. It's not coincidental: he is acting as lawyer for those who are daily carrying out atrocities in the Occupied Territories.

Virtually all of Dershowitz' targets are opponents or critics of the Israelis' terroristic oppression of the Palestinian people. Dershowitz' punch line reads:

"The next time you read or hear condemnation of the United States, Israel or other Western democracies from the likes of Kunstler, Chomsky, the PLO and the National Lawyers Guild, remember their selective silence in the face of one of the most inexcusable human rights violations in recent years."

So, the next time someone complains about the beatings, the mass arrests, the "collective punishment" of an entire village for a stone thrown by a teenage kid, the torture chambers and concentration camps like Ansar III in the Gaza Strip, you're supposed to "remember"

how they were "silent" on the Beijing massacre. Dr. Goebbels called this the Big Lie.

Dershowitz wants to claim the Spartacist League and others condoned the Beijing massacre. Now, we are prepared to take unpopular stands in defense of historic gains of the working class. We solidarize with the Bolshevik suppression of the anti-Communist Kronstadt garrison mutiny in 1921, whose victory would have led to the bloody overthrow of soviet power. In Poland in 1981, when CIA-financed Solidarność consolidated around a program of capitalist restoration and prepared a bid for power, we raised the call "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" But the recent events in China were very different.

The million protesters who thronged into Tiananmen Square were politically all over the map. There was plenty of confusion, ambiguities and illusions. The imperialist press tried to paint the protests as unambiguously pro-Western by, for example, falsely identifying the "goddess of democracy" statue as simply a replica of the Statue of Liberty. But the thrust of their protest, and particularly on the part of the working class, went in the *opposite* direction from that desired by the ideologues of imperialism. The Chinese masses have already had a good dose of street-level capitalism together with an authoritarian state, and they don't like it. They were expressing deep frustration with a ruling bureaucratic caste which was undermining the social gains of the Chinese Revolution, which from its inception denied the working people political power. People who repeatedly sang the socialist anthem, the *Internationale*, even as they marched out of the square under the guns of Deng's tanks, are not seeking to restore capitalism.

### Some "Civil Libertarian"!

Dershowitz is a Zionist, all right, but with his own "special relationship" to the Israeli state. He sits on the New England Regional Executive Committee of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, whose name would more accurately reflect its current activity if the word "anti" were excised. In 1983 the ADL honored Dershowitz with its William O. Douglas First Amendment Award for his "compassionate eloquent leadership and persistent advocacy in the struggle for civil and human rights." This "persistent advocacy" has manifested itself in a peculiarly discriminating manner, as we shall see. Let's take a look at the people he defends, a pretty curious assortment for a "civil libertarian."

**Exhibit A.** Dershowitz was the U.S. attorney for Anatoly (now Natan) Shcharansky since 1977 and played a key role in engineering the swap which got Shcharansky and three other Western spies released from the Soviet Union in exchange for five Soviet bloc agents held by the West. His client was "not a spy" but "a human-rights activist," claimed Dershowitz. But this "human-rights activist" happened to be a Soviet computer programmer, about whom one American official admitted to *Newsweek* (24 July 1978), "What Shcharansky did, in effect, was give [*Los Angeles Times* correspondent Robert] Toth a list of secret defense plants." The U.S. military attaché wrote Toth thanking him for his "cooperation" and passing on praise from the head of the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency. As we said then, "Shcharansky Is Guilty as Hell!" (*WV* No. 212, 28 July 1978):

**Exhibit B.** In his article on the swap, Dershowitz let the cat out of the bag when he wrote: "But spying is wrong only when it is committed against one's own country." This brings us to the curious case of Jonathan Jay Pollard. This American Jew who worked for Navy intelligence was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1987 as a self-confessed spy for Israel. He delivered 800,000 highly classified documents to his Israeli controllers. The Pollard affair polarized the



UPI



Der Spiegel



UPI

Dershowitz "proudly" defended Israeli spy in U.S. government Jonathan Pollard (left), as well as Israeli-American fascist terrorist Meir Kahane (center) and Natan Shcharansky, who passed Soviet defense secrets to U.S.

American Zionists. Even such hard-core apologists for the Israeli state as Reaganite William Safire were outraged: "Israel's friends—especially Jewish Americans, who have been doubly betrayed by an Israeli operation paying a Jew to be a traitor—are not merely dismayed, but justifiably furious" (*New York Times*, 6 June 1986).

But not Alan Dershowitz. Dershowitz not only agreed to appeal Pollard's sentence but boasted on the Morton Downey TV show "Lawyers vs. Lawyers" that he did so "Very proudly. One of my favorite cases." Dershowitz continued:

"I am defending a man who tried very hard in a misguided way to help a country that he strongly believed in... He gave them the targets for the PLO headquarters and allowed Israel to pinpoint bomb some of those killers who were trying to kill Americans... And my brother and I are very proudly representing them, not trying to get them off, trying to get their sentence reduced to what they would have gotten if they had spied for the Russians."

"Misguided"? But Dershowitz falsely and stupidly says spying's bad only if it's "against one's own country." And Pollard certainly knew what he was doing and which was his "own country": "It's not that I'm a martyr, just that I understand that there are some moments when an individual has to place the interests of his state ahead of himself" (quoted in Wolf Blitzer, *Territory of Lies* [1989]).

**Exhibit C.** What Dershowitz was defending—"very proudly"—is Israel's privileged position. And not for the first time. In 1985 Dershowitz sued the U.S. government for revoking fascist Meir Kahane's American citizenship when he was elected to the Israeli Knesset (*Boston Globe*, 13 October 1985). Israel is the only country whose citizens are allowed to retain American citizenship. Moshe Arens retained his dual citizenship even as Israeli ambassador to Washington, forfeiting it only when he took over the post of Israel's "defense" minister. At least since a 1967 U.S. Supreme Court decision, even serving in the Israeli army (as Kahane did) isn't enough to lose American citizenship.

**Exhibit D.** And ex-JDL *Führer* Kahane isn't the first Zionist terrorist Dershowitz defended. His first criminal case was that of JDL bomb expert

Sheldon Siegel, whom Dershowitz calls "a landsman" from Brooklyn's Borough Park, where the JDL originated. Siegel made the bombs which were used against the Soviet UN Mission, and the one directed against the visiting Soviet Osipov Balalaika Orchestra which killed a young Jewish woman who worked for impresario Sol Hurok. Civil liberties anyone?

**Exhibit E.** Dershowitz established his civil libertarian credentials over the years by taking on a number of First Amendment cases and being an outspoken opponent of, particularly, censorship of pornography. Though he was a member of the national board of directors of the ACLU in the late 1960s, he became increasingly critical of the ACLU—from the right. When a family of Soviet émigrés, the Polovchaks, sought to return to the Soviet Union with their 12-year-old son Walter, the U.S. government essentially kidnapped the kid. On the Morton Downey show, Dershowitz ranted that "his parents wanted to send him to prison in the Soviet Union for the rest of his life" and "the ACLU sided with the Russians and the parents."

