

Bush's "New World Order"

Blood, Sand and Oil

SEPTEMBER 17—After his quickie summit meeting in Helsinki with Soviet leader Gorbachev, U.S. president Bush spoke to a rare joint session of Congress last week, proclaiming a "new world order" of peace and cooperation. Meanwhile he is deploying perhaps a quarter million troops in the Persian Gulf region for war against Saddam Hussein's Iraq. As Bush thumped away on the podium about resisting aggression and stopping Hussein, the Congressmen and Senators mechanically applauded. But the assembled bipartisan representatives of capital really let loose war whoops when he declared, "and, yes, reducing the tax rate on capital gains." The red-white-and-blue they're waving has a big dollar sign in the field of stars.

The Democratic Party went right along with the war fever. House Majority leader Richard Gephardt called the U.S. invasion of the Persian Gulf and war mobilization against Iraq "a cause worth standing and fighting for" (he neglected to mention dying). The *New York Times* (12 September) summed up his response: "in the face of an international crisis, there were no Democrats and Republicans, only Americans." Consciously or unconsciously, Gephardt was echoing Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm who, after the "opposition" Social Democrats voted for war credits in August 1914, told the Reichstag legislators: "I no longer know any parties—I only know Germans."

Of all the pretexts for imperialist looting used by would-be conquerors, this surely ranks among the flimsiest. Franklin D. Roosevelt invoked the "infamy" of Pearl Harbor as he told Congress on 8 December 1941 that the U.S. was going to war against Japan. But Bush has a little difficulty claiming Iraq's seizure of oil-rich Kuwait was a "sneak attack," since Hussein called up the U.S. ambassador 48 hours beforehand to warn her it was coming. (She responded that the U.S. had "no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait"—i.e., go right ahead, be my guest.) Nobody has any doubt what's going on here: this is a war to make the world safe for Big Oil and make the U.S.

U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off Persian Gulf!



Der Spiegel

American tanks mass in Saudi desert, as U.S. prepares to slaughter Arab masses in imperialist oil grab. How long until the body bags start coming home?

once again top cop of the world. Well, easier said than done.

In his speech broadcast on Iraqi TV, Bush intoned that "it is Iraq against the world." But Bush's "world front" against Iraq is already fraying, and not just at the

ton Post, 13 September). Not only has Iran signed a peace treaty with Iraq and re-established diplomatic relations, they have agreed to ship food and medicine, and there are reports of a deal to take 200,000 barrels a day of Iraqi oil.

Break the Blockade of Iraq!

edges. Hussein's call for a "jihad" (holy war) against the foreign infidel has not fallen on deaf ears. Iranian "radical" ayatollah Ali Khamenei proclaimed on Teheran radio, "Confronting the greedy interventionist schemes of the United States to encroach on the Persian Gulf is considered jihad, and anybody who is killed on that path is a martyr" (*Washing-*

This will make a shambles of the UN "sanctions."

As a sign of their terminal degeneration, Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin are now soaping the rope for U.S. imperialism as it tightens the military noose around the Soviet Union. A massive armada and expeditionary force is now less than 700 miles from the Soviet southern border. The Bush/Gorbachev pledge at Helsinki to act "individually and in concert" against Iraq is the green light for a bloody imperialist onslaught. Gorbachev says he doesn't want military action in the Persian Gulf, but what does he think 200,000 troops and four aircraft carrier battle groups are doing there? As Russian playwright Anton Chekhov once remarked, "If in the first act a pistol appears on the stage, then it's guaranteed there will be shots in the second." And despite all the talk of an "end of the Cold War," this pistol is aimed not only at Iraq but at imperialism's main target for the last 70 years—the homeland of the October Revolution.

We Trotskyists stand for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, despite the sellout Kremlin misleaders who from Stalin on have betrayed the heritage of Red October. Gorbachev out—Workers soviets to power! Return to the internationalist road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Once the shooting starts, the Persian

Gulf powder keg could blow up in Bush's face. Millions throughout the Middle East see U.S. imperialism as a fiendish, avaricious enemy. The governments which have signed up with Washington are despised by their own peoples. Saddam Hussein is no less a butcher than Bush's allies now aligned against him, not least Washington's former No. 1 "terrorist," Syria's Assad. But in this conflict, we defend Iraq against the most dangerous imperialist power in history.

