

Mass Upheaval Deepens, Berlin Wall Opened For Political Revolution in East Germany!



Wallis/Sipa



AFP

Berliners celebrate opening of the Wall (left). November 8: SED (Communist) party members' demonstration in East Berlin. SED ranks have demanded "return to Lenin."

After decades of enforced "peace and order," during which contradictions accumulated under the heavy-handed rule of East Europe's seemingly most entrenched Stalinist regime, this fall the lid finally blew off the East German

pressure cooker. Beginning in August, tens of thousands of youth streamed west, first through Hungary, then Czechoslovakia and Poland. The 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic (DDR) in October was met

with mass opposition demonstrations that escalated week by week. Hundreds of thousands marched in Leipzig and then up to a million in East Berlin. In order to head off the protests, ailing DDR chief Erich Honecker was ousted

and replaced by his former protégé Egon Krenz. When this didn't stop the protests, the cabinet resigned en masse, followed by the Politburo. In a desperate effort to get a step ahead of events,

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Workers Soviets Must Rule in All Germany!

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Workers Party!

We print below the text of the statement issued by the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands*, German section of the *International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)*, 200,000 copies of which are now being distributed in Berlin.

Workers throughout the world seeking the rebirth of genuine commu-

nism are watching the dramatic events in East Germany. "Russia was the spark—Germany will be the flame," proclaimed a banner, a slogan from the KPD of the '20s, in the massive November 4 East Berlin demonstration. The developments in the DDR [German Democratic Republic] pose pointblank *proletarian political*

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Penguin Books

For the Communism of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht!

Anti-Abortion "Socialists"

October 19, 1989

To the Editor:

Under the banner of "Church and Family," religious bigots are using the emotionally charged abortion issue as part of a general program of social reaction to reverse all the gains of the Enlightenment. From the death penalty speedup to Congress' recent censorship of the "indecent" homoerotic art of Robert Mapplethorpe, the reactionaries are trying to destroy not just a woman's (already enfeebled) right to abortion but a whole range of cultural advances in civilization.

The barricades in the abortion rights fight should be raised high. Women are not incubators for the government. A woman should not be forced to stay pregnant against her will by a church, state, or father. Feminist "pro-choice" forces, however, duck for cover as the

anti-abortion gangsters start shooting by granting the "pro-family," "pro-religious values" terms of debate to their opponents.

The National Organization for Women, for example, which regards women as a "special interest" pressure group on the Democratic Party, doesn't want to alienate anti-abortion but "pro-choice" Democrats, like New York's Catholic governor Mario Cuomo. In line with this bourgeois viewpoint, NOW failed to protest the cuts in Medicaid funding for abortions in 1976, which mainly affected poor, black women rather than its white, middle-class base.

Recent Planned Parenthood fundraising ads also shamelessly pander to the forces of reaction: "The tragedy is that responsible family planning programs do more to actually avert abortions than the anti-choice campaign of violence and intimidation ever can"

(Ms., October 1989). My local Planned Parenthood chapter recently called off an independently planned rally in its defense, arguing that it didn't want to create publicity for the anti-abortionists who had been blocking the clinic.

The American replay of the Nazi "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" (children, kitchen, church) campaign not only shifted mainstream bourgeois opinion to the right, it has also had a deforming effect on political currents and bywaters ostensibly to the left of liberal feminism.

Christopher Hitchens, for example, a well-known columnist with the left-liberal weekly, the *Nation*, offers a "socialist" anti-abortion program. In its 24 April issue, he called for a "historic compromise" that would "end the dialogue of the deaf between those who shout 'murder' and those who dully reply 'no problem'." Hitchens proposes to criminalize abortion, but also, good left-liberal that he is, to provide women with free contraceptives, sex education, a national adoption service and some health care.

Emboldened by the attacks of the Bible bigots, Hitchens essays an evenhanded, reasonable "compromise" halfway between socialism and barbarism.

Hitchens wants to combat the "Me Decade" possessive individualism" of middle-class women who wish to control their own bodies. Such women don't have "working-class women[s]... enforced revulsion at the idea of the disposable fetus." To this worthy end "society [will] make women a serious proposal." "Society," apparently devoid of women itself, will "claim a right and interest" in the "unborn child." Women will be "compelled to bear a child" (his phrase!) unless they are raped or their physical or mental health is endangered, but in return society will set up the "socialist" reforms mentioned above.

Well, I don't know what state Hitchens lives under but I'd hate to see what type of "Just Say No" sex education is supposed to come out of the Bush administration. The Catholic Church-inspired opposition to the French

abortion pill RU 486, which would eliminate the need for many hospital abortions and give women greater sexual autonomy, shows that the anti-abortion movement is really anti-women. Given its religious motivation, any actual anti-abortion social movement in America existing somewhere other than the pages of the *Nation* would also be against sex education and health care.

We should also place the current anti-abortion mobilization in historical perspective. The Nazi Party in 1934 banned abortions for all "Aryan" women, on the grounds that women owed a duty to "the Aryan nation" to breed as many Germans as possible.

The clerical-fascist Meir Kahane (aka Mike King) calls abortions among Jewish women the "Second Holocaust," because he thinks Jewish women owe it to "the Jewish people" to make enough babies to replace those murdered by the Nazis. The Begin administration in Israel proposed a law, only narrowly defeated, that would require a woman who was considering an abortion to watch a slide show featuring pictures of dead children from Nazi concentration camps. Hitchens might wish to reflect on the past history of the idea that "society," "the nation," or "the state" has a right to use women as breeders.

Hitchens is not the first social democrat to combine anti-abortion laws with welfare reforms. Alva Myrdal, an influential adviser to the Swedish Socialist government in the 1930s, opposed the "Russian family ideology of the 1920's" and the "individual radicalism of the Russian abortion laws of the 1920's" in an effort to promote "increased aggregate fertility... and improved quality of the population stock" in Sweden (Myrdal, *Nation and Family*). To this end Myrdal recommended a "carrot and stick" approach to the Swedish population. The state would provide free health care and a welfare program including rent aid to poor families with children, combined with a complete ban on abortions except for rape, danger to the woman's health, or "eugenic grounds."

Planned Parenthood president Faye

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For Soviet Power in Germany!

In November 1918 the war-weary German masses rose up, toppling the Kaiser and forming workers and soldiers councils (soviets). The new Social Democratic government of Ebert and Scheidemann sought to maintain the capitalist-imperialist order in the name of "democracy" (bourgeois parliamentarianism). The Spartacusbund led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg called for a soviet government allied to Bolshevik Russia. The Social Demo-



LENIN



TROTSKY

cratic regime and the military high command crushed the Spartacus uprising in January 1919, utilizing the Freikorps fascists who then murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

In the sequel, the beheading of the German proletarian vanguard—the absence of a hardened, tested communist party like Lenin's Bolsheviks to lead the mighty German workers movement to power—proved critical for Europe and the whole world. The German revolution of 1923 was defeated, leaving Soviet Russia isolated and prey to Stalin's Thermidor, while the terrified German bourgeoisie turned to Hitler's fascists. The German defeat led straight to the transformation of the revolutionary Comintern into an instrument of betrayal for anti-revolutionary gangsters like Stalin (and epigones like Walter Ulbricht) who murdered communists while refusing to fight fascists, as well as to Nazi genocide and the carnage of imperialist world war.

This quotation is taken from Liebknecht's speech to a mass demonstration in Berlin in mid-December 1918:

Comrades, fellow soldiers, and friends. Today, when the first Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils assembles, is a historic moment.

The first task facing the congress is to defend the revolution and defeat the counterrevolution by disarming all generals and officers, abolishing the previously existing military authority, forming a Red Guard to complete the social revolution, and rooting out the remaining counterrevolutionaries. And, I might add, even though it will upset some misguided and misled proletarians, that includes the Ebert-Scheidemann government....

What we have right now in Germany is not a socialist republic but a capitalist one. The proletariat must still bring the socialist republic into being through struggle against the present government, which is buttressing capitalism. We demand that the congress assume full political power so that it can institute socialism and that it not turn the power over to a national assembly, which would not be an organ of the revolution. We demand that the congress of workers' councils extend the hand of friendship to our Russian brothers and invite them to send their representatives. We want world revolution and the unification of workers of all countries under workers' and soldiers' councils.

—Karl Liebknecht, "The Congress Must Assume Full Political Power" (December 1918)

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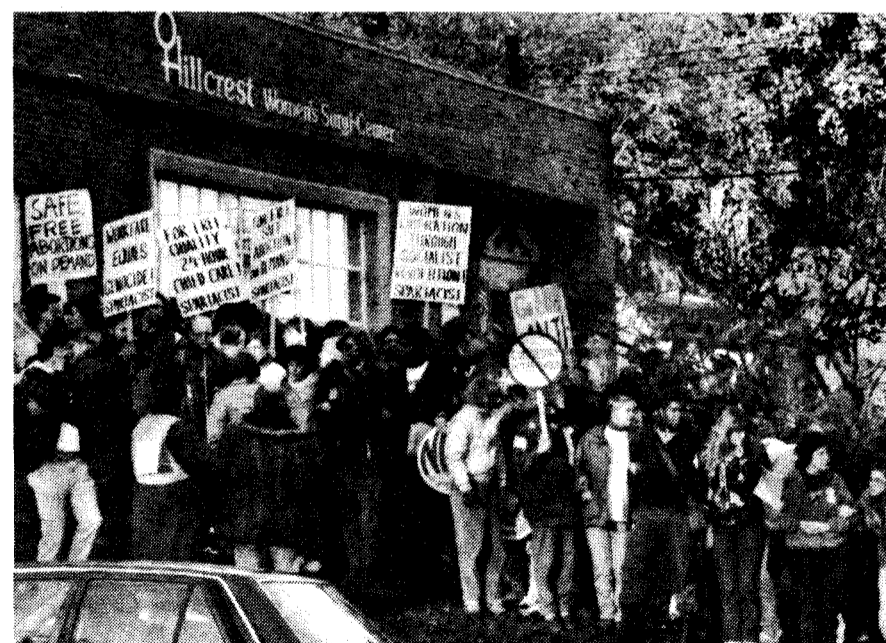
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WASHINGTON, D.C.—Spartacists joined 600 abortion rights defenders at the Hillcrest Women's Surgi-Center, November 11. Early that morning, cops ordered NOW/NARAL "clinic escorts" away from the door, allowing "Operation Rescue" anti-abortion bigots to rush in and block access, after which police slowly removed the blockaders. The big turnout of women's rights activists showed a growing will to defend the clinics against the anti-woman fundamentalist squads. The big NOW rally the next day was designed to defuse this militancy into electioneering for Democratic—and even "pro-choice" Republican—politicians. NOW outrageously tried (but failed) to get the cops to ban the SL and other leftists from distributing literature at the Lincoln Memorial; we sold over 2,000 copies of *Workers Vanguard*, *Women and Revolution* and other Spartacist literature.

Democrat Dinkins No Answer for Workers, Minorities

Black Mayor Elected in New York, Barely

The headquarters city of U.S. imperialism will soon have its first black mayor. On November 7, David Dinkins, the black Democratic Manhattan borough president, narrowly defeated his Republican rival, former federal prosecutor Rudolph Giuliani, in a New York City mayoral race that was as ugly as it was long. Claiming victory before a jubilant, integrated election-night crowd, Dinkins thanked the "gorgeous mosaic" of New Yorkers for his victory. Across town there was an orchestrated backlash rally: a ballroom of Giuliani's own lily-white supporters wouldn't let their Great White Hope concede and hollered "No!" as he preached his obligatory unity calls. As one observer

90 percent of the black vote, two-thirds of the Hispanic vote and about 30 percent of the whites. But in a city where Democrats outnumber Republicans five to one, Dinkins' final margin of victory was barely two percentage points, the narrowest since 1905. Poll results released just the day before the election had Dinkins winning by 14 to 18 points. But when it came down to it, tens of thousands of whites who said they would vote for Dinkins wouldn't pull the lever for a black man. They even lied coming out of the voting booth—a *New York Times*/CBS News exit poll had Dinkins up by as much as 15 points. In the end, nearly nine out of ten Giuliani supporters were white, and he carried

and even Giuliani shifted away from his long-standing opposition to abortion, claiming his position was the same as Dinkins, but nobody believed it.

The *Wall Street Journal* (8 November) declared: "Mr. Wilder's victory shows the way for a new generation of moderate black politicians." Wilder's campaign, according to the leading financial organ of American capitalism, "stressed his mainstream appeal to white voters," talking about "economic development, not economic empowerment" and avoiding racial issues. The victory of these "second generation" moderates does signal a new strategy in black bourgeois politics. The "first generation" of black mayors were installed



WV Photo

David Dinkins

pulling out an overwhelming black vote, they had to at least give lip service to black concerns, the better to co-opt them.

But this "new generation" doesn't disturb the "comfort factor" like Jesse Jackson who goes around walking picket lines, hugging Yasir Arafat and telling blacks "our time has come." Thus Douglas Wilder is for the anti-union "right to work" laws, which won him big business support. Many Virginia voters didn't even know Wilder was black, and he certainly never let on. Campaigning in the "white flight" suburbs of northern Virginia, Wilder declared he was against statehood for the District of Columbia, the 70 percent black capital whose citizens are still disenfranchised.

"They'll Take It From Me"

On October 29, the *New York Times* endorsed Dinkins for mayor, frankly laying out the ruling class' rationale:

"The next mayor will have to ask for, and sell, sacrifice to all New Yorkers, most notably the poor citizens hurt most by reductions in city services. Mr. Dinkins seems better qualified to persuade all New Yorkers to share the burdens ahead."

In January, David Dinkins will become the mayor of a city where one in four is officially below the poverty line, where conservative estimates put the number of homeless at 90,000. Less than half the kids now in public schools will get a high school diploma. The NYC health system no longer guarantees rooms in its emergency wards. Those wards are in permanent trauma, due to the epidemic of AIDS, drugs, and "diseases of poverty" such as tuberculosis, once nearly eradicated. And every day the city's

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Der Spiegel

Dinkins calls for more cops, here seen wading into August 31 protest against Bensonhurst lynch mob murder of Yusuf Hawkins.

put it, "What Koch is to loud, Giuliani is to mean."

Commenting on Dinkins' victory in New York, that of Douglas Wilder, the first black governor in Virginia, and black mayoral victories in Seattle, New Haven, Cleveland and elsewhere, the *New York Times* (9 November) attributed the results to the "maturing of white America." Hardly. Election day '89 revealed the dirty secret of American bourgeois politics—racism—as black candidates who polls predicted would win with double-digit margins barely squeaked by. But the fact that a number of new black Democrats were elected is indicative of a shift in the political winds away from racist reaction, and especially widespread opposition to the Republicans' anti-abortion line. Many had high-level backing of the bourgeoisie, who see hard times ahead and see "black moderates" as the ones who can push "sacrifices" down the throats of labor and minorities.

Dinkins' big win in the September 12 Democratic Party primary came with New York at the flash point after the murder of black youth Yusuf Hawkins by a racist mob in Bensonhurst. With a palpable sense of a city on the verge of race war, the legacy of 12 years of the loudmouth racist pig Koch, and the mean racist Giuliani in the wings, Dinkins campaigned as the "unifier" who could heal the escalating racial tension in the city. This mood had largely evaporated by the time of the general election.

Dinkins won by carrying more than

more than 60 percent of the Jewish vote, despite its being traditionally solidly Democratic.