**Exhibit F.** Clearly, for Alan Dershowitz, there are civil liberties and civil liberties, and the dividing line coincides with the anti-Communist and anti-Arab interests of the Zionist rulers. Dershowitz screams bloody murder over the life sentence for self-confessed Israeli spy Pollard (who can be out in ten years). But what about Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, persecuted as "Soviet spies" in a vicious anti-Communist and anti-Semitic witchhunt during the McCarthy red scare? They got *electrocuted*. When the new crop of "god that failed" anti-communists, led off by Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton's *The Rosenberg File* (1983), tried to kill these heroic Communists all over again, Dershowitz jumped right in to rave loudly that it is a "historical fact that Julius Rosenberg was guilty of espionage" (*New York Times*, 14 August 1983).

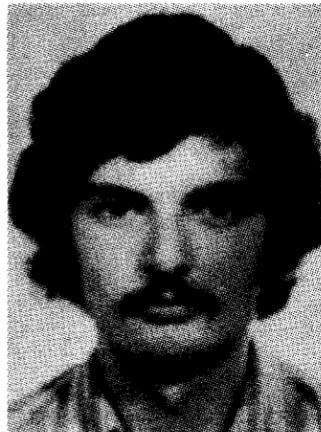
And what about courageous Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, who exposed to the world the scope of Israel's nuclear doomsday machine—including 200 A-bombs? For this service to humanity, Vanunu is languishing in an Israeli dungeon for 18 years.

His appeal began in May—behind closed doors.

### Hatchet Jobs for Israeli Secret Police

Now let's look at a list of some of the people that Alan Dershowitz *doesn't* defend.

**Exhibit G.** Take the case of Fouzi el-Asmar, a Palestinian poet and civil libertarian of Israeli citizenship who was thrown into prison by the Zionist regime in 1969 without trial. In a December 1970 article in *Commentary* (reprinted in Irving Howe and Carl Gershman, eds., *Israel, the Arabs and the Middle East* [1972]), Dershowitz wrote: "Hav-



Newsweek

**Palestinian Sami Esmail (above) and Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu (being gagged at right), both kidnapped by Zionist secret police.**



Domenica del Corriere

ing long opposed preventive detention in America, I was greatly troubled when I learned of its use by the Israeli authorities." So the indefatigable "civil libertarian" personally "investigated" the case. His conclusion? "I am personally convinced, for whatever that is worth, that Fawzi al-Asmar was the leader of a terrorist group."

Excerpts from Dershowitz' article were subsequently distributed as a leaflet when el-Asmar made a speaking tour in the U.S. following his release. What "convinced" the "troubled" professor? Why, he spoke with the director of the Israeli secret police Shin Bet (which is so secretive that even the director's identity is hidden from the Israeli public). He graciously showed Dershowitz the file on el-Asmar, which included a letter "written in invisible ink" which "sealed al-Asmar's fate." In his autobiographical *To Be an Arab in Israel* (1975), el-Asmar exposed Dershowitz' hatchet job on behalf of Shin Bet:

"I had not even been questioned about the activities which were, according to Dershowitz mentioned in the 'letter.' If one still had any doubt whatsoever as to the non-existence of this letter, it can be proved it didn't exist simply by the fact that when the Prosecutor-General under oath had to give all the evidence he had against me... Professor Dershowitz's 'letter' was never mentioned....

"The fact that various people such as the Director of the Security Service, the Minister of Justice and the Legal Adviser for the Government were prepared to be interviewed by him, the fact that he had access to secret material

which was even translated for him but was not given to any journalist or Israeli professor, let alone my lawyer, interested in looking into the question of administrative detention, the attitude of the article—all proved that this 'research' was commissioned to serve Israeli propaganda abroad...."

**Exhibit H.** In 1977, Sami Esmail, an American citizen of Palestinian descent, was arrested when he went to visit his dying father in the West Bank, and sentenced to 15 months in prison for alleged membership in the nationalist PFLP. His victimization provoked massive outrage in American civil libertarian circles. Enter the peripatetic Alan Dershowitz (this time writing with Hofstra law professor Monroe Freedman). Once again he writes: "Like other Americans concerned with human rights, we have been deeply disturbed by reports of systematic violations of such rights in Israel" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 June 1978). What he's "disturbed by" is that the reports are getting out. And once again he concludes after "investigating": "In view of the deliberate and demonstrable lies in the Esmail case, therefore, allegations of systematic violations of human rights by Israel must be viewed with more than a little skepticism." Clearly, anything Dershowitz writes about the Israeli butchers and their opponents must be viewed with more than a little skepticism. We nailed Dershowitz at the time for his "McCarthy-style slanders and outright falsifications" (*WV* No. 221, 14 July 1978).

When Israel's brutal repression of the

Palestinian *intifada* (uprising) provoked widespread criticism, including from prominent pro-Israel American Jews like Woody Allen, Dershowitz put the blame on the notoriously *pro-Zionist* American press for not giving "the full picture": some of the stones thrown by Palestinian protesters are really "large lethal boulders," he revealed (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 February 1988). His conclusion: "Israel is a vibrant democracy fully capable of keeping its house in order" and any Palestinian who doesn't like being disenfranchised, dispossessed, arrested or gunned down in his own homeland "is, of course, entirely free to leave and move to one of the many Arab states in the region." Love it or leave it—some argument for a "civil libertarian"!

We have taken the trouble of examining Dershowitz' case file so extensively to establish one simple but critical fact: Alan Dershowitz is a mouthpiece for the Israeli government. Gore Vidal said of *Commentary's* Norman Podhoretz, a right-wing analogue of Dershowitz: "Although there is nothing wrong with being a lobbyist for a foreign power, one is supposed to register with the Justice Department" (*Nation*, 22 March 1986). Dershowitz does not necessarily agree in the particulars with Podhoretz or the policies of the reigning Likud leadership—neither does Shimon Peres—but the interests closest to his heart are those of the *Israeli* ruling class. This puts Dershowitz' lies about

continued on page 8



**Jewish Communists Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were electrocuted as Soviet spies during Cold War witchhunt of the 1950s. Dershowitz says Julius Rosenberg was guilty.**

# Dershowitz...

(continued from page 7)

the Trotskyist Spartacist League in a different, and sinister, light.

