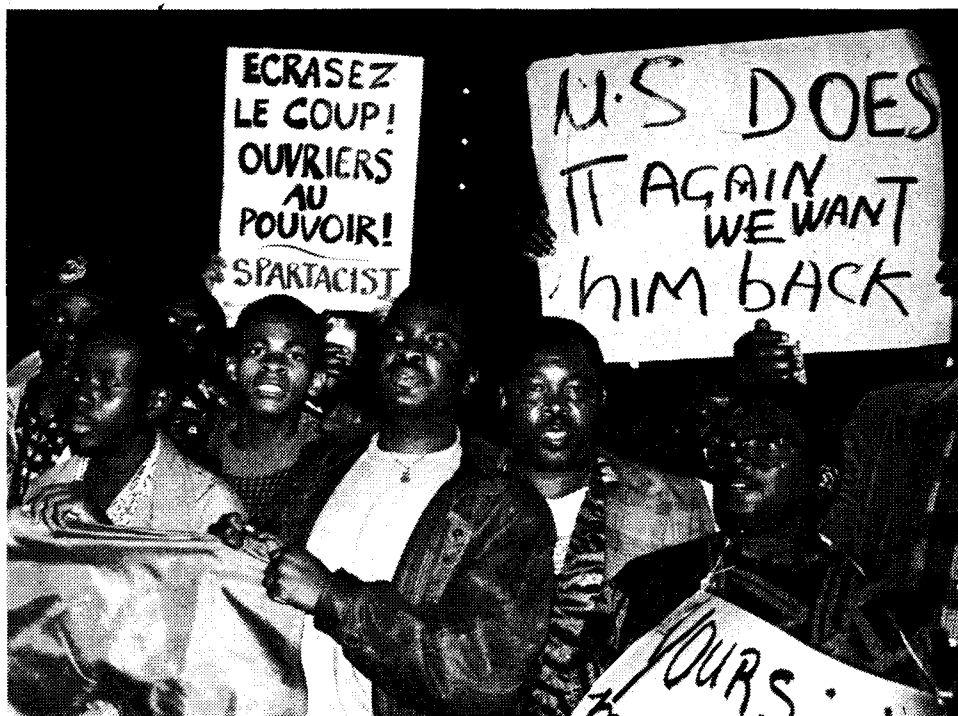


U.S./OAS Intervention Means Colonial Rule

Smash Haiti Coup! For Workers Power!



Mike Kamber



WV Photo

Left: Uzi-toting Haitian soldiers patrol the capital. Right: Haitian protesters in New York, October 1, after bloody coup. Spartacist sign says, "Smash the Coup—Workers to Power!"

OCTOBER 7—On September 30, barely a day after his return from a triumphant visit to the United States, Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide was ousted from office and exiled in a bloody coup led by "moderate" general Raoul Cedras. It started the night before with mutinies in the capital; by daybreak troops were firing on Aristide's house outside Port-au-Prince, later capturing him at the National Palace. As soldiers shut down all but one of Haiti's 15 radio stations, the president was hauled off to army headquarters. Aristide escaped with his life only after the U.S. ambassador intervened. In the past week, the army and police have been indiscriminately killing hundreds.

After decades of bloody terror under U.S.-sponsored dictators "Papa Doc" Duvalier, his son "Baby Doc" and

U.S. Out of Guantánamo! Defend Cuba!

assorted generals, Aristide was touted as "the first democratically elected president" in Haiti's history. His landslide victory in last year's vote was supervised by observers from the UN (Jimmy Carter) and the Organization of American States. With the fervent support of a popular movement known as "Lavalas" (cleansing flood), Aristide made vague promises of a *déchouquage* (uprooting) of Duvalierist forces who infest the army and government. But eight months later,

those forces are running the show, and Aristide is looking to imperialist godfather George Bush to put him back in power.

Meanwhile, what the U.S. is plotting to impose on Haiti is hardly a "return to democracy." For a while it appeared that the U.S. wanted to broker a deal with the army and the Duvalierists to allow a hamstrung Aristide to return, on their terms, as a "democratic" figurehead for the status quo. The *New York Times*

(7 October) reported that administration "officials said they had concluded that Father Aristide must publicly disavow mob violence and work toward sharing power with the Parliament." Throwing their weight around the Caribbean, the Yankee imperialists jumped at the excuse to send Marines to the U.S. base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. These butchers of the Iraqi people are taking aim at the Cuban Revolution, and would like nothing better than to install another Batista in Havana.

As we go to press, it is reported that soldiers stormed into the Haitian parliament, pistol-whipping legislators who dutifully voted to install a Supreme Court justice as puppet president and to hold new "elections" in which Aristide would be banned as a candidate. Nowadays the U.S. makes a fetish of "democratic elections," but for most of Latin America "election" is just an adjective describing a form of fraud. In Haiti, it customarily modifies "massacre." So now the army orders gunpoint "elections" to legitimize its ouster of Aristide. What's needed in response is a revolutionary struggle by the working class, from the free trade zone of Port-au-Prince to Santo Domingo—where Dominican workers have staged repeated general strikes against IMF austerity and the Balaguer regime which stole last year's elections—to the Haitian diaspora in North America.

U.S. Imperialism: Keep Your Bloody Hands Off!

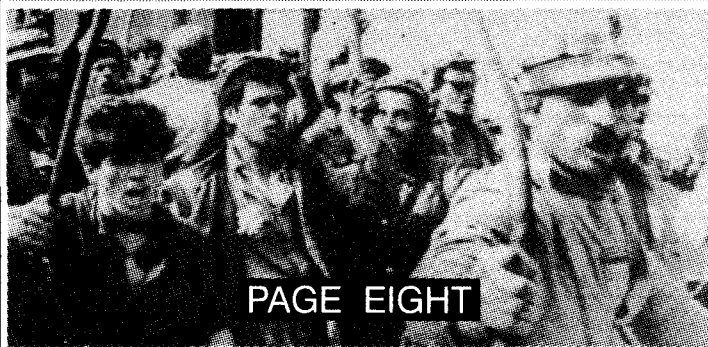
In New York City, home to over 300,000 Haitians, news of the coup was met with horror and shock. Only
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Romanian Miners Revolt Against "Free Market" Starvation



PAGE EIGHT

L.A., San Francisco Angry Protests Over Veto of Gay Rights Bill

SAN FRANCISCO—Thousands of angry gays and defenders of gay rights took to the streets on September 30 in San Francisco and West Hollywood the day after California governor Pete Wilson vetoed a bill outlawing job discrimination against gays. Protests continued for several days. Wilson's veto is an outrage, effectively declaring homosexuals to be less than human in the eyes of the state. The consequences are ominous, and not just a predictable upswing in legally sanctioned discrimination by bigoted employers.

As is recognized across the political spectrum, from disappointed gay rights lobbyists to the celebrating Moral Majority bigots who mounted a hysterical campaign against Assembly Bill 101, the veto is a green light from the state for a growing epidemic of gay-bashing. Democratic rights are indivisible! The workers movement has a duty to defend the rights of gays against all attacks—from "legal" discrimination to police beatings to murderous fascist violence in the streets!

In San Francisco, 7,000 protesters marched from the Castro District to the new state office building to protest the veto. As the demo was winding up, windows were smashed and a couple of offices trashed in the building. Anger first flared when former-SF police chief Frank Jordan showed up claiming to support AB101. Infuriated demonstrators surrounded this ex-top cop and gave him a small taste of the treatment meted out by his thugs in blue when they sealed off an entire block of Castro Street during an October 1989 AIDS protest and viciously beat anyone who dared to step outside. Jordan, "shoeless when he fled" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 1 October), was rescued by cops after a little roughing up, later bellyaching about "mob rule."

The next day when Wilson was shouted down by 300 angry demonstrators at Stanford University, the governor snapped, "this is not the time and place for fascist tactics." Newspapers editorialized against the veto but ran screaming headlines about "violence" and the gay "riot." SF's Democratic mayor Art

Los Angeles
protesters
denounce
veto by
California
governor
Wilson.



SF Sentinel

Agnos vowed to prosecute "violent" demonstrators. The bourgeoisie expects gays to eat it and shut up. Under the circumstances, angry gay demonstrators acted with remarkable restraint.

"Civil rights or civil war!" chanted demonstrators marching to the County Museum of Art in Los Angeles on October 1, where Wilson was hobnobbing with Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari. They joined a small group protesting against Salinas (who is starving the Mexican workers and peasants on behalf of Yankee imperialism). Later that night, LAPD riot cops attacked protesters outside the Century Plaza Hotel, where Wilson was supposed to be staying. Dozens of cops charged the crowd, clubbing indiscriminately. "It was a typical storm-trooper rush," said L.A. gay rights activist David Smith.

"Moderate Republican" Wilson was elected last year with a lot of votes from gays after he claimed to support gay rights. But Wilson aspires to run for president in 1996 and needs right-wing support. After hemming and hawing about the bill for months Wilson rushed to announce his veto before the release of an opinion poll on the subject. It turned out the poll revealed 62 percent of the state's voters were for signing the bill, including a majority of Wilson's Republicans! So politicians across the state are coming out in favor of the vetoed bill—as did, with the utmost gall, the SF Police Officers Association! SF cops are notorious for beating gays in the city's streets and jailhouses.

"We were betrayed," said Laurie McBride of the Lobby for Individual Freedom and Equality, a Sacramento gay rights lobby. "We're very numb right now," said Frank Ricchiazzi of the gay Republican Log Cabin clubs. Sunday night, immediately after the veto was announced, demonstrators in San Francisco's heavily gay Castro District chanted: "Gay Republican is an oxymoron." But Republican or Democrat, from Queer Nation to Log Cabin, attempts to fight anti-gay bigotry by pressuring the bourgeois state are futile.

AB101 was a simple extension of some existing state civil rights laws to include homosexuals. A bare statement of basic democratic rights, it should never have been in question, yet a previous version was vetoed by then-governor Deukmejian seven years ago. No legal statement of equality or law against discrimination, however, can change the basic social reality of oppression in capitalist America. Even in San Francisco, where the large gay population means gays have clout in electoral politics (and the petty-bourgeois gay movement has a thoroughly bourgeois leadership), reported incidents of gay-bashing numbered second only to New York City in 1990, and are on the rise.

So-called "liberal" Wilson wants to prove his credentials as Bush's heir by busting the unions, starving the poor, and otherwise viciously attacking blacks and Hispanics in California, and targeting gays helps. From Hitler's "New Order" to Bush's "New World Order," homosexuals have always been victimized under capitalism, not only targeted by backwoods bigots but subject to discrimination by the most liberal sectors of the ruling class, who join with out-and-out reactionaries in upholding the bourgeois institution of the family as the bedrock of social "stability." It will take a thoroughgoing socialist revolution to lay the basis for replacing the family by socializing its functions. The Bolsheviks eliminated all discriminatory laws against homosexuals shortly after the victory of the October Revolution (although these gains were later destroyed by the Stalinist political counterrevolution).

