

## U.S. "Drug War": License for Global Terror

In the name of waging "war on drugs," the Democratic Congress and Republican White House are declaring war on the world, including the American people.

In early May the House approved a measure, with only 23 votes opposed, which would allow the Secretary of Defense to "seal off" U.S. borders and permit the military to engage in "hot pursuit" and arrest of suspects *inside American territory*. Then, on May 13, the Senate voted overwhelmingly to authorize the president to deploy the military "to detect, locate, pursue, search and seize" vessels and aircraft in international waters and airspace and to urge governors to mobilize the National Guard for domestic drug patrols.

The Democrats posed as devotees of constitutional government over Ollie North and the "cabal" running out of the White House basement. But here is Congress trying to bolster its "tough on drugs" image for the '88 elections by legislating military police powers at home and blatant piracy and kidnapping abroad. What's next—MP roadblocks on the streets? Boarding Soviet freighters on the high seas to search for joints?

America's rulers are out to reassert, literally, their supposed right to be "cops of the world." In the wake of U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese peasants and workers, Washington sought to bury the "Vietnam syndrome" through military buildup and bluster. Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade culminated in his declaration of Cold War II

### CIA Is World's Biggest Drug-Runner



U.S. top cop Edwin Meese unleashes narcs on Bolivian peasants.

AP/Wide World

over Afghanistan. Reagan used his "war on terrorism" line to invade Lebanon and Grenada, to bomb Tripoli and to set the Sixth Fleet adrift in the Persian Gulf.

Now it's the "war on drugs," particularly intended at re-establishing American "manifest destiny" over Latin America. So where Carter's national

security adviser Brzezinski made a pilgrimage to the Khyber Pass to pose with a Soviet AK-47, the world's most reliable assault rifle, Reagan's top cop Ed Meese (facing multiple indictments at home) went to the Bolivian jungle decked out in safari suit and DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration) cap to inspect a WWII-surplus bolt-

action rifle.

The "war on drugs" already meant a small-scale invasion of Bolivia in 1986, which was met by a massive popular outcry and general strike against U.S. troops and IMF austerity policies. A year later, when thousands of U.S. National Guardsmen were sent to

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### What Do Nancy, Hitler and the Tsarina Have in Common?

## Reagan's Star Wars

Is this the Age of Aquarius after all? Reagan's Jupiter may align with Mars if the moon's in the seventh house, but it sure isn't love that's steering the stars in the White House these days. Salvos of devastating revelations have already been fired by ex-courtiers, scribbling their memoirs while scrambling to avoid indictments: David Stockman told how they always knew "supply-side economics" was a scam designed to enrich the rich; Michael Deaver said Reagan had to be kept on his feet to stay alert, lest he doze off into total *non compos mentis* in the midst of press conferences; Larry Speakes revealed that he made up whole presidential quotes without bothering to have the First Actor read them off cue cards. Now embittered ex-chamberlain Donald T. Regan's *For the Record* has dropped the latest

bombshell on the White House:

"Virtually every major move or decision the Reagans made during my time as White House chief of staff was cleared in advance with a woman in San Francisco who drew up horoscopes to make certain that the planets were in a favorable alignment for the enterprise."

The astrologer's influence included casting star charts to determine when Reagan should sign agreements with Gorbachev. She even set the timing of the upcoming Moscow summit! According to Don Regan, her warnings of "bad days" for public activity were what made the president clam up for months after the first Iran/Contragate revelations hit the news.

"At least this astrologer isn't as kooky as the last one," Deaver explained to Regan when he took over trying to schedule presidential

activities in line with the planets. But it wasn't easy for the poor astrologer, either. Nancy Reagan testily complained to Don Regan about revisions in the president's schedule, "I wish you'd make up your mind. It's costing me a lot of money, calling up my Friend with all these changes." As somebody wrote the *New York Times*, the whole thing is giving astrology a bad name.

Revelations that America's imperial first family are a couple of zanies, vicious and vindictive stargazers, suckers for any free-floating superstitions around, have made the already deeply discredited Reagan presidency a laughingstock around the world. The day after the "zodiac factor" hit the news, Reagan made a speech in Chicago mentioning space invaders, saying: "I've often

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First Lady of Horrorscope.

Der Spiegel

## BT Protests Too Much

We print below excerpts of a letter by the "Bolshevik Tendency" (ex-External Tendency) in response to our article, "BT Says Don't Hail Red Army in Afghanistan" (see WV No. 449, 25 March).

Toronto, Canada  
8 April 1988

Workers Vanguard  
New York, NY

Comrades:

No one reading your piece would have any idea that what you are polemicizing against is our decision to adopt the slogan "Military Victory to the Soviet Army in Afghanistan" in place of "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan." Your polemic is deliberately intended to convey the impression that we are changing sides in Afghan conflict—rather than changing the formulation expressing our military support to the Soviets and their allies.

As cde. Riley pointed out, "Trotskyists never hail Stalinist traitors or their state" because doing so obscures the treacherous and anti-revolutionary character of Stalinism. The intervention of the Soviet army in Afghanistan was historically progressive inasmuch as

it contributed to the defense of the USSR. It also represented a possibility of significant social progress for the Afghan masses—particularly women. Trotskyists are not indifferent to this. The reason that it was a mistake to "hail" Brezhnev's army in Afghanistan—while at the same time necessary to defend it militarily—is because it possessed at every moment the capacity to betray the Afghan women, workers and leftists who placed their faith in it.

You rhetorically ask whether the Soviet army's struggle against the Nazis was "just 'Stalinist treachery.'" Perhaps you think that the Trotskyists should have been "hailing" the Stalinist apparatus in that struggle as well?... Far from "hailing" the Stalinist military apparatus, as you propose, Trotsky advocated combining military defense of the property forms with preparations for the political revolution *against* the bureaucracy. This is how Trotskyists defend the Soviet Union.

Fraternally,  
Cathy Nason  
for the Bolshevik Tendency

WV replies: So you say you're for "Military Victory to the Soviet Army in

Afghanistan." You're even "not indifferent" to the fact that the Soviet Army intervention meant social progress to Afghan women—like literacy and removing the veil. How very big of you, especially since for the last six years you've remained conspicuously close-

imperialism while resting on (and at times forced to defend) the proletarian property forms which issued from the October Revolution. Their statement wipes out the whole basis for Soviet defensism, which is the foundation of the Trotskyist call for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinists.

The bottom line is, *it isn't their state!* The Soviet Union belongs to all the workers of the world. The Stalinists' nationalism undermines the USSR,

November 1932 issue of American Trotskyist youth paper on fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution.



mouthed on Afghanistan. But what does it mean to call for "military victory" now, precisely when Gorbachev & Co. are pulling the Soviet troops out? It's an empty statement to try to cover the fact that you're openly renouncing the Spartacist slogan, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

We always said if the BT/ET were honest, they'd admit they hated that forthright stand, which was reviled in the rad-lib milieu caught up in Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade, the "moral rearmament" phase of the post-Vietnam anti-Soviet war drive. So now the BT has finally come out with it, but they're still trying to weasel. As we pointed out in WV 449, they're paying the admission price to crawl into the all-Canada popular front: no "soft-on-Russia" pinkos allowed.

But the BT's letter does have the virtue of putting it baldly. "Trotskyists never hail Stalinist traitors or their state," they say, "because doing so obscures the treacherous and anti-revolutionary character of Stalinism." And they wonder why we say their real position is Stalinism is counterrevolutionary through and through! What is this "Stalinist state" (shades of Shachtman!)? This completely wipes out the fundamental Trotskyist understanding of the dual character of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which seeks to conciliate

internationalist in its very foundations; their attempts to seal deals with imperialism (like over Afghanistan) jeopardize its defense. As Trotsky wrote in 1932, "We accept the workers' state as it is and we assert, 'This is our state.' Despite its heritage of backwardness, despite starvation and sluggishness, despite the bureaucratic mistakes and even abominations, the workers of the entire world must defend tooth and nail their future socialist fatherland which this state represents."

This passage was quoted in July 1941 by *Czerwony Sztandar* (Red Flag), the paper of the Trotskyists in the Warsaw Ghetto, in a statement on Hitler's invasion of the USSR. "The first workers state is fighting for its existence," they wrote. "The war of the Soviet Union against Hitler is the war of the international proletariat; it is our war." No sir, BT, you won't even hail the Red Army's fight to smash Nazi barbarism. But the Trotskyists of the Warsaw Ghetto did. They end their declaration proclaiming: "Long live the Red Army! Long live the Russian Revolution! Long live the international revolution!"

Our readers might also take a look at the front page of the American Trotskyists' *Young Spartacus* (November 1932) on the anniversary of the October Revolution, headlined "Hail Red Russia!"

### The End of Empires

It is a far cry from the secular humanism of the bourgeois-revolutionary Enlightenment which inspired the first leaders of the early American republic to the cynicism and mysticism of the gang lodged in the White House in the twilight years of the American empire. The decadence and decline of the Russian autocracy, swept away by the revolutions of 1917, was similarly mirrored in the personal qualities of the last autocrat, Tsar Nicholas II. In



TROTSKY



LENIN

his History of the Russian Revolution, Leon Trotsky observed as a general historical rule that social orders which have outlived their reason for existence reflect this irrationality in the individuals chosen to lead them.

Historians and biographers of the psychological tendency not infrequently seek and find something purely personal and accidental where great historical forces are refracted through a personality. This is the same fault of vision as that of the courtiers who considered the last Russian czar born "unlucky." He himself believed that he was born under an unlucky star. In reality his ill-luck flowed from the contradictions between those old aims which he inherited from his ancestors and the new historic conditions in which he was placed. When the ancients said that Jupiter first makes mad those whom he wishes to destroy, they summed up in superstitious form a profound historic observation. In the saying of Goethe about reason becoming nonsense—"Vernunft wird Unsinn"—this same thought is expressed about the impersonal Jupiter of the historical dialectic, which withdraws "reason" from historic institutions that have outlived themselves and condemns their defenders to failure....

Even the most despotic of autocrats is but little similar to a "free" individuality laying its arbitrary imprint upon events. He is always the crowned agent of the privileged classes which are forming society in their own image. When these classes have not yet fulfilled their mission, then the monarchy is strong and self-confident.... It is quite otherwise when the sun of the old society is finally declining to the west. The privileged classes are now changed from organizers of the national life into a parasitic growth; having lost their guiding function, they lose the consciousness of their mission and all confidence in their powers.

—Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution* (1932)

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20 May 1988

# Solidarność Revival Fizzles

## What's Behind Polish Strikes

Massive price hikes ordered by the Polish government in everything from food to rent sparked the strike wave. Transport workers wildcatted, steel and munitions workers shut down their plants demanding catch-up wage increases. The leaders of Solidarność rushed to place themselves at the head of this spontaneous strike wave. "I can mobilize the whole country," bragged Lech Walesa on May 4 as he once again led a strike at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, the birthplace of Solidarność. A week later Walesa led a few hundred dispirited followers out of the shipyard gates as the recent strike wave in Poland collapsed. That night he and his wife Danuta attended Catholic mass. Afterward Walesa proclaimed to reporters, "There is no freedom without Solidarity." His wife, visibly bitter, said, "There is no Solidarity."