## ADL Lawyers For Klan/Nazi "Right" To Genocide

Dershowitz' China diatribe was not our first run-in with the self-styled "civil libertarian." Last fall, on the eve of the November 5 labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which spiked a threatened Klan/Nazi skinhead provocation in Philadelphia, Dershowitz went on Harvard's WHRB radio with the deliberate smear that the Spartacists "are as fascist and as racist and as non-civil libertarian as the Ku Klux Klan." Dershowitz tried to frighten off labor support for the mobilization with crude McCarthyite redbaiting:

"Any labor union that identifies itself with the Spartacus League [sic] is stepping on its foot and is engaging in stupid self-destructive conduct because the Spartacus League is not good for America, not good for working people. . . . I wish there were a third group there, who could stand up for the right of free speech and against both the Spartacus League and the Ku Klux Klan and stand up for real American freedom."

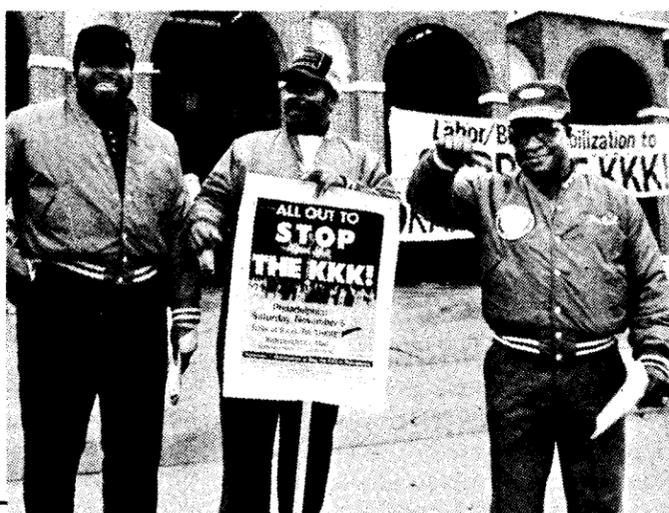
Like who—the Mossad? "Professor Dershowitz claims," the announcer added, "that the Spartacist League might not even exist today if not for the support of anti-Klan activists."

Dershowitz' vicious attack on those seeking to stop the genocidal Klan/Nazi killers was part of an orchestrated campaign by the Zionist ADL. In Philadelphia, regional ADL director Barry Morrison urged Philadelphians to let the Klan "go ahead with what they plan to do" and smeared the PDC, in language identical to Dershowitz', as being "as much a threat to our democratic fabric as the Klan." Clearly, this campaign was orchestrated at the ADL's highest levels. But they weren't able to undercut the solid support from labor unions, civil rights activists, gays and student groups in Philly and from around the country. Nationally more than 100 union locals and officials didn't follow Dershowitz' insidious "advice" and instead proudly added their names to those who endorsed the fight that stopped the fascist provocation. It must have really burned the ADL that demonstrators on November 5 carried signs saying "No More Nazi Kristallnacht!"

Following a similar anti-fascist mobilization in Atlanta initiated by the PDC two months later, the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (29 January) trotted out professional redbaiter Harvey Klehr to insinuate that rather than stopping the Klan the Spartacist League and PDC were pursuing "another agenda." This "agenda" turned out to be a listing of the revolutionary slogans on our signs at the demonstration—what a secret! One of the signs he didn't report was "Remember Leo Frank!"—the Atlanta Jewish businessman who was lynched in 1915 by the renescent KKK. On contract for the ADL, Klehr had



Dershowitz redbaited PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan from demonstrating in Philadelphia, November 1988.



WV Photos

KKK fascists are deadly threat to blacks, Jews and other minorities. ADL says let Klan "go ahead with what they plan to do."



Walter Smith

written a 1988 "report" on *The American Radical Left Today* declaring that "the far left poses a different kind of danger" than the ultraright, but one that must not be "overlooked or minimized." Klehr's "agenda" is to boost the Zionist state, complaining that "The radical left has become stridently anti-Israel, which it sees as the strongest opponent of communism in the Middle East. . . ."

An internal memorandum (dated 30 January) from the ADL's Southeast regional office to Irwin Suall, a chief operator in the ADL, noted: "The Spartacists are known to ADL for their participation in the recent demonstrations against the Klan in Philadelphia and Washington." "Known"? Clearly, the ADL was talking here about more than

public press coverage, as the memo describes "close contact with our friends in law enforcement" and "shared information, some of which our office had exclusively received." Nor is this the first known instance of "shared information" with the agencies of state repression. In a letter to the San Francisco police, dated 12 February 1985, the ADL expressed the "hope we will be able to continue working on the Spartacus [sic] Youth League's activities on San Francisco State University's campus. Your experiences would certainly enhance the information we have already collected."

So Dershowitz' ADL has gone considerably beyond lying "polemics" against the SL. Why this shrill, malicious campaign to prevent integrated, labor-centered mobilizations to stop fascist terror? Isn't this rather strange coming from the group that purports to defend Jewish people? We gave a partial answer to that question at the time: "Having strongly come down against blacks, partly through class instinct and partly through confusing ghetto anger with the Palestinian 'Intifada,' the Zionist organizations see integrated, militant labor action as a big threat to their aspirations to simultaneously propagandize for and fund the Israeli state while acting as privileged bloodhounds for the American ruling class. . . ."

"In trying to knife militant anti-fascist struggle now—when the fascist presence in the urban centers is small and can be crushed in the egg—the Zionist ADL is serving the purposes of those who would unleash another Holocaust."

—ADL Redbaiters Defame Anti-Klan Protest," WV No. 463 (18 November 1988)

Dershowitz says that but for the support of anti-Klan activists, the SL might not exist today. It is certainly true that despite our relatively small forces, the Spartacist League and PDC have uniquely been able to bring together reds and blacks and labor in effective anti-Klan action. And this has been noticed in many places. But for the existence of the SL, there would have been no mass, integrated, labor-centered anti-Klan mobilizations.

So let's take the ADL at its word: they want to let the Klan "go ahead with what they plan to do." Cross-burnings, lynchings, race terror: that's what the Klan does. Could it be that the Israeli rulers—acting through their operatives here—want a tendency toward race war in this country? Could it be that the Spartacist League stands as an obstacle to a major Israeli foreign policy objective?

In their expansionist drive for a Greater Israel stretching from the Euphrates to the Nile, the Zionists have made enemies out of the entire Arab world. They rule with an iron heel over a hostile internal population of more than two million Arab Palestinians. The 18-month-long *intifada* has sharply polarized Israeli Jewish society, driving significant sections to openly contemplate forcible population transfer and even outright genocide. And Israeli rulers are livid about the pressure they are getting from the American government and American Jews.