Near East masses, mobilize to defeat imperialist aggression! Down with the oil sheiks, emirs and kings! Egypt's rulers, lackeys of U.S. imperialism, must go! Insurgent workers must send Saddam Hussein and the Syrian Ba'athists to the dung heap! Israeli workers: throw off your genocidal Zionist rulers! Defend the Palestinian masses in struggle for their national rights! Working people to power throughout the Middle East!

Imperialist Redivision of the World

It hasn't even been three months since Washington triumphantly proclaimed a victory by Western capitalism in the Cold War at the NATO summit in Dublin. But far from ushering in an era of peace and prosperity, Bush seems intent on proving Lenin's dictum that "Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redivision of the world" (V.I. Lenin, "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution," September 1916). And that imperialist division of the spoils is carried out through the starvation and superexploitation of the "wretched of the earth," from the Middle East to Asia, Africa and Latin America. For all the imperialist wailing about Saddam Hussein's cruelty toward Kuwait, tens upon tens of thousands of

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Why are these men smiling? Gorbachev, Bush in Helsinki, September 9. Soviet leader prepares to sell out collectivized economy at home, endorses U.S. starvation blockade of Iraq.

Free Mordechai Vanunu!

With all eyes on the U.S.' military provocations in the Middle East, a courageous but forgotten man sits alone in a high security prison cell in Ashkelon, Israel. Mordechai Vanunu, a former nuclear technician at Israel's Dimona facility, divulged to the world in 1986 that the Zionist state was the world's sixth-largest nuclear power. After being kidnapped in Italy by the Mossad spy agency (with help from Australian and British intelligence services) and hauled back to Israel in a cargo ship, Vanunu was thrown in a Shin Bet secret police dungeon, where he remains four years later. After a closed trial he was convicted on charges of treason and sentenced to 18 years. On May 27 a three-judge panel of Israel's Supreme Court denied Vanunu's appeal.

Israel's possession of nuclear weapons had been an open secret for years. After retiring as prime minister, David Ben-Gurion hinted that Israel had the "great equalizer" which would offset the fact that three million Israeli Jews faced 100 million Arabs. But until Vanunu went public in the London *Sunday Times*, in October 1986, these were believed to

be a small arsenal of primitive bombs, similar to the 20-kiloton device which incinerated Nagasaki. Vanunu provided detailed information, substantiated with 60 photographs, of the Dimona nuclear facility where he worked for nine years, revealing that Israel had already stockpiled 100-200 bombs.

Leading scientists concluded that each year Israel produces enough plutonium for ten bombs, that the Israelis had experimented with tritium, the chemical needed to make thermonuclear H-bombs, and that they may possess enhanced radiation devices such as the neutron bomb. These are not mere "deterrents." Some of Israel's weapons are low-yield tactical weapons, i.e., designed for use on Middle East battlefields. Moreover, since a dozen bombs would be enough to nuke every Arab capital, the very size of this arsenal suggests the Soviet Union is also in their sights. And Israel's Jericho 2 missile has a range capable of reaching the Baku oil fields.

The Israeli military madmen are capable of blowing up the whole region, and the world. They almost did it in the first days of the 1973 October war, when they



Landau/Jerusalem Post

Mordechai Vanunu gagged by Israeli police.

placed on combat readiness an earlier version of the Jericho armed with nuclear warheads. For years they've dreamed of a pre-emptive strike against Iraq, like their 1981 bombing raid on Baghdad's unfinished nuclear plant. Today, they openly discuss disposing of Iraq with "nonconventional" weapons.