For a few weeks everyone in Poland and in the world was asking: would it happen again? Would Solidarność again challenge the Warsaw regime on behalf of open anti-Communist clerical-nationalism? As in 1980 the current strike wave was triggered by an austerity program dictated to Poland by Western bankers. The *New York Times* (28 April) noted, "the Government is seeking to demonstrate to international lenders, such as the International Monetary Fund, from whom it seeks fresh credit, that it means business in cleaning up the economy." Since February the price of food has jumped 40 percent, public transport by 70 percent, heating by 100 percent and rents by 200 percent. Everyone expected trouble, and in late April trouble came.

It began with a wildcat strike of transport workers in the northern city of Bydgoszcz. This ended almost immediately when the regime came up with a 60 percent wage increase. The next day the largest industrial enterprise in the country, the Lenin Steel Works at Nowa Huta near Krakow, was shut down and right after that another big metal-working and arms-producing complex in Stalowa Wola. The Nowa Huta strikers were not only demanding a 50 percent wage hike for themselves but big pay raises for all state employees in Poland.

While the main thrust of the steel strikes was more money, they also had a political edge. The Nowa Huta strike committee demanded the reinstatement of Solidarność activists fired years

Strike at Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, birthplace of Solidarność, collapsed within a week.



before, while Stalowa Wola's demanded the legalization of Solidarność. The latter strike was settled in a few days for a hefty wage hike, but the Nowa Huta strike continued. Then on May 2 strikers occupied the Gdansk shipyards. Now Walesa was once more on the forefront of the Polish stage. Here the demand to re-establish Solidarność was first and foremost, wage concerns were secondary.

Solidarność' masters and paymasters in Washington (this "free trade union" has received millions from the CIA, and the U.S. Congress last year openly voted \$1 million for it) and the Vatican immediately launched a campaign on its behalf. U.S. State Department spokesman Charles Redman lectured the Jaruzelski regime: "The current strikes in Poland demonstrate more clearly than ever that successful economic reform and recovery require genuine dialogue between the government and society" (*Washington Post*, 3 May). By "society" the Reagan gang means Walesa & Co. On his way to visit Paraguayan dictator Stroessner, Pope John Paul Wojtyla (originally of Krakow) declared that the Solidarność leaders "deserve unconditional support and encouragement."

This time the best efforts of President and Pope to subvert Poland fell flat. On

May 5 a police raid broke the Nowa Huta strike, while police cordoned off the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. Immediately the mass of strikers went home, leaving Walesa with about 500 raw youth. From Warsaw the Solidarność leadership appealed to workers throughout Poland for "actions of solidarity" on behalf of Walesa and his holdouts. But Polish workers did not answer this appeal. History did not repeat itself.

### The Rise and Fall of Solidarność

During the 1970s the Stalinist regime of Eduard Gierek, grossly corrupt and incompetent, mortgaged Poland to the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt Börse. When in 1980 the Western bankers turned the screws, the Warsaw government cut living standards by sharply raising prices, thus setting off a strike wave which gave rise to Solidarność. The legitimate grievances of Polish workers against the economically and politically bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy were channeled into a clerical-nationalist movement tied to the apron strings of Washington and the Vatican.

At its first national congress in September 1981, Solidarność consolidated around a counterrevolutionary program of "Western-style democracy" with Walesa praising Japan and the United States as economic and political models for Poland. At that point the international Spartacist tendency, almost unique on the left, raised the cry: Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution! Fortunately for the international working class, indeed for all humanity, Solidarność' bid for power was spiked at the last minute by the (near-bloodless) counter-coup carried out by the Polish regime under General Jaruzelski in December 1981.

Since then the Solidarność leaders have been completely unashamed in their support to "free world" capitalism and anti-Soviet militarism. They have denounced the social-democratic "peace" movement in West Europe as Kremlin agents and dupes. In 1985 the Solidarność Temporary Coordinating Commission (TKK) adopted a program calling for a thoroughgoing market economy in Poland complete with private ownership in industry and a stock market to boot. Even some of its ardent supporters in the Western left

conceded that Solidarność now had a pro-capitalist program (see "Solidarność Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland," *WV* No. 406, 20 June 1986).

At the same time, Solidarność was becoming moribund within Poland, reduced to small groups of intellectuals with clandestine printing presses. Last year the conservative London *Economist* (25 April 1987) reported: "Working-class support for Solidarity has dwindled rapidly, as polls conducted even by pro-Solidarity sociologists show." And Jacek Kuron, a leading intellectual figure in the movement, admitted, "Even the strongest optimists acknowledge that the influence of Solidarity activists on the silent majority of society has been radically diminished." Moreover, the Solidarność leadership disintegrated into competing factions and cliques.

Solidarność' godfathers in Washington and the Vatican were naturally distraught over the sorry state of the organization and made some effort to revive it. Last June John Paul Wojtyla visited Poland and prayed for "the special great heritage of Polish Solidarity." A few months later Reagan's man, former CIA chief George Bush, made his pitch. On a pilgrimage to a Warsaw church along with Mr. Solidarność,

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Flanked by cross, Solidarność leader Walesa (second from left) leads small band out of Gdansk shipyard in defeat, May 10.

[London] Guardian

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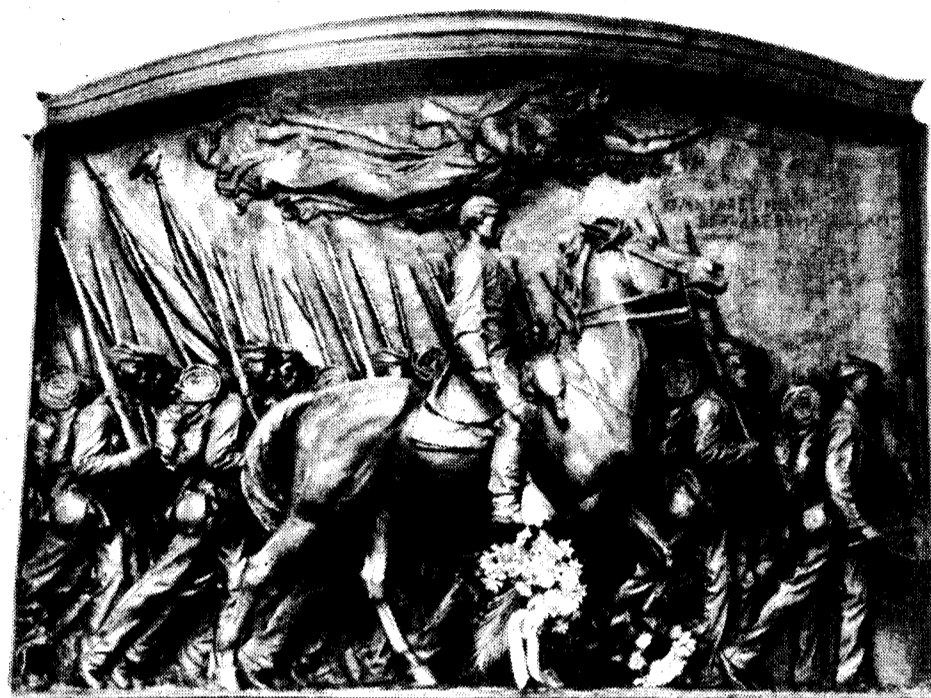
# Confederate Soldiers in Harvard Yard?

**All Honor to the Union Dead—Finish the Civil War!**

Under the dark arches of Memorial Hall, one can barely see the marble tablets where the names of Harvard's Union dead are carved. Yet the controversy sparked by a group of professors and alumni who propose to honor Harvard's Confederate soldiers illuminates the unfinished business of the Civil War in racist America. The campaign to commemorate yesterday's fighters for white supremacy is a cover and encouragement for today's racists who are violently lashing out against black students and other minorities on campuses across the country—especially the smug, effete institutions like Harvard. In 1986 Harvard hoisted the Confederate flag over the Yard to flaunt 350 years of race and class privilege. This flag, which rallied those slaveholding sons of Harvard to keep blacks in chains, is raised today as the banner of Klan lynch mobs in Forsyth County and race-haters in Howard Beach and Boston.

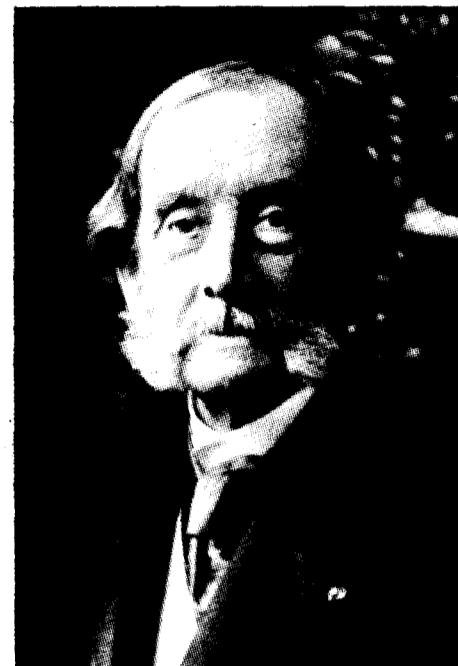
Memorial Hall was built specifically to honor Harvard students who fought in the Union Army against the slavocracy. Now Harvard Rev. Peter Gomes "justifies" a memorial to Confederate soldiers by pointing out that even German World War I and World War II veterans are commemorated in Memorial Church. This is a false equation. International working-class fighters rallied behind and joined the Union Army in a tremendous social struggle which, through blood and iron, purged this land of chattel slavery. In contrast, in the interimperialist conflicts of World Wars I and II the workers' interest was to struggle against their own rapacious bourgeoisies. As the German Marxist Karl Liebknecht said, "*The main enemy is at home.*"

In World War II, the class interest of workers of all nationalities was to defend the Soviet Union, homeland of the 1917 October Revolution, and it was the Soviet Red Army which crushed Nazi Germany. The American ruling class tried to sucker working people into supporting the bosses' aims with talk of



Women and Revolution

Harvard graduates who led black Union soldiers in Civil War: monument to Robert Gould Shaw, commander of 54th Massachusetts; Thomas Wentworth Higginson (right), leader of 1st South Carolina Volunteers.



Culver Pictures

waging "war against fascism." Harvard itself had more than a few ties to the Third Reich. Ernst "Putzi" Hanfstaengl ('09) turned a Harvard fight song into a Nazi march that Hitler's brownshirts played on the day they took power in Germany ("rah, rah, rah" was changed to "Sieg Heil"). And just as Reagan laid a wreath in homage to the kill-crazy sadists of Hitler's SS at Bitburg, Harvard now proposes to praise black chattel slavery by honoring those who fought to perpetuate it. As the premier think tank for U.S. imperialism, Harvard is a Valhalla of counterrevolutionary terror.

As communists who fight to *finish the Civil War*, to end the systematic oppression of black people under

capitalism, we will fight any move to enshrine, glorify, or apologize for the racist Confederacy. Fighters for black freedom today honor the courageous Union soldiers—particularly the 200,000 black troops who, fighting for their own liberation and the destruction of the hideous slave system, turned the tide of the Civil War. Among the names inscribed in Memorial Hall is that of Robert Gould Shaw, a former Harvard student who became the commanding officer of the heroic black regiment, the Massachusetts 54th.