Perhaps the masters of the Zionist state would like to see something resembling an *intifada* in the U.S. in the hope that that would drive the American bourgeoisie closer to them. Of course, they are fully aware that if the predominantly Christian white population in this country consolidates around right-wing racism, anti-Semitism will rise. But in the minds of these demented and frenzied nationalists, as long as it doesn't reach the point of the Nazis' Nuremberg laws, that's the price American Jews should pay for remaining in the diaspora instead of going "home" to the Zionist garrison state.

For years, the Zionist establishment in this country has increasingly sought to egg on and provoke black nationalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan. NYC mayor Ed Koch talked of "justifiable rage" in an attempt to incite a riot when Farrakhan spoke at Madison Square Garden in 1985. Koch acts as though all black people are West Bank Arabs, and subway turnstile jumpers are PLO terrorists to be gunned down. Koch's remark at the time of the presidential primaries that any Jew would have to be crazy to vote for Jesse Jackson was an invitation to race war. Indeed, Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek, who administers a divided—half-occupied—city, is a far more benign character when it comes to interracial dealings.

And look at the "liberal" Harvard professor Dershowitz. Dershowitz rails against "leftist thought police" on campus who protest CIA recruiters, imperialist war criminals, apologists for apartheid terror and outright racist provocateurs, while complaining: "If the recent past is any guide to the future, minority racists like Louis Farrakhan, Al Sharpton and Stokely Carmichael would continue to be welcome in many quarters" (*Boston Herald*, 2 May). He snidely and provocatively denounces the invitation of PLO speakers by black students at Harvard as "Stick it to the Jews week": "They bring a PLO speaker or they bring some other opponent of Jewish values and they conduct an event in which they have very little inherent interest except that it really riles up the Jewish community" (*Boston Globe*, 6 March 1985). Doesn't Dershowitz just wish that he could shut down the black student meetings the way the Israelis shut down Bir Zeit University in the West Bank?

But this is not the West Bank, and the American bourgeoisie doesn't want an *intifada* at home. There are important

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# Zionist Iron Heel...

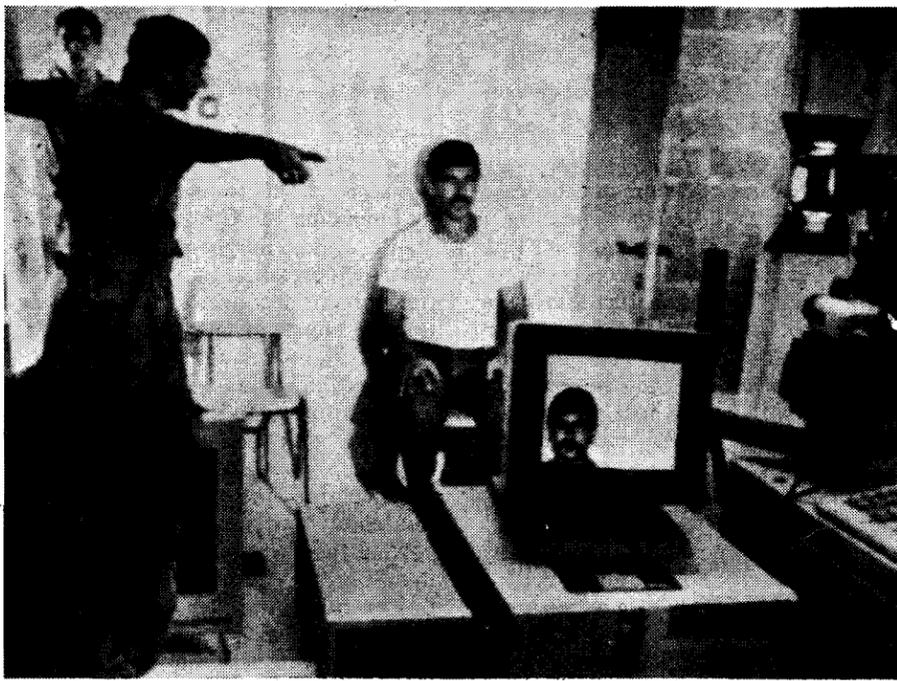
(continued from page 12)

computer-encoded ID cards to Palestinians in the Gaza Strip who want work in Israel. Some 700,000 Palestinians are crammed into this tiny strip of land where there is no work, and now the army will be checking for these IDs at the two main exit points from Gaza to Israel. Those who have a "criminal record" or are "political troublemakers" will not get the cards and thus will be confined to the Gaza Strip. In preparation for this new plan, in mid-May Israeli police and army units rounded up all Palestinian workers from the Gaza Strip and forced them back home.

A high-ranking army officer pointed to what's in store: "If we seal off the Gaza Strip, the people there will starve" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 May). That's not the present plan, he said, but added: "the riots must end." In fact, key figures in the Israeli ruling class and rightward-moving sectors of the increasingly polarized Hebrew-speaking population are gearing up for a holocaust against the Arabs—if that's what it takes to "end the riots."

## Zionists Scream "Death to Arabs!"

The Palestinian *intifada* has frustrated every attempt by the government to crush it—from "Defense" Minister Rabin's policy of "force, might, beatings" to daily shootings, deportations, mass arrests, blowing up houses and sealing off whole towns. As the Israeli economy is dragged down by the endless military mobilizations, confrontations and loss of Arab labor, a sense of crisis is spreading. As Zionist mobs ram-



Zionist "population control": Palestinians of Gaza Strip are issued computer-coded ID cards.

page, even attacking Arabs who are Israeli citizens, fascist movements are flourishing, taking advantage of the crisis to push for the "final solution."

Alongside the new repressive government measures, settlers have unleashed a wave of pogroms against Arab towns in recent weeks. In May and June, Jewish settlements launched attacks, allegedly in "retaliation" for Arab attacks. But the Palestinians have only stones while the settlers have automatic weapons plus the regular army to back them up:

"Nearly every night they pour out of one or another of their 120 settlements, stoning or burning Palestinian cars, houses or fields. . . . Last week, 100 of the normally placid residents of suburban Maale Adumim, just outside Jerusalem, stoned and shot at the windows of Palestinian homes and cars, set several

vehicles on fire and shouted 'Death to the Arabs!'"

—*Newsday*, 30 May

Often they are led by Uzi-toting rabbis like Gush Emunim leader Moshe Levinger, who last year gunned down an Arab shopkeeper and again opened fire on Palestinians last month. Around the same time 30 "yeshiva students" from a nearby settler town attacked the Arab village of Kifl Harith, where they shattered windows, smashed cars, blasted holes in water tanks and burned the wheat harvest while raking homes with automatic rifle fire. The most rabid "settlers" seem to be transplanted New York Jews, including quite a few ideological fascists like former JDL *Führer* Kahane and crazed killers like "Eli the Wolf."

The settlers' bloodlust is encouraged from the highest levels of the Israeli gov-

ernment. In mid-June, Israeli president Chaim Herzog once again reduced the sentences of three members of the "Jewish underground" who had been convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for murdering and maiming Arabs, including an Arab mayor who lost his legs; now they face only ten years.