It was precisely to pull a racist vote from Jews that borscht belt bigot Jackie Mason was brought in as Giuliani's honorary campaign chairman. No mere foul mouth, Jackie Mason is a supporter of the Zionist fascist Meir Kahane who wants to send the Palestinians to extermination camps. The *Village Voice* blew Mason out of the water by quoting him spouting racist filth such as telling Giuliani supporters during a fund-raising lunch at the Plaza Hotel, "There is a sick Jewish problem of voting for a black man no matter how unfit he is for the job." It later came out, Mason had called Dinkins "a fancy *schvartze* with a mustache"—a racist term for blacks—in front of Giuliani and *Newsweek* reporters. Giuliani joined in the laughter and *Newsweek* sat on the story.

"Second Generation Moderates"

On November 7, black candidates won five major races where black voters were in the minority. In Seattle, New Haven, Cleveland and Durham, North Carolina, black Democrats were voted in as mayors. The question of abortion was a big issue in a number of contests, from Virginia to New York and even New Jersey's foul gubernatorial race. In Virginia, Democrat Douglas Wilder became the first elected black governor in U.S. history, in a Southern state with a small black population, by focusing on his opponent's anti-abortion stance. Dinkins stressed his "pro-choice" stand

in office in the wake of the 1960s ghetto explosions, precisely to cool out the ghetto with the promise of change through putting in a few "black faces in high places." Elected in predominantly black cities like Washington, D.C., Atlanta and Detroit, politicians like Marion Barry, Coleman Young and Andrew Young had come to prominence in the civil rights movement. With their electoral strategy based on

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Bay Area Quake Relief for the Rich

SAN FRANCISCO—In our article "Freeway Death Trap—A Capitalist Crime" (WV No. 488, 26 October) we detailed the criminality which led to the collapse of the Nimitz freeway and the deaths of dozens of people in the October 17 Bay Area earthquake. The criminality continues in the treatment of some 14,000 made homeless by the quake. Official relief efforts have been so blatant in their racist arrogance and class bias that one local newspaper headlined its scathing commentary, "A Tale of Two Cities." "While quake victims in other neighborhoods went hungry after the quake," reported the English-language Japanese American *Hokubei Mainichi* (26 October), "Marina residents were provided with gourmet pizza, mineral water and fresh strawberries."

The "nouveau homeless" yuppies of the largely white and wealthy Marina district have been pampered with everything from free caviar and oysters to free masseuses. But less than a week after the quake, more than a thousand people who had taken refuge in Moscone Convention Center were booted out and bused over to the Presidio army base and a Navy helicopter carrier, where they were then subjected to body searches. One Marine at the ship said, "I thought we were going to be heroes, but



Christian Science Monitor

Marina's "nouveau homeless" yuppies are pampered while poor, blacks and Hispanics get the shaft.

here we are acting like prison wardens" (San Francisco *Examiner*, 23 October). People deemed to be "pre-quake homeless" face eviction from shelters set up in schools by the Red Cross, as do some 2,500 people in Alameda County, many from condemned residential hotels in Oakland, made homeless by the quake.

The residents of black West Oakland, whose valor saved most of the peo-

ple who were pulled out alive from under the rubble of the collapsed freeway, are being punished for their heroic efforts. When they rushed out of their homes to rescue survivors, they were denounced as "looters" by cops with drawn guns. Then they were thrown out of their houses; some told how cops threatened to arrest them if they were not out of their homes in five minutes. On October 22, 100 homes had their

power shut off by Caltrans (Department of Transportation) and Pacific Gas and Electric without notice. Penniless residents watched their food spoil for three days until the NAACP raised enough of a stink to get the power restored.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) is doing everything it can to obstruct relief to working-class and minority families. A local FEMA official decreed that to qualify for assistance it was necessary to "verify that you were a victim living in transient accommodations, and you were there for over 30 days." So, if your "papers" aren't in good order, you can starve in the streets. Meanwhile, FEMA has prevented the use of readily available army barracks or mobile homes in Oakland and Watsonville (where thousands of mainly Mexican cannery and farm workers lost their homes). Then again, the only "emergency" the highly secretive FEMA is designed to manage is the establishment of martial law.

When the poor of France demanded bread 200 years ago, Marie-Antoinette contemptuously replied, "Let them eat cake." The vicious and arrogant American ruling class deserves the same historical fate as the decadent nobility which was swept away by the French Revolution. ■

Watsonville Homeless: Seize the Empty Condos!

In the aftermath of the October 17 earthquake that struck the Bay Area, we reported on the disastrous situation facing the heavily Mexican and Chicano working-class town of Watsonville, located less than 20 miles from the epicenter. By now it's commonplace even in the bourgeois press to note that while the posh Marina district of San Francisco grabbed all the attention, and most of the resources, black and Latino areas have been ignored. Hardest hit by the quake, Watsonville has also been hit hardest by the government's racist clearing-up effort.

But the thousands of agricultural workers in this area have a history of militant class struggle. Three years ago, predominantly Latina women workers in the frozen food packaging plants, organized in Teamsters Local 912, waged a bitter 18-month strike against an attempt by the agribusiness barons to crush their union. Last month, nearby Salinas was the center of a hard strike by Teamsters and agricultural workers against the Bud company, the largest lettuce grower in the country. Now Watsonville earthquake victims are organizing against vindictive federal and local government efforts to bury their plight... and drive them out.

Even before the quake put some 2,000 to 3,000 people on the streets, many Watsonville families were doubled up or paying \$400 a month to live in vermin-infested garages. City officials, intent on turning Watsonville into a posh "bedroom suburb" for Silicon Valley yuppies, seized on the quake devastation to force out the poor and Mexican workers entirely. While homes in wealthier areas were given green tags meaning they could remain, many working-class homes were red-tagged for the wrecker's ball. As Alexander Cockburn observed in the *Nation* (27 November), "To observe citizens there seemed to be a politically coherent pattern to [city

manager John] Radin's allocation of red tags."

When scores of families made homeless by the quake set up a tent city in Callaghan Park in the center of town, city fathers tried to remove this "eyesore" by cutting off food supplies. They wanted to force the homeless to relocate to the official shelter in Ramsay Park,

workers with a recent history of militant class struggle, refused to be cowed and fought back. On October 28, the city council pulled back from its attempt to sweep out the people.

The next day, some 400-500 people staged a march through Watsonville, headed by United Farm Workers leaders Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta,



Watsonville, October 29: marchers demand decent housing and earthquake relief for dispossessed Chicano and Mexican workers.

WV Photo

supervised by the National Guard. Mexican workers justifiably feared that any undocumented immigrants would be sitting ducks for *la migra* once they registered at the official shelters. "They came to take us away to Ramsay Park, but we wouldn't go," said Rosa Maria Suarez. "You have to check in and check out." "It's like a concentration camp," added another Callaghan Park resident. But the people in Callaghan Park, many of them agricultural and cannery

demanding "*queremos casas*" (we want houses) and "*casas si, carpas no*" (houses yes, tents no). Amnestying the federal government's racist "relief" efforts, Chavez claimed "Congress has provided the funds," and pinned all the blame on racist city council officials. "If the city doesn't move," Chavez promised that the UFW "will file suits to make them give us the land" to build affordable housing (Watsonville *Register-Pajaronian*, 30 October). Chavez' bot-

tom line was to vote in the good guys and vote out the bad in upcoming local elections on December 5 as the way to get federal earthquake money.

The December 5 elections are the result of a successful challenge in the Supreme Court to an at-large voting system which essentially disenfranchised the Mexican community. But the challengers in the election, several backed by pro-Democratic Party leftists like the Communist Party or the League for Revolutionary Struggle/Unity, offer no concrete alternative policies. The LRS-backed candidate tried to wrap himself in the Mexican flag by sidling up to ex-presidential candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas when he visited town on November 18. Meanwhile, thousands of Watsonville workers can't vote at all because they are "illegal" immigrants. Labor militants must demand full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families!

Two weeks after Chavez' disgusting apology for the federal government's racist "relief" effort, some 20 Latino and community organizations in the area filed a petition with the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) charging that it discriminated against poor and non-English-speaking earthquake victims. "The Oakland Bay Bridge was put together in almost a month. The pavilions in Santa Cruz were put up over the weekend," said local health worker Maria Corralejo. "We're four weeks into this disaster and we still have yet to receive a trailer" for temporary housing (Watsonville *Register-Pajaronian*, 16 November).

What the working people of Watsonville need right now is not futile appeals to the federal government or hot air electioneering but some hard class struggle. The October 29 protest marched past a nearly completed development of more than 100 "executive style homes of distinction" (price tag over \$200,000) off Pennsylvania Drive, while Pajaro Dunes on the other side of town is the site of a largely unused condo complex of summer homes. So let's put some teeth into the slogan "*casas si, carpas no*" by mobilizing the social muscle of Teamsters, UFW and other unions throughout the area to back up the homeless and seize these empty luxury homes! ■

Boston's Racist "Search on Sight" Dragnet

For the past six months, the black community of Boston has been subjected to a grotesquely racist "search-on-sight" policy in the area including Roxbury, Mattapan and parts of Dorchester. Under the policy, officially announced as part of a police campaign to "aggressively go after suspected gang members," thousands of black youth have been subjected to harassment, provocation and brutality by the cops. This is the contribution to the "war on drugs" by Boston's pseudo-populist anti-busing liberal mayor Raymond Flynn.

These "searches" are not mere pat-downs. Testimony in recent trials reveals a pervasive pattern of police behavior: gun-wielding cops have set upon black kids, grabbing their throats, forcing open their mouths so that they can be "inspected" for drug consumption. Black males are routinely forced to take down their pants in public so their genitals can be "inspected" for hidden weapons. If you're young and black and out after sundown, this constitutes "suspicion of criminal activity" in the eyes of the cops.

These dragnets have escalated in the wake of a heinous killing outside Brigham and Women's Hospital in Mission Hill October 23, where a black robber shot and killed a pregnant white suburban woman, Carol Stuart, and severely wounded her husband as they were leaving childbirth classes at the hospital. (The baby, delivered by caesarean section just before the mother died, itself died several days later.) Whipping up a racist furor, newspapers and television reports doted on every lurid detail of the heinous crime, which is being called the Boston version of the Central Park rape and mugging in New York City



Tlumacki/Boston Globe

Boston "war on drugs" means indiscriminate cop terror against black youth.

last spring.

In the "media overkill," as the *Boston Phoenix* (27 October) called it, there was no outcry over a black man, James Moody, who was senselessly shot and killed that same evening as he sat in his car. The cop response to the Stuart murder was immediate and characteristically vicious. The racist search policy was escalated to the point where more than 200 black males per day were stopped, searched, frisked and "questioned" in the Mission Hill area alone. The white racist politicians raised a hue and cry to bring back the racist death penalty into the penal code of the "Commonwealth." The liberals' response has been to push for more gun control.

As the cop terror continues without respite, a wave of revulsion against the

constant harassment is rising in the black community. Rev. Graylan Ellis-Hagler has announced that a court suit on behalf of at least 30 victims of cop provocation would be filed in federal court later this month. A public hearing has been scheduled for November 29 at the Roxbury YMCA for black youth to testify about their victimization. And state representative Bill Owens has announced a "community summit" at UMass-Boston on December 8 to discuss the cop abuse.

It is only by accident that the search-on-sight policy has not yet produced a racist killing by the cops. On October 10, Rolando Carr, a 30-year-old construction worker, was shot in the arm and in the side as he was forced to join a group of black men being searched near

the Franklin Hill housing complex. Carr was ordered to empty his pockets, and when he reached for his keys, a trigger-happy cop fired, supposedly mistaking the keys for a gun. No weapons or drugs were found.

The search-on-sight policy is a gross violation of the Fourth Amendment which supposedly guarantees against "unreasonable search and seizure." On two separate occasions, Suffolk Superior Court Judge Cortland Mathers declared the searches unconstitutional, even as they continued unabated. On the second occasion, he petitioned Massachusetts governor Dukakis' attorney general James Shannon to review the testimony of the trials related to the searches. Even before the transcripts could be sent, Shannon concluded... that there was no such policy!

Now even supporters of the racist cop vendetta have set up a phony "hot line" to take calls from victims of the police attacks. Since May, when the search-on-sight policy was initiated, there have been voices in the black community buying the racist logic of the "war on drugs." Minister Don Muhammad of the Nation of Islam, always ready to raise a vigilante squad in conjunction with the cops, joined with the racists in blue in demanding Judge Mathers resign when he challenged the search policies. Similarly, spokesmen for the "Drop-A-Dime" community "crime watch" organization, being considered as a national model by the Bush administration, have denounced opponents of the cop terror.

On the other hand, those "leaders" who can at least recognize cop brutality have no program to fight it, especially since it was initiated and is backed to the hilt by the local and state Democratic Party machines. Roxbury state representative Owens could only meekly appeal to Dukakis to "review" the review which his attorney general had already made. The NAACP and the ACLU have asked for investigations. Yet now word comes from New York that Boston's black deputy police superintendent William Celester, the chief spokesman for the cop terror, is being

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Gays Under Attack in California

SAN FRANCISCO—The November 7 elections in California dealt blows to democratic rights for homosexuals and AIDS victims across the state. In San Francisco, the Domestic Partners ordinance which would have granted limited legal recognition to gay and non-married couples was defeated. In Concord and Irvine, local anti-discrimination laws already on the books were struck down. Behind this backlash was the Catholic church hierarchy and an Orange County-based outfit called the "Traditional Values Coalition." These same bigots are spearheading attacks on abortion rights, opposing the teaching of evolution in the schools and perpetrating racist terror.

A month earlier, on October 6, SF cops brutally moved on gay demonstrators, sweeping through the Castro district in an arrogant, menacing display of martial law. ACT-UP led 250 protesters in a rally at the Federal Building, part of a nationwide day of protest against the government's refusal to massively fund research on AIDS. The protesters then marched to the Castro and were harassed along the route by a huge cop deployment. After some demonstrators lay in the street, police waded in, making over 60 arrests. Dozens of cops backed by motorcycles and paddy wagons moved down the streets, clubbing bystanders at bus shelters and penning people up in stores, restaurants and movie theaters. The SF cops



Marc Geller

SF cops turn Castro district into martial law zone in brutal assault on gay protesters, October 6.

have it in for gays. They're still smarting from the "White Night" of rage ten years ago, when gays chased the police from the steps of City Hall in an explosion of anger over the light verdict Dan White got for murdering gay leader Harvey Milk and Mayor George Moscone.

On October 7, hundreds protested the police quarantine of the Castro. Mayor Art Agnos was compelled to publicly condemn it—after all, gays represent a

substantial voting bloc for the Democratic Party. And Police Chief Frank Jordan sent his brother Jack, responsible for the cop sweep, into early retirement; a few others were reprimanded or reassigned. The SF cops have been getting away with murder for years. Agnos won the mayor's office in 1987 with the backing of the police "union," but the cops still don't much like this liberal mayor. Even when they nearly killed his friend, Farm Workers union vice pres-

ident Dolores Huerta, in a violent beating last year, Agnos carefully kept his hands off.

For years, San Francisco has cultivated the image of a civilized town where "alternate lifestyles" were tolerated. It became a "mecca" for gays. But as racist terror and cop brutality have mounted over the last decade, SF has also become the capital of "gay-bashing" by skinhead fascist punks, who take their cue from the cops. And even amid all the celebration of post-earthquake "togetherness," the gay rights ordinance was shot down. Meanwhile, the obituary pages of gay newspapers tell the grim story of thousands of young people who have perished from AIDS, which has also devastated the ghettos and barrios. The medical catastrophe has been compounded by the bourgeoisie's utter neglect and contempt for the victims.