Another former Harvard student, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, dedicated his life to fighting every form of social injustice braintrustered by this priggish ruling-class institution. He led a

charge of men with a battering ram and broke down the door of the Boston State House to free fugitive slave Anthony Burns. He was a close associate of John Brown, as well as a fighter for women's rights, an early opponent of U.S. imperialism, and the commanding officer of the black regiment, the First South Carolina Volunteers. Unlike his Confederate classmates, who Higginson noted were schooled in all the social graces but could neither read nor write, Higginson broke the "Harvard mold" and became a fighter for the oppressed. His actions should inspire opponents of the campaign to honor racist trash at Harvard today.

Finish the Civil War! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

## Racist Roundup Seizes Thousands of Black, Latino Youths

# LAPD—The Deadliest Gang in Blue



Pizac/AP

Los Angeles—More than 8,000 minority youths have been victimized by the racist cops.

LOS ANGELES—It was Easter weekend and the Los Angeles Coliseum was bathed in spotlights as hundreds gathered in its vast parking lots. This was no sporting event or concert, however, but one of the several command posts set up by an army of cops during their six-week-long invasion of South Central L.A. and other neighborhoods under the guise of "cracking down" on gang violence and drug dealing. A continuous stream of black and Hispanic youth in handcuffs are marshaled through a mobile booking unit to expedite processing the enormous number of arrests: a total of 1,500 in one weekend alone. The eerie scene conjures up images of Pinochet's Chile—and indeed, since the end of February minority sections of Los Angeles County have been under siege by the L.A. Police Department.

The LAPD's racist offensive was sparked by the senseless January 30 killing of Karen Toshima, who was caught

in the crossfire during a rival gang shoot-out while shopping in Westwood, an upscale entertainment and dining community adjacent to UCLA. Responding to the mainly white citizenry's outrage that the gangs were invading their turf, the cops began a mobilization which targeted black youth entering the area. The obviously racist character of this police sweep prompted an off-duty Hawthorne Police Department officer to mount a "sting" operation exposing cop harassment of black youth. Sergeant Don Jackson took a group of black teens to Westwood where they were almost immediately stopped, interrogated, thrown up against the wall and frisked. Jackson himself was arrested on "suspicion of obstructing justice" for protesting this apartheid-style mass bust.

The black and Hispanic communities were irate over the racist double standard that a single killing in white Westwood garnered such attention

## Longshoremen Read WV, Stalinist Hacks Fume

# Glasnost on the Waterfront?

The Spartacist League's fight to forge a revolutionary workers party stands sharply counterposed to the reformist "left" tails on the Democratic Party donkey. For the first time since 1964, when they went "all the way with LBJ," the Communist Party (CP) is not even running a token presidential campaign. On the West Coast, the CP has been stung by the strong sales of *Workers Vanguard* to International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) members in the Bay Area. When the SL flyer, excerpted below, was distributed at the SF union hall, it sent the CP's mouth on the waterfront, Archie Brown, into paroxysms of CIA-baiting.

A few weeks ago, Communist Party supporters handed out a leaflet at the SF longshore paylines in which "Waterfront Friends of the Peoples Daily World" urged workers to support the CP paper. "Don't confuse the PDW with other so-called publications—who are part of the phony left," it rants. "We don't cause confusion and disruption." The opponent the CP won't name? *Workers Vanguard* (published by the Spartacist League), the only other paper sold regularly at the paylines. And the hearing *WV* has won on the waterfront as a class-struggle, Trotskyist paper has got the CP's goat.

*WV* tells the truth: Jesse Jackson and the Democratic Party are enemies of workers and blacks. And *WV* is the only leftist paper around that openly fights for defense of the USSR against imperi-



Wide readership of Trotskyist press among Bay Area longshoremen makes CP Stalinists see red.

alism. On the other hand, the *PDW*, says their leaflet:

"...welcomes Jessie [sic] Jackson's campaign as the biggest contribution in years in helping to build labor's independent political action [!] and as a base for a united peoples front against monopoly capitalism.

"Senators Helms and Gore attack Jessie Jackson from the 'right'.... They are joined by a phony left here on the waterfront and elsewhere who also attack Jesse Jackson." And: "The *PDW*... helps counteract the anti-Soviet propaganda whether they are lies from the right or the so-called left, who attack the Soviet Union from a radical position."

*Workers Vanguard* and the *People's Daily World* represent counterposed political programs and perspectives.

*WV* says that the partnership of capital and labor is a lie. The working class needs its own revolutionary party to fight for its own interests and to struggle for state power. *WV* says that "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" and that therefore it is necessary to wage a political struggle within the unions against the treacherous pro-capitalist labor misleaders who sell out workers' struggles and tie them to the Democratic Party.

The *PDW* supports Jackson—who opposes independent labor or black struggle—because they support the racist, strikebreaking, imperialist Democratic Party that Jackson fronts for as a "lesser evil" to the racist, strikebreak-

ing, imperialist Republican Party. And [they] support "progressive" labor traitors like ILWU president James Herman, the godfather to SF's new "liberal" mayor Art Agnos who threatens thousands of city workers with layoffs and apologizes for racist killer cops. *PDW* and the CP say capitalism can be reformed by the ballot box. *WV* says, no way! The working people have to get rid of capitalism by revolutionary class struggle.

*PDW* is a "communist" newspaper that won't even come out and say that workers have to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks or capitalist restoration from within. They push "détente," the dangerous illusion that the land of the 1917 workers revolution can rely on the good will of U.S. imperialism, who—Republicans and Democrats alike—have the aim of *smashing* the gains of the Russian Revolution and restoring capitalism to power. In contrast, *WV* opposes the *betrayal* of Afghanistan (and Soviet defense) by Gorbachev's impending pullout of the heroic Red Army.

No one has any trouble telling *PDW* apart from *Workers Vanguard*, which exposed Jesse Jackson's shameless pursuit of the arch-segregationist George Wallace or his outrageous statement to embattled black working people in Norfolk, VA struggling to defend busing that "I am not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost."

So why the sudden polemic? Jackson is popular, yet a lot of longshoremen are buying *WV* (an average of about 45 per issue from March '87 to March '88). To the CP, that's a crime against nature. But many waterfront workers deeply distrust the racist Democrats and some of them don't like the Reverend hustler from Chicago in particular. The CP really gets bent out of shape when we stand our ground and argue—and time after time, longshoremen buy our paper.

*continued on page 9*

from the LAPD, along with rewards offered by the L.A. City Council, while hundreds of black and Hispanic youths have died in gang turf fights and feuds over the past year. But outrageously, on February 16, the middle-class-led South Central Organizing Committee and the United Neighborhoods Organization called on police chief Daryl ("Choke Hold") Gates to bring his killer cops and "war on gangs" to black and Hispanic L.A. And they didn't have long to wait. Given a green light by the so-called neighborhood leadership and a city council which had even debated petitioning the governor to send in the National Guard, Gates simply waited for the next incident. When gunfire erupted on a city bus between rival gang members, injuring four people, it was only a matter of hours before hundreds of cops descended on South Central L.A.

Over the next weeks, in what Chief Gates calls "Operation Hammer," more than 8,000 youths have been arrested, overwhelmingly black as well as Latino. Alexander Cockburn reports that "not a single white person has been picked up so far" (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 May). On Easter weekend alone, an army of 1,000 cops swept through L.A. County. Anyone fitting the LAPD's definition of a gang member by wearing red or blue (the colors, respectively, of the Bloods and the Crips, two of the biggest black gangs), low-slung pants, plain white T-shirts, a baseball cap sideways, or making certain gestures—in short, practically any black or Hispanic teenager—became a target for the self-described "Fly the Flag" Task Force.

The real aim of this campaign is to terrorize minorities in the city and further reinforce the bonapartist cops' control over the black and Latino populations. Gates became infamous when his cops killed 16 people, 12 of them black, using



LAPD chief "Choke Hold" Gates and his drug tank.

the murderous choke hold, and he "explained" this racist murder saying that blacks were not like "normal people." Now it's "shoot to kill" for this racist pig and his troops. On April 21, 71-year-old L.C. Hadnott became the latest victim, when he was shot and fatally wounded in his own kitchen when police in khakis and ski masks stormed his home. Hadnott's niece, who hid under the kitchen table, denied the police claims that the elderly black man was holding a shotgun. No drugs were found at the home.

The problems of gang warfare and the drug dealing which frequently sets it off are all too real in Los Angeles and in cities across the country. The film *Colors*, about the gang wars in L.A., has created a furor among police departments (who think the film is nothing more than a recruiting tool for the gangs) and such disparate groups as the Guardian Angels vigilante gang and the NAACP, which see the movie, with its depictions of the desperation of ghetto life, as "racist." But in many L.A. neighborhoods,

few people venture from their homes after dusk and many won't even risk sitting on the porch on a hot summer night for fear of the gangs run wild.

But the largest, most well-armed and deadliest gang in blue remains the LAPD. In his drive for bonapartist police power, Chief Gates has long sought to terrorize minority neighborhoods. His last ploy was the drug tank, a six-ton armored vehicle with a 14-foot steel battering ram, which in 1985 smashed through the front room wall of a house in Pacoima, nearly killing two women and three children. And Gates' boss, L.A. mayor (former top cop) Bradley, relies on the cops to keep the ghettos and barrios under control. From Philly mayor Wilson Goode to Atlanta's Andrew Young, the black Democratic Party mayors are overseers on Ronald Reagan's plantation.

Now black Democratic presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson is going around the country preaching his "hope, not dope" moral uplift message which

blames black youth for the racist oppression of the ghetto. Visiting Los Angeles last week, Jackson spoke at Fremont High School where he exhorted black and Latino kids not to be "a crawling snake" but human beings! Meanwhile, the sinister Louis Farrakhan (who calls Hitler, the biggest racist murderer in history, a "great man") provides his "Fruit of Islam" squads as shock troop vigilantes for the Jackson/Reagan drug crusade to terrorize the ghetto.

It is the social and economic decay of capitalism which provides the backdrop to the proliferation of street gangs. As unemployment skyrockets among black and Hispanic youth—currently at 75 percent in some Los Angeles minority neighborhoods—many teenagers, thrown on capitalism's scrap heap, see nothing to look forward to and nothing to lose. The answer to street violence bred of hopelessness and despair is not the jackboot of the police, but the ascendancy of an integrated workers party and the fight for a workers revolution to smash this racist system and provide a real future for America's youth. ■

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**LOS ANGELES**

# Warning: Anti-Smoking Crusade Dangerous to Your Rights

In the past month, New York City's "Clean Indoor Air Act" has outlawed smoking in practically every indoor area imaginable, and a total smoking ban on every domestic airline flight of two hours or less (including segments of longer flights) went into effect, courtesy of the feds. "This is going to be one of the best self-enforced laws in the country," crowed New York's hysteria-mongering mayor, Ed Koch. How grotesque—New York City currently leads the U.S. in carbon monoxide pollution and barely escaped a multimillion-dollar cutoff of federal monies last year by the notoriously lax Environmental Protection Agency... and they want to blame the smoker for the rotten air quality in the Big Apple! In keeping with the spirit of social totalitarianism, no sooner did the NYC ban become operative than commuter vigilantes beat up a smoker in a train station.