But the nationalist program of the *intifada* leaders provides no way forward for the Palestinian masses. Looking to Washington to pressure Israel, as Arafat's PLO does, or the Muslim fundamentalists' dreaming of a *jihad* (holy war) cannot emancipate the oppressed Palestinian people—who are among the most socially advanced in the Near East and have been forcibly dispersed to all corners of the Arab East. Won to an internationalist perspective, Palestinians can play a key role in socialist revolution throughout the region.

Meanwhile, in their wild dreams of a Greater Israel "free of Arabs," the Zionist madmen are doing everything possible to enrage the 100 million Arabs who surround the three and a half million Israeli Jews. They may think their arsenal of over 200 A-bombs will save them. But the Zionists' quest for *Lebensraum* must ultimately fail, and in their desperate frenzy they really will turn Israel into a deathtrap for Jews—and possibly a trip wire for world nuclear holocaust. As we wrote last year:

"This barbaric Zionist regime must be exploded from within, through revolutionary class struggle linking the Hebrew-speaking workers to the oppressed Palestinian masses, championing the right of self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Forge Trotskyist parties fighting for a socialist federation of the Near East!"

—"Pogrom Unleashed Against Palestinian Villagers,"  
WV No. 451, 22 April 1988 ■

differences between the two countries. The Israeli army has no Arabs in it, but the American military is heavily dependent on blacks. The American ruling class is not interested in seeing the development of a more extreme racial polarization leading to massive violence and destruction of property. And there is a large body of opinion in the United States which believes that both black and white Americans should be seen as citizens, which is certainly not the Zionist attitude toward Palestinian Arabs. So Israeli and American ruling circles hardly see eye to eye on this question.

The Zionists have long been accustomed to a privileged position in the U.S.—like their unique access to dual citizenship—as reward for their services as a regional gendarme for U.S. imperialism. This was most recently revealed in the Iran/Contra scandal where Israel gained notoriety as the unnamed "Country I." The history of the CIA-Mossad relationship was graphically detailed in a recent PBS *Frontline* TV documentary entitled "Israel—The Covert Connection" (PBS-TV, 16 May 1989). For several decades, going back to James Jesus Angleton's tenure with The Company, the Mossad has done the CIA's dirty work, particularly in Latin America, Africa and the Near East—from dealing with Khomeini's Iran to training Nicaraguan contras to funneling Western arms to South Africa. Presumably to show its gratitude, the CIA recently issued a new map of Israel renaming the West Bank Judea and Samaria, the biblical names by which the Zionists legitimize their claim to the territory.

Over the last 15 years, Israel has received \$27 billion in U.S. military aid, not to mention the billions to prop up its nonviable economy. But Israel's special relationship with the U.S. is hardly irreversible. The sentence handed down to Pollard served to remind the Israelis that they are indeed a different state power. And the Israeli attack on the



When Nazis tried to march in heavily Jewish Chicago suburb of Evanston in 1980, thousands of people drove them out.

USS *Liberty* spy ship during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, killing 34 American sailors, remains a very sore point within the American military establishment, while "Remember the Liberty!" remains a rallying cry for anti-Semitic nativist reactionaries like the America First committee.

To realize their wild expansionist ambitions, the Zionist rulers are not only prepared to slaughter Palestinians wholesale but to consign American Jews to a reactionary nightmare. But hard as they may try, they're going to have a rough time persuading the bulk of Jews in this country—however anti-communist the current climate might be—that Nazis are preferable to communists. Dershowitz and his crowd opposed the anti-Nazi mobilization in Skokie, Illinois some years ago, but that didn't cut much ice with the 2,000 people—many of them Holocaust survivors—who took to the streets to *drive the Nazis out*. And at the time of

our Atlanta mobilization, the ADL complained of "calls from concerned individuals, expressing their opinion that the 'Jewish organizations ought to be officially counterdemonstrating' against the Klan."

On the eve of World War II, while the Trotskyists fought to mobilize united workers action to crush the fascist menace, the Zionists devoted their efforts to trying to cut a deal with the Hitlerites. Even after the gas chambers went into operation, Shamir and his gang—who adulated Mussolini—offered Hitler their support in driving the British out of the Near East if he was prepared to sponsor a "Jewish state." Zionism is bad for the Jews: it was bad for Jews in Central Europe, it is bad for Jews in *Israel*, because it opposes, at all cost, united struggle against anti-Semitic and racist reaction. And it must do so, because in the final analysis, those who steadfastly pursue their nationalism are

fascists—whether it be the Zionist fascists inspired by Begin's mentor Jabotinski or the ex-leftist Sinhala chauvinists of the JVP in Sri Lanka.

The Zionists have always hated us because, as we wrote in "ADL Red-baiters Defame Anti-Klan Protest": "... unlike practically all the left, with their impressionistic tailing after nationalism, we are the living refutation of their self-serving lie that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. We defend the Palestinian people against the terror of the Israeli state, which is in the process of working up to trying genocide, and we oppose the Arab nationalist calls to 'drive the Jews into the sea.'" Dershowitz vents his spleen against the Trotskyists because, uniquely, we have not been silent on Arab nationalist atrocities—from the devastation of Ha'ama by Syria's Assad to the indiscriminate terror practiced by Palestinian nationalists particularly in the 1970s. Thus Dershowitz & Co. have to work overtime to lyingly paint us as "anti-Semitic" as we expose and protest against the far more deadly and vicious *state* terror of the nuclear-armed madmen in Jerusalem and Washington.

Against all variants of deadly nationalism, the Trotskyists counterpose the program of proletarian *internationalism*. We fight for workers power, which requires a struggle against all manifestations of racial and national oppression. The Bolsheviks organized workers defense guards to defend Jews against the anti-Semitic Black Hundreds in Russia; the October Revolution rooted out this pogromist menace and opened the portals of liberation for the many oppressed nationalities and peoples of the tsarist empire. Today the only equitable and democratic resolution of conflicting national rights in the turbulent Near East, and the only road forward for blacks and Jews, as well as Hispanics, Asians and all the oppressed in America, is through the struggle for world socialist revolution. ■

# Flag-Wavers Target Bill of Rights

Flag burning was prohibited by a 1967 federal law aimed at curtailing the practice at demonstrations against the Vietnam War. Today the commander in chief of American imperialism, George Bush, is still fighting U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat in Southeast Asia by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. Bush wants to erase the "Vietnam syndrome" by wrapping himself in the American flag. It worked against Democrat Michael Dukakis when Bush visited a flag factory and led off his campaign rallies with the pledge of allegiance. Now he wants to pass a 27th Amendment to the Constitution to prohibit "desecration" of the American flag.