Cop batons on the streets of San Francisco have pounded home the truth that the deep-seated oppression of homosexuals cannot be overcome by pulling the lever for the Democrats. The billions of dollars urgently needed for research on AIDS will not be forthcoming in a society based on medicine-for-profit. A revolutionary party must act as a tribune of the people in championing the cause of all the oppressed in the fight for a socialist society that will eliminate the root causes of the prejudice and discrimination that is inherent in this racist capitalist system. ■

Young Spartacus

Government—It's None of Your Business

Teens Do It

The Supreme Court, comprised of the evil Rehnquist and his gang, will soon decree whether teenagers needing abortions must first obtain parental consent. That's right—in reviewing Minnesota and Ohio "squeal rules," the Court could force a girl who's never even met her father to get his consent for her abortion. In many cases, a young woman faces parental vindictiveness and violence as the state drags her family into her private decision. If a young woman seeks consent by the court instead of her parents, then she must justify her entire sexual history before complete strangers who will decide the course of her future life. Parental consent laws—already on the books in 26 states—are nothing other than state-sponsored child abuse.

Sex is a lot of what being a teenager is all about, and it's none of the government's damn business! The hypocritical rulers of this country can't stop sex. But they can send teens who "do it" straight to hell—in this lifetime. The effect of these "squeal rules," which would require abortion clinics to fink on their young clients, is devastating. Soon after the law took effect in Minnesota, the birth rate for 15- to 17-year-olds climbed 38.4 percent, which means a lot of young women (and their babies too) were condemned to lives of poverty and ignorance. Of course, once the kid is born, the state doesn't care if you and it both drop dead. Only one in 50 teenage mothers finish college, compared to one in five among women in general. Last year in Chicago, while the clergy and the right wing mobilized to close birth control clinics in the public schools, a pregnant teenager shot herself in the stomach to induce an abortion.

Parental consent laws hit poor and black young women the hardest. In this racist society, black people are three times more likely than whites to be poor. Poor women are three times more likely to get an abortion—who wants to bring a kid into a world with no future? But to uphold bourgeois "morality," the state is essentially telling young women that

Democrats that is literally killing poor women by stripping them of welfare payments if they turn down a job, any job, even if it means slaving at standard wages and abandoning their kids. As Arkansas' public health director aptly put it, a poor teenage mother is "captive to a slavery the 13th Amendment did not anticipate."

dent newspapers under dictatorial powers of *in loco parentis*. Incredibly, this is happening at the college level too. The administration at Georgetown University, a Catholic institution, barred the student paper from running an advertisement for the huge November 12 abortion rights march in D.C.

The right to privacy has been blown to smithereens for youth as school authorities and cops invade students' private lockers in search of pot, *Playboy* or socialist literature. After a much publicized stabbing at Harper High in Chicago's black South Side ghetto, stu-

Spartacist contingent in July 5 New York abortion rights march denounces reactionary "parental consent" laws.



they must bear children, and then denying them the right to exist. In 1988 alone, 364,587 teenage girls became mothers, and the vast majority of them are trapped beneath the poverty level. Meanwhile, welfare has been gutted to "workfare"—a "reform" pushed by the

Parental consent laws come in the context of a mean and deliberate rollback of many democratic rights for youth. The Supreme Court has given school authorities a green light to trample the First Amendment protection of free speech by censoring stu-

dents were met each morning by a phalanx of cops who swept each of them with metal detectors. Forced to enter the school through separate male and female entrances, Harper students were subjected to random body searches by the cops. Their IDs are taken when they

Racists Target Black Student Leader

UW-Madison

Normally we wouldn't give a hoot about charges of financial chicanery in a student government. Such tedious squabbles are the routine business of kept leaders of student sandboxes. But something deeply racist and threatening is going on at UW-Madison—a big school whose very few black students have been steadily insulted, provoked, threatened, and violently assaulted over the last two years. Michelle Goodwin, a black student and co-president of the Wisconsin Student Association, is the target of an impeachment campaign by right-wingers whose handiwork has the stink of overt fascists.

Posters featuring a defaced photo of Michelle Goodwin and the slogan "Impeach the lying, thieving, whining bitch!" and signed "Real men who hate whining bitches" with an "S" styled as a Nazi SS lightning bolt, appeared on campus. Posters for Goodwin's multi-racial "Black and White Party" have been defaced with the Nazi SS logo and graffiti reading "Death to Race Traitors!" An anti-Goodwin group calling itself the "Point Blank Party" has taken rifle cross hairs as its symbol. Make no

mistake: these campus contras employ the symbols of racist violence to incite the real thing. One student senator leading the anti-Goodwin campaign also faces two felony charges for harassing women outside abortion clinics.

From the moment she took office, Goodwin drew the ire of the ultra-right for being black and duly elected. Now the racists seek to fashion a noose out of adding machine tape and lynch Goodwin for using student government funds to attend a youth festival in North Korea and establishing an exchange program with Palestinian students in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. The campus Zionists, who posture as the spokesmen for all Jewish people, quickly made common cause with unabashed Nazi-lovers running the "impeach Goodwin" campaign. While one right-winger provocatively asked Goodwin at a senate meeting if she planned to bring 100 Palestinian "terrorists" to UW-Madison, the Zionists, including the fascistic Jewish Defense League, called a demonstration against Goodwin and the Palestinian student exchange program.

The "Black and White Party" preaches reliance on the university administration as the answer to racist attacks, demanding in addition to a "vice chancellor for minority affairs"



Michelle Goodwin

Hunter/Daily Cardinal

and a "multi-cultural center," a ban against "offensive speech." This is bullshit—and dangerous besides. The job of the university administration is to enforce the racist status quo—and they've sure been doing it. Minority enrollment has plummeted at UW-Madison while the administration coddles racist frat rats who hold "slave auctions" and physically attack black students. The administration treats these bigots with velvet gloves, at most requiring them to take "sensitivity courses," while unleashing their cops

on anti-CIA protesters who were beaten and jailed. Would you leave it to this administration to determine what speech is "offensive"? They would outlaw calling an imperialist pig "an imperialist pig" while giving an "A+" in "sensitivity" to some white frat rat who beat up Jews and blacks.

Amid protests against racist attacks at UW last fall, a whole busload of students, organized by the Spartacus Youth Club, rode 40 hours to participate in a labor/black mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan and skinhead fascists from "celebrating" white supremacy in Philadelphia last November 5. If anti-racist students and labor were to mobilize in Madison today, the racist punks in and out of the student government would get the message real fast. As the Madison SYC stated in a leaflet last year: "These frat rats who groove on slave auctions and racist attacks should remember General William Tecumseh Sherman's 'march to the sea' which freed the slaves and wiped out all nests of white racist slaveowner resistance from Atlanta to Savannah. The racist scum can thrive today only because the tasks of that great revolution remain unfinished. To finish the Civil War will take a socialist revolution led by an integrated workers party." ■

go to the bathroom or to a locker.

Jesse Jackson spoke at the school in defense of these jailhouse rules, peddling his timeworn rap of "hope not dope." But the students weren't going for it. On October 27, 80 students marched out of Harper High School in Chicago, waving banners and protesting that their school had been turned into a prison house for young people. Predictably, school officials labeled the leader of this action a "gang" member and are threatening to suspend or expel him. No reprisals! These students deserve not punishment but applause for courageously defending their rights—and ours.

On the economic front youth are also getting clobbered. A miserly minimum wage of \$3.35 per hour (Congress just raised it by a pittance, but only with the condition of introducing a subminimum "training wage" for young new-hires). And the now pervasive "two-tier" wage scale in industry (a union-busting concession won by greedy bosses) has created a layer of second-class, lower-paid workers. All this to keep the cash registers ringing—sweet music for the future for big business, wage slavery for us. By keeping teenagers poor and without rights, they want to regiment the youth for the strikebreakers and warmakers so there won't be any fuss when the kids punch their first time clock or are shipped off as cannon fodder to die in some imperialist war. In fact, today's high school students show a "deplorable" tendency to demonstrate in solidarity with their striking teachers, like in Los Angeles last spring. From school authorities to Uncle Sam, the Big Brothers of this society figure "if teens screw, who knows what they'll do."

For many years youth have faced the grotesque injustice of being old enough to be drafted but too young to drink. First the hypocrites tried to cork the bottle (which drove kids to drink in cars instead of bars). Now they want to strap a generation into chastity belts (which will force kids to sacrifice their futures for the sex they will surely have today). The state is aggressively attempting to prop up, by force of repressive legal machinery, the institution of the family, the main means for the oppression and isolation of women from productive social life.

And it's a horrible "Catch-22"! The ruling class jabbars about the "crisis of the black family" and preaches about reinforcing it, yet at the same time it's doing everything to wreck families by running a racket where there are no jobs, no real education, no day care and no social services! As communists we fight to rip the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of the capitalist bunglers and establish an egalitarian, planned and collectivized economy where there will be jobs for all, where education will be a right, not a privilege, where there will be free, 24-hour day care, communal kitchens and a socialization of housework—and where the consensual sexual activity of youth will be their business and nobody else's!

Bourgeois feminists like the National Organization for Women (NOW) don't do much on behalf of young people's right to abortion or privacy because their whole strategy is to pressure the Democrats who are trying to outdo the Republicans in posing as the best defenders of the prototypical (white) American family. The NOW feminists are so lame they can barely say the word "abortion"—with mealy-mouthed "pro-choicers" and deadly "pro-lifers" it's sometimes hard to remember who's on which side of the issue! *Seventy percent* of the "pro-choice" crowd is in favor of restricting abortion rights for teenagers—in their eyes, a kid is just a parent's property.

Down with the reactionary age-of-consent laws! Free abortion on demand! There should be free distribution of all birth control information, free pills and devices *on demand*, including the "French abortion pill" RU 486. *Squash the Squeal Rule!* ■

24 NOVEMBER 1989

Howard Student Acquitted

Black Students Protest in Virginia Beach

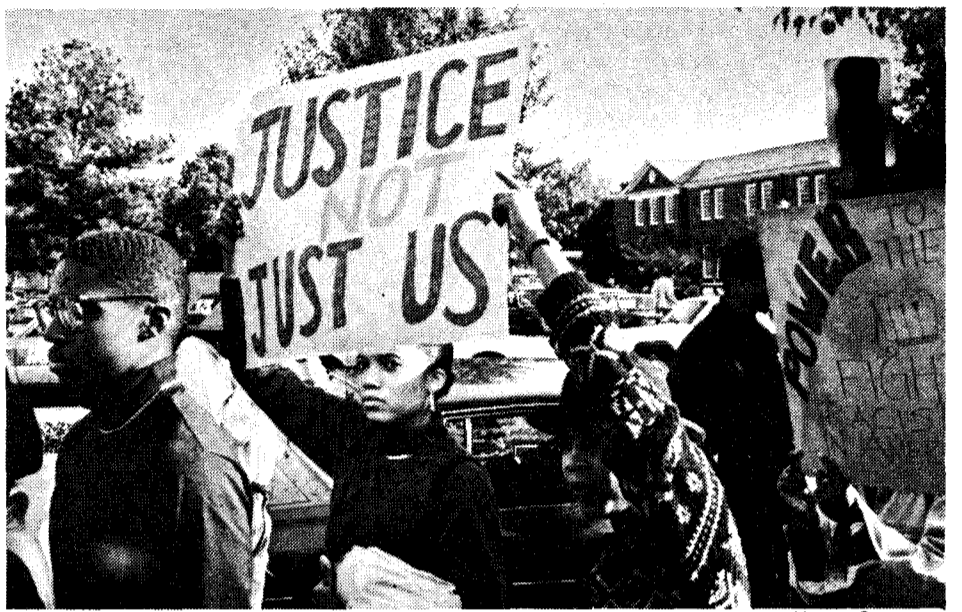
VIRGINIA BEACH, November 15—Over 100 angry and defiant Howard students rolled out of Washington, D.C. in buses and cars before dawn this morning. Their destination was Virginia Beach, the now infamous resort where the National Guard and riot cops brutally attacked thousands of black college students last Labor Day weekend.

In September the students came to "Greekfest '89" to relax, party, see friends and spend hard-earned money. Instead they got ripped off, bullied around, beat up and put down. In the aftermath of Labor Day weekend, the media grotesquely attempted to paint the criminals as victims and the victims as criminals. Black students were labeled "rioters" and "looters" in what was in fact a premeditated, massive, racist police riot. But the 100,000 who came to Greekfest, the 1,200 arrested, and the scores injured know better. So this morning students returned in protest. They returned to support fellow student Quinton Stovall at his trial. They returned to put the city of Virginia Beach on trial with a symbolic "people's jury."

Repeated attempts were made after the Labor Day cop riot to organize protests in Virginia Beach. This racist crime has provoked a deep vein of outrage pulsing through all the East Coast black colleges. So why was the protest delayed two and a half months? Not because of lack of anger or initiative by the students. The nationalists in Howard's "Black NIA Force," the liberal NAACP, and the campaign staff of Douglas Wilder, the first black man to be elected governor in U.S. history, *actively intervened to quash any protest or expression of outrage until after Wilder's election.* Wilder, who is pro-death penalty and who, as lieutenant governor, helped orchestrate the violence directed against both Pittston miners and black college students, will be yet another black overseer on the decaying and increasingly brutal Reagan/Bush plantation. "Where were you, Doug?" chided one student's sign at the protest outside the courthouse today.

Students packed into the Virginia Beach Municipal Courthouse to stand by Quinton Stovall, a mechanical engineering student at Howard, whose summer vacation was turned into a racist nightmare. Holed up in an overpriced hotel room for 24 hours to avoid the police rampage in the streets, Stovall emerged into what looked like calm and walked to a restaurant for dinner. As he turned a corner, a wedge of riot-

Drop the Charges Against All Victims of Labor Day Cop Riot!



Young Spartacus

Virginia Beach, November 15: Howard University students protest racist frame-up of fellow student Quinton Stovall.

equipped cops in a V-formation ran toward him. Holding his hands up over his head, dangling his hotel key, trying to indicate he didn't want trouble, Stovall was tackled, beaten and arrested by five uniformed thugs. He was thrown into a paddy wagon and, despite a big gash in his head, held for hours in a tennis court the cops had converted into a concentration camp—the jails were already full of other innocent youth whose only "crime" was to be young and black in Virginia Beach. Finally at 4:00 a.m. he was informed why he had been arrested, given a court date and told to walk the two miles back into town.

"I refuse to tolerate the injustice and let Virginia Beach get away with indiscriminate beatings and arrests of black youths the way they did to me," said Stovall (*Washington Post*, 15 November). The courtroom burst into applause as the charges against him were dismissed this morning. Then students from Howard, Morehouse, Old Dominion and Norfolk State rallied outside to demand that the charges against all other Greekfest participants be dropped.

Later, at the "people's jury" held in the Mount Zion Baptist Church, students gave eloquent and bitter eyewitness testimony of the violent "welcome" they received by racists backed

by "the Law" that weekend. Students told of being chased by baton-wielding police and by cops on horseback, of women being beaten. Helicopters swept overhead shining powerful spotlights into hotel rooms in the middle of the night. White vigilante gangs were reported, including a group of four whites on a store rooftop throwing pieces of concrete and bottles at the black students below. Many students were overcharged and there appeared to be special menus in restaurants for black students—with higher prices and limited selection (like \$8.00 for bacon and eggs!). Many were forced to pay for their meals in advance!