Then, on May 16, the Surgeon General of the United States issued a report declaring that smoking is an addiction. They're taking aim at cigarette vending machines, talking about licensing tobacco sellers. This is a move to enforce social conformity. Using the pretext of "secondary smoke" harming others, they're going to treat smokers as legal "addicts." Donald McDonald, Reagan's drug adviser, calls tobacco along with alcohol and marijuana "gateway drugs," the first step to heroin and crack. Who's next on their list? Junk food "junkies," chocolate "freaks," coffee drinkers ("caffeine addicts"), everyone who doesn't do the Jane Fonda Low Impact Workout—you name it, you're on it. Now the Supreme Court okays government snoops rifling your trash. How long before they tell you what to read and what to think?

They're trying to stamp out smoking with the jackboot of the state and the snarling zealotry of "live clean or die" puritans. During the debate over California's sweeping ban on smoking on all public transportation, which took effect in January, one Republican state senator aptly denounced "health fascists." A spokesman for the Bakery Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union, Ray Scannell (a non-smoker), said:

"This is Big Brother. This is Carrie Nation. This is good old-fashioned prohibitionism run rampant. It's an at-



Ken Alexander/Copley News

tempt to dictate behavior, and Americans are not very good at having behavior dictated to them, especially by self-righteous moralists who have decided it's not good for you to smoke."

—Los Angeles Times, 14 January

(As a matter of fact, during Prohibition nine states banned tobacco as well as booze.) There are powerful interests at work here. Behind Big Brother is Big Business, rubbing its hands in anticipation of a profitable speedup—particularly for the nation's 33 million office workers—backed by the U.S. Surgeon General, the Meese police and yuppie power prudes.

Our coverage of the anti-smoking crusade (see "Smokers Revolt Against 'Health Fascism,'" *WV* No. 445, 29 January, and also "Anti-Smoking Witch-hunt," *WV* No. 427, 1 May 1987) has sparked controversy among some of our readers, as the letters from S. Colman and Jerry M. illustrate. Our opposition to "smokeout" moralism certainly wasn't popular with the popular-front rad-lib crowd. *Frontline* (20 July 1987) gasped at our references to the "bean-sprout totalitarians of Santa Barbara and Berkeley." And the *Guardian* (20 January) presented the Spartacist League with a "Jesse Helms Memorial

Guy Carawan

Tobacco Leaf" award for "coming out against laws that restrict areas where smoking is allowed. The Sparts blast the 'new generation of clean-living Yuppies... [who] are running point for a section of the ruling class which has decided it can improve its profit-and-loss figures by tightening up on the workforce, all in the name of "health".'

## Profits Not Health

Today, volunteer "smokeout" cops are being mobilized around the country for an ideological crusade whose goal is not health but *wholesale regimentation of the workforce*, to increase productivity by any means possible. And these aren't Moral Majority backwoods big-ots. You've got the '70s "Me Generation," '80s yuppies and quite a few liberal civil libertarians, who a few years ago were all for legalizing marijuana (we're for it), now in an unholy alliance with the Reagan administration to wipe out the "evil weed," tobacco. Nicotine is being added by the Surgeon General to the list of "addictive drugs." The head of the Federal Office on Smoking and Health said on CBS's *Face the Nation* that smoking should be given "the serious attention that we do for the illicit

DPA

drugs such as heroin, cocaine, etc." And you know what they do about those.

Train crash, plane crash—forget about the antiquated signal systems, the overloaded air traffic control, they test the workers for drugs and alcohol, and the merest trace will get the bosses off the hook in the media... and out of liability suits. Random urine testing is a great way to cow the workforce, and throw in lie detectors to establish "proper employee morale." Now with the smoking bans, a third of the American population and almost half the industrial proletariat will be turned into "legal addicts." There is a strong class bias to the various anti-smoking laws and regulations—the private office retains its sanctity while those on the shopfloor or in the typing pool have to snuff their butts, or else. And in this racist society, no doubt cigarette bans will feed into discrimination against blacks and Latins, more of whom are smokers.

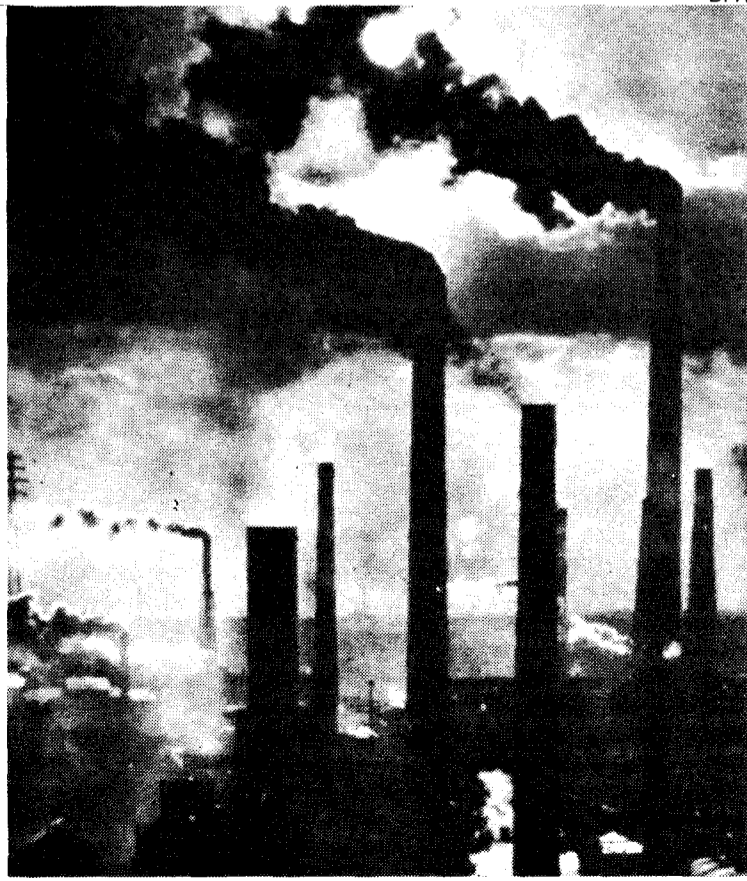
The bosses' concern is not for our health but for *their balance sheets*. Northwest Airlines, whose ads ballyhoo the great smokeout in the sky as a boon to passengers, is really concerned about "the cost of changing filters and cabin air outlets gummed up by tar and nicotine" (*Christian Science Monitor*, 23 March). The name of the game is "Increasing Productivity Through On-Site Smoking Control," the title of an April 1985 article in *Health Care Strategic Management*, which among other things claims that "approximately 92 nonsmokers can accomplish the same workload as 100 smokers." *Occupational Health and Safety* (July/August 1984) reports that "The American Lung Association puts a price tag of \$25 billion annually on lost productivity, lost wages and absenteeism." *Military Medicine* (August 1986) says smokers take 50 percent more sick leave, need more medical care, "waste 6 percent of [their] working hours to the smoking ritual," require expensive ventilation and exact "a high price in employee morale."

Over and over, articles aimed at managers stress that by making workers quit smoking, anywhere from \$300 to \$1,000 per smoker per year can be added to the till. And, as a nice bonus, corporations get a made-to-order mechanism for all-out repression of the workforce. In true Big Brother fashion, USG Acoustical Products (a defendant in thousands of lawsuits brought by workers who got lung disease through working with asbestos and other fibers) has threatened to use urine tests to detect workers who smoke, *even at home!* Business has never been overly concerned with job-related health risks to workers, from the now notorious asbestos industry to the horrible mutilation of packing-house workers: it's "part of the job." But given a chance to control the private lives of the workforce, the ruling-class killers of tens of thousands of workers scream bloody murder about "liability" for "second-hand" smoke. *Profits*, not health, are the bottom line of the anti-smoking crusade.

The airlines, for instance, are gleefully jumping on the anti-smoking bandwagon. Clean air for the passengers was never their strongest point anyway, but if it seems worse lately that's not because your seatmates are lighting up more often. *WV* spoke to the flight attendants union and several FAA officials who confirmed that the airlines are typically using only part of their air conditioning capacity, in the interests of "fuel efficiency." A Boeing 747 has three air conditioning packs, a 737 has two, but frequently they run on



Capitalist profit drive means coal miners dying of black lung, industrial pollution poisoning atmosphere.



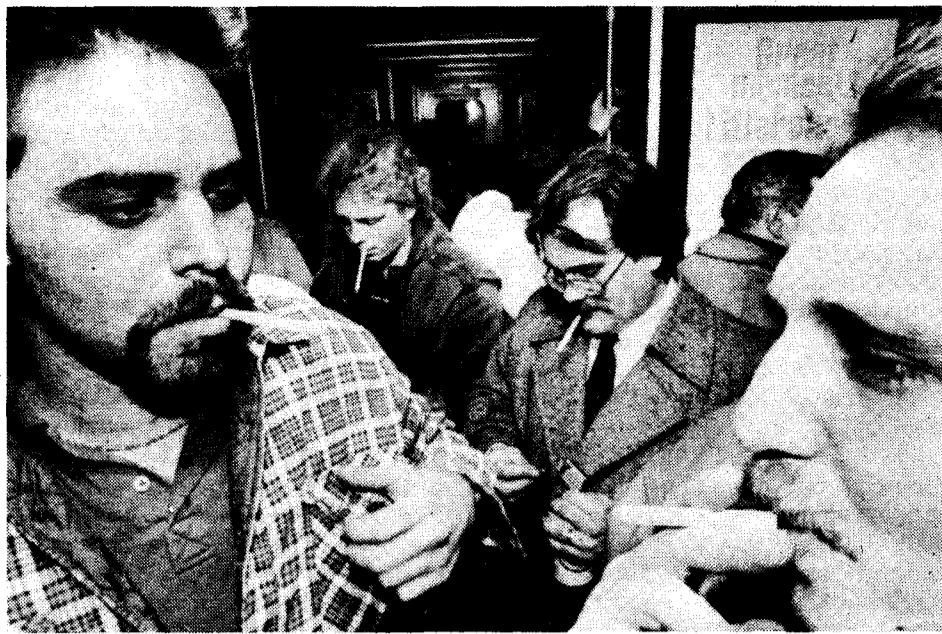
one: there are no FAA requirements for minimum ventilation standards. Extra air is routinely pumped to the cockpit to keep the pilot and copilot functioning efficiently and to cool the instruments: "I know that's been an issue for some time, why does the crew get ten times the air as the passengers, and so on," an FAA official told us. So instead of banning cigarettes, how about turning on all the air conditioning units with their filtering capacity?