The Supreme Court overturned federal and state laws outlawing flag "desecration," holding that burning the flag is a form of political protest protected under First Amendment free speech

rights. This ruling came in the case of Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party supporter Gregory Johnson who was convicted under Texas law for torching an American flag during a Dallas protest at the 1984 Republican National Convention. This decision should also extend to the case of "Dread" Scott Tyler whose political art exhibit displays the American flag on the floor of the Chicago Art Institute and is under attack from right-wing vets and the city council.

Straight from posing at the Iwo Jima Memorial on June 30 to announce his flag amendment, Bush held a 25th anniversary memorial for the Civil Rights Act at the White House with Rosa Parks and Jesse Jackson. Bush, who had a nest of Nazis on his election campaign staff, of course said that he did not see any problem with the Supreme Court's recent slew of attacks against civil

rights. He wants to escalate the assault by amending the Constitution to limit protest against the government. The flag hysteria represents not only an attack on free speech, it is part of a broad reactionary trend of attacks on Constitutional rights including banning abortion and enforcing school prayer and pledges of allegiance.

Along with the howling from the bipartisan wolfpack of patriotic politicians comes the whining of failed Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork vowing that he would have sided with the Supreme Court minority against flag burning. And they won't stop with the stars-and-stripes: black Alabama legislators were arrested for attempting to tear down the Confederate flag, a banner of racist/KKK terror which flies from many Southern statehouses and courthouses. When SF Mayor Dianne Feinstein raised the flag of slavery in

front of City Hall, the Spartacist League and Bay Area Labor Black League ripped it down and burned it.

A century ago, the Union flag did represent the progressive cause of Northern capital in crushing the Southern slavocracy to win the American Civil War, but there will not be any holiday by the deeply racist American bourgeoisie today for the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. Chief Justice and arch right-winger William Rehnquist, for once in the minority, fumed that "the government may conscript men into the Armed Forces where they must fight and perhaps die for the flag, but the government may not prohibit public burning of the banner under which they fight." The U.S. ruling class wants to use the flag to rally young workers and minorities to be cannon fodder for American capitalism while its gutless wonders like Vice President J. Danforth Quayle III stay in the rear and drink beer during imperialism's bloody wars.

We honor the red flag of the international working class. ■

## High Court Racism...

(continued from page 1)

salmon canneries in Alaska. But the overwhelming statistical proof of racial discrimination presented by minority workers in *Wards Cove v. Atonia* was of no import to the Supreme Court. While acknowledging that there was a "racial imbalance in the workforce," on June 5 the Court dismissed this as "irrelevant." All that mattered was "the pool of qualified job applicants." In other words, it isn't the company's fault that minority workers have little access to education and are prevented from acquiring job skills—that's just the way it is in these United States.

"Reverse discrimination," that code word for white racist backlash, was used by Chief Justice Rehnquist in his June 12 decision allowing white firemen in Birmingham, Alabama, to sue against an affirmative action consent decree. The ruling in *Martin v. Wilks* allows whites not even involved in the original suit to challenge preferential hiring of blacks at any time. This decision could result in overturning most affirmative action programs. But in *Lorance v. AT&T* black women phone workers were told they had waited too long to sue against a discriminatory seniority policy which led to their demotions: if you don't go to court within 300 days of the policy's enactment, you're too late. These days, if you expect to prove racial discrimination, you better have a video of your employer burning a cross on your workbench!

Last year the Supreme Court an-

Herblock/Washington Post



Washington, D.C., 1978—Spartacists join protest against racist Bakke decision which said whites could sue against minority advancement programs, claiming discrimination.

nounced it would review the 1976 *Runyon* decision which said that an 1866 Reconstruction era ordinance prohibited discrimination by private employers as well as the government. On June 16, the Court ruled that Brenda Patterson, a black woman credit union teller, could not sue her bosses for racial harassment because the law applies only to "the initial formation of the contract." So if her employers had informed Patterson before she was hired that they would harass her, subject her to racist slurs and force her to sweep the floors, then she might have a case; but since they only did so after she was hired, her only redress is under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This is very good news for racist employers, because under that law no punitive damages can be awarded.

The past several weeks of devastating attacks on formal legal equality for minorities demonstrate the intent of the court to hammer the current reactionary status quo into stone. If it's the *de facto* discrimination of racist American capitalism rather than the *de jure* segregation of Jim Crow laws—tough luck, says the Supreme Court. This is the same logic which led them to uphold the racist death penalty in the 1987 *McCleskey* ruling: even though the data showed that defendants on trial for the murder of whites were eleven times more likely to be sentenced to death than if the victim were black, the Court ruled that the "apparent discrepancies...are an inevitable part of our criminal justice system." Whether it's racial oppression on the job or legal lynching of black prisoners, it's "inevitable," says the Reagan-Rehnquist court.

This was also the conclusion of Leo Edwards Jr., a black man from Mississippi, who on June 21 became the 113th person executed since the Supreme Court resurrected the death penalty in 1976. Edwards had filed 16 appeals maintaining his innocence, the last of which was rejected by the Supreme Court last week. But already at the time of his initial trial, when he first saw the all-white jury that would rule on his case, he concluded: "I'm dead."

### For Revolutionary Integrationism!

After the passage of the 1963-64 civil rights and voting rights laws, the liberal-led civil rights movement sought to go North. But there it ran up against the pervasive racial oppression rooted in the economic realities of American capitalism, where blacks are "last hired, first fired," where housing segregation is accomplished by real estate agents' "redlining" rather than county laws, where separate and unequal education goes by the euphemism of "neighborhood schools." For the bourgeoisie, "affirmative action" schemes were designed to channel militant black struggle into the courtroom, with the added benefit of pitting blacks against the unions. Richard Nixon, who advanced the Philadelphia Plan in 1969 for preferential hiring of black workers, saw it as a way to overturn union seniority and rewrite union contracts while dividing the workforce along racial lines.

Seniority is an important gain which has prevented discriminatory firings of union organizers and other "troublemakers." But corrupt and racist labor

bureaucrats often used union job protections for job-trusting, locking blacks out of the higher-paying craft jobs. As a result many civil rights activists and the reformist left, unwilling to look beyond the confines of capitalism, simply hailed affirmative action as a solution to black unemployment. Yet after the implementation of numerous affirmative action schemes, joblessness grew, particularly following the 1974-77 layoffs which turned the industrial Midwest into a rust belt. The Spartacist League proceeded from a different standpoint: rather than black and white workers squabbling over crumbs from a shrinking economic pie (which under conditions of decaying capitalism has increasingly become "pie in the sky"), we called for integrated revolutionary class struggle.