The "people's jury" found Virginia Beach "guilty of conspiracy to commit racism, assault and battery, fraud and interference with the right to peacefully congregate and enjoy life, liberty and happiness." In fact Virginia Beach is the quintessential white backlash community—the residential reflection of "massive resistance" to school integration, beginning in the 1950s, whose flash point was nearby Norfolk. Now there's a running debate among black students over whether to return to Virginia Beach next year or not. Some argue against returning and for a boycott of the resort. Others argue that this would be a capitulation to the racists who want to keep the area off limits to blacks and vow to return unbowed next year. But many rightfully fear returning to another police trap.

We suggest a real *labor day* celebration next year. If the powerful and integrated Tidewater longshoremen's union (ILA) sponsored the party, the skinheads and vigilantes would slink back into their holes, faced with thousands of burly dock workers enjoying the beach with students. And the cops would have to think long and hard before touching a hair on anyone's head: mess with the dock workers union and they could face a strike that would shut down ports up and down the coast. Students allied with labor—when organized independently in a class-struggle workers party, we'll have the power to topple this whole racist capitalist system. ■



UPI

Virginia Beach, Labor Day: cops turn black students' "Greekfest" into racist hell.

Workers Soviets Must Rule in All Germany!

Continued from page 1

revolution. This means ousting the Stalinist bureaucracy and erecting in its place *real workers soviets*, like those established in the October Revolution, based on collectivized property. This in turn can be the spark for socialist revolution in the capitalist West.

East Berliners flooded across the border into West Berlin on the night of November 9. Except for a handful all went back. Kohl tried to address a "victory rally" in West Berlin but was drowned out with boos and whistles. When he tried to strike up a chorus of "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles," Brandt, Momper & Co. sang along, but the boos and whistles drowned them out. And an attempted Nazi march on the Brandenburg Gate led by Republikaner Führer Schönhuber was turned back by crowds shouting "Nazis out!" East German workers are jubilant that the Wall is coming down, but they don't want a revanchist capitalist reunification.

One placard on November 4 read: "Hungary '56, China '89," and the spectre haunting the bureaucracy was the 17 June 1953 East German workers uprising, the first in East Europe against Stalinist bureaucratic rule. West German revanchists have tried to usurp June 17, and the East German bureaucracy spread the same lies about the uprising. But it belongs to the German working class. On that day East German workers appealed to their class brothers and sisters in the West to rise up against their capitalist masters. At the train station in Halle, workers greeted a train from the West with a banner proclaiming, "We're cleaning house in Pankow [East Berlin], now you sweep out the crap in Bonn." Ulbricht was saved only by Soviet tanks. In any case, what was required then as well as today is fraternization with the Red Army. As Siberian and Silesian miners strike against the ravages of "market reforms," the East German workers can make common cause with their class comrades and be the springboard for proletarian political revolution throughout East Europe and the Soviet Union.

The Red Army crushed the Nazi regime and established a bureaucratically deformed workers state east of the Elbe. But the resurgence of German nationalism and fascist terror has not been restricted to the West German successor state of the Third Reich. There, the first victims of fascist terror are immigrant workers. And now similar attacks, for example on Vietnamese workers, are taking place in East Germany. Hostility to immigrant workers

Nazi Skinheads Organized a Manhunt." Even the perimeter of this massive demonstration was infested with fascists from West and East. Just as Russian workers must smash Pamyat, workers/minorities in East and West Germany had better organize to crush these vermin *now!*

A demonstration of 50,000 SED [Socialist Unity Party] members in East Berlin on November 10 demanded "No sellout of the DDR," for "real plans,"



TLD contingent in June 1982 anti-Reagan protest in Bonn denounced Social Democratic anti-Sovietism. Banner reads: "For the revolutionary reunification of Germany—For Socialist Revolution in the West, Proletarian Political Revolution in the East!"

such as the Poles has been expressed even in the mass protest demonstrations, as in Dresden. Instead, as a banner on November 4 declared, "For Communist Ideals! No Privileges!" This means: *Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers East and West!*

Today a wing of the East German security forces shows its support for revanchist capitalist restoration under the watchword of German nationalism by cloning a new generation of fascist terrorist skinheads and scum, the existence of which the bureaucracy has done its best to deny. A banner of an anti-fascist contingent at the November 4 demonstration read, "Weimar: 160

and "return to Lenin." Stalin gave central planning a bad name. The East German economy is the most successful in Eastern Europe. Workers may chant "Gorby, Gorby, help us." But by and large they reject Gorbachev's "perestroika" and "market socialism," which have bred increasing misery and national conflict from the Balkans to the Baltic and Caucasus. East German workers are not about to surrender the social gains they have won. Attempts to form a Solidarność-style anti-Communist "free union" have fizzled.

Workers in the DDR have followed attentively the strikes against perestroika of Soviet miners. The factory committees the miners have organized are the *core of real workers soviets*, which are the *key* if economic planning is to be controlled by the working class. Although tremendous ferment exists in the plants, the working class remains politically atomized, e.g., there have as yet been no strikes, which would immediately be *political*. Workers councils must be established at the point of production with control over quantity and quality. Computerized input-output analysis (developed by Russian-born economist Leontief) can permit investments in line with the democratically controlled growth of investment and consumption.

When the Wall started coming down on Friday [November 9], the West German stock market went up, because Frankfurt bankers and their SPD [social-democratic] front men are dreaming of bleeding East Germany dry the way they have Poland and Hungary. To defend collectivized property and to attack the world market, East Germany needs a stable, readily convertible currency (e.g., based on the gold standard like the Soviet *chervonets* in 1923). However, an isolated revolutionary East German workers state would still be threatened by the power of cheap commodities, as Marx warned.

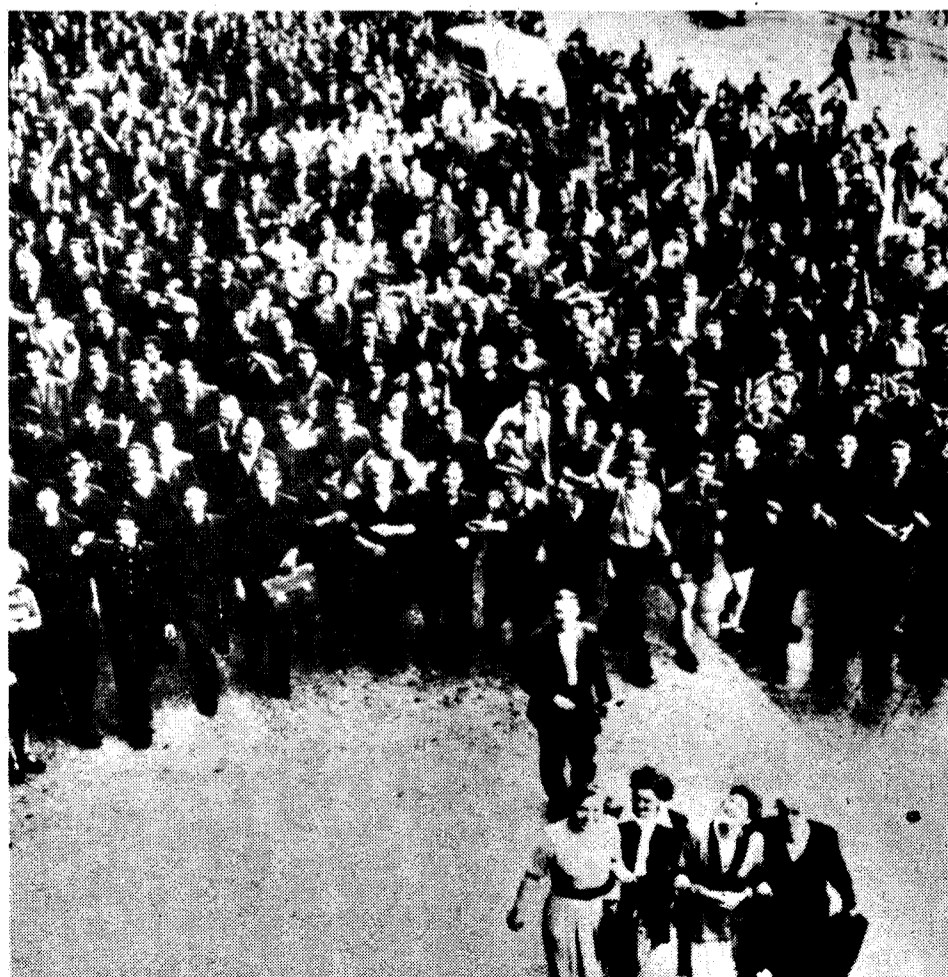
There can be no genuine socialism in half a country facing an economically far more powerful imperialist neighbor. From the podium of the massive November 4 demonstration writer Ste-

fan Heym was enthusiastically received when he said, "Socialism, not Stalinist but the real thing, which we want to finally build, for our benefit and that of all Germany, is unthinkable without democracy." The defense of collectivized property in East Germany requires its extension to the West. That means the expropriation of the Frankfurt bankers by proletarian revolution in the West—to which immigrant workers are key. We Trotskyists call for the *revolutionary reunification of Germany* through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution in the East. Because of the strategic weight of Germany in Europe, reunification, if it is not to recreate an imperialist behemoth, a Fourth Reich, can only be as part of a *Socialist United States of Europe*.

The huge protest demonstrations, impressive in their discipline, remain dominated by petty-bourgeois forces like Neues Forum and the Social Democrats (SDP). On November 4, Neues Forum called for "free elections" supervised by the UN, i.e., by imperialism, while the SDP, just like Helmut Kohl, called for a return to a "market economy." When the [West German] SPD and their hangers-on talk about "democratic socialism" they mean "democratic" counterrevolution, of which the SPD intends to be the general staff. While Kohl was booed down, Brandt and Momper were cheered. The Social Democrats are the main danger for East German workers.

The International Communist League and its German section, the Trozkiistische Liga Deutschlands, uphold the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the social gains of the October Revolution and its extension from East Berlin to Havana against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. In contrast, the social democrats faking as Trotskyists such as Ernest Mandel and the Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter [followers of the dubious David North] surrender these gains at every point they are challenged. They backed Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid in 1981 and opposed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against imperialist-backed clerical reaction in 1979.

To date no left opposition has surfaced within the SED. Yet there have been expressions of support for real communism in the DDR, such as the signs on November 4 calling "for a new communist party." As in 1953, what is lacking today is a proletarian internationalist vanguard party fighting for power. Forging such a party requires returning to the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky! Hail Rosa Luxemburg, the greatest founder of German Communism, murdered by the Freikorps at the behest of the SPD leadership! The German Revolution, East and West, needs a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party! ■



Verlag Haus am Checkpoint Charlie

17 June 1953: East German steel workers march through workers' district of West Berlin. DDR workers rose up against Stalinist misrule, called on their West German class brothers to "sweep out the crap in Bonn."

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For Political Revolution in East Germany!

Continued from page 1

on November 9 the new rulers opened up the Berlin Wall.

Suddenly, East Germans could cross into West Germany with no more than a stamp on their personal ID card. Over the following days, several million people—somewhere between a quarter and a half of the entire population of the DDR—took the opportunity to visit “over there.” Downtown West Berlin was jammed at all hours as East Germans spent the 100 DM (\$55) “welcome money” doled out by the West German government... and went home. By eliminating travel restrictions, the DDR succeeded in stopping the mass out-migration. But it didn't quell the explosion of social unrest at home. Scores of protests took place around East Germany, with slogans calling for free elections and an end to the ruling Stalinist Socialist Unity Party (SED) political monopoly. On November 17, some 10,000 students demonstrated in East Berlin. We of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) distributed thousands of leaflets (see translation, page 1) which were eagerly snapped up, and a French student comrade addressed the rally.

The opening of the Wall and the continuing upsurge in East Germany sent shock waves through the world. East Germany is the pivot of what has heretofore been known as the Soviet bloc; Berlin has been the focal point of the Cold War for more than four decades. The crisis of Stalinist rule in the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe has reached the flash point. Already in the summer, the bankrupt Polish Stalinists began bailing out, giving way to an openly counterrevolutionary Solidarność-led cabinet. This fall the Hungarian Stalinists split as leading elements laid plans to sell off the nationalized economy to international capitalists. In Bulgaria, arch-Stalinist Todor Zhivkov has been ousted. And now, inspired by the mass upheaval in the DDR, a quarter million people demonstrate in Prague against the hard-line Communist Party leadership installed in the suppression of the 1968 “Prague Spring.”

The changes at the top in East Germany were clearly egged on by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. And behind the turmoil in East Europe stands the troubled “reform process” in the Soviet Union opened up by Gorbachev's poli-

cies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring). Expanded freedom of the press and political life in general has produced enormous intellectual ferment, including an intense interest in the ideas of Leon Trotsky. The miners strikes last summer demonstrated the power of the Soviet proletariat and have given rise to independent workers organizations, which in many cases have affirmed their commitment to genuine socialism.

Yet four years of attempts to impose market-oriented economic policies have unleashed centrifugal forces throughout the USSR. From Central Asia to the Western borderlands, national antagonisms threaten to tear the multinational

democracy based on soviets, fighting for communist unity against imperialism and for international socialist revolution.

The bourgeoisie has swallowed its own lying equation of Stalinism with communism. Their eyes have been fixed on counterrevolutionary movements like clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarność and on pro-capitalist elements in the Stalinist bureaucracy. During his recent tour of the U.S. seeking to entice imperialist investment and aid, Lech Walesa “told a press conference that the government owns 90 percent of the Polish economy, and 80 percent of it is for sale” (*Washington Post*, 18 November). To make Poland attractive for Western

and as part of privatizing urban transport to make it profitable they're talking about raising fares from 70 zlotys to 1,070 zlotys. Now the formerly official Stalinist-led union federation OPZZ is vowing to resist the government's starvation policies. Polish workers will fight to resist the ravages of capitalist immiseration. Meanwhile, in neighboring Hungary capitalists are flocking to Budapest in hopes of buying up state properties at fire sale prices, while the workers are driven literally to the brink of starvation. A *New York Times* headline noted: “Capitalism Comes to Hungary With a Vengeance.” Even right-wing cosmetics tycoon Ronald Lauder, who owns two outlets in Budapest, says:



Placard recalls earlier challenges to bureaucratic rule—'53 East Berlin uprising, '56 Hungarian revolution, '68 Prague Spring, Tiananmen massacre. “Mistrust is good.”



Banners at November 4 protest read: “For Communist Ideals—No Privileges” (above), “For a German Soviet Republic—Build Soviets!”



Demonstrator calls “For a New Communist Party!”

Spartakist Photos

USSR apart. In the Caucasus and Moldavia conditions are close to civil war. And in the Baltics pro-capitalist nationalists are driving hard for counterrevolution behind the slogan of independence. Meanwhile, attempts to invigorate the economy after the Brezhnev “years of stagnation” are backfiring. Lines grow longer in front of stores with no consumer goods. Workers seethe with anger at price-gouging by private “cooperative” enterprises. And Vorkuta coal miners are again on strike, now in direct violation of anti-strike laws.