Some hard class struggle could reverse the all-sided reactionary offensive against labor and minorities, and defend gays by mobilizing the social power of the working class. Unflinching opposition to all forms of oppression is central to the task of leading the proletariat to power. Then we can sweep out all the garbage of bigotry and build a socialist society that will make equality and freedom a living social reality for all. ■



TROTSKY

For Workers Defense Guards Against Fascist Terror

Following the capitalist reunification of Germany, numerous fascist attacks and now pogroms against immigrant workers pose the urgent need for the working class to form defense guards to crush the Nazi terrorists. Half a century ago, Leon Trotsky warned against looking to the "democratic" bourgeois governments, who today "tolerate" the fascists in order to unleash them tomorrow against the workers. He insistently called

instead for workers united-front action to stop the Nazis in their tracks. The labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League to stop KKK/skinhead/Nazi provocations in major American cities over the last decade have been based on this class-struggle strategy laid out by Trotsky in the 1938 Transitional Program.

The petty-bourgeois democrats—including Social Democrats, Stalinists, and Anarchists—yell louder about the struggle against fascism the more cravenly they capitulate to it in actuality. Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands. The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory—and ends in the street. Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. Strike pickets are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating workers' groups for self-defense. It is necessary to write this slogan into the program of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions. It is imperative wherever possible, beginning with the youth groups, to organize groups for self-defense, to drill and acquaint them with the use of arms.

A new upsurge of the mass movement should serve not only to increase the number of these units but also to unite them according to neighborhoods, cities, regions. It is necessary to give organized expression to the valid hatred of the workers toward scabs and bands of gangsters and fascists. It is necessary to advance the slogan of a workers' militia as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organizations, meetings, and press.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (September 1938)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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11 October 1991

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Lenin-Trotsky Fund Needs Your Dollars!

The resources of the International Communist League are sparse, our current tasks mammoth. We have just printed 70,000 copies of the Russian translation of "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (pictured at right). We are now reprinting the first Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin*, "What Is Trotskyism," of which 25,000 have already been sold throughout the Soviet Union. Pro-socialist Soviet workers are thirsting for Trotskyist literature, but economic realities dictate that we must heavily subsidize our publications to keep them affordable. Printing costs, travel and other expenses mean that an internationalist intervention in the Soviet Union costs money. Help forge the Trotskyist



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Anti-Abortion Bigots Flop on Fifth Avenue

Abortion rights demonstrators overwhelmed religious fanatics who tried to invade New York City on September 29, as over 4,000 women's rights activists took to the streets, outmobilizing the anti-abortion bigots four to one. A conglomeration of anti-abortion groups called "Metropolitan New York Life Chain" had boasted that they would bring out 10,000 people to form a mammoth human crucifix along Fifth Avenue and 34th Street in the heart of Manhattan. Instead, their ragged ranks often had gaps of entire blocks between anti-abortion signs. The turnout for the pro-choice counterdemonstration, called by WHAM (Women's Health Action and Mobilization), was notably young and irreverent.

The battle over women's right to abortion has dominated domestic politics for the last several months. For six weeks this summer, anti-abortion bigots terrorized women in Wichita, Kansas, seeking to spearhead a national wave of reaction to outlaw this basic right. But after the Senate panel holding hearings on the nomination of anti-abortion black Reaganite Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court split seven to seven, pro-choice forces are gearing up for a renewed pressure campaign directed at Congress.

On October 5, 5,000 abortion rights demonstrators rallied in San Francisco at the Civic Center Plaza, where the Spartacist League had a banner, "Labor: Defend Abortion Clinics!" The next day there was an anti-abortion human chain of 500 in SF. The "life chain" said they would erect crosses nationwide October 6, claiming they turned out tens of thousands in 350 cities like Wichita and Orlando. Meanwhile, "Operation Rescue" threatens assaults on abortion clinics in Boston and elsewhere November 2.

In New York City, a full-page ad in the *Village Voice* headlined "Oh, Toto! They're Not in Wichita Anymore!" helped bring out a high-spirited crowd, who made it clear to the right-wingers bused in from the suburbs that they certainly weren't in Kansas. "Welcome to Babylon, Idiots" said a sign carried by one brazen young woman in red satin horns and black cape. One popular chant among college and high school groups as they marched past St. Patrick's Cathedral on Fifth Avenue was "Keep your rosaries off our ovaries!"

Drum-beating students from Bard picked up the Spartacist contingent's chant, "Defend the clinics! Take a stand! Free abortion on demand!" Spartacist signs called on labor to defend abortion clinics, as well as "Abortion Rights for Teens! Down with Parental Consent Laws!" "Break with the Democrats! Forge a Workers Party!" and "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" To the surprise of many of the marchers, construction workers high on beams along the route cheered and applauded the show of strength for abortion rights.

The boisterous crowd was a refreshing challenge to the present reactionary climate. Yet, as shown by the popular chant

Thousands March for Women's Rights



New York City: Spartacist contingent at September 29 abortion rights demo.

"Not the church, not the state, women will decide our fate," there are plenty of illusions in "lifestyle liberation" (possible perhaps only in a few places like NYC or San Francisco, and requiring a decent income) that stand in the way of any real struggle for liberation for all. How can women—or any oppressed group—in fact "decide their fate" when this capitalist state, with its ideological prop of organized religion, is still in power?

Clarence Thomas: Reagan Reactionary

The Bible bigots with their human crosses, and the KKK with their burning crosses, have both endorsed Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court. If this black reactionary is confirmed, everybody figures *Roe v. Wade*, the Court decision legalizing abortion, will be down the tubes. While Thomas is on record declaring abortion is an affront to "natural law," with his White House handler beside him he lied his way through the hearings, claiming in all his years in politics he never once expressed an opinion on abortion rights.

As the Bush league campaigned to present Thomas as something of a "moderate," they tried to bury his record as an arch-conservative who climbed the Reagan ranks by opposing virtually every gain won by blacks during the decade of the civil rights movement. Moreover, Thomas has been linked to official lobbyists for the South African bantustans. In a letter to the *New York Times* (8 September), Edward S. Herman noted that Thomas is an editorial board member of the Reaganite *Lincoln*

Review, published by the conservative Lincoln Institute, headed by Jay Parker, who was an agent of the Transkei and Venda apartheid puppet regimes.

As head of Reagan's "Equal Employment Opportunity Commission," Clarence Thomas presided over dismantling affirmative action and other government programs for minorities. Meanwhile, his wife has been doing the same thing to women's rights, in her post as assistant

secretary at the Department of Labor. According to a *Washington Post* (10 September) profile, Virginia Lamp Thomas, the daughter of Omaha, Nebraska Republican Pooh-Bahs, is a fanatic Reaganite ideologue in her own right, who has fought against such reforms as comparable-worth legislation and the Family Leave Act (which Bush is threatening to veto). How appropriate that these two met at a function of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, after Strom Thurmond remarked jovially to Thomas, "You need to find a wife."

The pro- and anti-abortion demos this month are connected with the fight over Thomas' appointment to the Supreme Court. But while bourgeois feminists like NOW occasionally prattle about a "third party," in reality they crawl on their bellies for the Democrats, who have caved in to, when they weren't already gung ho for, every demand of the Reagan/Bush White House for the past 12 years, from Operation "Desert Slaughter" against the Iraqi population to the war on women's and black rights at home.

What's needed to defend women's fundamental right to abortion is to stop the bigots on the streets, outside the clinics they try to close down. A massive show of strength by all those they are targeting, backed up by the force of labor, would send these "right-to-lifers" packing. But they are only the rabid smalltimers unleashed by Bush and his fellow capitalists. It will take a workers socialist revolution to finally break the ancient chains of fear and superstition these "Operation Rescue" terrorists exploit, as well as to ensure free abortion on demand, free quality health care to everyone, and every other basic, elementary human need this reactionary system is bent on obliterating. ■

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Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas, surrounded by coterie of reactionary Republican senators.

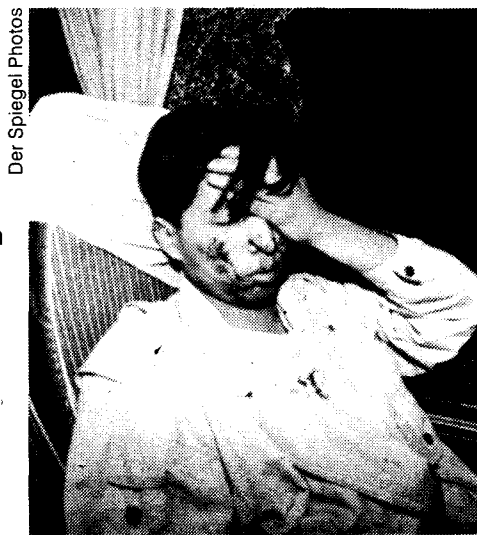
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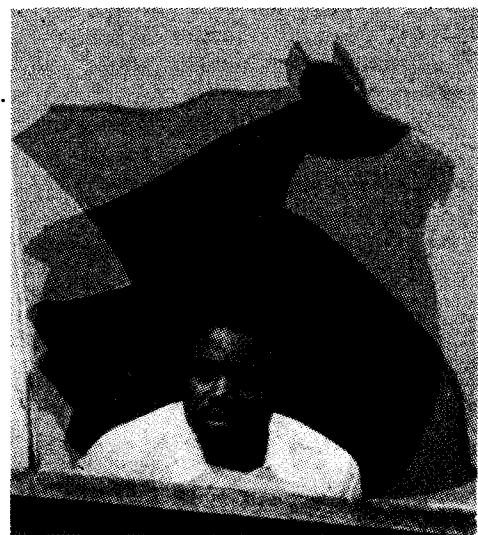


La Repubblica

Nazi terrorists with Reich war flag in Berlin (left); Vietnamese and Mozambican workers in Hoyerswerda (right), victims of racist rampage.



Der Spiegel Photos



BERLIN—After months of murderous Nazi/skinhead assaults on immigrants and refugees in Germany, a hideous pogrom was unleashed in late September in the East German mining town of Hoyerswerda, not far from the Polish border. Day after day, fascist-led mobs attacked hostels for foreign workers and asylum seekers. A racist wave of terror spread across Germany, peaking on October 3, the first anniversary of reunification. On this “day of celebration” of the Fourth Reich there were over two dozen fascist attacks. In Hünxe (Rhine-land), two Lebanese children were critically burned and a whole hostel for asylum seekers was burned down. In Krefeld a Turkish worker was stabbed to the ground in broad daylight—in front of numerous passers-by.

This is the bitter fruit of capitalist reunification. Already in February 1990 we Spartakists warned: “The SPD [Social Democratic Party] is today the main organizer of a capitalist counter-revolution in the DDR [East Germany], while the fascists will be unleashed as the vanguard troops of reunification. They would be the storm troops of reaction when a Fourth Reich is shaken by its first crisis” (*Arprekorr* No. 21, 1 February 1990).

This development has been fanned by the aggressive “asylum debate”—in reality an *all-party attack on refugees*. The recent election campaign in Bremen was a “deportation election,” instigated and led by the SPD. The Social Democratic head of the Bremen state government, Wedemeier, is already refusing to accept refugee applications from Romania and Poland. With the SPD thus fanning the flames of racism, the Nazis of the DVU received 6.2 percent while the fascist Republikaner got another 1.5 percent of the votes.

While the Christian Democrats want to formally overturn the constitutional right of asylum, the Social Democrats want to gut it by parliamentary regulation excluding various categories, and the Greens are calling for quotas. The PDS (successor to the former East German Stalinist ruling party) falls in with this racist popular front, calling for “more cops.” At the same time they want to “discuss” with Nazi/skinhead murderers. And then they want the Reichskanzler to place himself as a “protective shield” in front of the hostels—clearly as “protection” against the image of the

“ugly German”! The satellites of Social Democracy are also doing their bit: the BSA (followers of the dubious David North) supported the SPD of Lafontaine, the notorious deporter of Roma and Cinti (gypsies), in the Bundestag elections last December, while the Arbeitermacht (Workers Power) grouplet supported the SPD of Wedemeier in Bremen.