"For Union-Run Minority Recruitment, Not Union-Busting Government 'Affirmative Action'," demanded the SL, fighting to oust the sellout labor bureaucracy which stands in the way of a struggle for black rights just as it sabotages strikes. But the present onslaught against "affirmative action" has nothing to do with class-struggle opposition to state intervention in the unions. The workers movement must take a hard stand against the racist backlash spearheaded by the Supreme Court—we demand full equality in hiring and advancement; union hiring halls with union-run minority job recruitment and training; free 24-hour childcare crucial to the full participation of working women; and full employment at no loss in pay! And we have taken the lead in organizing integrated mass labor/black mobilizations against racist terror.

The liberal and reformist misleaders have brought nothing but defeats by preaching reliance on the same racist politicians and courts which are waging all-out war on the workers and minorities. The Spartacist League's Marxist program of revolutionary integrationism calls for a struggle to break the stranglehold of the Democratic and Republican partner parties of capitalism—who both represent the party of property—and to build a fighting workers party. To really root out racism requires smashing the racist class rule of the capitalists and creating a regime of multiracial workers power, which can provide full employment, quality education, free medical care, decent housing for all. While capitalism destroys the country's productive forces, blowing up factories, tearing down housing projects, throwing an entire generation of black ghetto youth onto the streets to die, we need a third American revolution, a proletarian revolution, which can undertake a second, socialist reconstruction of the United States. ■

# El Salvador...

(continued from page 12)

Osorio, head of the federation of independent unions, and another ASTTEL official, José Basilio Cheves. And on June 21, an American nun was shot in the face by a heavily armed band as she and two other nuns returned to a home for war orphans named for murdered Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero.

No sooner had Cristiani donned the presidential sash than his thugs were torturing labor leaders and shooting nuns. The American embassy tried to cover, claiming there was no physical evidence of torture and denying that the shooting was "politically motivated." Yet Mazariego was being beaten with rubber hoses while, U.S. vice president J. Danforth Quayle III was shaking hands with ARENA's president-for-life "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson, the mastermind of the assassination of Archbishop Romero. Quayle told D'Aubuisson not to "embarrass Mr. Cristiani," supposedly an admonition to curb his gunmen. On his previous visit to the country, Quayle said with his foot in his mouth the U.S. "condones violence in El Salvador," vowing to "work toward the elimination of human rights." Now he's hobnobbing with the kingpin of Salvador's killer elite, suddenly transformed from "pathological killer" into a "serious player."

ASTTEL representative José Mazariego had just picked up a visa for a speaking tour in the U.S. when he was seized blocks from the embassy. Held by the Treasury Police on "suspicion" of ties to the FMLN, he was stripped naked, beaten and nearly suffocated with a hood, then hydrochloric acid was poured on his knees. Mazariego (who had already been abducted by a death squad in April) was released after an avalanche of protests from American unionists and Democrats in Congress, which was about to consider the Bush administration foreign aid proposal for El Salvador. The Partisan Defense Committee sent protest messages to the Salvadoran embassy and their masters in the State Department.

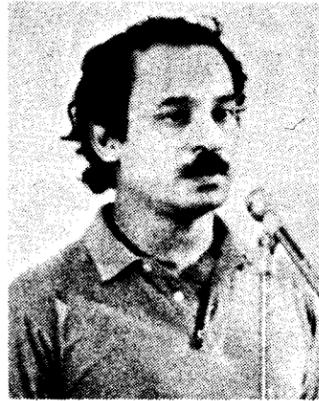
Mazariego finally arrived in the U.S. and on June 23 addressed a labor meeting in New York where he spoke with *Workers Vanguard*:

"On June 12, I was coming out of the office of our union. About ten or twelve men pointed at me with heavy guns, and I was pulled into a van, handcuffed and blindfolded. I was taken to a place, which I later knew was the Treasury Police. They started to interrogate me about what terrorist organization I belonged to. I explained that for several years I had been doing union work, about the living and working conditions of the telecommunications workers in El Salvador.



Impact Visuals

**Humberto Centeno (above, right) standing outside office of Salvador phone union ASTTEL bombed by right-wingers in February. ASTTEL leader José Mazariego (inset), kidnapped and tortured by Treasury Police in June. Both men have received death threats from security forces.**



WV Photo

"But they said I was a terrorist and they put the *capucha* on me. The *capucha* is a bag with lime in it that they put on your head, so you start to breathe it, and after a moment you pass out. When I came to, they were putting acid on my knees. It was horrible pain, but they didn't stop. They put the *capucha* on me again and over again. I was released after three days and three nights of being tortured."

## Counterrevolutionary Terror

The kidnapping of Mazariego was only the latest case of the sharply escalating terror against what the Salvadoran oligarchs and their professional assassins see as "the enemy within." During the election campaign, on February 15 fascist stormtroopers of the "Maximiliano Hernández Brigade" stormed the headquarters of the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS). In early April a teacher was kidnapped from her classroom and shot. On April 15, the army and riot police stormed the offices of a dozen union, peasant and community groups, rounding up nearly 100 people. During the first six weeks after ARENA's election victory, 36 civilians were assassinated and over 200 kidnapped by government forces. But in defiance of this brutal intimidation, on May Day some 15,000 demonstrators courageously marched through the streets of San Salvador while 10,000 troops surrounded the area.

Meanwhile, the FMLN has been pounding the government armed forces, which have suffered hundreds of casualties a week during the last month. On

May 25 they staged simultaneous rush-hour attacks on the San Salvador HQs of the National Police and the First Infantry Brigade, as fighting broke out in a half dozen of the capital's heavily populated barrios. The army "responded" by again assaulting the offices of the unions and human rights groups. The government also accused the guerrillas of assassinating top Cristiani adviser José Rodríguez Porth on June 9. The FMLN flatly denied that any of their units were involved, pointing out that Rodríguez Porth had plenty of enemies from the infighting over which blood-drenched general should be war minister. (The one assassination the rebels did claim was that of Colonel Roberto Rivera, longtime head of the "Public Security Academy," a notorious school for torture.) Continuing the provocations, on June 23 a bomb exploded at the Central Market, killing three and wounding scores. The government blamed the FMLN although eyewitnesses saw the bomb tossed from an Air Force chopper.

Expressing the frustration of military hardliners and their oligarchical godfathers, ARENA in power has drafted a draconian "anti-terrorist law" to outlaw all opposition organizing, particularly by unions. This hair-raising police-state legislation (certain to be approved, since ARENA now controls the legislature, as well as the executive and judiciary) reads like something out of Hitler's Third Reich. Thundering against the "persistence of armed groups and front groups"—the usual code word for the militant unions—it vows to guarantee "at all cost" the "tranquility of order."