Imperialist ideologues are crowing about the supposed “death of Communism.” West European Common Market rulers meet to lay plans for “reintegrating” East Europe, i.e., for a capitalist takeover of their socialized economies. U.S. president George Bush and French leaders earnestly discuss the implications of a capitalist reunification of Germany, as West German companies draw up plans for reopening their pre-1945 plants in the DDR. The would-be participants in the imperialist feast are already celebrating, licking their chops at the prospect of carving up the socialized economies of the Soviet bloc.

The Stalinist bureaucracies are certainly at the end of their rope, but as was seen in the Beijing spring and with the Soviet miners strikes over the summer, the working class is entering the battle. And the workers sure aren't fighting to reintroduce capitalist exploitation! At the same time, from the USSR to China to the DDR, what is crucially lacking is a proletarian leadership organizing on a genuinely communist program of defense of the socialized economy against capitalist restoration, shattering the bureaucracy and establishing workers

capital, the Solidarność-led government is insisting on an end to strikes. But it will take more than a strike ban to rein in the Polish working class as it faces 30 percent unemployment, the elimination of food subsidies and an end to social services. In order to overcome popular resistance to a “shock” austerity plan engineered by Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs, one Polish economist commented that the government would need “a safety net of the Chilean type: the military would have to do it” (*New Yorker*, 13 November).

Poland under Solidarność is no rags-to-riches capitalist success story—on the contrary, it's on the brink of collapse. Already there are soup kitchens,

“It's inevitable... Two, three years, and there will be a backlash against this capitalist exploitation.”

And in East Germany, the overwhelming mass of the people have no desire to restore capitalism. The *Wall Street Journal* (6 October) reported why “many—perhaps most” East Germans don't want to leave or see their country swallowed by the capitalist West:

“One reason is that it's easier to find a true believer in socialism here than perhaps anywhere else in Eastern Europe. And while many now decry the kind of communism they've got, they still admire the theory while also fearing what life would be like under capitalism. They see capitalism as possibly

continued on page 10



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East German Stalinists erected Berlin Wall in 1961 as bureaucratic defense of deformed workers state to stop flow of skilled workers to capitalist West.

French Trotskyist Student Speaks at East Berlin Rally

On November 17, several thousand students from across East Germany rallied in front of the historic Georg Humboldt University in East Berlin, calling for an independent student association. A student comrade of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France spoke from the speakers platform.

“In 1986, we had a big student strike. But what was lacking was to link up with the proletariat. It's the same thing here. The East German students must ally themselves with the proletariat. What is on the agenda is political revolution. Political revolution means throwing out

the bureaucracy. In France, we have to make a socialist revolution, here a political revolution. If East Germany makes its revolution, West Germany will also make its revolution—there will be reunification on a revolutionary basis.”

“We remember 1953 when the East German working class began a political revolution. Today, we have to do the same thing—and win...” Calling for an international revolutionary struggle, she noted that “behind Germany stands Europe and the world.” She concluded with greetings in the name of the International Communist League.

Help Raise the Banner of Trotskyism in Germany

Give to the Lenin-Liebkecht-Luxemburg Fund

"The extermination of capitalism, the establishment of the socialist order of society, is possible only on an international scale—but, of course, it cannot be carried out at a uniform pace in all countries. The work has begun in Russia, it must be continued in Germany...."

Thus declared Karl Liebknecht in November 1918. But the movement toward socialist revolution in Germany was crushed by the Social Democrats and later sabotaged and perverted by the Stalinists. This led to Hitler's bloody victory, as a prelude to World War II and the imperialist Cold War. Today we are seeing

a historic opportunity to raise the banner of genuine communism in the industrial heartland of Europe. The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)—committed to continuing the work of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg—is now engaged in an intense campaign to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party in all of Germany.

In 1953, East German workers were the first to rise up against Stalinist bureaucratic rule while calling on their class brothers in the West to join them. Today Stalinism is wounded, but communism lives—from Soviet

coal miners to East German workers to Salvadoran insurgents. For proletarian political revolution in East Germany and socialist revolution in West Germany! For revolutionary reunification of Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe!

The International Communist League has already produced 200,000 copies in German of our leaflet, "Workers Soviets To Power!" The Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the ICL, has reprinted its pamphlet "Market Socialism" in East Europe." Your contribution is urgently needed to carry out this

SPARTAKIST 4

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German Trotskyist leaflet calls for "Workers Soviets To Power!"

vital work. Make donations payable/send to: Spartacist, P.O. Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Earmark for: "Lenin-Liebkecht-Luxemburg Fund" (or simply "3-L's Fund").

East Germany...

(continued from page 9)

threatening the comfortable system that guarantees their jobs, low-cost housing and free health care and education."

Moreover, the SED ranks have begun to rebel. On November 8, tens of thousands of party members demonstrated outside the Central Committee meeting. They succeeded in forcing a party congress (to be held December 15) where they can vote out the leadership, and local SED units dumped four out of the eleven recently appointed Politburo members. When a party official tried to get them to sing the old German social-democratic anthem, the demonstrators responded by singing the *Internationale*.

Last October 9 in Leipzig, events came perilously close to a Beijing-style massacre, as Honecker ordered the army to shoot demonstrators. He was overruled and then ousted. But the rul-

West Berlin, June 1983: Trotskyists call for workers militias to crush fascist attacks on immigrant workers.



out capitalist West Europe.

But a little bit of political revolution is a chancy thing. At bottom, either the workers take political power or capitalist counterrevolution takes the ascendancy. In the regular Monday night demonstration in Leipzig on November 20, for the first time right-wing nationalist slogans appeared calling for a capitalist reunification of Germany. "Deutschland—Ein Vaterland" (Germany—One Fatherland) proclaimed one banner. Meanwhile, in West Germany reactionary forces have been venting their rage against DDR immigrants: in Hannover, two "Trabis" (the East German Trabant car) were burned. And in Göttingen, anti-fascists who confronted neo-Nazis were assaulted by police, who drove one woman to her death in the path of an oncoming car. German workers, East and West, must mobilize their class power to smash the fascist threat.

For the Revolutionary Reunification of Germany!

No sooner had euphoric East Germans poured across the Berlin Wall to go window-shopping on the Ku'damm and gorge themselves on chocolates than every leading capitalist politician started talking about reunification. What separates East and West Ger-

many are fundamentally counterposed social systems, not mortar and brick. Since its erection in 1961 the Wall has been Western imperialism's favorite Cold War symbol. As we wrote in *WV* No. 459 (12 August 1988):

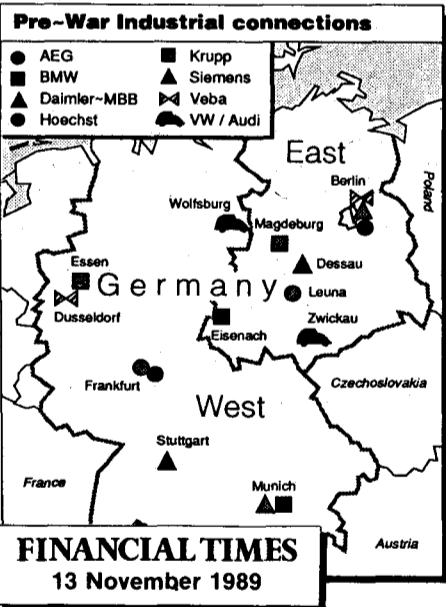
"The imperialists hate the Berlin Wall because it was erected as a barrier to the capitalist reunification of Germany. The Wall was a measure, albeit a bureaucratic one, to defend the collectivized economy against imperialist pressure, specifically the massive hemorrhaging of state-trained East German professionals and skilled workers to the West...."

But what brought the Wall down in the end was not imperialist revanchism, but social struggle by the East German masses. Today, free passage across the Wall can also serve as a springboard for revolutionary unity and common struggle by the working masses of the capitalist West and the East German deformed workers state.

Yet many of those who believe in socialism for East Germany are convinced that a socialist revolution is impossible in West Germany, or at any rate so remote as to have no bearing on current politics. Consequently many DDR oppositionists see the Social Democracy (SPD) as the only alternative in West Germany. But the SPD has only administered German capitalism on behalf of the Krupps and

Thyssens, including presiding over mass layoffs such as at Rheinhausen last year, while acting as a cornerstone of NATO in building up the Bundeswehr as the strongest imperialist army in Europe. Toward East Europe, and East Germany in particular, the Social Democrats under Willy Brandt were the architects of the *Ostpolitik* that has become the common policy of German imperialism. This was symbolized by the Bundestag rising to sing the *Deutschlandlied* when the Wall was opened, and by the consensus program presented by Christian Democrat Kohl demanding the DDR dismantle the planned economy as a prerequisite for Western financial aid.

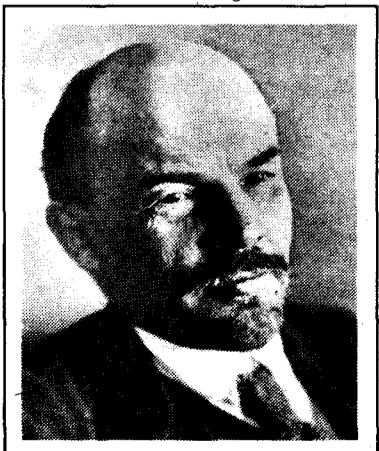
Today the West German SPD leaders are assiduously cultivating DDR oppositionists, bringing over the head of the newly founded East German Social Democratic Party (SDP) for "consultations," passing out advice to Bärbel Bohley of the Neues Forum not to push too fast. This line was summed up in a recent article by former SPD chancellor Helmut Schmidt (*Die Zeit*, 17 November) calling for pumping in "many billions of D-marks...over several years," for joint ventures and "training of managers and unions." In Schmidt's scenario for counter-revolution, "The property question is



West German rulers dream of a unified capitalist Fourth Reich.

ing bureaucracy, including Gorbachevite "reformers" like Prime Minister Hans Modrow, cannot produce the "socialist renewal" they talk of. Events in East Germany point to a proletarian political revolution that would defend the existing social gains and open the way to genuine socialism. The Stalinist and infuriatingly Prussian bureaucracy is stifling the development of the most industrially advanced state of the Soviet bloc. What's needed is the proletarian democracy of soviets (workers councils), led by a genuine communist party based on the Bolshevik internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky. A political revolution in the DDR would send out a clarion call to workers from Hungary and Poland to the Soviet Union, and would have an electrifying impact on West German workers and through-

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For the Communism of the "Three L's," fighters for world revolution: V.I. Lenin, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg.

"AFL-CIA" and Solidarność

Even as Solidarność prime minister Mazowiecki was demanding that Polish miners work mandatory Saturdays to speed up production, Solidarność leader Lech Walesa was in the U.S. trying to drum up capitalist investment for Poland. On November 13, Walesa was the guest of honor at a White House banquet, where Bush gave him the Medal of Freedom. Two days later he was greeted with a standing ovation at a joint session of Congress. But the highlight of Walesa's visit was his triumphal appearance at the AFL-CIO convention, where AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland belatedly gave him the 1981 "George Meany Human Rights" award, appropriately named after the rabid anti-Communist who supported every U.S.-backed right-wing dictatorship in the world. As a film on the rise and triumph of Polish Solidarność flickered to an end, the spotlight shifted to the balcony and Mr. Solidarność himself.

Walesa quipped to the AFL-CIO fat cats: "Such is the fate of a Polish trade unionist—he has to launch a publicity campaign for private entrepreneurship." At a press conference afterwards, he promised American capitalists that they "could make business deals of the century" by investing in Poland. (Last August, Walesa baldly called for going "from a Communist system of ownership to capitalism.") The next day, the convention hosted Walesa's godfather, former CIA director and now commander in chief, George Bush, who said more than he intended when he offered "thanks to the AFL-CIA" (then snickered about his "Freudian slip"). Labor reporter Ken Crowe, the only one to report the incident, noted:

"The AFL-CIO foreign affairs department, which gets the bulk of its funding directly from the federal government or indirectly from the government via the National Endowment for Democracy [NED], often is accused by critics of being an arm of the CIA overseas."

—*Newsday*, 16 November

Bush appealed for "a partnership for progress in Poland." But the Kirk-



WV Photo

"AFL-CIA" chief Lane Kirkland (at front podium) fêtes Solidarność counterrevolutionary Lech Walesa (nearest to Kirkland) and boss George Bush (right).

land gang's partnership with the CIA for counterrevolution in Poland goes right back to the founding days of Solidarność.

Now that Poland has a Solidarność-led cabinet and a reactionary Catholic prime minister, the anti-Communist backers of Solidarność are crowing. A few months ago, the *Washington Post* (27 August) ran a story, "How We Helped Solidarity Win" by one Adrian Karatnycky, coordinator of "East European programs" for the AFL-CIO's "Department of International Affairs." His braggadocio underlined the fact that Solidarność was funded by the CIA virtually from its inception. While sundry fake "leftists" were touting this pro-Western "free union," the Spartacist tendency denounced the imperialist spy agency operation as well as the Solidarność leaders' counterrevolutionary aims.

Karatnycky says that as early as 1980-81, "hundreds of thousands of dollars" of aid for Solidarność "poured into

the AFL-CIO headquarters." Where those big bucks came from is no doubt part of the "much of the story" which he says "will have to be told another day"—but it sure wasn't collected at factory gates. In later years, Karatnycky admits, "millions of dollars" for Solidarność were laundered by the AFL-CIO, money which came from the NED. This congressionally funded agency was created in 1983 as a thinly veiled cover for the CIA. These dirty dollars bought "scores of printing presses, dozens of computers, hundreds of mimeograph machines, thousands of gallons of printer's ink... video cameras and radio broadcasting equipment."

Karatnycky notes that this operation "caught the attention" of the Polish government, which banned Kirkland and the head of the AFL-CIO's International Department, Irving Brown, from attending Solidarność' first congress in 1981, which consolidated around a counterrevolutionary program. Brown, better known as "Mr. AFL-CIA," spent

more than four decades in anti-Communist, union-busting subversion around the world before he finally died this year. In France after World War II, he paid Corsican mafia thugs to attack "red" dockers unions. In Latin America, the "American Institute for Free Labor Development" set up yellow "unions" and helped overthrow leftist governments from Guatemala in 1954 to Chile in 1973. In Poland this outfit set up a real Company "union."

Lane Kirkland is himself a top labor lieutenant of American imperialism and anti-Soviet Cold Warrior. He graduated from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and worked as a speech writer for Harry Truman. Kirkland has been a high-level intelligence "overseer" on "Company business": together with Ronald Reagan he was on the 1975 Rockefeller Commission which tried to whitewash CIA assassination plots and spying on domestic dissidents. (Kirkland is also a member of the board of the Rockefeller Foundation.) The AFL-CIO leader was part of the 1984 Kissinger Commission which called for billions to smash leftists in El Salvador and to fund contra mercenaries in Nicaragua. Today this friend of Solidarność is on the NED board.

Now that Walesa & Co. openly call for restoring capitalism in Poland, the "left" tails of this Trojan horse are suddenly trying to distance themselves from Solidarność. But already in September 1981, we noted the significance of Solidarność' ties to the AFL-CIO, which had supplied a \$300,000 printing press and sponsored a Solidarność office in New York. We proclaimed "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" and "Down with the Solidarność-'AFL-CIA' Axis!" and picketed the opening of this office (located in the Manhattan headquarters of superhawk Al Shanker's UFT). Solidarność' CIA connections and counterrevolutionary intentions were always there to see for anyone who wanted to see them. The fake-left hid the truth in order to jump on the Cold War "Solidarity with Solidarity" bandwagon. We Trotskyists told the truth about Solidarność when that was unpopular, and when it counted. ■

not yet important, for now. Rather what's immediately posed is the independence of enterprise management" and "competitive markets," to eliminate the "centralized bureaucratic command economy."