In sentencing Vanunu the Jerusalem court pronounced him "a loner...[who] could not find his place in Israeli society." A Sephardic Jew whose family were themselves victims of discrimination at the hands of the relatively privileged Ashkenazis from Europe, Vanunu was a defender of the rights of the hideously oppressed Palestinians. As a student at Beersheba's University of Ben-Gurion, Vanunu joined protests against Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon and actively fought for the rights of Palestinian and Bedouin students, aiding their successful fight for housing. Fed up with the Zionist garrison state, Vanunu ultimately left Israel in January 1986, winding up in Australia where he converted to Christianity.

Vanunu has been given the treatment the Zionists reserve for all those they deem "subhuman." Like the thousands of Arabs thrown into administrative detention for months without charges, the Mossad secretly held Vanunu for 40 days before protests finally forced the government to announce his arrest. Nearly all trial proceedings were concealed from the public and press, in contrast to the kid-glove treatment given Nazi war criminal John Demjanjuk. It took three months after its denial of Vanunu's appeal in May for the Supreme Court to release portions of its decision. And for the past four years he's been caged in a six by nine foot cell in a complex built for high security prisoners, mostly Palestinians.

With more than 900 Palestinians killed by Israeli troops and fascistic settlers during the 33-month *intifada*, the Zionist state attempts to shield its crimes from world view by cracking down on anti-Zionist newspapers. In June, Michel

Warszawski, director of the Alternative Information Center, which was closed by the government in February 1987, started serving an eight-month sentence for typesetting a pamphlet on how to stand up to interrogation and torture. Warszawski, a supporter of Ernest Mandel's USec, was among the first to publicly defend Vanunu within Israel. Yacov Ben Efrat, editor of *Derech Hanitzotz*, has spent a year and a half in solitary on charges of belonging to the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Arrest and torture of Palestinian journalists is routine. Free Warszawski, Ben Efrat and all victims of Zionist state repression!

Vanunu's cause has drawn support from all over the world. Trade unionists, internationally renowned scientists, and British Members of Parliament have rallied to his defense. In 1988 Australian MPs nominated Vanunu for the Nobel Peace Prize. In June the European parliament in Strasbourg called for his release. From the outset the Partisan Defense Committee has been active in his fight for freedom. For nearly three years Vanunu was one of the class-war prisoners to whom we sent a monthly stipend. Facing isolation and brutal conditions in his Ashkelon prison hell Vanunu has severed relationships with international efforts on his behalf. But we remain committed to the fight for his freedom.

Mordechai Vanunu warned the world that the Zionist rulers are not only willing to plunge the world into a thermonuclear holocaust, but have the means to do so. As Bush tries to grab the Persian Gulf oil fields, workers' struggles against the imperialist invasion must take up the cry, "Freedom for Mordechai Vanunu!"

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TROTSKY

Defeat Imperialist Aggression

As the United States and its allies invade the Persian Gulf, we defend the Iraqi and Arab peoples against American colonialist aggression, and want to see the defeat and humiliation of the imperialists' military adventure. When Mussolini's Italy invaded Ethiopia, a feudal kingdom, in the mid-1930s, Trotsky supported the Ethiopian resistance and condemned those leftists, such as James Maxton of the British Independent Labour Party, who took a neutral stand on the ground that both sides were reactionary despotisms.



LENIN

Maxton and the others opine that the Italo-Ethiopian war is "a conflict between two rival dictators." To these politicians it appears that this fact relieves the proletariat of the duty of making a choice between two dictators. They thus define the character of the war by the political *form* of the state, in the course of which they themselves regard this political form in a quite superficial and purely descriptive manner, without taking into consideration the social foundations of both "dictatorships." A dictator can also play a very progressive role in history; for example, Oliver Cromwell, Robespierre, etc. On the other hand, right in the midst of the English democracy Lloyd George exercised a highly reactionary dictatorship during the war. Should a dictator place himself at the head of the next uprising of the Indian people in order to smash the British yoke—would Maxton then refuse this dictator his support? Yes or no? If not, why does he refuse his support to the Ethiopian "dictator" who is attempting to cast off the Italian yoke?