We Spartakists fight for self-defense groups based on the workers movement to protect the hostels. On October 3 we intervened in demonstrations against racism in Hamburg and Berlin with our program for worker/immigrant mobilization. When the 20,000-strong Berlin demo went past a Vietnamese workers hostel, it was greeted warmly by the workers, who distributed packs of cigarettes to the demonstrators. (After being

fired from their jobs in East Germany, many Vietnamese have been forced to sell cigarettes on the street to provide a livelihood.)

At an anti-fascist demonstration in Hoyerswerda on September 29, many residents gladly took our *Spartakist* supplement calling to “Smash Nazi Terror Through Worker/Immigrant Mobilization!” Several workers in the lignite mines took bundles to distribute and to discuss with coworkers in their plant measures against fascist attacks. The supplement was welcomed in the hostel of the remaining Mozambicans and Vietnamese, who told of their fears about October 3. The fight for union-organized self-defense groups of workers/immigrants against Nazi/skinhead terror must be welded to a program for united class

struggle in East and West against the mass unemployment that the Nazis feed off.

Below we reprint the *Spartakist* supplement of 28 September.

Smash Nazi Terror Through Worker/Immigrant Mobilization!

Two weeks before the anniversary of “German unity” on October 3 the Fourth Reich is showing its ugly face. For days fascistic gangs blocked the hostels of immigrants in Hoyerswerda, smashed the windows and threw firebombs into the flats. All this under the very eyes of neighbors who in some cases applauded the pogrom. The attacks by the brown scum have reached a new stage because the fascists find a fertile soil in the DDR, where after the counterrevolution already half of the working people (those on short-time work, women, those over 50) are unemployed and kicked into social misery. Now the Nazis with all the old racist shit are once again creeping out from their ratholes.

Determined action of the working class and their anti-fascist allies can stop the fascists. In Hoyerswerda now nearly all of the foreigners have been driven out of town. *But this could have been prevented.* Hoyerswerda is no Nazi town but a workers town, suffering under capitalist destruction and despair like the rest of the ex-DDR. Determined intervention of the organized working class could easily sweep away those few hundred Nazi/skinhead punks and racist rowdies, could silence the “onlookers” and win much support in the community. It is a question of *leadership*, of the intervention of a revolutionary working-class party, like the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) seeks to build—internationalist and anti-racist.

In Hoyerswerda the fascists were able to win with the support of the bourgeoisie, in the wake of the months-long barrage of the “asylum debate.” The virulent campaign against refugees was whipped up from the infamous *Bild* newspaper to the “sophisticated” racist articles in *Der Spiegel*. The Fourth Reich built its “economic miracle” on the superexploitation of imported “guest workers.” Today the capitalists stir up hatred against a “flood of asylum seekers” and are building the



Spartakist Photos

September 29: Anti-fascist demonstrators gather in Hoyerswerda, joined by local residents. Police attack demonstrators with water cannon.

"fortress Europe" to organize the plunder of East Europe and the Soviet Union under the German D-mark order.

Bonn's policy is part of the general witchhunt: immigrants are forced out of jobs and then deported en masse. The racist popular front of the Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU), Social Democrats (SPD) and Greens, extending to the PDS, is only arguing over the most effective deportation methods or talking of quotas, thus fostering the Nazi/skinhead bands. SPD leader Björn Engholm rushed forward to demand "collection camps" for asylum seekers and a "speed-up" of the legal deportation proceedings, whereas the Greens are screaming for "quotas" for foreigners. The black-red-gold PDS, having already given away the DDR to the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, is eagerly participating in building a new state apparatus of the Fourth Reich and in making East Germany "ausländerrein" ("cleansed" of foreigners). They are trying to polish up the image of the "ugly Germans" for the German bourgeoisie.

But the true image of "democratic Germany" is terror against immigrants and refugees. From the beginning, the Spartakist Workers Party said "No to capitalist reunification!" and warned that the counterrevolution would bring mass misery for the workers, women and immigrants.

Hoyerswerda is an example of the devastating consequences of the capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR. Previously everybody had a job and a home. With *Anschluss* (annexation) to the Fourth Reich there is no perspective for strip-mining brown coal (lignite) anymore and the giant "Schwarze Pumpe" enterprise plans to lay off 5,000 in the coming weeks. Although coal and gas are urgently needed for energy production the mining regions are to be shut down. Not for economic reasons but as part of the campaign of destruction faced by all the working people in the former DDR. The purpose is intimidation and demoralization of the East German pro-



May Day 1990: Mozambican workers joined Spartakist Workers Party contingent in East Berlin. Banner demands full citizenship rights for immigrant workers.

letariat, with the result that Nazi gangs can carry out their murderous activity in open daylight.

Because strikes and protests against mass layoffs remained isolated and there was no massive and broad workers' resistance, the German-nationalist demagoguery of the Nazis gets a hearing, especially among youth who see no perspective or future for themselves. This is mainly the responsibility of the SPD-led trade-union bureaucracy that has prevented workers' struggles. The social-democratic "plant council" members have distinguished themselves as the most rabid "anti-Stasi" witchhunters and openly worked for the class enemy to prevent workers' struggles and ram through the mass layoffs.

To defend itself the working class needs a party with a revolutionary program, that fights for jobs for all with no loss in pay. Equal pay for equal work! Housing, transport and the social infrastructure must be rebuilt. What is needed for this is a program of public works at full West German union wage

scales and under trade-union control, which will take the unemployed and youth off the streets. To undercut the fascists, the destruction of the East German working class must be stopped.

Police Terror in the Fourth Reich

"More police" is now the battle cry especially of the PDS. But Hoyerswerda once again proved that the police only went into action to prevent self-defense of the hostels and to arrest the protesters who had gathered to defend the residents. And when the police finally were activated on orders from the city council, it was not to sweep away the fascists but to deport the immigrant workers and refugees. A police lieutenant declared before the microphones of the press: "We are satisfied now that all the foreigners are gone."

The Nazis didn't end up in jail but the refugees were bused out of town in the middle of the night. No destination was given; one Vietnamese was severely injured by a stone thrown at him when

the bus departed. The police refused to get an ambulance as the refugees demanded. After an odyssey of three hours they arrived at Pirna, where they had to spend the night without a meal in an open field. Some of them fled to Berlin and Hannover.

The bourgeoisie tries to blame the DDR workers state for the fascist mobilizations in East Germany, and paints a rosy picture of life for immigrants in the West. This is an obvious lie. Of 62 firebombings in the last eight months, more than 20 happened in the West German state of Nordrhein-Westfalen. On September 19 when the Nazi scum in Hoyerswerda threw their Molotov cocktails, unhindered, that same night in Saarlouis a Ghanaian, Samuel Yeboahin, was burned to death in a firebomb attack; two of his fellow hostel residents from Nigeria were severely injured. In the Saarland, governed by former SPD crown prince Lafontaine, the fascist Republikaner are sitting in city hall. The following day in Saarlouis 400 demonstrators protested with the slogans: "Fascists do the dirty work for CDU/SPD/Greens" and "Hospitable Saarland: Saarbrücken deports, Saarlouis burns to death."

Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!

In the West as well as in the East, miners are fighting for their jobs and their livelihoods. More and more workers, from railway and postal workers to steel and mining, are feeling that the reunited Deutsche Bank republic means sinking standards of living and increasing fascist atrocities. Some contingents of disciplined workers of IG Bergbau (miners union) together with their fellow workers of the ÖTV (public employees) are a power that can protect the hostels of immigrants and refugees.

In West Germany the 2.2 million immigrant workers are a strategic part of the powerful proletariat, which is welded together multinationally in key industries. Workers from southern Europe and

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Lies of the Times

4 October 1991

Editor
New York Times
New York, NY
Dear Sir:

In your article "East Germans, Nurtured by Bonn, Take Heart and Begin to Prosper" (*New York Times*, 29 September) by Stephen Kinzer you paint a picture of life in East Germany that vastly distorts the bitter reality which reunification with the capitalist West has brought. Particularly striking were the figures cited to demonstrate that a "consumer boom" is "reshaping the way eastern Germans live." According to your article, 42 percent of families in the East now own a compact disk player and 34 percent have a personal computer at home. The writer added, "In East Germany there was little reason to even keep such statistics."

These claims are so wildly out of kilter with the hardships being faced by the East German population that I decided to contact the Allensbach Public Opinion Institute which you cited as the source. According to their recently published survey results, which included questions on household property, only 8.2 percent of the East German population own a CD player and 9.1 percent have a home computer. Quite a different picture. On the other hand, 76 percent own color TV sets, which were mass produced in the former DDR, which was the tenth-strongest industrial power in the world. For most East Germans, their participation in the "consumer boom" consists of looking through chic shop windows at the shelves full of expensive goods they can't afford.

This relates to a far more serious distortion of the consequences of capitalist reunification in the article, which hides the devastating level of unemployment it has brought. Mr. Kinzer does refer to the "more than one million jobless people in Eastern Germany," noting that their anger fed protests against Chancellor Kohl last spring. But in purveying the official German government figures, you leave out the thinly disguised unemployment of the 1.6 million who are on

Kurzarbeit ("short-time work," which for many means 0 hours), the 210,000 in WPA-like temporary job programs, the 360,000 who have been forced into early retirement so far this year and the 700,000 public employees who have been removed from their jobs and placed in a "waiting line." This totals almost 4 million unemployed, some 45 percent of the workforce.

But even this understates the job loss since reunification, similar to the way

that American government unemployment statistics hide real unemployment by leaving out "discouraged workers" who are simply declared no longer part of the labor force. In East Germany, the workforce "shrank" by over 800,000 since the end of 1989. The prime minister of Saxony, Kurt Biedenkopf, has said that a quarter of the population will never have a job again. Most of these are women, over 90 percent of whom

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Employment/Unemployment in Ex-DDR July 1991

Official unemployed (equals 12.1 percent of the labor force)	1,068,600
Additional unemployed	
Kurzarbeit ("short-time work," often 0 hours)	1,610,000
ABM (= WPA) programs	210,000
Early retirement	360,000
Warteschleife (gov't. workers in "waiting line")	700,000
Total unemployed (equals 44.7 percent of the labor force)	3,948,600
Total labor force, 3rd quarter 1989	9,664,000
Labor force, July 1991	8,831,400
Removed from labor force by July 1991 (mostly women, approx. 110,000 foreign workers)	832,600
Actual job losses (equals 49.5 percent of 1989 labor force)	4,781,200

Sources: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 7 August; New York Times, 7 August; Der Spiegel, 11 and 25 March.

Photo: Unemployment line in East Berlin's Marzahn district.

Young Spartacus



Young Spartacus

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!

We Fight for the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

Every ruling class tries to fool those they rule over with an ideology that their exploitative order is the most natural, the most just, and eternal. But working people, wish-they-were-working people,

PART ONE OF TWO

oppressed minorities and radical youth aren't exactly happy campers in Bush's "New World Order," a society which combines worship of the American dollar with echoes of Hitlerism. We live in a barbaric "democracy" for the rich, built on the exploitation of millions who create the wealth but are denied the fruits of their labor. This racket for the rulers is enforced with a battering ram of unemployment, homelessness, a siege of cop terror in the ghettos and barrios, and assaults on basic democratic rights from abortion to education.