It's completely within the power of modern technology to adequately ventilate airplanes, offices, wherever. Even in taxis—Jerry M.'s heartfelt point—where you have a really small enclosed space, it's easy enough to completely separate the driver from the passenger, like in the big London taxis, adding greatly to driver safety (as CB radios would also), privacy, and keeping smoke in the appropriate area. But proper ventilation isn't profitable. In new office and institutional construction, heating, ventilation and air conditioning (HVAC in the trade) is the second most expensive component in finishing a building; and since electrical wiring is pretty strictly regulated by codes, and insurance companies inspect closely (because of fire danger), HVAC is a prime target for cost-cutting. You get lousy air quality so the board of directors can breathe easy about their bonuses and stockholder dividends.

In fact, ventilation has been getting worse, not because of smokers but because corporate owners decided after the mid-'70s increase in oil prices to become more "energy efficient." Their solution was to cut down—in fact, almost eliminate—the intake of fresh air in the ventilation systems of newer construction. This has created the phenomenon of the "sick building," where all the chemicals, molds, viruses and bacteria are simply recirculated through the building, with the result that office workers get sick a lot. In addition to clogged filters, contaminated air ducts, etc., a five-year study of 240 buildings found more than a third had their air intakes completely sealed off (*New York Times*, 8 May). Another found fungi levels "comparable to that in a chicken coop or a swine confinement facility" (*Heating/Piping/Air Conditioning*, February 1986). More and more office workers are crammed into ever smaller workspaces in buildings with no windows and minimal outside air, and they blame smokers for fouling it up!

### The Medical Evidence

As Peter Berger, a Boston University sociologist, recently noted (*New York Times*, 24 April), the furor over "passive



Last smoke on the LIRR; NYC waitress posts smoking ban.

Michael Ach



AP

smoking" is "not because of the weight of the evidence but because of the ideological usefulness of the idea... What people believe comes from placing faith in a certain authority. People say, 'The Surgeon General said so.'" Surgeon General C. Everett Koop gets on TV in his gold-braided admiral's uniform, and everyone is supposed to believe it is true. Koop has won respect for his relatively (by Reagan standards) decent position on AIDS, but people forget that he was put in office as an anti-abortion crusader. And the data this spokesman for the Reagan administration has marshaled to back up his drive against smoking falls far short of proving anything.

S. Colman queries our statement that medical evidence on the effects of "secondary smoke" is "inconclusive." So what is the "proof" cited by proponents of smoking bans? The 1986 U.S. Surgeon General's report on *The Health*

*Consequences of Involuntary Smoking* makes three major assertions: 1) "Involuntary smoking is a cause of disease, including lung cancer, in healthy non-smokers"; 2) "The children of parents who smoke, compared with the children of nonsmoking parents, have an increased frequency of respiratory infections..."; and 3) "Simple separation of smokers and nonsmokers within the same air space may reduce, but does not eliminate, exposure of nonsmokers to environmental tobacco smoke."

The Surgeon General's report cited 13 major studies, six of which he claims show some statistically significant correlation between "passive smoking" and lung disease, cancer in particular—and not a large correlation at that. Even taken at face value, you have to be wary of spurious correlations. As *Chest* (September 1985), a journal of thoracic medicine, pointed out, "associations may exist that have nothing to do with

causation, such as the parallel decline in European birth rates and the stork population," or a recent international study which showed a higher correlation of lung cancer with beer drinking than with cigarettes. Moreover, the studies cited are scientifically highly suspect. Seeking an aura of scientific respectability, the Surgeon General's report even acknowledges many of the criticisms, admitting for example that two studies were "not designed to study the long-term effects of involuntary smoking," or that "the findings of this study were questioned because the diagnosis of cancer was not pathologically confirmed in 35 percent of the cases." But having failed to refute many of these criticisms, the report accepts the validity of the studies!

A 1987 article by West German biostatistician K. Überla in the *International Archives of Occupational and Environmental Health* reviews the available studies, noting: "None of the six case control studies yielding a positive relationship" produced "reasonable and sound evidence which cannot be explained by chance, bias, confounding or misclassification." Even the one study which may show a real correlation, of about 200,000 Japanese women, is tainted: who is or isn't a smoker was determined once, in 1965—if a subject forgot she had smoked previously, didn't report that she smoked or started smoking later and died of lung cancer, she was listed as a non-smoker. There was also no consideration of exposure to other substances in the workplace, outdoor and indoor air pollution, genetics, food, medical care. Überla also points out that if "side-stream smoke" were an important causal factor, smoking pipes would be a much higher risk than it is for lung cancer; non-smoking bartenders should also have a higher incidence, which hasn't been shown. The review concludes:

"The volume of accumulated data is conflicting and inconclusive. The observations on nonsmokers that have been made so far are compatible with either an increased risk from passive smoking or an absence of risk."

The Surgeon General's second assertion, over the effect on children, has the most emotional impact. Studies indicate it's probably true that infants under one year of age who live with parents who smoke are subject to an increased risk of respiratory infections. This would stand to reason with infants' smaller pulmonary passages and developing immune systems. However, even here, if you take into account parental respiratory symptoms—i.e., baby got bronchitis because

continued on page 8

# Smoking Letters

Workers Vanguard

To the Editor,

Whenever I'm near a lit cigarette, my lungs sure feel it!

—as I ponder that article last 1-29 about medical evidence re secondary smoking as "inconclusive..."

That article, I'd say—along with the one last year on the same topic—is the ultimate in naivete! True, it's a *problem* when the *capitalist state* does the anti-smoking regulation. But to call it "Health Fascism" is stretching matters (reminiscent of the early-'30s German CP calling Social Democrats "social fascists").

Some, not many but *some* measures merit working-class support. Like (as the SL indeed supported) the school busing of last decade.

Or like the anti-smoking ordinances, increasing as they may be. I'd not support illegalizing junk foods, booze or even harmful drugs. If somebody is damn fool enough to indulge these, to

wreck his body, that's *his* business. But to wreck other bodies by way of puffing away? Its secondary effects on others? Uh uh! The right to poison the air? Uh uh!

No, I'll not wait until medicos tell me conclusively on the effects of secondary smoking. My lungs, throat are already telling me!

S. Colman

\* \* \*

Dear Editor,

Civil Rights for Smokers! Human Rights for Taxicab Drivers!

...I drive a taxi in New York City. Every week I spend 28 to 36 hours behind the wheel. This is my work space. According to the rules and regulations of the Taxi and Limousine Commission (T.L.C.) I have no power over my work space... According to the rules and regs I am not allowed to have a C.B. in the car, a matter of simple safety. I am supposed to go wherever the passenger

tells me to go, period. According to the rules and regs I am not supposed to defend myself from attack. If this isn't enough, until recently a passenger could light up or tell me to put out a cigarette at will. When I drive I eat exhaust fumes all day long. But I can't smoke a cigarette if I wish. And until recently I couldn't tell the passenger in the back seat to put out a cigarette if it bothered me. This is my work area and I should have control over it....

As long as I am on the subject. Nicotine is addictive and probably more harmful than heroin. This is an argument for the legalization of heroin. But it is also an argument for treating nicotine addiction the way any other addiction would be treated in a rational society; well funded support systems, free medical care and free therapy... state intervention should be fought but self-help networks to break the addiction should be promoted.

I find it curious that you give no attention to the tobacco industry in any of your articles on this issue. For years it sold death as good health. I remember cigarette commercials saying that to-

bacco was good for the digestive system and was recommended by doctors. The U.S. government has subsidized and supported the tobacco industry in its rapacious destruction of farm lands, expropriation of small farmers and exploitation of workers. It would be good in one of your articles if you would mention the tobacco industry and its lies and extortions, which are no more or less than any other capitalist enterprise, but still deserve some attention.

Finally, your analysis of the cultural significance of the health nut movement is basically correct. But let me point out that it is a movement of despair that is essentially anti-political. People who have no control, over the way they see this society destroying the environment, and despair at ever having control, maintain an obsessive illusion of control by going to the health food store or attacking cigarette smokers. One breath of L.A. or N.Y.C. air on a normal day probably damages the lungs more than all the secondary tobacco smoke inhaled over the course of a week in a smoke filled room.

Jerry M.

# Anti-Smoking Crusade...

(continued from page 7)

mommy caught the bug first—the evidence of a connection is not so clear. And this tendency disappears altogether among older infants. A review of studies through 1985 reports, “A deleterious effect of passive smoking in older children is unproven” (*Chest*, September 1985). Factors which have been ignored in most studies include use of gas stoves for cooking, low birth weight, the number of siblings, poor nutrition, crowding in inadequately ventilated housing, and lack of medical care. *And these are all the more important as poor and working-class parents are far more likely to smoke.*

As for the Surgeon General's third “conclusion,” that it is hard to segregate smokers' air from non-smokers', this is undoubtedly true. But there is something that can be done about it other than discriminating against smokers—namely, improved ventilation. All the report has to say on this, in one short paragraph out of 64 pages of policy recommendations, is that it “can be

ing the smoking section on a 16-hour San Francisco-Tokyo round trip would inhale the amount of nicotine of one cigarette. Japanese researchers testing smoky pubs, cars, etc., found in all-day monitoring that the highest “dose” was equal to one-third of a cigarette. But it's yet to be proven that there is any correlation between such low levels of inhaled smoke and serious pulmonary disease. And there is hardly the evidence which would justify such drastic measures as banning smoking.

The vague conclusions of the Surgeon General's report rest on poor scientific foundations. There is presently inadequate evidence to justify the bans and the social heat being put on smokers. What's called for is not a hysterical witchhunt against smoking but accurate and precise studies to determine the effects of environmental tobacco smoke on non-smokers, and to determine effective measures to ensure decent air quality. But you aren't going to get that from this government of Moral Majority crusaders, whose hypocritical “concern” for the health of “passive smokers” goes hand in hand with their callous disregard for AIDS victims, not to mention tens of thousands of

breath, wracked by coughing, spitting up blackened sputum. And after years of research, study and hard labor struggle, it was finally admitted that a disease exists. A 1972 pamphlet by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) estimated that 125,000 active and former miners suffer from coal workers pneumoconiosis, commonly called “black lung.” A UMWA official estimated that 4,000 miners die from the disease yearly.

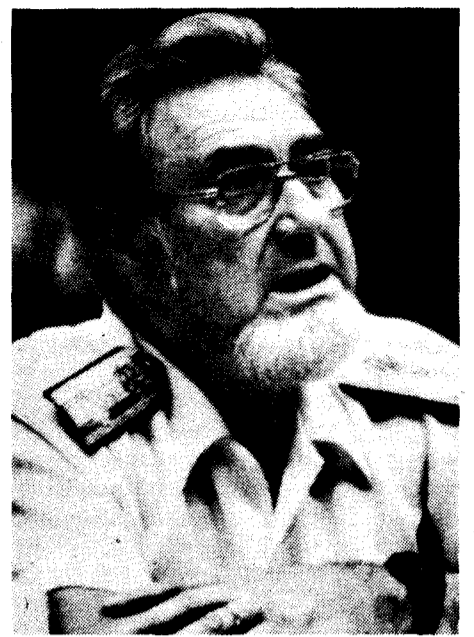
And it's not just coal mines. According to the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), at least 150,000 of 800,000 textile workers in the United States suffer from byssinosis—brown lung—caused by inhaling cotton dust in the mills. Thirty-five thousand of these are totally disabled (ACTWU, *The Right to Breathe*). Construction workers, dock workers, seamen and others exposed to asbestos get a pulmonary disease known as asbestosis. According to the Association for Mariners' Rights, a study by a Mt. Sinai doctor showed 39 percent of those who sailed in the engine department get asbestos-related diseases (*On Watch for Health and Safety*, March 1987). And a U.S. Department of Labor pamphlet reports, “Nearly half—45%—of all asbestos workers will die from some form of cancer.” In the smelting industry there is antimony pneumoconiosis; in aircraft manufacturing, it's beryllium disease; in foundries, quarries and masonry you get silicosis. The list goes on and on.