If Mussolini triumphs, it means the reinforcement of fascism, the strengthening of imperialism, and the discouragement of the colonial peoples in Africa and elsewhere. The victory of the Negus [Ethiopian ruler Haile Selassie], however, would mean a mighty blow not only at Italian imperialism but at imperialism as a whole, and would lend a powerful impulsion to the rebellious forces of the oppressed peoples. One must really be completely blind not to see this.

—Leon Trotsky, "On Dictators and the Heights of Oslo" (April 1936)

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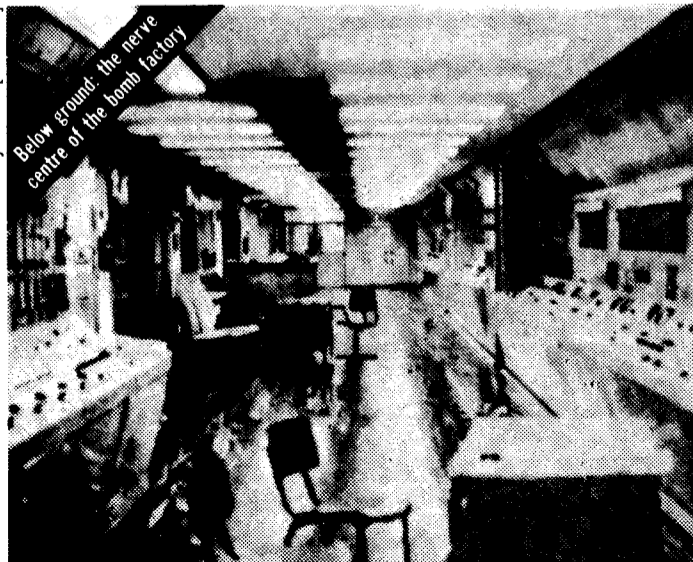
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Israeli nuclear weapons plant at Dimona. Vanunu exposed Zionist rulers' doomsday machine.

Israel Tries to Block Ex-Spy's Exposé

The Long Arm of the Mossad

• Israel was forewarned of the Shi'ite Hezbollah bomb attack on U.S. Marine headquarters in Beirut in 1983, killing 241, but did not tell the Americans, through indifference and to protect their sources.

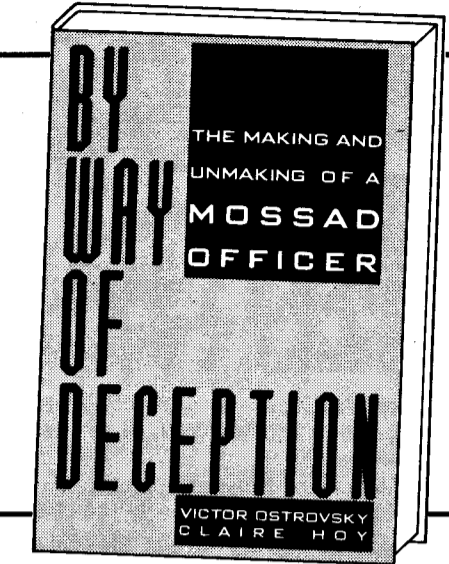
• The Israeli spy agency Mossad trained the Chilean DINA secret police killers of former ambassador Orlando Letelier, blown up on a Washington, D.C. street in September 1976.

• The Mossad ran huge shipments of drugs for one of their top agents who was a close adviser to Panamanian strongman Noriega right up until he was ousted by a U.S. invasion in December 1989.

These "bombshells" were contained in an exposé by a former Mossad agent, Victor Ostrovsky, *By Way of Deception—The Making and Unmaking of a Mossad Officer*. The government of Israel desperately tried to stop publication in Canada and the U.S., but this quickly backfired. The Israelis produced a New York judge, Michael Dontzin, who in an unprecedented move in the middle of the night slapped a prior restraint ban on the book. But coming after 17,000 copies had been shipped, it was utterly ineffectual and was overturned the next day in appeals court. In Israel, people are lining up to buy newspapers with reprinted excerpts.