The world we live in is not defined by the social and economic relations between classes in this country alone. Our world was shaped by the Russian Revolution of 1917 where Marxism and the egalitarian belief that those who labor should rule was taken out of the realm of abstraction and given flesh and blood. For those fighting for revolutionary social change in their own countries, from South Africa to Haiti to the U.S., the threat of capitalist *counter-revolution* in the Soviet Union today is an urgent issue. The outcome of the Soviet crisis—which class will rule, the proletariat through a political revolution led by a genuine communist party, or the bourgeoisie through the destruction of the workers state—has enormous implications for the workers of the whole world.

Just look at recent events: after Gorbachev pulled the Red Army out of Afghanistan, sold out East Germany to

the West and forced the Cubans out of Angola, an emboldened U.S. slaughtered 100,000 Iraqis to dominate the world's oil supplies and demonstrate its military superiority and ruthlessness to its economically more dynamic rivals, Germany and Japan. Now Cuba is in the Yankee cross hairs, set up for imperialist attack by the criminal withdrawal of Soviet troops. And world war looms as a

Bush proclaims a "unipolar world" and sees a globe free for the taking with a wave of American imperialism's nuclear big stick. While the "free press" fed you scare stories about Saddam Hussein's "chemical arsenal," they buried the fact that it was the U.S. which *used* chemical weapons like napalm and white phosphorus to burn Iraqis alive and had hundreds of nuclear warheads stationed

founded upon racism and class injustice. Ronald Reagan's sabre rattling against the Soviet "evil empire" was initiated on the home front by the smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union, hauling the union leaders away in chains and firing the entire striking workforce.

Since 1917 the "Russian question" has been the touchstone for anyone claiming to be a revolutionary. For starters, it is necessary to debunk the lie proclaimed by the bourgeoisie that what we are witnessing is the "death of communism." It is *Stalinism* that has reached the point of terminal crisis. These bureaucratic regimes usurped the political power of the working class, disorganized and undermined centralized socialist planning, fueled murderous nationalist conflicts with the introduction of "market reforms," strangled political and cultural life, and emboldened imperialism by selling out revolutions abroad in the hope of "peaceful coexistence" with the West. This was not communism but its antithesis. Trotsky called Stalinism "the syphilis of the workers movement." We Trotskyists long ago warned that Stalinism was a deadly threat to the survival of the workers states, and fought tooth and nail against every Stalinist betrayal.

More than fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky described the Soviet Union as a "degenerated workers state"—a contradictory society that still embodied the basic economic and many social gains of the working-class seizure of power in 1917, yet was deformed by the rule of a parasitic bureaucracy. In the face of murderous Stalinist repression, the Trotskyist Left Opposition fought to preserve and extend the gains of the Russian Revolution: for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack or internal counterrevolution and for a proletarian *political revolution* to oust the repressive, nationalist bureaucracy. As James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, stated in a 1939 speech:

"We want to advance the world revolution of the proletariat. This determines our attitude and approach to the Russian question. True, we want to see reality, but we are not disinterested observers and commentators. We do not examine the Russian revolution and what remains of its great conquests as though it were a bug under a glass. *We have an interest! We take part in the fight!*"

Trotsky's prescient analysis provides the basis for leading the critical class battles today against the capitalist counterrevolution being imposed by the pragmatic Gorbachev, the unspeakable



L.Y. Leonidov

V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, at center, leaders of the Russian Revolution, in Moscow's Red Square on 2nd anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution.

very real possibility as the big imperialist powers intensify competition for the spoils of new wage slaves and new markets opening up since the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and the USSR.

in the Persian Gulf. Moreover, the U.S. is the *only* country ever to use nuclear weapons, murdering hundreds of thousands of Asians in the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Only the military power of the Soviet Union restrained the U.S. from using nuclear weapons again against the colonial peoples of Korea, Vietnam and Cuba who freed their countries from imperialist subjugation and capitalist exploitation and were then subjected to vindictive economic boycotts aimed at starving the people.

America's posture as global policeman of the "free world" is expressed also in its war against the labor movement and its genocidal devastation of what the bourgeoisie considers the "surplus" black population at home. This is the domestic reflection of the capitalist rulers' drive to "roll back Communism" and every movement for social liberation that threatens their profit system which is

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Yeltsin and their godfather Bush. For while the Soviet "yupskies" are buying Big Macs with their hard currency, the mass of the Soviet working people are facing the full brunt of the economic "shock treatments" braintrustered from Wall Street and Harvard. And that spells impoverishment, mass unemployment, starvation and fascist pogroms. The multinational Soviet working class must be politically mobilized to defeat and overthrow the counterrevolutionary forces now in the ascendancy.

The Russian Revolution Belongs to the Workers of the World

How did the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution occur? How do the roots of "perestroika" go back to Stalin and his renunciation of internationalism—the "theory" of "socialism in one country"? To understand and combat the counterrevolution it is necessary to learn about and reclaim the traditions of the revolution it seeks to undo.

1917 was the third year of World War I, a war that brought destruction and misery on a scale unprecedented in history. The imperialist powers conscripted millions of young men to kill each other so the rulers could capture new markets and more wage slaves. In *The ABC of Communism* Bukharin and Preobrazhensky calculated: "If we assume the average weight of a soldier to be 150 lb., this means that between 1 August 1914 and 1 January 1918 the capitalists had brought to market twelve hundred million pounds of putrid human flesh."

Sent off to die for the profits of their rulers, the international working class had no stake in this war whatsoever. A fundamental principle of Marxism is that the working class has no "fatherland" under capitalism and must unite on an international class basis to defeat the bourgeoisie. Yet in Germany, the powerful Social Democrats scandalously supported "their" bourgeoisie in the war. The pacifists who preached "no war" in times of peace impotently prattled about "peace through negotiations" as millions of young men were being slaughtered in the trenches.

Only in backward Russia was there a party with the political appetite and program to channel the tremendous discontent over the war into a revolutionary struggle against the entire old order. The rulers could not rule in the old way, and the long-suffering masses would no longer accept the rule of their oppressors. The tsarist regime cracked and fell, ushering in a period of dual power where the workers and soldiers heeded only their own authoritative and democratically elected organs called *soviets* (the Russian word for councils). After a period of sharp struggle, power passed into the hands of the soviets. Where everywhere else the dictatorship of capital ruled, whether in "democratic" or autocratic form, here in Russia for the first time in history the workers established their own class rule: the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Bolsheviks won a majority in the soviets because they were the only consistent fighters for the interests of the working class and the poor peasantry. Led by Lenin, steered through years of struggle in exile, in prison and the underground, and sharpened through bitter fights with the Mensheviks, who argued that Russia must first pass through a stage of bourgeois development, the Bolsheviks built a combat party which at the decisive moment was prepared to lead the working class in the seizure of state power. Lenin formulated this in the demand, "All power to the Soviets!"

Trotsky had earlier failed to understand Lenin's insistence on the need for a hardened party of the revolutionary vanguard, but had foreseen already in 1905 that even to achieve basic democratic tasks of eradicating the autocracy and expropriating the large landholders it was necessary for the workers to take



Petrograd, March 1917. Working women raise banner: "Comrade Workers and Soldiers, Support Our Demands." Viktor Bulla

power. He now became a leader of the Bolsheviks. Arrested in July 1917 by the "democratic" capitalist Kerensky regime, Trotsky wrote from prison:

"Full power to the soviets, although far from as yet meaning 'socialism,' would in any case break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and—in dependence upon the existing productive forces and the situation in the west—would guide and transform the economic life in the interests of the toiling masses. Having thrown off the fetters of capitalist government, the revolution would become permanent—that is, continuous. It would apply the state power, not in order to consolidate the regime of capitalist exploitation, but in order to overcome it. Its final success on this road would depend upon the successes of the proletarian revolution in Europe.... Such was and remains the sole perspective of the further development of the revolution."

As the revolutionary opportunity opened, the Bolsheviks rapidly won hundreds of thousands to their program, advancing the simple slogan of "Peace, Land and Bread!" In Russia in 1917 only the communists could fight for such basic rights because they could only be realized through socialist revolution. "Peace" for the proletariat meant an unconditional withdrawal of Russia's troops from the imperialist slaughterhouse, in order to wage class war on the bourgeoisie. "Land" for the peasants meant seizure and expropriation of the landlords' property. "Bread" meant working-class rule and control of the economy.

Bourgeois politicians and "historians" today claim the October Revolution was a "Bolshevik coup" by a handful of evil, conniving fanatics. These ruling-class gentlemen cannot accept the fact that the poor, the downtrodden, the "unwashed"

masses organized as a powerful, conscious class for itself and seized power from their exploiters. In Petrograd, the cradle of the revolution, the insurrection was virtually bloodless precisely because the Bolsheviks had won the allegiance of the overwhelming mass of working people.

The Russian Revolution broke the chain of imperialism at its weakest link. But this revolution made in Russia was not made for Russia alone. World War I had enormously radicalized the working class internationally. The example of the Russian Revolution stirred the toilers of the East as a model of how to throw off the yoke of colonial subjugation. Across Europe and even the United States workers struck against their imperialist rulers' attempts to overthrow the Russian Revolution. The most class-conscious workers around the globe joined the Communist International to extend the proletarian revolution and build socialism on a world scale. As Trotsky wrote in *History of the Russian Revolution*:

"The productive forces of our time have outgrown not only the bourgeois forms of property, but also the boundaries of national states. Liberalism and nationalism have become in like degree fetters upon world economy. The proletarian revolution is directed both against private property in the means of production and against the national splitting-up of world economy.... The creation of a national socialist society, if such a goal were in a general way attainable, would mean an extreme reduction of the economic power of men. But for that very reason it is unattainable. Internationalism is not an abstract principle but the expression of an economic fact. Just as liberalism was national, so socialism is international. Starting from the worldwide division of labor, the task of socialism is to

carry the international exchange of goods and services to its highest development."

The dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia was for the Bolsheviks a bridge to revolution in the more economically developed West. Mounting the tribune in the triumphant Petrograd Soviet, Lenin proclaimed, "We must now set about building a proletarian socialist state in Russia. Long live the world socialist revolution." The Bolsheviks understood that a socialist transformation of society could not be resolved except through an international extension of the revolution. In his report to the Eighth Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1919, Lenin declared:

"We live not only in a state but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for an extended period is unthinkable. In the end either one or the other will conquer."

The new Soviet Republic remained isolated. Revolutionary ferment in the West did not culminate in smashing the power of the capitalist class but was misled, squandered, or suppressed because of an absence of authoritative revolutionary leadership. A revolutionary upheaval in Germany in 1918-19 was suppressed by what Rosa Luxemburg called "the stinking corpse of Social Democracy" whose leaders bailed out capitalism and were responsible for the murder of the leaders of the revolutionary internationalist Spartakusbund, Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Fourteen capitalist armies—including the United States—invaded Bolshevik Russia in an attempt to smash the workers state and reconquer that sixth of the globe for capitalist exploitation.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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BERKELEY



Young Spartacus

Romanian Miners Revolt Against "Free Market" Starvation

Romanian coal miners shook the country to its roots at the end of September. Their massive protest strike against the government's pro-capitalist austerity measures grew into an explosion of working-class rage which brought down the cabinet of Prime Minister Petre Roman. The infuriated mine workers commandeered trains as thousands streamed into the capital of Bucharest, where they fought a running battle with security forces for two days, finally sacking the parliament building. President Ion Iliescu was able to derail the upsurge only by demagogically promising to satisfy all the miners' demands.