And for black workers, concentrated in the most dangerous, dirtiest and lowest-paying jobs, the statistics are much worse. As compared to whites, black workers have a 37 percent greater chance of suffering an occupational illness, and are 1.5 times more likely to be severely disabled from job illnesses and injuries (Frank Goldsmith and Lorin Kerr, *Occupational Safety and Health* [1982]). The bosses, of course, blame all industrial respiratory diseases on smoking—the routine response from coal operators when faced with demands for black lung benefit payments. But the miners responded with class struggle. A three-week political wildcat strike by 30,000 West Virginia miners in 1969, culminating in a UMWA march on the state capitol, finally forced passage of a bill making black lung a compensable disease.

In 1986, 11,700 people died from work-related causes and 1.9 million were disabled by injuries at work. Industrial accident rates in high-risk occupations are soaring and many workplaces are deathtraps because of the bosses' “economy” drives; safety inspections are all but nonexistent. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (7 September 1987), a report based on data from the National Safety Council and the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that “nearly 6,000 workers in high-risk jobs who died in the first half of the 1980s would still be alive” but for the decline in enforcement of standards by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. Out in “lotus land,” California governor Deukmejian last year tried to get rid of CalOSHA, the state inspection agency, entirely! As profit margins fall, the bosses' attention turns to chopping safety measures, cutting the workforce and squeezing every last penny they can out of those who remain.

## “Are You Now or Have You Ever Been... a Smoker?”

On the heels of the Surgeon General's report, municipalities, states and companies began pushing anti-smoking laws and policies. Most were passed and went into effect with barely a whimper. Across the country, cowed smokers have retreated to stairwells, fire escapes or back alleys to enjoy a cigarette. Soon job applications will read: “Are you now or have you ever been a smoker?” The attempt to make smoking into an anti-social activity ominously recalls the



Der Spiegel

**Surgeon General C. Everett Koop fuels anti-smoking hysteria.**

days of McCarthyism and the '50s ditty, “if your mommy is a commie, turn her in.” Indeed, there has been a rash of children turning their parents in for having drugs at home (see “Drug Witchhunt,” *WV* No. 410, 29 August 1986). To talk of “health fascism” here is not entirely facetious—the Nazis encouraged such junior finks (and Hitler, by the way, was a rabid anti-smoker).

The argument about tobacco industry power is specious. Yes, cigarette ads used to claim that smoking was good for the lungs and stomach, and the companies poured a lot of money into finding “proof” to deny the very real risks of smoking. But all that proves is that the tobacco industry's “moral standards” are no better or worse than any other capitalist endeavor—which is to say they're for profit first, last and all the time. Interestingly, the *Guardian*, who awarded us the “Jesse Helms Memorial Tobacco Leaf,” last year ran an article headlined, “Tobacco is Moral Equivalent of Krugerrand.” The author of the 29 July 1987 article claims that smoking represents “personal financial investment” in “a system that should elicit hatred, revulsion.” This is the same liberal moralizing that urges American corporations to divest (usually at a profit) their South African holdings. But U.S. imperialism isn't one whit more “moral” than Botha's racist regime, your hands aren't any cleaner for not touching krugerrands, and smoking is the moral equivalent of... smoking.

Sociologist Barry Glassner ruefully notes that if the current trend of regulating and regimenting our behavior continues, “we'll have a homogenized population in which everybody will be within the recommended weight ranges, and nobody will smoke anymore, and nobody will drink and everybody will work out” (*New York Times*, 7 May). In the end, all that clean living may do zilch for your health. But it will help regiment the population for greater productivity and profits, and make people into excellent cannon fodder for war. And when you're in the trenches, they'll probably start passing out cigarettes again like they did in WW II to keep soldiers alert. ■



Durand/Sipa

**Drug raid in Florida—will smokers be next?**

prohibitively expensive.” Studies have been done to figure the amount of ventilation required to create a comfortable environment; one calculated that two to four times the going rate of fresh air flow in a typical office would remove the irritants of cigarette smoke. However, the researcher noted, “increased ventilation as a measure to protect passive smokers is not recommendable from the energetical point of view” (*Tokai Journal of Experiments in Clinical Medicine* [1985]). For “energetical” read “profits.”

The starting point for any consideration of the medical effects of “passive smoking” is that the volume of smoke inhaled is tiny compared to that of someone smoking a cigarette. One study shows that an airline stewardess work-

psychiatric patients thrown onto the streets or millions disabled by industrial accidents.

## Industrial Deathtraps

With all the yuppie yapping about health through clean living, what about the truly murderous respiratory diseases caused by polluted air at industrial job sites? Millions of workers spend upwards of 43 hours a week in atmospheres infinitely more poisonous than that in an air conditioned office where people light up cigarettes. In coal pits, the miners work in grimy, poorly ventilated shafts where swirling dust clogs the lungs. Company doctors used to claim that coal dust was actually beneficial to health. But miners knew that after years in the pits they were short of

# WORKERS VANGUARD

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# Polish Strikes...

(continued from page 3)

Bush proclaimed, "I am proud to be standing beside Lech Walesa, a man so well respected in the United States" (*Chicago Tribune*, 29 September 1987). The crowd responded by chanting, "No freedom without Solidarity! Long live Bush! Long live Reagan!"

Wojtyla's prayers and Bush's praise were unable to restore the influence of Solidarność. But the economic pressures on Poland, for years bled white by the IMF, were rapidly building toward a working-class explosion. These were the same conditions which originally gave rise to Solidarność.

## IMF Bankers Bleed Poland

Poland's debt to Western bankers—some \$36 billion—amounts to \$1,000 for every man, woman and child in the country. This is equivalent to the annual wage of the average worker. Poland has been paying off the debt at \$3 billion a year. By depressing living standards and starving industry for investment funds, the Jaruzelski regime has managed in recent years to run a balance of trade surplus of about \$1.5 billion annually.



Sygnia

**Soviet leader Gorbachev encourages Polish general Jaruzelski (right) to impose savage austerity program on behalf of Western bankers.**

But Warsaw still has to borrow just to meet its existing debt service.

By last year it was clear that Polish workers had reached the end of their rope and would resist further austerity measures. Even the official unions, which Jaruzelski set up to replace Solidarność, complained that social benefits and housing in Poland were much lower and much worse than in other Eastern bloc countries. And when the Jaruzelski regime first proposed big price hikes last spring, the official, bureaucratized unions declared this "unacceptable to working people" and implicitly threatened to strike against it.

Nonetheless, the Jaruzelski regime went ahead with plans for sweeping market-oriented reforms dictated by the IMF: elimination of most, or all, subsidies for consumer goods; closing down unprofitable enterprises; expanding the scope of small-scale private capital; and encouraging foreign investment. Pro-

# Waterfront...

(continued from page 5)

Moreover, hundreds of longshoremen came back from Pittsburg, CA on March 19 with a sour practical taste of Jackson in "action" and copies of *WV* in their pockets (1,265 copies of *WV* were sold in Pittsburg that day). ILWU bureaucrats hustled the ranks up there under the pretext of fighting scab contractors at the USX-POSCO steel plant and "non-ILWU" work on the Pittsburg docks. What they got were speeches by Jackson and a bunch of flag-waving bureaucrats spewing racist protectionism—and no action against the scabs.

But then, the whole point of Jackson's campaign is to divert workers' and blacks' hatred of Reagan and the

fessor Jan Mujzel, one of Jaruzelski's top economic advisers, is quite blunt: "I have no doubt that we will see bankruptcies and unemployment.... Reform requires much harder conditions for all working people" (*Wall Street Journal*, 10 April 1987).

The Jaruzelski regime has loudly identified its economic reforms with Gorbachev's *perestroika* (restructuring). And there are indeed important similarities. However, the main authors of the Polish "reforms" do not reside in Moscow but in the IMF headquarters in Washington. As a public relations ploy, Jaruzelski & Co. held a referendum last November on the austerity program. Over half the registered voters either abstained or voted against so that the referendum failed. Still, the Warsaw Stalinists pushed ahead with the price hikes, despite knowing full well they were heading into a confrontation with the Polish working class.

## For Revolutionary Internationalism!

The *New York Times* maintains that there were "no winners" in the recent strike wave in Poland. In a sense that is true. The Jaruzelski regime is totally discredited. Everyone knows that economic "reform" is just a code word for severe austerity measures, and nobody believes the promises of "democratization." At

the same time, the working class and society at large show little support or loyalty for Solidarność. It is doubtful that many Poles want Lech Walesa, who acts like a holy idiot, to govern their country.

Both the Stalinist Jaruzelski regime and the Solidarność opposition serve as transmission belts for international finance capital into Poland. At the height of its strength in 1981 Solidarność demanded that Poland join the IMF, which in fact Jaruzelski did a few years later. Thus the Polish working class is totally without leadership to resist the extortion of the Western bankers.

Economic desperation is driving Polish workers to struggle. In the next months we can expect at least localized strikes over wages. However, there can be no question of economic recovery as long as the surplus produced by Polish workers is turned over to the

bosses away from hard class struggle. Our highest sales to Local 10 members last year (*WV* No. 434, 7 August—102 copies sold) were when an especially rotten sellout contract was being rammed down the ranks' throats: "Defend the ILWU! Shut Down the Coast!" was the *WV* headline; *PDW* didn't even oppose the Jimmy Herman/Rudy Rubio takeaway deal.

When longshoremen have wanted to fight, as at Redwood City in '87 when they ran scabs off the docks, or at a time when they were voting down the sellout contract, they have looked to *WV*. *Workers Vanguard* is a genuine communist paper that tells the truth, a weapon in the struggle to forge an integrated, revolutionary workers party. Buy it—read it!

27 April 1988



no credit

**Lech Walesa flaunts money from Western backers; Pope John Paul Wojtyla, godfather of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność.**



Burnett/Contact

imperialist loan sharks. Yet no political grouping in Poland demands repudiation of the debt—not even the shadowy "leftists" of the so-called Workers' Opposition Alliance, promoted internationally by pseudo-Trotskyist Ernest Mandel. The Workers' Opposition Alliance blames the economic crisis solely on "the parasitism, the incompetence and the dictatorship of the Stalinist bureaucracy" (*International Viewpoint*, 27 October 1986).