What "The Institute" Didn't Tell "The Company"

"We thought we had a best-seller. What we have is a mega-seller, thanks to Yitzhak Shamir," commented the spokesman for Stoddart Publishing, the publisher in Canada. Shamir should have learned something from the folly of Maggie Thatcher ("The Bitch" in Mossad-speak), whose drawn-out battle in 1987 to ban *Spycatcher*, an exposé of Britain's MI5 domestic counterintelligence agency, made it front-page news for months and her a laughingstock. And that was in Britain, where banning books isn't hin-



dered by a Bill of Rights, much less Israel, where you don't even have to call up a judge to ban anything on grounds of "security."

By Way of Deception is a "tell all" (or at least some) book about the long arm of the Mossad. It is fast turning author Victor Ostrovsky into the Israeli version of Philip Agee, the former CIA agent whose revelations about "The Company" appeared in the midst of the bourgeois scandal over Watergate and all the "black bag" dirty tricks. Ostrovsky's book is an

embarrassment to Israel. He lifts the cover on the elite *A1* unit operating in the U.S. He exposes the super-secret *Kidon* ("bayonet") department, the Israeli assassination bureau, whose "hits" are personally endorsed by the prime minister himself. After two Mossad agents showed up at his suburban Ottawa home warning him to stop publication for "his own safety," Ostrovsky went underground.

The main damage for Israel may be its relations with the U.S., where people in Washington have reason to be pissed. These are not the first revelations that the Israeli rulers—pursuing their interests, which while parallel to the U.S.' are not always the same—have gone off the rails. In the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, the Israelis—fearing their imminent attack on Syria had been discovered—used torpedoes, rockets, cannon fire and napalm in an attempt to sink the American intelligence ship *USS Liberty* in the Mediterranean, killing 34 and wounding 171. There are also reports that the Mossad knew in advance of the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, which blew up over Lockerbie, Scotland in December 1988.

Adding to the credibility of Ostrovsky's blockbuster, former Mossad chief Meir Amit has admitted that some of

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Tamara Deutscher

Marxist historian and commentator Tamara Deutscher died in London on August 7 at the age of 77. She was a regular contributor to the London-based journal *New Left Review* and other publications, dealing particularly with developments in East Europe and the Soviet Union. Until his death in 1967, she had devoted much of her considerable energy and talent to collaborating with her husband, Isaac Deutscher, author of the invaluable three-volume biography of Leon Trotsky. In the preface to his biography of Stalin, Deutscher called her "my first, the severest and the most indulgent critic." She continued to supervise the publication of Deutscher's works for the remainder of her life and was particularly pleased that his books had finally begun to appear in their native Poland as well as other deformed workers states.

Like her husband, Tamara Deutscher's commitment to the cause of socialism and her Marxist outlook were molded in childhood, by the revolutionary ferment which swept through Poland, particularly its Jewish population, in the era of the Russian Revolution. She was born Tamara Lebenhaft in 1913, into a left-wing Jewish family in the proletarian center of Lodz. In describing her background, she would note that the city was then known as Red Lodz, because of the socialist consciousness and combativity of the workforce, predominantly in the large textile mills which sprang up around the turn of the century.

Isaac Deutscher was for a period a leading proponent of the Polish Opposition which was expelled from the Communist Party in the early 1930s. He broke with Trotskyism over his opposition to the founding of the Fourth International in 1938. Tamara Deutscher was never, to our knowledge, directly associated with the Fourth International nor with any organized current of ostensible Trotskyism. Her outlook was, however, deeply influenced by the teachings of Trotsky and other classical Marxists.

Our comrades had the opportunity to have discussions with Tamara Deutscher on two occasions. The first, in 1986, came when we were preparing a review of the book *Memoirs of a Jewish Revolutionary*, an autobiography by Hersh Mendel, a Polish Communist militant in the interwar years who had been a close comrade of Isaac Deutscher. The second time we met was in June of this year, when comrades who had recently returned



from a trip to Poland visited her and exchanged observations about developments in Poland and East Europe.

Though she had in the past expressed militant disinterest in following the various ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies, she had begun reading publications of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). She expressed particular interest in the "Letter to Polish Workers" which our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany had been distributing both in Poland and Germany, opposing *Solidarność* and its drive toward capitalist restoration and advancing a Trotskyist alternative to bankrupt Stalinism.