These events are significant for all of East Europe and the Soviet Union; this is the most explosive working-class struggle so far against pro-capitalist measures aimed at dismantling nationalized property and auctioning it off to Western capitalists. The "reformers" have to shove down the throats of working people the resulting impoverishment, unemployment and loss of social benefits. The Romanian miners' upsurge gives a taste of the sharp resistance—even in a relatively underdeveloped country—which the workers can be expected to put up. The very bourgeois Italian *Corriere della Sera* (27 September) expressed this from its class viewpoint:

"But if Romania has been rejected by the 'dusty faces' [miners] in their Balkan dimension, it is difficult not to see in the events of Bucharest a sinister portent which extends to Bulgaria and Albania and reaching the republics of the ex-Soviet Union...."

After the fall of the despised Ceausescu regime in December 1989, Iliescu won the miners' support by providing heat and lights and increasing the food supply. Today Iliescu presides over power blackouts, freezing apartments and empty store shelves. The new private shops in downtown Bucharest feature luxury products like videos, but the average wage earner can no longer afford the basic staples. Life in the Jiu Valley coal fields, where 4,000 miners have been laid off since the latest round of austerity cuts, was described by one miner: "The conditions are terrible there.... We waited patiently for the government to offer us some hope but there was none" (*Independent* [London], 27 September).

In the past the coal miners have come to Bucharest—in February and June 1990—in response to appeals by the government to defend it. In June 1990 the Jiu Valley miners were instrumental in sweeping off the streets of Bucharest the ultrarightist youth who were rioting against the government and preparing the way for a reactionary coup. Iliescu's National Salvation Front, which stepped into power with the overthrow of Ceausescu, swept the May 1990 elections by demagogically promising a painless



Sighet/Reuters

Defiant miners storm Bucharest parliament, bring down prime minister.

transition to a market economy in which workers' living standards would be preserved. But by the end of the year, Prime Minister Roman was calling for the kind of brutal "shock treatment" ordered by the IMF bankers cartel and applied in Poland. After a trip to Washington in April, Roman replaced half of his cabinet with rightist pro-capitalist elements.

Already in the spring there was a railway strike, and in June rail workers joined with coal miners, teachers, public employees and locomotive builders in the Faur works in Bucharest, the country's largest factory. When miners returned to the capital last month it was to settle accounts with a regime which had betrayed its promises. The miners ousted the cabinet of technocrats, but they had no perspective on how to go forward. Now Roman has been replaced by the minister in charge of privatization! As the Stalinists demonstrate their bankruptcy by capitulating to imperialism, what's lacking is a real communist party fighting to preserve the nationalized property and other social gains while placing the proletariat at the helm through elected workers councils, recallable at any time.

The Crisis of Working-Class Leadership

Accounts in the Western bourgeois press have emphasized the fact that, as the miners battled the police and attacked government buildings, they were joined by many of the same reactionary youth they had driven from the streets

in June 1990. Consequently, the miners' demands opposing the capitalist market reforms became mixed with cries of "Down with Communism!" However, the miners' slogans were directed against the drive to create a capitalist market economy. They called for a pay increase with price indexing, a price freeze, guarantees against mine closures, greater investment to retool the mines. The head of the national bank complained: "They were shouting anti-Communist slogans, but all their demands were Communist-style demands" (*New York Times*, 3 October).

Jiu Valley miners' leader Miron Cosma declared upon his arrival in Bucharest: "We do not want political changes, we do not want the president or the government to resign, we only want Roman down and a freeze on prices" (AP, 25 September). But the miners exploded with rage when government leaders refused to meet with them. Chanting "Iliescu and Roman, go and work in the mines!" some 5,000 miners broke through the protection grating surrounding the government palace and, armed with clubs, iron pipes and hatchets, tried to force their way into the heavily defended building. As riot police fired rubber bullets and tear gas from behind a six-foot concrete wall, the miners confiscated jerry cans of gasoline from passing cars and attacked the seat of the government with Molotov cocktails.

Le Monde (27 September) haughtily denounced the "customary barbarism" of the miners. However, the city's population, ground down by the same austerity policies, clearly took the side of the miners and brought them food and drink. The miners made a special point of venting their rage on the privately owned shops, a provocative symbol of the country's pro-capitalist reforms. By nightfall a panicked Roman told French TV that the miners were carrying out a "neo-Communist putsch." The Supreme Defense Council authorized sending the army into Bucharest. At dawn on the 26th the miners' banner in front of the parliament building read: "Comrades, We Have Woken Up—We Don't Want the National Salvation Front Anymore." Dozens of armored cars took up positions around the government palace. But when the new attack by the miners came,

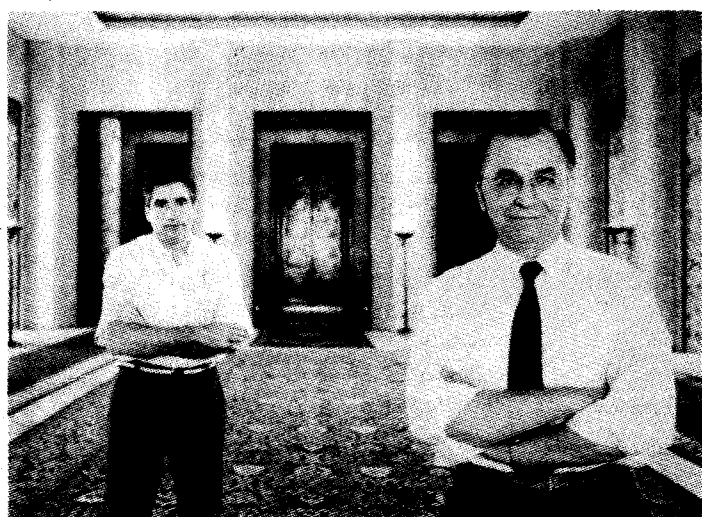
the troops fraternized with the strikers. Miners courageously leapt onto the armored cars in their path as many of the soldiers shouted encouragement.

While the miners from Jiu Valley battled police in the capital, the strike movement spread to the coal fields in northern Romania, where a quarter of a million miners laid down their tools. In the Black Sea port of Constanta the dockers declared their readiness to go to Bucharest to help the miners, raising the possibility that the movement could burgeon into a general strike. By mid-afternoon President Iliescu, desperate to head off the movement, announced the resignation of Prime Minister Roman. Cosma appeared on the balcony of the government building to announce that Iliescu had accepted all the miners' demands, and called on them to "go home" or else "a lot of blood will flow" (*Le Monde*, 28 September). But now the miners wanted Iliescu's hide as well.

Using several garbage trucks, the miners rammed their way into the parliament building and futilely appealed to the assembly to depose the president. Frustrated, the miners finally left after a meeting with Iliescu, who pieced them off with empty promises to meet their demands. Most of the miners pulled out of Bucharest in trains with chalked slogans on the sides saying "Am Vincit" (We Have Won). Others marched to University Square and joined thousands of demonstrators in cheering right-wing oppositionists such as the monarchists Doina Cornea and fascist former student leader Mariam Munteanu. The miners' leader Cosma was invited to the nearby congress of the Peasant Party, whose leaders support the exiled king.

In the aftermath of the miners' revolt, National Salvation Front leaders are looking for scapegoats. Elaborating Roman's claims of a "neo-Communist putsch," they are "pointing to the far left or to the neo-Communists of the Socialist Labor Party as the leaders of the miners" (*La Repubblica* [Rome], 29 September). The SLP is headed by Ilie Verdets, a former prime minister and Central Committee member of the Romanian CP under Ceausescu, whose regime drowned the 1977 Jiu Valley miners strike in blood, deporting thousands. (The right claims that many ex-members of the Securitate secret police have joined the new party.) In response to Roman's right-wing course, said Verdets, "we created the SLP as a counterweight on the left." He complains that "large-scale privatizations...will only sharpen contradictions because the people will bear the costs" (*People's Weekly World*, 13 July).

The imperialists and Romanian right-wingers denounce the present government as a slightly disguised Communist regime. And in fact the CP (albeit under a different name) is still running Romania, the security apparatus is still in place and the economic structure hasn't been touched. The support for a latter-day hardline Stalinist party like the SLP is indicative of the deep apprehension of the Romanian working people over the course taken by Iliescu & Co. which is bringing untold misery. But no brand of Stalinism, neo- or otherwise, can counter the capitalist-restorationist forces and open the road to genuine socialist development. This requires the internationalism of Lenin's Bolsheviks, which was continued under Trotsky's Left Opposition. One of the top leaders of the Left Opposition was Christian Rakovsky, the principal leader of the pre-WW I Romanian socialist movement and first presi-



Der Spiegel

President Ion Iliescu (right) and erstwhile prime minister Petre Roman. Stalinist "reformers" want workers to pay for pro-capitalist policies.

dent of the Soviet Ukraine, who later died in one of Stalin's prison camps.

Stalinist Betrayal and Proletarian Revolution

The pro-capitalist Stalinist bureaucrats still in office in Bucharest have turned the already weak Romanian economy into a disaster zone. Following the overthrow of Ceausescu, they actually had some hard currency reserves because of the dictator's insane obsession with squeezing enough wealth out of the flesh of the Romanian workers to fully pay off the imperialist banks. To consolidate their social base, the Stalinist hacks spent millions to buy consumer goods—everything from frozen chicken to U.S. television shows. By the fall of 1990, with the hard currency reserves exhausted, the IMF cracked the whip: no loans would be approved without a thoroughgoing capitalist "reform" and anti-working-class austerity program. As the Paris *Le Monde* (19 April) put it: "It became necessary, after the post-revolutionary and pre-electoral spending spree, to return to austerity and go over to the hard laws of the market economy to obtain credits from the West."

As elsewhere in East Europe, the idea was to close "unprofitable" heavy indus-

trial plants and sell off the rest of state property while supposedly attracting capitalist investment from the Western imperialists. However, no one is interested in buying Romania's industry, and what little foreign investment there has been is in luxury shops and fast food stores. This is a program for the *destruction* of the industrial working class. As a striking worker at the Faur locomotive plant declared last summer, "We don't

need boutiques and shops in this country, we need work."

Meanwhile the market reforms and the slide toward economic collapse are fueling an upsurge of xenophobia and anti-Semitism. A widespread press campaign of thinly veiled calls for pogroms against Jews is led by *Romania Mare* (Greater Romania), the country's largest weekly. Bloody pogroms against Roma (gypsy) communities have become a reg-

ular occurrence. The ultrarightist nationalists, many of whom came out of the Stalinist bureaucracy, find support in the governing National Salvation Front. Last April the Romanian parliament voted (unopposed) a minute of silence to mark the anniversary of the execution of wartime dictator Ion Antonescu, who presided over the extermination of some 300,000 Romanian Jews.

The powerful upsurge of the Romanian miners showed the way to throw back the program of capitalist restoration being introduced in East Europe and the Soviet Union. In the absence of a revolutionary alternative, as the workers reject the "ex"-Stalinist hacks like Iliescu who so obviously betray them, and while "neo"-Stalinists can only look to the past, they may, as in Poland, turn in desperation to reactionary nationalists whose demagoguery camouflages their support for capitalism. The Romanian miners, with their courage and militancy, urgently require an internationalist party to lead them in a struggle that would extend throughout the Balkans, reaching across East Europe and to the decisive Soviet Union. The International Communist League is dedicated to building such parties in the struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. ■



Dusan Vranic

June 1990—Romanian miners heeded government appeal, swept ultra-rightists from the streets of Bucharest. Now they want to sweep away government.