Deputy SPD leader Oskar Lafontaine, meanwhile, says "the democratic opposition" in the DDR "wouldn't be helped by us putting it under suspicion of being handmaidens of the West," so don't complain that they talk about "democratization and reform of socialist society" rather than a return to capitalism (*Der Spiegel*, 25 September). But many who speak of socialist democracy in East Germany genuinely don't want to be a front for social-democratic counterrevolution. However, it is impossible—Stalin to the contrary—to build socialism in one country. And that impossibility is even more manifest for East Germany because of its intimate economic relation with a powerful West German capitalism.

We recognize that East German workers and leftist intellectuals, however much they would love to see a socialist revolution in the West, are convinced this is an utterly utopian prospect. But here they are truly underestimating their own capacity to change the world. And they also do not fully understand the degree to which it is the hideous deformations of Stalinism, and not the purported viability of capitalism, which have strengthened bourgeois, especially social-democratic, ideology among the West European working class.

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia—a backward country then at war

with Germany—radically and instantly changed the political consciousness of the German working class. During the 1920s the Communist Party embraced the best, most militant, most idealistic elements of the German proletariat, especially the youth. Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht were inspirational figures for millions of German workers and leftist intellectuals in the Weimar Republic. However, the treachery and cowardice of the Stalinist and Social Democratic bureaucracies enabled the Nazis to take power and crush the strongest and best-organized proletariat in Europe.

In the early post-World War II years the Stalinized Communist Party (KPD) was still a force to be reckoned with in

what is now West Germany. Between 1946 and 1948, 70 percent of the enterprise councils in the Ruhr coal mines were headed by KPD militants. In 1947 the KPD won 14 percent of the vote in North Rhine-Westphalia, the industrial heartland of West Germany (Ute Schmidt/Tilman Fichter, *Der erzwungene Kapitalismus* [1978]). It was only after the Stalinist bureaucratization of East Germany, and given the KPD's failure to lead militant struggles when they had mass support, that the Social Democrats, agents of Western imperialism, gained political hegemony over the West German proletariat.

If the East German working class takes political power on the basis of soviet democracy and in the name of

communist internationalism, the political consciousness of the West German working class will be overwhelmingly transformed. And not only the West German working class. The revolutionary reunification of Germany will change the world. As we pointed out in a statement by the international Spartacist tendency on the occasion of Ronald Reagan's 1982 grand tour of Europe:

"Germany is the leader of Europe—for socialism or barbarism... Only the workers of the world, who in Marx's words 'have no country,' can establish an equitable and harmonious international division of labor based on socialization of the means of production. The alternatives are nuclear barbarism or revolutionary reunification of Germany in the struggle for a socialist united states of Europe." ■

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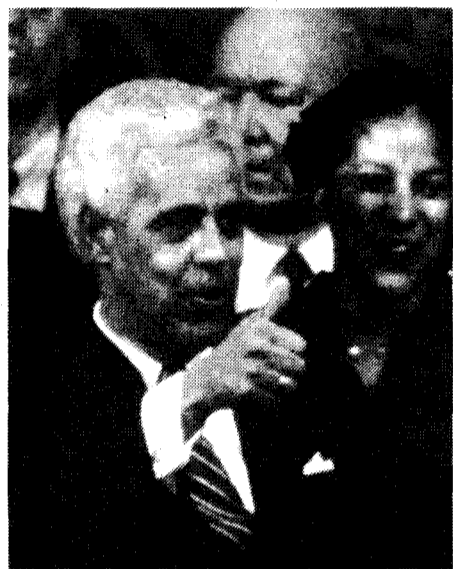
New York City Elections...

(continued from page 3)

infrastructure crumbles further. If it's not a ruptured asbestos-coated water pipe under Eighth Avenue, it's the Williamsburg Bridge falling apart.

But it's going to get worse. The junk-bond-fueled "prosperity" of the '80s is over. New job cuts on Wall Street have been announced. On inauguration day Dinkins will inherit a budget deficit of half a billion dollars, projected to rise to \$2 billion by 1993. It will be Dinkins' job to take this out of the hides of New York's workers, minorities and poor. As he addressed potential Wall Street contributors just prior to the election, Dinkins assured them he could handle labor and minorities: "So it may well be that I'll have to tell some of my friends they cannot have all the things they want. But they'll take it from me" (*New York Times*, 30 October).

David Dinkins did manage to unite both sides of the bitter '68 teachers strike, both the Shankerite United Fed-



McNamee/Newsweek

Virginia Democrat Douglas Wilder, first elected black governor, was "pro-choice" on abortion, but also for the racist death penalty.

eration of Teachers and the "community control" black nationalists Jitu Weusi and Sonny Carson. They are united on a program to control and hold back labor, to channel the just outrage of the black community into mainstream bourgeois politics. The Dinkins campaign was run out of the Hospital Workers 1199 union hall on West 43rd Street. A member of the Democratic Socialists of America, he is supported by the social-democratic apparatus that has control of NYC labor, extending from Dennis Rivera, newly elected president of 1199, to CWA district president Jan Pierce, currently trying to ram a sellout contract down the throats of 40,000 striking NYNEX telephone workers. Rivera pronounced it the rebirth of "the old Democratic Party coalition—the coalition of John Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey and Mario Cuomo." In this he is right: the Dinkins coalition is the quintessential "popular front" of class collaboration.

Some reformist "leftists" tried to peddle their wares in the shadow of the Dinkins popular front. Lenora Fulani of the New Alliance Party spent the primary campaign "doggin' Dinkins," i.e., following the black Democrat around to his public appearances and pressuring him to "do the right thing." Socialist Workers Party candidate James Harris ran on a straight reformist platform. As for Fred Mazelis and the sinister Workers League, their campaign program only mentioned the racist murder of Yusuf Hawkins to denounce David Dinkins for trying to exploit it. No wonder they could campaign in Bensonhurst.

Break with the Democrats—For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

After the election, one 1199 hospital worker proudly displayed his union button and Dinkins button on the lapel of his jacket: "We helped David Dinkins," he said. "I'm happy about that, not just because I'm black, but for my union and the whole city." It's for damn sure that the union men and women who were the lifeblood of Dinkins' campaign didn't volunteer in order to get more racist



WV Photo

Striking Eastern, NYNEX and Local 1199 hospital workers march through New York, August 14. Labor tops derail vital strike struggles, push votes for Democrats.

cops and more cutbacks. They want a city where you can walk into any neighborhood you want, buy a slice of pizza, or a used car, and not fear for your life. They want jobs, an affordable apartment, a decent education. But they won't get this from the racist Democrats who are planning austerity not liberation for their constituents.

Today in New York, there's more action in the labor movement than in years. And the situation in New York cries out for the integrated workers movement to mobilize in defense of blacks and other minorities, to defend their basic rights. As we wrote in "New York at the Flashpoint" (*WV* No. 485, 15 September), "As racial tensions boil in New York, the most integrated social force in the city is organized labor. Transit workers, hospital workers, city employees, hotel and restaurant workers are all heavily minority and many unions now have black and Hispanic leaderships. And this workforce is growing in consciousness..." We have called for class-conscious and anti-racist militants in New York to begin organizing committees within the unions for a workers party to galvanize labor in struggle to champion the cause of minorities and all working people.

The aspirations of thousands of blacks, Hispanics, of city unionists awakened by the Dinkins campaign, can never be realized within the confines of electoral politics in this racist capitalist system. Newark, New Jersey, now into its second generation of black mayors, stands as a monument to the ruling class' contempt for and abandonment of the black population in this country. There, they even came with the wrecking ball and knocked down the public housing projects. Where were people relocated—in nice new garden apartments the city planners consider more "livable"? No, they're on the streets, the subway gratings, and the shelters, and the morgue. New York—with its vast forgotten expanses of the South Bronx, Bushwick, Loisaida—will face the same fate.

Desperately needed is a struggle that breaks out of the stranglehold of the two capitalist parties, based on mobilization of the blacks, Hispanics, all working people in a fight for power, against the Wall Streeters, junk bonders, real estate speculators, the runaway industrialists who produce nothing of value—in short, nothing less than a socialist revolution that overturns the whole framework of this racist capitalist system. ■

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

Wattleton also supports a restriction on abortion rights. She stands by "the Supreme Court decision of 1973, that set forth the trimester structure in which the state could take a compelling interest [in the fetus], as the gestation progressed" (*ABC-TV Nightline*, 3 July). Marxists, on the other hand, support a woman's right to free abortion on demand, and oppose the intervention of the state at any point in a woman's pregnancy.

Hitchens' anti-abortion column provoked a big debate in the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, reflecting the SWP's capitulation to the bourgeois

feminist currents mentioned above.

On April 28, *Militant* editor Doug Jenness wrote a "pro-choice" column meekly criticizing Hitchens' proposal for its inability to "guarantee women's equality and protection for all human embryos" (his emphasis). But a week later he boldly defended Hitchens against an attack by Meredith Tax, who didn't want to give "the rights to my body to any state" (*Nation*, 8 May). Jenness claimed that abortions involve "mental distress," and argued that:

"Tax gives Hitchens' proposal the back of her hand without probing into some of the questions it raises that deserve answers.

"The problem with Hitchens' proposed social solution for eliminating abortions by attempting to do away with the need for them is that it assumes a

very different society than the system of capitalist exploitation we live under today...."

Under "a society that truly respects the interests of women," Jenness writes, "abortions will over time likely decline and may even disappear" (*Militant*, 5 May).

In a later column (26 May), Jenness even expresses his concern for "unborn babies." If I understand Jenness correctly, he thinks that in a "very different society" Hitchens' proposal to make women into incubators for the state will be possible. Jenness agrees with the "pro-life" movement that abortion is an evil—involving "mental distress" and lack of concern for "unborn babies"—he just thinks that socialism is the best way to eliminate it. Perhaps we'll soon see an article in the *Militant* telling us "Where Operation Rescue Goes Wrong in the Fight Against Abortion!"

Even anti-abortion Surgeon General C. Everett Koop confessed that the scientific data "do not support" the view that abortion causes "psychological problems" (*New York Times*, 10 January).

I was glad to see that Jenness' columns sparked several protest letters (by SWP members?) to the *Militant*. I urge these spurned letter writers to check out the Spartacist League's consistent working-class program in defense of abortion rights. Rather than cling to NOW's skirts, SL marches under the banners of class struggle, such as "Labor: Defend Abortion Clinics" and "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." Labor has a vital interest in defending women's rights, for instance Local 1199 hospital workers

who mobilized repeatedly last summer, and CWA strikers, whose union has organized clinic workers. A couple of hundred determined unionists defending the clinics like they ought to defend the picket line, and Operation Rescue types like Randall Terry might have to think twice about blockading the clinic doors.

In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Leon Trotsky emphasized the importance of abortion rights, and saw the anti-abortion laws of the 1930s as a horrible result of the conservative Stalinist political counterrevolution in the Soviet Union:

"One of the members of the highest Soviet court, Soltz, a specialist on matrimonial questions, bases the forthcoming prohibition of abortion on the fact that in a socialist society where there are no unemployed, etc., etc., a woman has no right to decline 'the joys of motherhood.' The philosophy of a priest endowed also with the powers of a gendarme.... In reality the new law against women—with an exception in favor of ladies—is the natural and logical fruit of a Thermidorian reaction."

Doug Jenness seems to have the Stalin/Soltz line to a "T"!

After examining the views of several leftist organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party and the International Socialist Organization, I found that only the Spartacist League maintained an uncompromising and consistent class-struggle approach to abortion rights. I hope the *Militant* letter writers, and all others searching for a revolutionary approach to women's liberation, will find their way to the Spartacist League.

Comradely,
Jeffrey S. Vogel

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Texas Plastics Plant Explosion: 23 Dead

A Case of Company Murder

"It was like being inside a bomb," said Clay Howell, who was knocked out of his chair 350 yards away from the explosion at the Phillips Petroleum plastics plant in Pasadena, Texas on October 23. Twenty-three workers were killed by the blast, which registered between 3.5 and 4.0 on the Richter scale! Over 120 others were hospitalized, many in critical condition. When the plant blew up, pieces of sheet metal a foot long rained down on drivers five miles away. A week later the plant was still burning.

This was no "industrial accident." Workers were slaughtered because of Phillips' greed for profit—the Pasadena plant was a time bomb ticking away. In testimony before a Congressional subcommittee on November 6, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) vice president Robert Wages described what happened when the highly explosive isobutane and ethylene gases used in manufacturing high-density polyethylene (HDPE) escaped the 16-story-tall reactor No. 6:

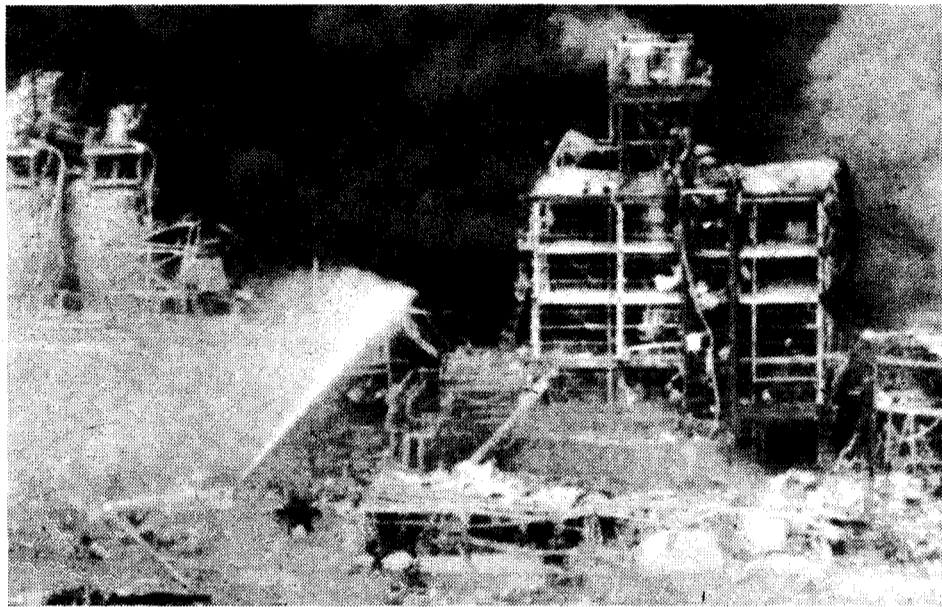
"Within two to five minutes the vented process gas and product created an open air vapor cloud that engulfed the reactor complex #4, #5 and plant five finishing building. The vapor cloud was ignited by an unknown source and exploded with the force of ten tons of TNT."

In the seconds before the explosion, workers ran for their lives. But many were trapped by the razor wire on top of the fence Phillips had ringed the plant with.

Phillips refused to allow union safety experts into the plant until a court order forced them to. The company's history of safety violations and gross negligence of safe maintenance procedures had already resulted in one worker's death in an earlier "accident" in August. And union safety reps quickly pointed to the causes this time: to maintain high production, Phillips continued to run the HDPE reactor while its "dump legs" (outflow pipes) were being unclogged. Poorly trained, non-union maintenance crews working on reactor No. 6 failed to "lock out" and disable the valve which allowed the explosive gases to escape. And as the OCAW official told

Congress, the "reactor was designed with no automatic safety systems that could shut a valve venting to [the] atmosphere."