Tamara Deutscher had nothing but contempt for the political cynicism and rampant anti-Sovietism which permeates the contemporary ostensibly Trotskyist left.

In 1979 she publicly withdrew her sponsorship of the journal *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, backed by Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, when it approvingly reprinted a call by a group of Soviet émigrés for a total economic, technical and cultural boycott of the USSR. She wrote:

"The Appeal calls for nothing less than a wholesale boycott of the USSR and a complete break of all relations between West and East—in other words, for isolating the Soviet Union and putting it into quarantine. Such methods would in no way help the process of democratisation in the East. On the contrary, they would only strengthen all reactionary forces in both camps."

She detested nationalism, and particularly the Polish nationalism which has always been synonymous with anti-Sovietism and anti-Semitism. "I guess I'm an old Luxemburgist at heart," she told us with a smile. When *Solidarność* arose in the fall of 1980, her response was distinctly at odds with the uncritical enthusing of the fake-Trotskyists and various other tailists of social democracy. She warned against the deadly influence of nationalism and clericalism, around which *Solidarność* was to consolidate into an agency for counterrevolution by the fall of 1981.

In an article in *New Left Review* (January-February 1981), she pointed to "the rather unusual spectacle" of striking Polish workers "kneeling in front of the altar during the celebration of the *Missa Solemnis*, with a profusion of Polish flags fluttering overhead. Similarly the crucifix and the portrait of the Pope adorn the walls of the headquarters of the new autonomous unions in Gdansk—a sight as paradoxical and as potentially disquieting as that of Iranian demonstrators giving the clenched fist salute under a huge picture of the Ayatollah Khomeini. What is even more disturbing is the portrait of Marshal Pilsudski remembered for his invasion of the Soviet Union in May 1920, and not exactly as a friend of trade unions, socialism or democracy."

We had numerous political differences with Tamara Deutscher, not least of course on the centrality of reforging an authentically Trotskyist Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. But she had been trained as a Marxist of the old school, who remained consistent in her political views throughout the years and appreciated that consistency in others. She will be missed. ■

Mossad...

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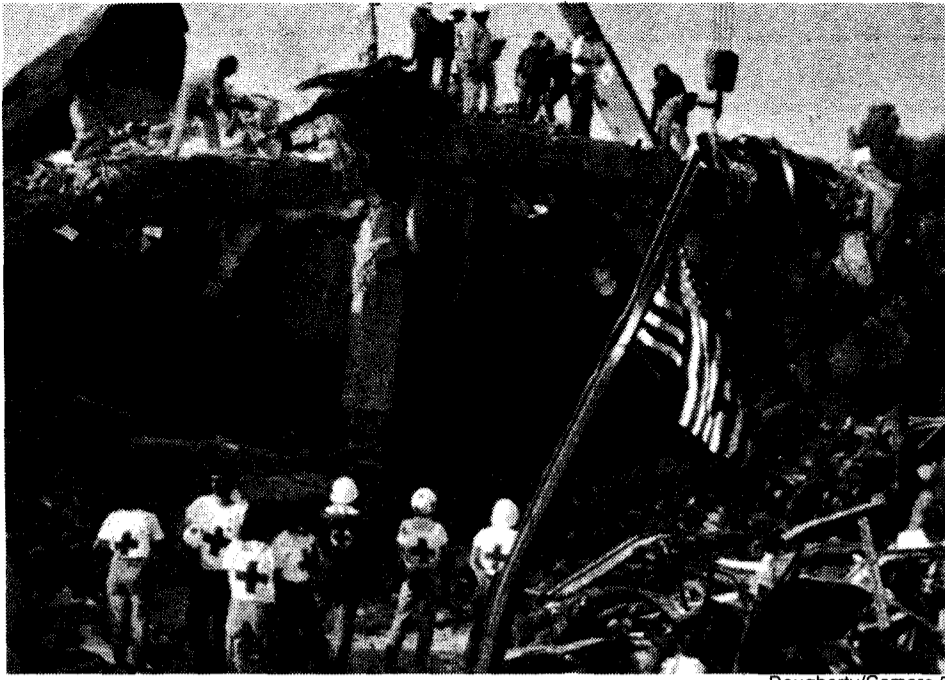
its claims are accurate (London *Independent*, 15 September). Coming now, in the midst of the Persian Gulf invasion, with Washington eager to cement an alliance with Arab "moderates," Israel has reason to fear the consequences. Ostrovsky's book tends to flesh out the details of the account by the much more senior Yehoshafat Harkabi, *Israel's Fateful Hour* (1988). Harkabi, an old-style "Labor"-Zionist who was head of Israeli Army intelligence, argues that the logic of current-day Israeli politics is driving toward genocide of the Arabs, which he considers not only a moral disaster but one which would pose a political catastrophe for the very existence of Israel.