The draft law prohibits the very "existence or distribution, action and propaganda of the word, in writing or by any other means" of such "front groups" which "commit a crime by the very fact of organizing themselves." To be included in this ban are not only those accused of "inciting, provoking or fomenting rebellion or sedition," but anyone who induces any member of the armed forces to disobey his superiors. (Like Archbishop Romero, who in 1980, a week before he was gunned down, called on soldiers to "Stop this repression!") Also proscribed are those who "hold, call or facilitate meetings" against the government, or who spread by any means "doctrines tending to destroy the social order or political, juridical and economic order of the nation."

Jail awaits "those who plan and incite or carry out... work stoppages, slowdowns or any other act of commission or omission" to "alter the normal pattern of productive activity," such as "a transport work stoppage." Also "those who organize, maintain or stimulate

politicized stoppages or strikes... which produce or could produce disturbances to public order or in public services." Demonstrators will be guilty under this "anti-terrorism" law if they "tie up transit or traffic" or put up posters, or if they cover their faces to avoid identification. The media will be muzzled by arresting anyone who "propagates... tendentious or false news or information." As for "proof," in addition to the simple say-so of police officials, statements extracted from prisoners under torture will be admitted, as well as any obtained by "physical, chemical, biological or pathological means." There will be no jury trials under this law—a magistrate for military tribunal will rule.

This is a program for legalizing state terrorism. In a telephone interview from San Salvador, UNTS leader Humberto Centeno told *Workers Vanguard*, "This is a law of a notably fascist character, which aims at drowning and gagging the demands and aspirations of the Salvadoran people." When Mazariego was released by the Treasury Police in June, they told him, "we aren't going to seize Humberto Centeno, we're going to kill him." This threat is all the more believable because in March 1988 Centeno was brutally seized and beaten into unconsciousness by the Treasury Police; and in November 1985 his two sons were kidnapped, tortured by the Treasury Police and jailed for two years.

With the most reactionary sector of El Salvador's capitalist rulers now in office, the tiny Central American country is rapidly polarizing. In response, the guerrillas are calling for "a broad 'bloc' of political and social forces against ARENA." Appealing to U.S. leaders in an article in the Spring 1989 *Foreign Policy*, FMLN leader Joaquín Villalobos called for "A Democratic Revolution for El Salvador." But joining with "moderate" Christian Democrats, who for eight years provided the façade for U.S. intervention in Salvador, and limiting demands to a bourgeois-democratic program in the name of "anti-oligarchy unity" will only prolong the agony of the Salvadoran masses who are suffering from the ravages of capitalism. Not a "government of national consensus," but a *workers and peasants government* is needed to provide food for the hungry, work for the jobless, housing for the homeless, land to the landless, and to extend the fight for socialist revolution throughout Central America.

As a result of the bipartisan consensus in Congress on El Salvador, the U.S. has funneled more than a million dollars a day to bankroll the "death squad democracy" now turning into a death squad police state. In his remarks to *WV*, Centeno appealed to "the real leaders of the labor movement in the United States" to demonstrate their solidarity: "We believe that the workers of the United States are the only ones who can stop this bloodbath, who can stop these gag laws, these laws which aim at legitimizing the hood, torture, seizures, disappearances." Militant support from their class brothers and sisters in this country is urgently needed as the Salvadoran workers continue to fight in the eye of death. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## White House Embraces Death Squad Kingpins

# El Salvador: Workers Brave ARENA Terror

With the March 19 election of the presidential candidate of ARENA (Nationalist Republican Alliance), who took office on June 1, the party of the death squads has now officially become the government of El Salvador. Leaders of the fascistic ARENA have vowed "total war" to wipe out the leftist insurgency which has waged a tenacious civil war for the last eight years. But although the army and security forces and their murder squads have claimed 70,000 victims, they have been unable to drive the guerrillas out of the one-third of the country effectively under their control. Now the rebels are operating boldly in the heart of the capital. So instead the ultraright in power has turned its guns on the unarmed labor movement, peasant and community organizations which have courageously mobilized mass opposition in the face of kidnappings, bombings and assassination.

The jackboot has come down on San Salvador.

When the ARENA president "Fredy" Cristiani (Georgetown '68) took over from U.S. puppet "Joe Napoleon" Duarte (Notre Dame '48), the *Baltimore Sun* (2 June) noted, "few of his countrymen were able to hear his inaugural address because rebels knocked out electrical power to 90 percent of the country." San Salvador was blacked out and the streets were emptied by a total transport stoppage of all car, truck and bus traffic called by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Cristiani's "answer" was brutal repression. On June 12 José Mazariego, executive board member of the Salvadoran phone workers union ASTTEL, was seized by the Treasury Police and tortured. The next day the National Police captured Gregorio

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May Day 1989 in San Salvador—15,000 defiant demonstrators marched in the face of thousands of troops.

## Gestapo Pass Controls, Settler Terror

# Palestinians Under Zionist Iron Heel

In mid-June, Israeli army chief of staff Lt. Gen. Dan Shomron declared "there are only three ways" to "end the *intifada*": "transfer, starvation or physical extermination—that is, genocide" (*New York Times*, 17 June). He was responding to growing right-wing frustration, spearheaded by mobs of Jewish "settlers" in the Occupied Territories, over the army's failure to halt the Palestinian uprising over the last year and a half. This ominous mood boiled over a couple days later when Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir showed up in the West Bank town of Ariel at a funeral for a slain American Zionist.

Shamir, an old Stern Gang Zionist terrorist whose government has been dealing out shootings, beatings, jailings and deportations to the Palestinian *intifada* for well over a year, gave his usual speech, vowing to "crush" the Palestinians with an "iron fist." But this time it didn't placate the settlers, who pounded on his car as he left, calling him a "traitor" for not doing enough for "Jewish blood" (*London Independent*, 21 June). Many of the



Israel army has turned Gaza Strip into giant concentration camp for Palestinian Arabs.

heavily armed settlers are organized by the fascistic Gush Emunim and the openly fascist Kach party of Rabbi Meir Kahane. What they want is to

turn the already repressive regime into something out of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

The town of Ariel earlier gained

notoriety when the town council decided to require visiting Arab workers to wear white badges branded with the words "Foreign Worker" in Hebrew. Another town quickly adopted a similar scheme, but it became an international embarrassment when critics "compared the badges to the yellow Star of David that Jews were forced to wear by the Nazis" (*New York Times*, 1 June). One member of the town council was dumbfounded by the furor. Cars owned by Arab residents of the Occupied Territories already have color-coded license plates, she pointed out, and these Palestinians must also carry ID cards in color-coded plastic wallets indicating different regions (and green wallets for those with a police record). What's next: tattooing numbers on the forearm?

In response to the international outcry, including from many Jews inside and outside of Israel who survived the Nazi horror, the Ariel plan was "dropped." But this month the Israeli army began issuing new

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