Fourth Reich...

(continued from page 5)

from Turkey and Kurdistan stand in the forefront of the class struggle. They owe no allegiance to the SPD, which serves as a transmission belt for "German interests" into the working class. The SPD plays the workers off against each other—against immigrant workers, Roma and Cinti and other refugees. The workers need an internationalist revolutionary party, to unchain the power of the working class, fighting against racism, anti-Semitism and mass unemployment, and sweeping away Bonn's "foreigners law." Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Fascist Mob Riots in Hoyerswerda

Determined and powerful actions by the working class are necessary to stop the fascists. This can be seen especially from the example of Hoyerswerda. The skinheads started with stones and bottles; then came tear gas and Mauser pistols. The inhabitants of the hostels defended themselves with sticks and iron bars, but on the following day the attacks continued; by Thursday (September 19) the hard core of the fascists had grown from 50 to 400 and marched to the hostel where refugees from Angola, Yugoslavia and Romania lived. Surrounded by cheering onlookers and with police that regularly showed up too late, the Nazis spread their terror.

It is downright tragic that many refugees set their hopes on living in western Germany, where for years camps have been built for Roma and Cinti, where these people are hunted and terrorized by police and fascists.

The brutal attacks called into action decent citizens who want to put an end to the racist terror. Only 30 kilometers away from Hoyerswerda, in Cottbus leftist youth stopped the fascists when they attempted to attack a hostel for refugees. The International League for Human Rights, the Jewish Group, Autonomes, the SpAD and other groups came to Hoyerswerda. A part of the population of Hoyerswerda took the side of the leftists. But by themselves, powerless vigils in front of hostels for foreigners do little. A few hundred workers could easily put a stop to the threat. A trade unionist in Hoyerswerda remarked to the comrades of the SpAD: "Yes, a few miners from their workplace could easily stop this, and that is what I will be discussing with them tomorrow." A worker expressed his outrage over the Nazi attacks on his Mozambican coworkers: "For years they did the dirty jobs for

us in the coal fields."

"Hoyerswerda can happen anywhere" threatened the minister of the interior of Sachsen, Krause. Indeed, Hoyerswerda marked a new stage—this was a pogrom that lasted for days. The bourgeois state was successful in implementing its "program for foreigners." In order to root out the strong anti-fascist tradition of the DDR, they all use the lie that "40 years of Communism" produced these Nazi beasts.

The DDR was a workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed from the outset, which was founded by victims of Nazi terror. When in December 1989 the despicable Nazi desecration of the Soviet memorial in Treptow occurred, 250,000 came out to a powerful united-front demonstration proving that the anti-fascist tradition in East Germany was still alive. We Spartakists initiated this united front (which was then taken up by the SED-PDS) to revive the tradition in the Berlin factories and NVA (East German army) barracks, the internationalist tradition of Leon Trotsky and his fight in the early 1930s for a workers united front to smash the fascists. This tradition was first broken by the victory of the Nazis, made possible by the KPD [German CP] and SPD, who capitulated without a fight.

Stalinist nationalism based on the myth of "socialism in one country" was instrumental in demoralizing the East German working class and isolating it from its international class brothers. Immigrant workers from so-called fraternal "socialist" countries had to live in cramped hostels separated from the rest of the population, and they received less pay for the dirtiest jobs. After the Berlin Wall fell, the Spartakists distributed in our *Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz* internationalist greetings in Vietnamese, Portuguese, Spanish, Polish and Russian to these workers and to the Soviet soldiers and their families.

Obscenely, the Stalinists tolerated small skinhead gangs. But only now under capitalism, with its mass unemployment, despair and hopelessness, the fascists have a material basis to recruit. In the absence of a determined working class, it is possible for fascists to grow from beer hall thugs into a rabid mass movement.

Workers and immigrants must be mobilized for united-front actions, incorporating all opponents of racist terror, to stop the Nazis. For this it is necessary to forge a revolutionary party with a program to organize the power of the working class. Before us stands the task of bringing down the whole rotten capitalist system to sweep away fascism once and for all. ■

Times Lies...

(continued from page 5)

had a job in the collectivized economy of the DDR (East Germany). Women were disproportionately hit by the first wave of firings, and many more were forced out by "economy" measures to make firms "profitable" by closing child-care centers. And under German law, women with children are not eligible for unemployment benefits unless they can prove they have day care. Soon they may lose the right to abortion. Under the Fourth Reich women have been relegated to *Kinder, Kirche, Küche* (children, church, kitchen), just as they were in the Third.

But the bloody face of the Fourth Reich has been revealed most vividly in the escalating racist terror which has now reached the level of pogroms. More than 100,000 of those who "disappeared" from the East German labor force were foreign-born workers, most of whom have been deported. Those who remain, as well as tens of thousands seeking asylum, have been the targets of a wave of murderous Nazi/skinhead attacks, which reached a crescendo this last weekend as reactionaries "celebrated" the *Anschluss* (annexation) of East Germany into the Reich. In a subsequent article (1 October), Mr. Kinzer reported on the fascist-led lynch mob assault on apartment complexes for foreigners in the town of Hoyerswerda, and gave a chilling account of the mass racist sentiment he encountered there.

Interestingly, Hoyerswerda is barely a half-hour's drive from Cottbus, which Mr. Kinzer chose as his showcase of the new optimism in East Germany. In fact, some of the fascist lynchers came from there. Rather than belief in a bright future, the mass unemployment which has devastated this mining region has produced the desperation that the Nazi terrorists feed off.

In March 1990, the East German population was stampeded into voting for capitalist reunification with promises of a "quick D-mark" and instant prosperity. But instead of an economic miracle the result has been a disaster for the working people. The temporary construction boom over this last summer was financed by tens of billions of government-borrowed D-marks which are now running out. Industry in the East, on the other hand, is being systematically destroyed (production has fallen by *more than two-thirds*). Steel and chemical plants are being physically dismantled through the temporary "job creation" programs! This is the fabled "magic of the marketplace" in action.

An index of the purported "optimism" of the East German population are the reports that, in the aftermath of reunification, births are down by 40 percent, marriages down by 50 percent, and suicides have more than doubled.

Four decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule prevented the population of the East German workers state from deciding on how their labor should be expended and how its fruits should be distributed. One year of capitalist rule has torn down much of what they built up with tremendous effort on the ruins of the Nazi regime destroyed by the Soviet Red Army. What restoration of capitalism would mean for the Soviet peoples—with fratricidal nationalist slaughter and mass hunger, and no equivalent flood of Western capital to tide over Yeltsin and Gorbachev—is far worse.

In light of the results of capitalist reunification for East Germany a year later, and the catastrophe that capitalist dissolution of the Soviet Union portends today, it is important to note that this is not just the "20-20 vision of hindsight." The Trotskyists of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) told the truth at the time, when the East German population was in the grip of "D-mark intoxication." In the March 1990 East German elections, the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) was the only party to say categorically "No to capitalist reunification!" The SpAD's Manifesto declared that capitalism would bring mass unemployment, women driven back to the home, draconian elimination of social services, a drastic cut in living standards, racist terror and anti-red witchhunts, and marauding fascist bands as the stormtroopers of the Fourth Reich. This has now come to pass.

The Trotskyists called for opening the road to genuine socialism through a planned and centralized economy ruled by the proletarian democracy of elected workers councils, for a red Germany as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. Today the German Spartakists fight for mass mobilization of the workers movement to smash fascist attacks on immigrant workers, for a class-struggle fight against mass layoffs and unemployment, for revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Russian workers. Forging a world party of socialist revolution, a reborn Fourth International, is key to resisting triumphalist imperialism, which has shown its true face of barbarism from the U.S.' war of annihilation against Iraq to the pogroms of the Fourth Reich.

Sincerely,
Jan Norden
Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Haiti Coup...

(continued from page 1)

days before, 10,000 packed the huge Cathedral of St. John the Divine in Harlem to hear Aristide. The day after the coup, several thousand outraged Haitian Americans demonstrated at the UN, on Eastern Parkway in Brooklyn, and in New Jersey. In the slums of Miami's "little Haiti," angry crowds burned stores owned by associates of Duvalier's hated Tontons Macoutes thugs and set a police car on fire. Father Aristide, a radical priest expelled from the Salesian order for preaching the "liberation theology" of the Ti Legliz (little church), is reverentially seen as a savior by the Haitian poor, sent to lead them out of the wilderness of brutal oppression.

At the October 1 demonstration at the UN, a Spartacist League representative spoke in French to over 2,000 protesters, warning, "Aristide, despite his intentions, reinforced illusions in the ability to supposedly 'democratize' the bourgeois army. It is impossible to 'democratize' the capitalist army. It is impossible to transform society through elections." The SL speaker was greeted with enthusiastic applause and cheers. Many solidarized with our signs reading "Ecrasez le Coup! Ouvriers au Pouvoir!" ("Crush the Coup! Workers to Power!"). In several days of demonstrations, almost 600 copies of Spartacist literature in English and French were sold, including *Workers Vanguard* with the headline "Defend Cuba!" and our *Black History and the Class Struggle* pamphlet "Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian Revolution."

Many in the demonstrating crowds carried signs blaming Bush, American ambassador Adams and the CIA, feeling instinctively that the U.S. must be behind the whole thing. Graffiti in Miami demanded "CIA, Stop Killing Blacks!" Yet since the coup, Aristide has been appealing to the OAS and the UN Security Council to reinstate him, either through economic sanctions or military action. Pro-Aristide demonstrations in Washington called for the OAS to intervene. But any form of U.S. intervention, even with a UN or OAS cover, will be directed at holding down the Haitian masses and upholding the Duvalierists. Lenin called the predecessor to the United Nations "an imperialist den of thieves," and in the '60s Che Guevara dubbed the OAS "the Yankee Ministry of Colonies." This is no less true today.

The U.S. has traditionally used the Caribbean "backyard" for target practice. The rape of tiny black Grenada in 1983 and Bush's mass slaughter in Panama in 1989 set the stage for the annihilation of Iraq last year. When asked about the possibility of U.S. military intervention, Bush replied that he was "disinclined" to use U.S. troops, adding, "We've got a big history of American force in this hemisphere, and so we've got to be careful about that" (*Washington Post*, 3 October). The very next day, Bush dispatched 500 Marines "to protect U.S. citizens"! As for the OAS, that was the fig leaf under which the U.S.



Port-au-Prince, July 1991: President Aristide (left) with new army chief Raoul Cedras, who later led coup to overthrow him.

invaded Santo Domingo in 1965, siding with reactionary generals in suppressing insurgents fighting to restore the deposed elected president Juan Bosch.

As the Cuban and Haitian working people face the gaping jaws of the imperialist shark, it's necessary to unite in revolutionary struggle across the Windward Passage. *U.S. out of Guantánamo! No intervention by the U.S./OAS, patrons of Duvalier!*

From Allende to Aristide: Popular Front Spells Defeat

The history of imperialist rule over Haiti is long and bloody. In 1915, American Marines (all-white, mostly Southerners) invaded, on the usual pretext of "protecting U.S. citizens." Six months later the U.S. also invaded the Dominican Republic. The Yankee occupation lasted 19 years, during which racial color prejudice was reinforced through systematic favoritism toward the lighter-skinned mulatto population. The Guard, a combination of army and police, was formed and trained by the Marines to smash the peasant rebellions and guerrilla struggle of Charlemagne Peralte. Since that time, all top Haitian officers have received U.S. training, and the military has acted as strong-arm men for imperialism and the Haitian comprador bourgeoisie.