All tendencies from the most rabid anti-Communist nationalists to the most hardline Stalinists take for granted that Poland must endure years of hardship to repay Western bankers. This view was stated clearly by a Polish academic visiting Harvard, Jan Chowaniec, last year in a letter to the *New York Times* (31 March 1987):

"...Poland owes to her Western creditors a total of \$33.5 billion. To meet that challenge alone will require years of belt-tightening policies and huge sacrifices from the whole of Polish society. However, I am afraid that before the Poles can be either fed or housed better, they will first have to work harder, produce more, export more and pay their foreign debts."

Jaruzelski's economic advisers would dismiss any talk of repudiating the debt as wildly unrealistic. The bankers would retaliate by organizing a boycott of Polish exports in Western markets. Poland could not then pay for vital imports of food and raw materials. Its economy would totally collapse. Moreover, no economic assistance could be expected from the Soviet Union, especially under Gorbachev. In fact, Gorbachev would strongly oppose Poland's repudiation of its debt to Western creditors.

This is all quite true. What it proves is that there is no solution to the Polish crisis within the framework of national-

ism or Stalinism. Only a proletarian political revolution can liberate Poland from the IMF because only a revolutionary workers government can affect the international conditions to counter imperialist retaliation. Only from the standpoint of socialist internationalism can Polish workers effectively appeal to Soviet workers, who have their own reasons for opposing and resisting Gorbachev's market-oriented reforms. At the same time, revolutionary workers in Moscow, Warsaw and East Berlin would have the moral authority to appeal to workers in West Europe and the United States against imperialist economic warfare against East Europe.

The Polish bureaucratically deformed workers state was established by a social revolution carried out from above by Stalin's Russia in the aftermath of World War II. For some years now Polish workers have been deluded that their liberators are in the Vatican and White House. In reality Wojtyla and Reagan, acting through Solidarność, have conspired to bring about a bloody counterrevolution in Poland as a step toward destroying the Soviet Union. Aiding in the delusion of the Polish working class have been Western social democrats, Eurocommunists and pseudo-Trotskyists like Ernest Mandel, who for years have screamed, "Solidarity with Solidarność!"

Now it appears that Polish workers have become disillusioned with Solidarność. It is only by returning to the road of proletarian internationalism, exemplified by Rosa Luxemburg and the early Polish Communist Party, that Polish workers can liberate themselves from the Stalinist bureaucracy and the bloodsuckers of the IMF. For a Trotskyist party in Poland, section of a reborn Fourth International! ■

## SPARTACIST

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# Reagan's Star Wars...

(continued from page 1)

wondered, what if all of us in the world discovered that we were threatened by a power from outer space, from another planet?"

At least one section of Reagan's constituency is deeply offended. "It's obviously troubling to think of national leadership being influenced by superstition.... It seems so medieval," said a Reagan stalwart. Sounds downright secular humanist, except this is the head of the National Association of Evangelicals, the Rev. Robert Dugan, talking. He's upset that Reagan is abandoning Jesus Christ to dabble in the works of Satan! The Moral Majority must be furious with Nancy, too, who Regan reports snapped, "I don't give a damn about the right-to-lifers" as she was censoring a point on abortion in a Reagan State of the Union talk.

These latest tidbits from rats deserting the White House bunker have a familiar ring; indeed many have made the obvious analogy to that other imperial couple, the weak Tsar of All the Russias and his scheming, strong-willed Tsarina, who ran the court through "Our Friend," the mad monk Rasputin. Trotsky's portrait of the Romanovs in *The History of the Russian Revolution* evokes eerie parallels to Reagan hobnobbing with Ollie North and the terrorist contras:

"This dim, equable and 'well-bred' man was cruel.... This crowned black sheep gravitated with all his soul to the very dregs of society, the Black Hundred hooligans. He not only paid them generously from the state treasury, but loved to chat with them about their exploits, and would pardon them when they accidentally got mixed up in the murder of an opposition deputy.... This 'charmer,' without will, without aim, without imagination, was more awful than all the tyrants of ancient and modern history."

As for the Tsarina, Trotsky commented, "This Hessian princess was literally possessed by the demon of autocracy.... She believed the more inflexibly in her vocation, the more naked became the foulness of the old regime." Alexandra Romanov wrote her husband: "Don't yield. Be the boss. Obey your firm little wife and our Friend. Believe in us." Trotsky noted that "Witte [the tsar's financial minister] called this ruling circle, against which he himself twice stubbed his toe, 'the leprous court camarilla'."

A similar atmosphere of lunacy emanated from Hitler's bunker in the last days of his empire, as William Shirer pointed out in *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*. As bombs were falling and the Red Army was advancing to liberate Berlin, Goebbels "sent for two horoscopes, which were kept in the files of one of Himmler's multitudinous



Media has field day with Don Regan revelations, exposing high priestess of Reagan cult (right).

'research' offices." Results of both Hitler's horoscope and that of the Weimar Republic amazingly buoyed the mad *Führer*, revealing that Germany would have a hard time in April 1945, but "starting in 1948 she would rise again." Too late for Hitler, it was under NATO that German imperialism revived.

Knowing they're stuck with Reagan for another eight months, the more "responsible" media and politicians are hastening to pooh-pooh all the scandal, dismissing astrology as merely a "charming" eccentricity. Why, they do it in Russia, too, the *New York Times* (14 May) wrote in a front-page story, no doubt with the Moscow summit in mind. The more far-sighted guardians of the American bourgeoisie are not at all amused by the "kiss and tell" books: after Iran/Contragate, "damage control" was messy enough, and more leaks about how they've got a total idiot as their commander in chief isn't going to help restore confidence in the declining American empire.

Maybe millions of Americans do look at their horoscope after reading the comics in the daily paper, secretaries visit fortune tellers for lunch-hour fun,



Der Spiegel

New Age Colorado entrepreneurs try to bend forks with mental power. But most people get pretty worried when they see the most powerful leader of the Western World, who's got his finger on the nuclear button, staring off at the stars. Astrology, which originated in ancient Babylonia as a means of predicting the will of the gods, probably made as much sense as any other religious superstition back in the days when people thought the earth was flat (has anybody seen a globe in the Oval Office lately?). But Galileo, Newton, science and all that other "secular humanist" subversive stuff has never gotten much



Ewing Galloway

Mad monk Rasputin (second from left) mesmerized decaying Russian tsarist autocracy but couldn't save it.

of a hearing from the current inhabitants of the White House.

Four years ago we headlined "Keep God Out of It! Religion in the Elections" (*WV* No. 363, 28 September 1984), pointing out that one of the most fundamental gains of the American bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1776 was separation of church and state. Must we now add, "For Separation of Zodiac and State!?" The tidal wave of enforced intolerance that has swept America in the last decade didn't begin with Ronald Reagan, but with his born-again Christian predecessor. As Marxist materialists, we understand that religion in *all* its forms, from the most ancient superstitions to the most "up to date" theological speculations, are at bottom reflections of ruling-class ideology given heavenly sanction, and a desperate search for solace by the ignorant and oppressed in a heartless world.

In the United States of late, religious fundamentalism of the "Moral Majority" ilk has been pressed into service by a reactionary government increasingly frustrated in its attempts to enforce prayer in the public schools, forbid the teaching of evolution, and eliminate women's right to abortion. We communists believe people have the right to worship or not worship whatever they choose, but imposing reactionary religious obscurantism on the rest of humanity must be stopped.

The real danger of this regime is not so much that a couple of lunatics in the White House think the stars guide their destiny, but that the imperialists are prepared to plunge the world into nuclear holocaust against the USSR in order to defend the profound irrationality of the capitalist profit system. Reagan's fond of attacking leaders he dislikes, from Daniel Ortega to Qaddafi, as "loony tunes dictators." Sure, there's a lot of nuts in this world: Panama strongman Noriega, for example, is into astrology, too. But even Khomeini looks rather more rational than Reagan's gang of "smoke and mirror" sorcerer's apprentices with their gifts of cakes, Bibles and pearl-handled revolvers.

And this loony's got the bomb. His real "Star Wars" plans, all the ridiculous bombast about an "impenetrable protective shield" aside, are geared toward a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Reagan believes in the Biblical prophecy of "Armageddon" in our time. As we commented about "The Armageddon Debate" (*WV* No. 366, 9 November 1984):

"We Marxists are fighting for the future of humanity in *this* world. And we are determined that, just as the decadent, crazed and corrupt court of the tsars was swept away by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, so this increasingly bizarre and desperate ruling class must be swept away by workers revolution. Isn't it a 'portent' that this capitalist ruling class has long outlived its usefulness that it has chosen as its leader a certifiable nut? To cite not scripture, but Euripides: those whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." ■

# "Drug War"...

(continued from page 1)

Ecuador for "training," the enraged Ecuadoran congress voted to expel all U.S. forces. Earlier this year a ham-fisted kidnapping of an alleged drug trafficker in Honduras managed to evoke such a hostile response in that puppet dictatorship that leftists and rightists joined forces to burn the American embassy.

Ironically, it was the military which pointed out that the new legislation is a sweeping violation of constitutional law. A Pentagon spokesman lectured Congress: "This country, for over 200 years, has kept the military out of civilian law enforcement.... The United States military has not been empowered to arrest American citizens, and we don't think that it is the time now to break that precedent." Of course, the military brass had no qualms about

deploying troops and tanks to quell the 1967 Detroit ghetto rebellion.

But the generals and admirals are not sanguine about the prospects of being sucked into harebrained adventures in various cocaine kingdoms around the world. They remember only too well how 241 Marines got blown away when Reagan ordered them into Beirut. And the bizarre idea of sealing the borders against drug penetration, as the Pentagon warned Congress, would require pulling in a sizable chunk of the U.S. armed forces deployed around the world.

If the American government really wanted to do something about international drug trafficking, it could start by abolishing its Central Intelligence Agency. From the notorious activities of Air America in the "Golden Triangle" of Southeast Asia in the '60s to the Nicaraguan contras and Afghan mullahs today, the CIA is one of the biggest international dealers around. Rea-

gan's contra terrorists got nowhere on the battlefield against the Sandinistas, but they made a mint exporting drugs to the U.S. on their CIA supply planes.

Washington's bumbling attempts to remove Panamanian strongman Noriega have stumbled over the fact that the general has been on the CIA payroll under both Carter and Reagan, and is not only heavy into drug-running and money laundering but knows plenty about The Company's involvement as well. Now *Newsweek* (23 May) revealed that a key Washington operative in the contra drug network worked through Bush's security adviser Donald Gregg.

The "war on drugs" is a hypocritical sham. From the start a prime purpose has been to promote the regimentation of the population for war, and to justify escalating cop terror in the ghettos and barrios of the inner cities. Legalization of these drugs would destroy the drug trade overnight by taking the profit out of it, and a few Democratic mayors

(Washington, Baltimore, Minneapolis) have advocated this. But the Democrats are running point in the insidious "war on drugs." While Nancy Reagan's "Just Say No" campaign works the white suburbs, Jesse Jackson taps the misery of the black ghettos with the same message.