About 500 of the 900 workers at the Phillips plant were members of OCAW Local 4-227, the rest drawn from the non-union outfits that charge Phillips only two-thirds of union wages. In the August fire, which killed one worker and injured four, *the same maintenance*



Pasadena, Texas: Fire rages at Phillips plastics plant following deadly explosion.

subcontractor in the October 23 explosion was cited for failure to "lock out" valves. For the death of that worker, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) fined Phillips a lousy \$750—and the butchers are contesting that! These workers died because of Phillips Petroleum's relentless drive for profits through destroying union jobs and a calculated, deadly disregard for workers' lives. The Board of Directors and top management of the Phillips plant ought to be on trial for murder.

The chemical and oil processing industries have fought off tougher safety restrictions while compliance with existing laws has plummeted; the last comprehensive inspection of the Phillips

plant by OSHA was in 1975. "Rash of Fires at Oil and Chemical Plants Sparks Growing Alarm," headlined the *Wall Street Journal* (7 November), noting a recent wave of deaths and injuries across the country: Quantum Chemical outside Chicago, Chevron in Richmond, California, Shell Oil in Norco, Louisiana. This mouthpiece for finance capital noted that some plants are running over 100 percent of rated capacity, as in-

dustrial analysts admit: "Refiners simply 'don't want to stop the equipment' when gasoline and chemical profits are high... 'People are putting in minimum investment and minimum maintenance.'" And the workers pay with their lives.

Even after the massacre in Bhopal, India in December 1984, where deadly methyl isocyanate from a Union Carbide plant killed over 3,500 and injured more than 200,000, not one family has yet received a rupee. Flaunting a racist, imperialist arrogance, Union Carbide's legal strategy was to have the case tried in India, because "Life is cheap in India" (*Washington Post*, 19 February). Compared to awards by American juries, "India was a bargain," the article noted,

as Union Carbide will only pay \$470 million to over 500,000 victims and their families, who will be lucky to see any of it. But in the U.S. as well, the capitalists don't pay for their industrial crimes.

In 20 years of OSHA's existence not one capitalist has ever spent even a day in jail as a result of an OSHA investigation into the death of a worker on the job. The largest producer of asbestos, Manville Corporation, knew since 1935 that the fibers were deadly to those who worked with it. They used bankruptcy court to escape with a paltry average payment of \$38,000 per victim. And now the Manville asbestos trust has "almost run out of money. As a result, tens of thousands of people... will have to wait 25 years" (*New York Times*, 24 October). Now the bourgeoisie is going to "reform" the Warsaw airline convention, exempting union-busting airline bosses from having to pay big bucks in punitive damages when their 20-year-old flying jalopies fall out of the sky.

The OCAW tops, like the rest of the labor bureaucracy, place their faith in their phony "friends of labor" politicians. But whether it's a Democrat or Republican in the White House or Congress, neither capitalist party will put worker health and safety before corporate profits. The urgent issue here is the need for power—workers power—to enforce safety. The United Mine Workers' safety committees once wielded real power before they were eroded under pro-Labor Department UMW "reformer" Miller and his successors. OCAW workers must fight for elected union safety committees with the ability to shut the plants down at any time they decide it's necessary.

To prevent horrors like the Pasadena, Texas disaster, the working class must take out of the hands of the capitalists the factories and plants which the workers have built. A workers government will run the economy in the interests of the producers, not the greedy profiteers for whom a worker's life is worth no more than the increase in their insurance premiums. And the world will be a safer place for everybody. ■

Boston...

(continued from page 5)

considered by mayor-elect David Dinkins for the top cop post in NYC.

This latest wave of cop terror comes at an ominous point in the city's history. This fall, Mayor Flynn and his buddies took the first steps in burying the corpse of the Boston busing plan. Long dead as an instrument for effective school desegregation, having been killed by racist vigilantes and liberal backstabbers, the plan essentially moved black kids to different parts of town while white kids went to private schools. Flynn got his start in city politics with the Southie racist opponents of desegregation and has now instituted a "controlled choice" plan for kindergarten and grades one and six. He hopes this will lead to a renaissance of the "neighborhood," i.e., segregated, school.

After Boston became notorious in the mid-'70s for the racist rampages against school busing, in recent years efforts to integrate public housing have also been met by mob violence. While some families have courageously moved in, this September bricks came crashing down on black residents in the McCor-

mack project in South Boston. A caller from the shadowy outfit called the "South Boston Defense League" took credit for this outrage. And in October, bullets were fired into the apartment of Mary Bullock, one of the few black residents of the Old Colony project in Southie.

Racist terror in Boston has deep roots. But repeatedly, with both housing and school segregation, those who oppose it have looked for redress to the capitalist state. Since it's obvious they'll get nowhere through Boston's racist electoral politics, many turn to the courts. Yet the gross discrimination against minorities continues and the racist terror spreads, most recently against the Asian population. Meanwhile, the liberal Democrats, whether Beacon Hill Brahmin ex-mayor Kevin White, "lace curtain" Irish Raymond Flynn, or Kennedy in the Senate and Dukakis in the State House, turn a blind eye to the victimization of minorities.

At the height of the busing struggle, while reformists along with black politicians like Bill Owens called for federal troops, the Spartacist League fought for a program of mass mobilizations of labor and blacks to defend busing. Even in this deeply class- and race-divided city, there are important sectors of organized labor which can be drawn

into the fight, such as the school bus drivers who have long stood for school integration. Hotel workers have waged struggles against racist humiliation of maids at the haughty Copley Square Hotel. If there had been labor/black mobilization during the battle for bus-

ing, Boston schools would be integrated and the likes of Mayor Flynn wouldn't be sitting pretty in City Hall while his cops are marauding in the ghetto. An intransigent fight against racist oppression is central to building a workers party in America. ■

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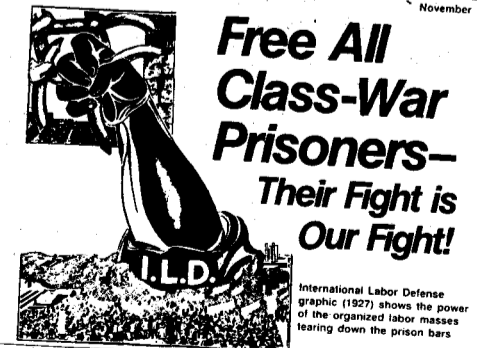
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El Salvador...

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guerrilla fighters, together with FMLN urban commandos and newly recruited irregulars, took up positions in the city before attacking the presidential palace, the headquarters of the general staff, military barracks, the military airport and other targets. Entrenching themselves in working-class communities on the outskirts of San Salvador, they threw a cordon around the capital. At the same time, major assaults were launched on government positions in Santa Ana and San Miguel, the second and third largest cities, as well as smaller provincial capitals. Altogether more than 50 targets came under simultaneous attack. The slogan of this spectacular offensive is "Fascists Out! Febe Elizabeth Lives!" It was named after the union leader who was killed along with nine of her compañeros when a death squad bombed their union hall on October 31.

While the initial objective was to "pressure the government" of right-wing president Alfredo Cristiani to negotiate in good faith, the success of the operation quickly led the FMLN General Command to call for a popular uprising. A November 13 "Manifesto to the Nation" broadcast over the FMLN's Radio Venceremos called on units fighting in San Salvador to "organize the general uprising of our people and to carry out all the tasks of security and defense of the population as well as measures for seizing and distributing food." This call must respond to the deep-felt desire of the rebel combatants to finish off once and for all the hated regime, which has murdered 70,000 people over the last decade. Reporters noted that numerous civilians willingly joined in digging trenches and building street barricades.

"Our mission is to win or die. This is the last battle," declared one guerrilla fighter. Fighting from trenches, behind barricades of burnt-out cars or on rooftops, the insurgents have repeatedly turned back army counterattacks, inflicting heavy casualties. They quickly took the districts of Mejicanos, Soyapango, Metrópoli, Zacamil—more than a third of the capital with a population of over half a million people. Rebel units opened the doors of supermarkets in several areas under their control, seeking to counteract the regime's attempts to starve the populace into submission.

The offensive has demonstrated once again not only the great courage of the FMLN fighters but also their tactical ingenuity. The insurgents have countered the army's massive superiority in air power by using sewers and connecting tunnels:

"As in the Vietnam war, the guerrillas have been able to minimize the effects of the superior firepower of their opponents by, literally, moving underground. As government counterattacks have advanced into the suburbs, troops have reportedly found guerrillas suddenly appearing out of the ground behind them. Tunnels have been discovered that link houses to the sewers."

—Financial Times [London],
18 November

In one important sense the current FMLN offensive resembles the 1968 Tet Offensive in Vietnam, the turning point of that war. As in Vietnam, the Salvadoran guerrillas have been willing to risk enormous casualties in order to shake the confidence of the local rulers and their American overlords. For months Washington has been saying that the FMLN insurgency is isolated, impotent, finished. When the offensive began, State Department chief James Baker dismissed it as a "desperate" last gasp; the U.S. ambassador in San Salvador predicted the army would mop up the rebels in a few days. Most of the American press followed the Foggy Bottom line.

For the first time in the decade-long

civil war, the Salvadoran oligarchy has felt the heat of battle only a few miles away from their mansions. And the cowardly killers who guard them have been stunned. "We didn't imagine the attack of the delinquent terrorists aided by foreign forces was going to be such a big thing," exclaimed a paratroop major. Interestingly, U.S. General Fred Woerner, who until recently was head of the Southern Command in Panama, paid a soldierly tribute to the FMLN fighters:

"I hold the FMLN in high regard professionally for their staying power.... This urban attack is the latest in a series, albeit the biggest and best, of spectacles to reestablish their credibility as a power that has to be reckoned with, that

Doug Hostetter



November 2 protest in Washington against Salvadoran army bombing murder of FENASTRAS leader Febe Elizabeth Velásquez (inset) and nine other unionists.



WV Photo

cannot be ignored, nor can the problem they represent be solved militarily."
—AP dispatch, 17 November

From afar we cannot judge whether the FMLN's spectacular action is a bold adventure or could turn into the final push for victory. But we can say no less of this move than Lenin said of the 1916 Irish Easter uprising led by James Connolly against British imperialism. Lenin observed that anyone who would condemn such a rebellion "is either a hardened reactionary, or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolution as a living phenomenon."

"Free World" Death Squads in Action

In striking contrast to the courage and boldness of the FMLN forces is the demoralized state of the Salvadoran army, largely made up of conscripts "recruited" at gunpoint. Reports from the eastern city of San Miguel state that the troops of the 3rd Infantry Brigade have refused to obey orders, leading to "chaos and confusion" (*El Día* [Mexico City], 15 November). And there have been scattered reports of National Guard and police units fleeing in the face of FMLN gunfire.

Since its conscripts won't fight, the government has relied on its air power. A-37 attack planes have made constant sorties to drop rockets and 500-pound bombs in the densely populated neighborhoods. Helicopter gunships and C-47 airplanes equipped with high-velocity Gatling guns used in Vietnam make strafing runs. Nicaraguan Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega has denounced this massacre, comparing the bombings to the "genocide of the dictatorship's air force" which attacked Managua on orders of the tyrant Anastasio Somoza during the 1979 revolution which overthrew that bloody U.S. puppet.

On the ground, the government refused Red Cross appeals for brief cease-fires in order to allow civilians to evacuate the war zones. And the notoriously brutal Treasury Police have prevented church volunteers from providing shelter for families whose homes have been destroyed. When one such

volunteer protested that children were going hungry, the commander replied, "Why do they have to eat if they're going to die anyway?" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 November).

In its frustrated rage the Salvadoran ruling class is moving to exterminate anyone and everyone considered remotely sympathetic to the rebel cause. The most prominent victims to date are the six liberal Jesuits associated with the Central American University. Ironically, one of those killed, university rector Ignacio Ellacuría, recently wrote an article on "Dialogue During the First 100 Days of Cristiani" (*Estudios Centroamericanos*, August-September 1989) in which he praised the ARENA

president for his willingness to "end the war soon by political means." But the real policy of this party of the death squads is "total war." And for more than a dozen years the army has been guided by the slogan, "Be a patriot! Kill a priest!"—particularly what they call "Jesuit communists."

Remember that the ARENA was founded by Roberto "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson, who ordered the assassination of Archbishop Romero in 1980. For El Salvador's crazed rightists, the ideological root of the leftist insurgency lies in a humanistic concern for the poor. Two days after the Jesuits were killed, the ARENA regime issued an open death threat to liberal church leaders unless they left the country immediately. In a letter to the Vatican, attorney general Mauricio Colorado stated, "I fear for the lives of some bishops who have persisted in keeping alive this questionable ideology of the church of the poor." El Salvador is ruled by men who think that Hitler was too soft, at any rate toward liberal churchmen.

El Salvador is not a typical Central American banana republic. The oligarchy feel themselves fully capable of killing communists by themselves, and they have a long history of it. In the 1932 Matanza (massacre) they killed 2 percent of the country's entire population, and refused the aid of U.S. and Canadian warships standing by offshore. They despise the Americans, whom they regard as bleeding-heart liberals soft on reds and pinks. The Salvador regime's idea of "land reform" is that the more land your family already has, the more you get. The economy is a hopeless wreck: most of the millions a day sent down by Washington go straight to Swiss bank accounts, while the main source of dollars is repatriated wages from Salvadoran workers in the U.S. In this land ruled like a private club by the legendary "14 families," the U.S. ambassador ranks only 15th.

For Workers Revolution in El Salvador!

Yet the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FMLN propose to reach a "negotiated solution" with the 14 families and

their American paymasters. The rank-and-file FMLN fighter wants to defeat the enemy, now. The Salvadoran masses have not shed their blood, enduring ten years of war, to produce another stalemate. The working people want their day of reckoning with the military butchers and bloodstained oligarchy. Yet an enormous obstacle to victory remains the program of the petty-bourgeois nationalist FMLN, which, in one form or another, has always counterposed to the burning needs of the revolution its call for a "negotiated solution" to form a "government of broad participation" with the bourgeoisie.

In its latest and most extreme form, this has meant the FMLN proposing to lay down its arms and "integrate" into the U.S.-stage-managed "political process" in return for an illusory "self-purge and professionalization of the army"—whose profession is killing workers and peasants in the service of the "14 families." Shortly before the offensive, FMLN Comandante Leonel González stated: "We are going to put our military factor into play at the negotiating table" (*Excelsior* [Mexico City], 9 November).

The FMLN's "Manifesto to the Nation" at the start of the offensive calls on "all political and social forces, popular organizations and private businessmen" to "assume the historic role of promoters and builders of a democratic national solution that will bring lasting peace to our country." The "Manifesto" makes a "patriotic exhortation to officers and troops" and ends with a reference to the national anthem. This is not just some tactic to pull in those prone to patriotic sentimentality—as if class war could be patched over with national colors. FMLN spokesmen have insisted time and again that class collaboration is the strategic line. And they have bent over backward to make clear that their program is not for a social revolution of the workers, peasants and urban poor.