At his inauguration, Aristide announced "this day marks the marriage of the people and the army." But on July 2, Aristide, clearly worried about his "marriage," promoted Cedras to head of the army in order to protect against another coup attempt. (An earlier failed attempt by Tontons Macoutes leader Roger Lafontant in January sought to prevent Aristide from taking office.) One of the army's stated reasons for the coup was that Aristide was also "usurping" its authority by having his own presidential guard trained by the Swiss. The present coup by Aristide's appointee Cedras is an obvious parallel to the Pinochet coup against Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government in Chile. After a trial coup attempt in June 1973, General Augusto Pinochet was brought in as a "constitutional" defense minister. But Allende was not as fortunate as Aristide: he never made it out of the Moneda Palace alive.

As we cautioned in our article "Haiti: Election Avalanche for Radical Priest" (WV No. 517, 4 January):

"In this deeply polarized and hideously oppressed land, complicity in unspeakable crimes is pervasive at all levels of the ruling elite—and particularly the officer corps.... Aristide will either play the role of groveling instrument of the Haitian bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialist overlords or he will be swept away in a reactionary crackdown aimed at decisively disciplining the pitilessly oppressed population."

In his election campaign, Aristide reassured the Haitian ruling class, "We give guarantees to the bourgeoisie.... We tell them: we are with you. You have nothing to fear" (*Haiti Progrès*, 28 November 1990). But despite Aristide's guarantees,

Haiti's tiny and corrupt ruling class feared that Aristide's plebeian supporters would seek vengeance for decades of oppression. And now its guard dogs have acted on those fears. The "popular front"—the lie that the bourgeoisie will share power with the working class, the landless peasantry and the urban poor—is a suicidal route. In Chile, over 30,000 workers and peasants were murdered in Pinochet's bloodbath.

Aristide capitulated to the IMF's demands for starvation austerity and devaluation of the local currency. He spoke of his "close friendship" with the U.S. ambassador. But the Haitian rulers did not trust him, particularly after the president-priest made a speech to his supporters on September 29 in which he praised their use of "Pe LeBrun"—slang for the flaming-tire "necklace"—against the Duvalierists and the army. "If we get a sticky-fingered official," he said, "do not neglect to give him what he deserves." "Isn't that a beautiful tool?" he added, "It smells good and everywhere you go you want to breathe it." And every member of the Haitian bourgeoisie looking down on the teeming slums of the capital from the louvered windows of their villas in Pétionville thought, "The next Michelin's for me."

The day after the coup, hundreds of the poor massed in the town of St. Marc, carrying sticks and pikes, and crying, "If Aristide has problems, we will solve them with tires!" (*Haiti Progrès*, 2 October). But within the context of Haiti's subordination to U.S. imperialism, such acts of vengeance, however justified, cannot liberate the dispossessed masses. If U.S. intervention or an

army crackdown cuts off a popular uprising, it is likely that the impoverished slums will explode in an orgy of "necklacing." In addition to the masses who have languished under the military boot, the horrendous poverty breeds lumpen criminal gangs of "san manmans" and "zenglendos" (the former Tontons Macoutes). As the army engages in indiscriminate massacres, a gigantic bloodbath could engulf this long-suffering land.

In the face of this desperate thirst for retribution, what's urgently necessary in Haiti is a revolutionary struggle for proletarian power. Instead of random revenge, organized people's tribunals must mete out implacable justice in drumhead trials and uproot the Duvalierists and Macoutes. Under revolutionary leadership, the tiny working class could place itself at the head of the peasant and urban poor—but to do so, the struggle must go beyond the bounds of Haiti. In a country afflicted with everything from AIDS to kwashiorkor (a product of severe malnutrition), rampant prostitution and selling human body parts, it is obscene to preach to the downtrodden that "the last shall be first." Part of the "liberation theology" ideology is "love thine enemy"—as Aristide says he "loves" Cedras! "The meek shall inherit the earth"? No—they'll be ground down into the earth unless they link their struggle to the fight for world socialist revolution.

The fate of the Haitian masses is intimately bound up with the class struggle throughout the Americas, just as the Haitian Revolution was directly linked to the Great French Revolution which proclaimed the "Rights of Man." The uprising of the slaves of Haiti sparked revolts in South America and in the United States, and inspired the workers and peasants of Cuba. Today, poverty has driven a large section of the working class off the island. But as the Spartacist representative stressed, speaking to demonstrators in front of the UN on October 1:

"The Haitian proletariat is much more powerful than it may appear on this tiny island. Haitian workers are firmly implanted in the working class of the Caribbean and in North America. In Montreal, New York, Boston and Miami the Haitian workers can be a living bridge between a revolution in Haiti and in the imperialist center, the United States. What is necessary is a struggle on an international scale, a revolutionary internationalist party."

Today, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is the party which is waging this fight. *A bas l'impérialisme! Ouvriers au pouvoir!* ■

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Victory to Boston School Bus Drivers Strike!

BOSTON—On September 24, more than 600 school bus drivers struck In-City Bus Company (ICBM), the firm that manages Boston's school busing program. ICBM is trying to impose a wage freeze and health care takebacks on the workers, members of USWA Local 8751.

The local Murdoch tabloid, the *Boston Herald*, screams that the drivers should get the PATCO treatment, while the liberal *Globe* haughtily denounces the union's "intolerable irresponsibility." And ICBM and the School Committee are trying to whip up a "back to work" scab movement inside the union, while threatening to make the drivers public employees and ban future strikes. These union-haters need to be taught a lesson.

But USWA Local 8751 Exec Board member Steve Gillis, writing in Sam Marcy's *Workers World* (19 September), appeals instead to Boston mayor Flynn, asking plaintively, "will the mayor act responsibly and demand that ICBM negotiate a just contract?" The labor officialdom wants Flynn to enforce a toothless ordinance against "replacement workers" and pleads with MBTA bosses to stop carrying students on the transit system. Instead of begging the Democratic Party politicians, the drivers need some *solidarity strike action now*, especially from Boston transit workers. That can shoot down ICBM!

We reprint below portions of a leaflet

issued by the Boston Spartacist League on September 24.

* * *

This is the third time in five years the largely black, Haitian and Hispanic union has been forced to strike against a city administration that has long since criminally undercut the busing program to the point where it can hardly be considered a force for school integration.

This year the School Committee has again consolidated schedules as a "controlled choice" program is expanded to allow for a return to the "neighborhood" (read segregated) school. And every can-

didate in the Boston mayoral race is fully committed to the resegregation of the school system—from the darling of the liberals Reverend Graylan Ellis-Hagler, who has publicly endorsed the "neighborhood school" concept, to Flynn, who got his start in local politics with the mobs stoning black children on buses in the '70s.

We've seen what happened to the Greyhound workers when the labor misleaders not only let the strikers hang by themselves, but sabotaged efforts to shut down the terminal. The union bureaucrats police the unions for their pals in

the anti-labor, racist Democratic Party. And it's their same "friends of labor" in Congress who killed the rail strike. So-called "progressive" union officials like Steve Kirschbaum send the strike into a blind alley by telling workers to "pressure" Mayor Ray Flynn.

This is a set-up to lose! Flynn made his mark organizing the anti-busing racist mobs against the black children of Boston. He has stood behind every union-busting demand of ICBM and the School Committee—that is what the bosses' Democratic Party politicians get paid for. The ties to the Democratic Party are a millstone around our neck. We need a workers party. Workers of this city, everywhere, need a class-struggle leadership willing to take on this racist capitalist system. To get what we need—quality, integrated education, housing and jobs for all—will take a socialist revolution.

Let's win this one! The city says they are going to issue thousands of passes to students to ride MBTA transit buses, while extra buses are being added to drivers' schedules. To hell with that! City transit workers must smash this scheme with some solidarity *action* to back up the Local 8751 strike. In 1982 a one-day strike by the Boston Carmen's Union had the Central Artery backed up for seven miles. A city-wide transit strike will give the drivers the muscle they need to win! Victory to the school bus drivers! ■



WV Photo

Boston school bus drivers picket Bayside Bus Terminal in first hours of strike.

Gatesgate...

(continued from page 12)

out one Big Lie after another.

And Robert Gates fit the bill. In addition to outright lies (such as the much-publicized reports of Soviet MIG-25s sent to Nicaragua), in a December 1984 memo Gates "out-Caseyed Casey" with his calls to bomb Managua, denouncing the Reagan administration for "half measures, half-heartedly applied." And well after Gorbachev took over the helm in the Kremlin, Gates went around giving a speech titled "War by Another Name," insisting that nothing had changed in the Soviet Union.

When Gates gave the Senate committee his 20-point defense of denials and non-denial denials against allegations of cooking the CIA books, it was a virtual compendium of the last decade of anti-Soviet lies: the fabricated "Case for Soviet Involvement" and a far-fetched "Bulgarian connection" in the notorious 1981 "Pope plot"; the lie that Soviet forces in Afghanistan were using "lethal chemicals"; phony "information portraying increased contra successes between 1984 and 1986" to justify Reagan/Bush's war on Sandinista Nicaragua; claims of an "international terrorism" connection with narcotics traffickers to bolster the "war on drugs"; the USSR supposedly coordinating "international terrorism" through Syria, Libya and Iran; claims of Soviet gains in Iran in order to justify the Iran/contra arms deals, etc.

Tellingly, in the whole catalogue of CIA lies and disinformation that was raised in the Senate hearings, the most dangerous anti-Soviet Big Lie of Cold War II was not even mentioned: KAL 007. A mountain of evidence has accumulated that the 1983 overflight of the most sensitive Soviet military facilities by a civilian Korean airliner was part of a crazed war provocation engineered by the Oval Office. If not only Democrats but rad-libs and self-styled "leftists" swallowed the CIA's anti-Soviet lies, it was because they had *politically* enlisted in the anti-Soviet war drive.

We Trotskyists maintained our forthright defense of the gains of the October Revolution against the anti-Soviet war

drive and were able to expose the CIA's lies for what they were. In response to the Korean Air Lines affair we declared, "Reagan's Story Stinks!" (see the Spartacist pamphlet, *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation*). And when NBC's Marvin Kalb broadcast the outlandish claim of a KGB assassination plot against the Pope, we immediately nailed it as a "monstrous new Big Lie against the Soviet Union" ("NBC Peddles CIA Disinformation—Whose Kill Pope Plot?" WV No. 315, 15 October 1982).

Company Bank and October Surprise

Along with the Gates nomination came the BCCI scandal. The 29 July issue of *Time* magazine reported that, while stealing billions from its small-time, mostly Asian, depositors, BCCI financed a secret "black network" which worked with the CIA and "used sophisticated spy equipment and techniques, along with bribery, extortion, kidnapping and even, by some accounts, murder." The article warned that the bank's connections to various intelligence agencies "are so pervasive that even the White House has become entangled." But don't expect the Democrats to look too hard at this one either: a whole slew of former Carter administration officials were sucking off the BCCI tit.