As we wrote in "Down with Meese's Drug Witchhunt!" (*WV* No. 400, 28 March 1986): "Laws against so-called 'crimes without victims'—drugs, gambling, prostitution, sodomy and homosexuality—threaten the privacy and rights of everyone and should be abolished." The human devastation wreaked by widespread crack and heroin addiction in the ghettos cannot be done away with without eliminating the social conditions which cause it: vicious racial oppression, unemployment, poverty, homelessness and hopelessness. And that requires nothing less than socialist revolution. U.S. Hands Off the World! ■

# Gruesome Racist Murder in Cleveland

CLEVELAND—April 23 was a day of horror in the second most segregated city in the U.S. On that day, a three-week-old black baby was killed by racist punks who drove his aunt off the road, and a homeless black man was run down and *decapitated* by a racist killer in a car.

Brian Fletcher, 21, was accused by two white passers-by of robbing an elderly white man, and a pack of racists chased and beat Fletcher and another shelter resident. Fletcher managed to escape, and was returning with help from the shelter when one of the racists, Robert Schulte, screamed to watching police, "I'll show you how to handle

these n-----s!" Schulte got into his car and deliberately rammed Fletcher as he was crossing the street, throwing him into oncoming traffic and gruesomely beheading him. Schulte, who was indicted by the Cuyahoga County grand jury for "aggravated murder," is free on bond pending arraignment later this month.

Later that same day, a black family from Toledo, visiting friends in Cleveland Heights, was terrorized by two racist thugs, Thomas Gallagher and Jeffrey Anderson, who hurled racist insults and glass bottles at the family's car. In trying to avoid a bottle, Denise Wiley, the driver, lost control and hit a telephone

pole; the impact threw her sister, Angela McFarland, through the windshield. Three-week-old Darris McFarland, who had been sitting on his mother's lap, was killed. Denise Wiley's 11-year-old son, Stephan, needed 35 stitches in his face. The two killers have been charged with "involuntary manslaughter," with a maximum sentence of ten years. In both cases, the police have denied any "racial motivation" on the part of the killers, calling the murder of baby Darris a "traffic altercation"!

Over 200 people attended the funeral service for Brian Fletcher on April 28. In response to popular outrage over these racist atrocities, the NAACP held a press conference on April 29, at which Mylion Waite, director of the Interchurch Council of Greater Cleveland, called the deaths "vehicular lynchings." The president of the Cleveland NAACP, James Hardiman, called on the U.S. Justice Department to investigate the murders.

The criminals who murdered Brian

Fletcher and Darris McFarland deserve to be locked up for the next century! But the racist U.S. Justice Department is headed by Ed Meese, who ran the COINTELPRO war against the Black Panthers in California for his boss, then-governor Reagan, and who praised Mayor Wilson Goode of Philadelphia for the racist firebombing of MOVE. Likewise, the racist Cleveland cops are responsible for the execution of Michael Woods in 1982, as well as for the outrageous numbers of young blacks who "commit suicide" in their jail cells each year.

The deeply racist U.S. "justice" system rests on decaying capitalism which targets labor, blacks and all the oppressed for cutbacks, unemployment and union-busting, and threatens nuclear WW III against the USSR. To stop the racist rampage, the power of labor and blacks must be mobilized in struggle for socialist revolution which will avenge the murders of Brian Fletcher and Darris McFarland! ■

## Philly MOVE...

(continued from page 12)

former mayor Frank Rizzo, and now by Wilson Goode. Prominent black journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal sits on death row, framed on charges of killing a cop. All Philly labor, from the powerful longshoremen to the combative teachers, sanitation and transit unions, must demand *freedom* for all the victims of racist cop terror! Save Mumia! Free Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners!

### The Signature of the Reagan Years

The grand jury report can't disappear the horror of what took place on Osage Avenue: "An urban disaster of scarcely imaginable proportions resulted...eleven people died, an entire neighborhood lay in ruins, and two hundred and fifty people lay homeless." *But not one single person who carried out this hideous racist crime is even indicted!* The 279-page document goes through legal contortions to exonerate the "Big Four": Goode, city Managing Director Leo Brooks, Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor and Fire Commissioner William Richmond. For the grand jury, "even if Goode's conduct was otherwise criminal" it was a "justified...use of deadly force," and "that was his management style—that day"! But they can't hide the stench of deliberate premeditated mass murder. Testimony before the grand jury revealed that:

- The massive cop assault *began* with the use of C-4 plastic explosive charges like "hand grenades" against the MOVE home on Osage Avenue. Police "Stake-out" teams repeatedly detonated powerful explosives throughout the MOVE house.

- Sambor ordered the cop who made the bomb used on the roof to "use frag and shrapnel if you have to, to get them mother fuckers."

- The cops repeatedly perjured themselves to cover up the fact that it was the FBI which provided 37.5 pounds of C-4 in January 1985.

The grand jury simply dismisses the witnesses who testified before the MOVE Commission two years ago that "police gunfire prevented some occupants of 6221 Osage Ave. from escaping from the burning house to the rear alley." Despite the fact that firefighters—Vietnam veterans—heard semi-automatic fire in the alley which could only have come from the massive police arsenal, the grand jury decided only a dozen shots were fired, and those by a MOVE member!

Under instructions not to indict the real criminals, the grand jury's report is shot through with the obscene conclusion that MOVE brought it on themselves. The whole "investigation," like the massacre of MOVE itself, has the smell of Ed Meese, who praised Wilson Goode's murderous assault as a "good example." And no wonder—two days

the report transforms MOVE into "an extremist group, well-practiced in the art of urban terrorism" to justify 570 cops with machine guns, automatic rifles and an anti-tank gun pouring 10,000 rounds into a home with eleven black men, women and children.

This past weekend, city activists gathered under the auspices of the Ameri-

massive labor-centered demonstrations back on May 13, 1985, Ramona Africa would not be in jail today. The labor movement has the power to bring this city to a halt!" Gene Herson, a militant in the National Maritime Union and a supporter of the Spartacist League, added: "From the bombing of the black community in Tulsa in 1921 to MOVE in 1985, this is the nature of the racist capitalist system... We must build a workers party with an integrated leadership that can end this system and put the working class in power."

But the union tops, who were criminally silent on and after May 13, continue to bind the integrated labor movement to the racist Democratic Party and Mayor of Murder Goode. In the recent Democratic Party primary, Philly workers and blacks were faced with the obscene spectacle of Jesse Jackson standing shoulder to shoulder with the man who bombed black Philadelphia! Like the Philly city fathers who need Wilson Goode to discipline the heavily black city unions, Jackson stands by this Democratic Party front man for Reagan reaction.

An *Inquirer* editor living in the USSR in 1985 mocked the coverage of the MOVE massacre in the Moscow press: "The Soviets got right to the nub of things—drawing the immediate and obvious connection between the Reagan administration's handling of MOVE... and its grander plans to eradicate the socialist motherland" (9 May). In fact, the mass murder of Philly MOVE came on the heels of Reagan's salute of Nazi SS graves at Bitburg. The war-crazed regime in Washington emulates the Third Reich as they bomb black babies at home, surrogate targets for their holy war against the Soviet Union. The victorious American proletarian revolution will, among its first tasks, avenge the MOVE martyrs. ■



TWU Express

Jesse Jackson rallies with Mayor of Murder Wilson Goode and transit union local president Roger Tauss (right) in Pennsylvania Democratic primary.

before the massacre, SWAT team agents from the FBI approved the plan of the Philly cops as "sound."

The report could have been written in the White House basement, as part of the "anti-terrorism" war on blacks and labor. MOVE's "crimes" were: they were black, they didn't kill insects, they didn't pay their electric bill, they thought they had the right to defend their home. But

can Friends Service Committee to "confront and move beyond the horrors of that terrible day." But what is needed is not the liberal calls for "atonement" and "education," and hopes of a "better" Democratic Party mayor, which dominated the meetings. At a community forum Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Paul Cooperstein pointed to what is necessary: "If there had been

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Bombing of Philly MOVE Was Racist Murder!

# Grand Jury Can't Wash Blood Off Mayor Goode's Hands

It's "the worst whitewash I've ever heard in my lifetime," said Osage Avenue resident Wayne Renfrow. "It seems like a political conspiracy to commit murder." Renfrow was angrily denouncing the report of the grand jury that investigated the massacre of the Philadelphia MOVE group on Mother's Day, 13 May 1985. It was a police racial revenge murder of eleven black men, women and children. Millions watched the scene on TV as the killers in blue bombed the MOVE home, and deliberately burned down the entire black neighborhood. But the carefully guided grand jury exonerated every single official behind this obscene crime—from "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode to the cops who fired on MOVE family members desperately trying to escape the holocaust.

Issued almost three years after the bombing of MOVE (and conveniently delayed until after Goode's re-election and the recent Pennsylvania Democratic primary), the grand jury report outraged many Philly residents. A minister aptly likened the assault on MOVE to the U.S. Army's slaughter of Vietnamese peasants at My Lai. Even members of Goode's hand-picked 1986 MOVE commission were incredulous that the D.A.'s report, approved by a 16-to-4 vote of the grand jury, absolved the cops and Goode. Commission member Julia Chinn said, "I'm totally speechless.... We know 11 people died on May 13. How can they say no one



Barger/WCAU-TV



Meyers/NY Times

**Holocaust on Osage Avenue, 13 May 1985: Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and Police Chief Sam Borner (inset, right) ordered firebombing of MOVE commune, killing eleven people and burning out entire black neighborhood.**

should be penalized for it?" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 May).

After three years, the *only* person convicted for the events of May 13 is the sole surviving adult *victim*, Ramona Africa. She remains in Muncy state

prison under a seven-year sentence, denied parole because she refuses to bow to the D.A. and the parole board, who demand she have nothing to do with MOVE. Alberta Africa, who was held in prison for seven years under the

same condition, finished her sentence and was released on May 13 this year. Eleven other MOVE family members remain imprisoned, victims of a decade and a half of state terror—run first by *continued on page 11*

## Chicago: Protest Stops "Right to Life" Bigots

CHICAGO, May 7—Emboldened by clinic blockades in New York, anti-abortion bigots here, led by the sinister Joe Scheidler, hoped to shut down the Michigan Avenue Medical Center for Women and other downtown clinics today. But when the 20-odd "pro-lifers" showed up, they were met by a militant demonstration of over 60 people determined to defend the clinic against the right-wing creeps. The bigots were prevented from blockading the clinic entrance and from harassing women going in, and had to content themselves with an abortive curbside rally about 50 yards away.

A contingent of the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club, Labor Black Struggle League and Partisan Defense Committee participated in the demonstration called by the National Abortion Rights Action League and the International

Socialist Organization. The social-democratic ISO generally shuns the communist SL like the plague, but they couldn't exclude us when we showed up with a militant integrated contingent that doubled the size of the demonstration. The result was an effective united front that successfully defended the clinic.

The frantic attempts by the "god squads" to shut down clinics is a sign of frustration over their failure to make abortion illegal in this country. Joe Scheidler, who orchestrated the New York blockade, is a particularly dangerous element. Scheidler was arrested in June 1986 for storming and smashing up the twice-bombed Ladies Center in Pensacola, Florida. Against the deadly threat of these "right-to-lifers," the Spartacist League has insisted: Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights! ■



WV Photo

**Spartacist contingent in May 7 Chicago protest against anti-abortion terrorists.**