While appealing to the patriotism of Salvadoran capitalists and military men, key to the FMLN's strategy is pressuring the liberal wing of U.S. imperialism—concentrated mainly in the Democratic Party—to secure peace and democracy in El Salvador. However, the Democrats—a majority in Congress—have voted repeatedly for massive military aid to the Salvadoran government, not only under the "centrist" Duarte but also the fascistic ARENA. Right after the offensive began, Connecticut Senator Christopher Dodd—baited by the Republicans as "Mr. Sandinista" in Congress—sent a message to the FMLN: "We intend to support the government down there, and they should know that. That despite their efforts to the contrary we are not going to abandon President Cristiani." At best, a few, like California Senator Alan Cranston, take a "curse on both your houses" line.

Like bourgeois liberals, the petty-bourgeois radicals of the FMLN speak of classless "democracy." For example, Comandante Francisco Jovel defined the movement's goals as installing "a truly democratic system" or "the establishment of an authentically democratic society" (*NACLA Report on the Americas*, September 1989). Yet the most basic democracy for the working people is impossible so long as the coffee barons, factory owners and their military guard dogs retain their class power. Only a social revolution which expropriates the bourgeoisie can establish even the most basic freedom for workers and peasants.

Even the reputedly "hardline" comandante Joaquín Villalobos, who has become the main spokesman of the current FMLN offensive, has made it very clear that his program aims at class collaboration:

"In El Salvador we don't have to invent the bourgeoisie like in Nicaragua. We have to come to an understanding with it, to bring our interests together, seek-

ing forms of coexistence, even if they become the opposition."

—*Pensamiento Propio*
[Managua], January-February 1989

In Nicaragua the Sandinistas' bourgeois allies soon went into opposition, and became... the *contras*. One of their former coalition partners, Violeta Chamorro, is now financed by the CIA to the tune of millions of dollars as the contra candidate for president.

Compared to Nicaragua under Somoza, the working class in El Salvador has far greater social weight and a higher level of political consciousness. During the past few years, tens of thousands of workers have repeatedly marched on May Day and other occasions in protests defying the guns of the military. Immediately after Cristiani took office in June—completing ARENA's domination of the formal government structure (executive, legislative and judicial) while the military is now solidly controlled by hardliners of the *tandona* (the military academy's class of '66)—kidnappings, arrests and murders of trade unionists began escalating. This terror culminated in the October 31 bombing of the FENASTRAS labor federation, and since then union militants are still being kidnapped and murdered daily. But in response, workers courageously mobilized to bury their leaders, surrounding and disarming secret police who had infiltrated the crowd. Salvadoran workers certainly have both the combativity and organizational capacity to launch a powerful insurrection in San Salvador.

Yet while the FMLN called for a popular uprising, neither its 1981 "general offensive" nor the present one was accompanied by an insurrection. That is not for lack of popular support, as the U.S. embassy pretends. Rather, in the guerrillaist strategy mass participation is purely auxiliary, to be turned on and off as it's convenient. And as petty-bourgeois bonapartists (who have more than once settled internal disputes by assassination), they fear the formation of workers militias, workers councils and other organs of *proletarian class power*. Seven years ago, Villalobos admitted that in the spring of 1980, when hundreds of thousands of workers and slum-dwellers took to the streets, the FMLN let the opportunity for mass insurrection *pass by* because "sectors of the bourgeoisie willing to establish alliances with us" weren't willing (see "El Salvador: Workers Revolution vs. Guerrillism," *WV* No. 325, 11 March 1983).

The guerrillas' political program is *class collaboration* with the "patriotic/democratic bourgeoisie." Currently they are trying to get Washington to engineer a "government of national salvation" with everybody except ARENA

and the *tandona*. But this was already tried with the 1979 "revolutionary junta" (including such guerrilla allies as Guillermo Ungo and Rubén Zamora), which immediately led to killings of striking workers and peasants. It would be tragic if after a decade of civil war, this were to occur again today.

While events *may* move beyond the limits imposed by the FMLN's class-collaborationist program, the key remains the mobilization of the proletarian masses as a *class*, fighting for workers power. The urgent necessity of forging a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard based on the program of international proletarian revolution is underscored by the deepening economic crisis and con-



Ricardo Ortega

San Salvador, July 1988: Union demonstration against "state of emergency" law. In the face of brutal government repression, defiant working class has repeatedly taken to the streets to protest strikebreaking and death squad terror.

tinued contra aggression in Nicaragua, where the Sandinistas' pipe dreams of "pluralism and mixed economy" have meant misery for the working people and dangerous encroachments by Washington's internal contras; by the continued social turbulence in Mexico with its many-million-strong proletariat; and by the social explosions rocking a series of South American countries.

Central America: Achilles' Heel of U.S. Imperialism

The American ruling class has convinced itself that with nice Mr. Gorbachev running Russia, Communism will be replaced by capitalism in East Europe and all conflicts in the world will be settled in Washington's favor—total global victory. But Central America is not going according to this triumphalist scenario. An editorial in the *Baltimore Sun* (15 November) blames it all on the doctrinaire and irrational radicalism of

an out-of-step Latin left:

"Eastern Europe's message hasn't gotten through to the Central American left. As Soviet-style communism disintegrates, El Salvador's Marxist-oriented insurgency launches a Tet-like offensive and Nicaragua's Sandinista regime cancels a 19-month cease-fire to go after what remains of the right-wing contra rebellion...."

The editorial concludes that "the Latin left faces increased isolation and irrelevance in this brave new Gorbachevian world."

American ruling circles (except for some ultras like Jeane Kirkpatrick) seem willing to recognize that the Russians have been backing off in the world. Thus they're talking about cutting

the military budget by \$20 billion—a decrease of about 3.5 percent!—and have toned down the Reaganite posture of fighting "Soviet surrogates" around the globe. But not in El Salvador. When an old woman heckled Bush about supporting the murder of priests, he told her to shut up and shouted back, "the left-wing guerrillas must not take over El Salvador" (*New York Times*, 21 November).

Washington hopes and expects to enlist Gorbachev in preventing such a takeover. State Department chief James Baker complained: "Soviet behavior toward Cuba and Central America remains the biggest obstacle to a full, across-the-board improvement in relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union." There is a rather nice irony here. For decades Washington denounced the Kremlin for trying to subvert "the free world." But now the U.S. rulers regret that Gorbachev cannot lay down the law, as in Stalin's day, to the likes of Castro, Ortega and Villalobos.

Certainly, Gorbachev wants nothing more than class peace and class collaboration in Central America. The Soviet foreign ministry in effect *denounced* the FMLN offensive, arguing that "the present correlation of forces tends toward a standoff which the new wave of violence cannot alter and which will only cause new civilian victims" (*La Jornada* [Mexico City], 14 November). But the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin *cannot* damp down the revolutionary turmoil in Central America, which is rooted in the *fierce hatred* of the workers, peasants and urban poor for Yankee imperialism and its bloodthirsty local exploiters. People in the street, peasants on the farm routinely refer to the army, the government, the U.S. as "the enemy."

These days there are a lot of illusions about "free world" capitalism in East Europe. Many Poles and Hungarians think that in exchange for anti-Communist declarations Washington and Wall Street will shower them with billions of dollars. But Salvadorans and Nicaraguans know that anti-Communism means starvation for them and billions of dollars for the death

squads and contra terrorists. For the moment George Bush may be welcomed enthusiastically when he visits Gdansk, Warsaw and Budapest. But Bush—the boss man of the contra killers—wouldn't dare walk through the barrios of Mexico City, Managua and San Salvador without massive police protection.

The workers and peasants of Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean do not have to be told by "delinquent subversives" that Yankee imperialism is their mortal enemy. From the invasion of Mexico in the 1840s to the savage austerity programs dictated by Wall Street today, the U.S. rulers have raped the Mexican people for over a century. During the 1920s the U.S. Marines occupied Nicaragua, murdered nationalist leader Augusto Sandino and installed the bloodsucking Somoza dynasty for the next half century. In El Salvador, over the past half century, from the Matanza of 1932 to the present civil war, the U.S.-backed Salvadoran oligarchy has killed a larger proportion of its own people than any ruling group in Latin America. Even the Archbishop of El Salvador now describes his country as "in first place in terms of barbarity." In Batista's Cuba, before the revolution, Havana was a giant Mafia-owned whorehouse while the countryside was a vast sugar plantation, much of it owned by United Fruit.

Reagan and Bush have ceaselessly proclaimed Central America, indeed all of Latin America, as their front yard. Well, the U.S. is a military superpower. So why don't they just send in their army and Marines to wipe out the Salvadoran guerrillas and to overthrow the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, a poor, backward country of three million? Because everyone knows the Americans would encounter ferocious popular resistance and take heavy casualties. An invasion of Central America would be no Grenada-style walkover. And even flag-waving Reaganites don't want to risk their sons dying in Central America adventures.

The long shadow of Vietnam still hovers over this country. The U.S. no longer even has a draft army. Today's pampered yuppies have never experienced boot camp or been chewed out by an angry drill sergeant. As for the black and Hispanic soldiers who joined the armed forces to escape the nightmarish conditions of the ghettos and barrios, many would rightly recognize their enemy as the *men in Washington* who sent them to fight in Central America, not the FMLN and Sandinistas. U.S. combat forces in El Salvador or Nicaragua would be demoralized and potentially mutinous from the get-go. Opposition on the home front to direct U.S. military intervention in Central America would be massive and instant. A small sign: a spokesman for the United Mine Workers—a union not usually given to supporting radical causes—participated in last weekend's Boston protest against U.S. support to the Salvadoran regime.

El Salvador is a small country with little strategic economic significance in the world. However, after the humiliating loss in Vietnam and the Nicaraguan Revolution, under Reagan U.S. imperialism decided to make El Salvador the site of its renewed anti-Communist crusade. El Salvador was to be the *anti-Vietnam*, the place where the leftist guerrillas were wiped out by U.S. puppet forces. Washington has given \$3.5 billion to the death squad regime, amounting to a bounty of \$50,000 for every man, woman and child killed. The civil war in El Salvador has taken on a global significance far greater than the small Central American country in which it is being fought. A victory for the leftist rebels over the Salvadoran rulers would be a stunning defeat and humiliation for U.S. imperialism with repercussions from the barrios of Mexico City to the factories of East Berlin and beyond. ■

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Smash Yankee Imperialism in Central America!

Spectacular Offensive by Salvador Rebels

NOVEMBER 21—Shortly before dawn this morning, leftist rebels burst into the luxurious Sheraton Hotel in San Salvador, occupying the VIP tower, a known CIA/embassy haunt sealed off to regular guests. In the process they trapped up to 12 heavily armed U.S. military "advisers" who were housed there. These "advisers" have been identified as part of a 14-man elite team of Green Berets, the notorious gang of murderers who have cut a swath of terror from South Vietnam to Central America. The FMLN has stated they are being treated as "prisoners of war," and has offered to turn them over to the U.S. embassy. But the U.S. has initially refused to negotiate with the rebels.

The Sheraton is located in the elite Escalón neighborhood, home of all the leading capitalists, politicians and generals. As a CBS journalist reported, "The war in El Salvador has arrived on the doorstep of the oligarchy." The guerrillas said that they had taken Escalón "to show that the government would not dare to bomb the homes of the rich, as it did last week in slum neighborhoods." As we go to press, elements of the "Delta Hostage Rescue Force," based in Fort Bragg, have reportedly been given an order to "move into position for a possible rescue mission." If Bush now tries to send his boys in to get these professional killers out, the FMLN will be doing the world a service by sending the lot of them to kingdom come.

While the American ruling class is celebrating "the death of Communism," the Salvadoran leftist insurgency now has shaken to its core one of the most bloodthirsty of all U.S. puppet states. On Saturday, November 12, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) launched coordinated attacks across the country

Military Victory to FMLN! For Workers Revolution!



Heroic FMLN guerrillas take large section of San Salvador and other areas of country. Workers insurrection must sweep away tottering death squad regime.

and occupied the densely populated working-class barrios around the capital. With great heroism and brilliant tactics, for over a week the rebel forces have fought to a standstill the Salvadoran army massively supplied with Pentagon weaponry. Indeed, the death squad regime in El Salvador has received more U.S. military aid than any country in the world except Israel and Egypt.

As people throughout the world marveled at the raw courage and boldness of the leftist rebels, they were sickened and outraged by the barbarism of the U.S.-backed forces. Having no stomach to fight the guerrillas house to house, the

Salvadoran army has bombed and strafed the barrios. Doctors at Las Rosales hospital in San Salvador report that most of the wounds are from shrapnel, not bullets. As the civil war raged, 30 uniformed military men tortured and killed six Jesuit priests, outspoken supporters of social justice who had been targeted by the right-wing death squads. The crazed killers who rule El Salvador are capable of massacring tens of thousands to "avenge" their humiliation at the hands of the FMLN guerrillas. They enjoy killing peasants. But an attempted massacre in San Salvador's barrios just could spark a desperate working-class uprising, finally bringing down this

barbaric regime.

For some months Washington and Wall Street have been reveling in the supposed dismantling of Communism in East Europe and throughout the world. State Department "theoretician" Francis Fukuyama proclaims that the "American way of life" is triumphing everywhere and forever. But as the American ruling class dances on the grave of Marxism, the spectre of Communism armed and militant now rises up in its own backyard. As Fidel Castro said, the Salvadoran offensive is teaching "euphoric" imperialism a lesson.

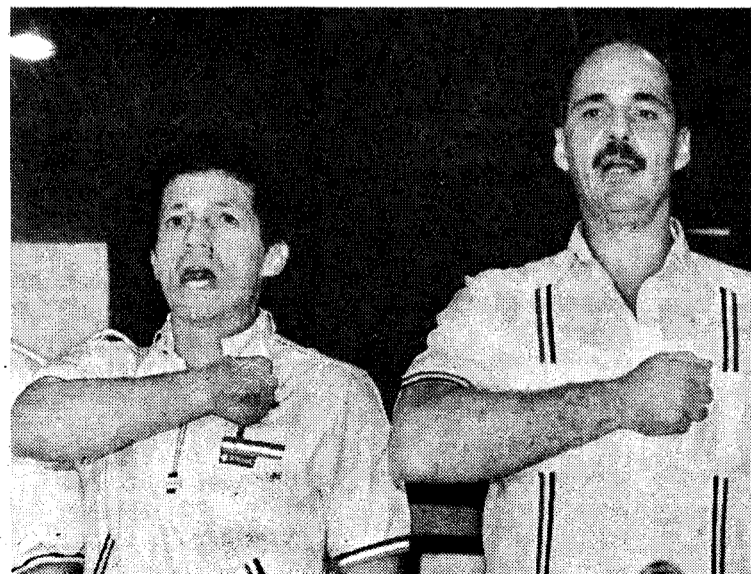
Washington's death squad regime in El Salvador is tottering. To bring it down what's needed is not just a bold military move by guerrilla units but a workers insurrection backed by the peasantry and urban poor. For the Salvadoran masses there can be no "negotiated settlement" with the pathological killers who have already slaughtered tens of thousands by mass assassination, indiscriminate terror and now bombing their own cities. The real alternatives are *revolution or death*. And the overthrow of the blood-drenched ruling class by the leftist rebels and armed workers could open the way for social revolution, sparking a conflagration throughout Central America and into Mexico with its powerful industrial proletariat.

A Salvadoran Tet Offensive

Descending from the San Salvador volcano, an estimated 1,500 seasoned
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Chauvel/Sygma



Bocxe/Sipa

Army massacred six Jesuit priests for speaking out against death squad regime (left). "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson and Salvadoran president Cristiani, leaders of fascist ARENA party, death squad organizers.