Started in 1972 by Pakistani financier Agha Hassan Abedi, who promoted the 1977 coup which put CIA favorite General Zia in power, BCCI only became an international empire when the Carter administration started funneling arms and money through Pakistan to the anti-Soviet *mujahedin* in Afghanistan. Abedi subsequently "gave \$8 million to a Carter charity, Global 2000, and traveled with the ex-president around the Third World" (*Newsweek*, 26 August). Long-time Democratic éminence grise Clark Clifford was a key American insider for BCCI, helping them secretly take over Washington's First American Bankshares. Other Democrats who reportedly gained by BCCI's largesse include Andrew Young and Bert Lance.

The Bank of Credit and Commerce International was a conduit for Contragate. At the same time, BCCI became the personal money manager for Manuel

Noriega, who was recruited as a high-paid CIA asset while Bush was Company CEO in the mid-'70s. The same London bank branch which handled Noriega's account also disbursed payments to 500 British CIA agents. Records of Panama BCCI accounts "mysteriously disappeared" while being shipped to the U.S. under guard of Drug Enforcement Administration agents.

BCCI also handled the financial end of the Reaganites' October Surprise arms-for-election deal with Iran. Bits and pieces of information about this plot had been circulating for years, particularly in the social-democratic *In These Times*. We reported on the Reagan/Bush 1980 arms bribe to Tehran in our article, "Reagan/North's Plot for Military Coup" (WV No. 433, 24 July 1987). This last spring, the affair resurfaced with an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* by former Carter aide Gary Sick. This was spelled out in more detail in the PBS *Frontline* (16 April) program, which reported that two Iranian arms dealers, the Hashemi brothers, arranged several meetings in Madrid in July and August 1980 between Reagan campaign manager Bill Casey and a leading ayatollah.

A *Nightline/Financial Times* investigation aired on ABC (20 June) found that the elusive Casey was indeed mysteriously absent from the U.S. when the Madrid meetings took place, and hotel records confirm that the Hashemi brothers were there. Cyrus Hashemi died in 1986 "under mysterious circumstances," but his brother is still alive, and talking. He told *Nightline* that during late 1980, a Greek freighter purchased by Cyrus Hashemi made four round trips carrying arms shipments between Israel and Iran. Former Israeli intelligence operative Ari Ben-Menashe adds that the Israelis were out to get Carter, partly because he had called a halt to Israeli arms shipments to Iran during the "hostage crisis." And in the end, the hostages were released by the Khomeini regime minutes after Reagan was sworn in on 20 January 1981.

The web of this multifaceted intrigue reaches so far that *Newsweek* (23 September) published an elaborate diagram of "The Unified Scandal Theory," not only linking Watergate, Contragate,

BCCI and the S&L scandal to the CIA, but throwing in everyone from Billy Carter and Imelda Marcos to Jessica Hahn and Jim Bakker's PTL. The aim is to make a joke of the far-reaching tentacles of the CIA. But this is no joke, and the dead bodies littering the Contragate trail testify to that. The latest is Danny Casolaro, an investigative reporter who was tracking down connections between the various conspiracies and was found dead in August in a hotel bathtub in West Virginia with a dozen slashes across his arms.

But the spineless Democrats dutifully stayed away from any questions relating to the "October Surprise" during the hearings, setting up a separate "inquiry" to be held only after Gates is in. As New York *Daily News* columnist Lars-Erik Nelson wrote, far from seeing nothing in the charges against Bush, the Congressional Democrats fear "that they will find evidence of a vast treasonable conspiracy that entangles Bush, casts doubt on the legitimacy of the 1980 Reagan victory, implicates Israel in the subversion of a U.S. election.... And then what would they do about it?" Gates may be expendable, but the president is not. No less than the Republicans, the Democrats are intent on protecting the institution of the imperial presidency, even if they don't have a chance in hell of getting it for themselves and even if it meant having an election stolen from them.

Liberals and social democrats like *In These Times* want to "clean up" the bourgeois state and its various agencies of espionage and terror. We Marxists understand that these outfits' sole reason for existence is to defend the interests of the most rapacious imperialist power on earth. Behind all the "think tank" analysts is U.S. imperialism's murder machine. As we wrote in "Godfather of CIA's Murder, Inc.—The Bush File" (WV No. 468, 6 January 1989) shortly before Bush's inauguration:

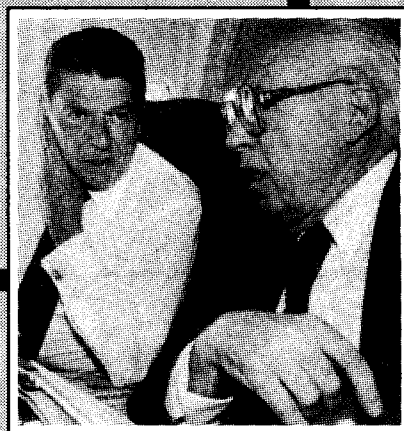
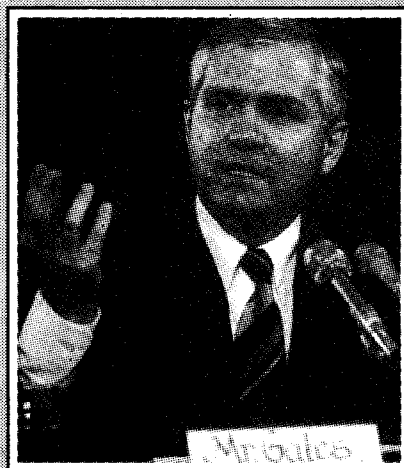
"The Democrats didn't nail Reagan and Bush on the Iran/contra affair because these covert operations are the stock in trade of the declining American empire in its desperate worldwide crusade for counterrevolution. The network Bush brought into play are the hit men for imperialism in its death agony, and it will take world socialist revolution to put this Company out of business for good." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

"October Surprise"—BCCI-CIA—Gatesgate



Amnesia on the Potomac



Credits clockwise from top left: McNamee/Newsweek (2); Der Spiegel (2); Economist. Bush at the center of circle of CIA murder and mayhem. Clockwise from top left: Contra colonel Oliver North, CIA nominee Robert Gates, Reagan with former spymaster William Casey, "Company" bank BCCI.

As Senate confirmation hearings on a new CIA chief drew to a close, Ohio Democrat Howard Metzenbaum chided Bush nominee Robert Gates over "the 33 non-recalls that you gave this committee, and the 40 don't-knows." Not that the gentlemen of the Senate Intelligence Committee tried all that hard to tickle Gates' "selective amnesia." California Democrat Alan Cranston (of the "Keating Five" savings and loan scandal) sympathized, "Nobody can remember every detail of things that happened five years ago." And Democratic committee chairman David Boren (who figures he will own Gates if the nomination goes through) wound up the hearings with a glowing accolade to Bush's appointee.

Down the corridor, the Senate Judiciary Committee was holding hearings on the administration's choice for the Supreme Court, Clarence Thomas, who stonewalled over every question about his opposition to affirmative action for minorities and women's right to abortion. The blasé acceptance of this epidemic of temporary amnesia is business as usual in a capital inured to "plausible deniability" and government by lies and cover-up long before Watergate. But when hands-on managers like Bush and Gates try to act like Reagan, who could plausibly deny remembering anything that wasn't on his cue cards, the charade becomes even more ludicrous.

In reality, this flouting of any pretense of constitutional, much less democratic, principles is a prop to maintaining the imperial presidency of this most rapacious imperialism. Senatorial "advice and consent" to the executive branch, supposedly a cornerstone of the "separation of powers" in American bourgeois democracy, today means "consenting" to

presidential diktat. Congressional "oversight" means overlooking CIA skullduggery and Pentagon mass murder. Now even the piddling charges on which contra colonel Oliver North was finally convicted have been thrown out, and Bush crows, "the system of justice is working." In all this, the Democratic and Republican parties and the judicial machinery of the capitalist state are obeying a higher class loyalty, to a corrupt and declining "New World Order."

From Contragate to "Gatesgate"

When Robert Gates was first nominated to replace Bill Casey as CIA head in 1987, the stench of the Iran/contra

indicted on perjury and obstruction. A former investigator commented sarcastically: "Gates's immediate subordinate knew and his immediate superior knew. Desk chiefs knew, their assistants, secretaries, clerks, and stenographers knew. Everybody, it seems, except Robert Gates" (*Village Voice*, 23 July).

Everybody knows that Gates knew; he "was fully in the loop," says former Saigon station chief Thomas Polgar. On top of that, Gates is also deeply implicated in recent media exposés of the "October Surprise," the 1980 Reagan/Bush campaign's reported deal with Teheran to delay release of 52 American hostages and spike any chance of Carter's reelection. And now the spectacular col-

And here we get to Robert Gates. Gates joined the CIA in 1966, but his career really started moving when he was drafted onto Ford's National Security Council in 1974 and became part of then CIA chief Bush's circle, which included then NSC chief of staff Dick Cheney, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and Seoul CIA station chief Donald Gregg. Gates and Gregg stayed on under Jimmy Carter, and are widely considered to be the moles in Carter's White House who leaked information about the Democratic administration's Iranian hostage initiatives to the Republican campaign committee headed by Casey. As soon as Casey took over the CIA, he made Gates his executive secretary. A year later, Gates was catapulted over far more senior figures into the position of DDI (Deputy Director of Intelligence).

With the Democrats refusing to touch either the October Surprise or Contragate, the Gates hearings would probably have been a complete snore but for a palace revolt by CIA professionals chafing at the Casey/Gates regime's crude falsifications and heavy-handed treatment. *Newsweek* (30 September) reported that "more than two dozen CIA officials" privately lobbied the Senate committee against Gates. *Newsday* (3 October) noted that during the hearings, "current and former spies in the audience openly buttonholed undecided senators to lobby against the nomination." Many were analysts from the CIA's Soviet affairs division who had been bludgeoned by Gates as he spearheaded a drive to clean out the more liberal Cold Warriors in the agency. With Reagan & Co. painting the Soviet "evil empire" as the font of all "international terrorism," the job of the CIA was to simply churn

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Workers Vanguard told the truth: "Pope plot" was anti-Soviet Big Lie.

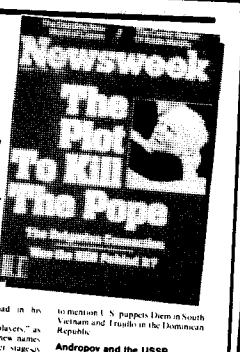
WORKERS VANGUARD
11 February 1983

Cold War Big Lie

The "Pope Plot" Against Andropov

Who really believes the latest international terrorism conspiracy, concocted by the Bulgarian Connection, Part II? The plot is so incredible that it's like the pope was a Bulgarian connection to a Turkish conference. The plot is so incredible that it's like the pope was a Bulgarian connection to a Turkish conference.

International Monetary Fund was crushed in its reactionary bid for power—at the last possible moment. By the Polish bureaucracy and arms race, and without much of a loss. But Poland was the focus, and Solidarnosc, a popular vehicle for U.S. imperialism, plan to "roll back Communism" in Europe, and there are plenty of hard anti-Communist, still looking ways to make the "Pope plot" connect in their anti-Soviet crusade.



lapse of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International has generated revelations about a far-flung international operation of arms and drug deals with the CIA at its center. BCCI's footprints were all over the October Surprise and Iran/contra arms deals. As the New York Telephone ad jingle goes, they're "all connected." And if George Bush was "out of the loop," as he claims, it was only because he was at the center of the circle.