Victor Ostrovsky was born in Canada and raised in Israel after the age of six. His father fought with the RCAF in World War II, and then as an Israeli commander in 1948. Describing himself as a "left-of-center, ardent Zionist," Ostrovsky was brought up admiring Israeli PM Ben-Gurion. Recruited to the Mossad after serving as head of the Israeli Navy's weapons system training branch, Ostrovsky joined the Israeli spy agency with the rank of colonel.

Sometime during his three-year intensive training and 18-month experience as a Mossad case officer, Ostrovsky began to feel "The Institute" was "dangerously out of control." He was appalled by the sex parties for top level Mossad officers and secretaries that went on at the headquarters' swimming pool late at night, and case officers "screwing their way to the top." "I'd thought I was entering Israel's Olympus, but actually found myself in Sodom and Gomorrah," he writes. In the course of his discussion of the Mossad's manipulator of sexual appetite, as motive and bait, Ostrovsky reveals himself to be virulently homophobic. His co-author Claire Hoy, a columnist for the *Toronto Sun*, is notorious for his anti-gay columns.

Much of his disillusionment grew out of his assignment to the *Kaisarut* ("empire") section, a Mossad clearinghouse for arms-buying and drug-running. "It was like working in a department store," he complains. "Ex-generals and various former security people would be sauntering in and out all the time...usually selling arms." The final straw was when he was ordered to supervise a shipment of drugs on an Israeli Air Force Hercules transport to Panama, for "former" Mossad agent Mike Harari. After Ostrovsky complained, he soon found himself set up for a botched job in Cyprus, and his resignation from the Mossad was demanded.

While Ostrovsky only worked briefly for "The Institute," he had access to the Mossad's mainframe computer with its classified contents of more than 1.5 million names. The trainees spent countless hours in class studying in minute



October 1983 bombing of U.S. Marine compound in Beirut killed 241 soldiers. Mossad was forewarned, didn't tell U.S.

detail dozens of Mossad operations.

The book recounts how in 1983 an informant in Beirut told the Mossad of a large Mercedes truck being fitted out by the Shi'ites with so many bombs that there were only a few "logical targets," such as the U.S. Marine compound. The question of whether or not to tell the Americans was kicked upstairs to Tel Aviv. The answer was no: "We're not there to protect Americans. They're a big country. Send only the regular information." They also declined to give information on the kidnapping of CIA Beirut station chief William Buckley, taken hostage by the Hezbollah, hoping the Americans would blame it on the PLO!

A Mossad specialty was having its oar in on all sides: In Lebanon, not only was Christian Phalangist Bashir Gemayel a Mossad "asset," so were Druze leader Jumblatt and Shi'ite leader Berri. During the Iran-Iraq war, the Mossad regularly tracked the flow of ships carrying oil through the Persian Gulf, informing both sides about each other's ships, but letting enough get through to keep the war going. In Sri Lanka, the Mossad was supplying both the Sinhalese government of Jayewardene with PT boats, and the warring Tamil Tigers with anti-PT weaponry. At one point, he writes, both Tigers and Sri Lankan government squads were being trained at the large Israeli base at Kfar Sirkin and even "passed within a few yards of each other while they were out jogging."

One of the most damaging revelations is the account of extensive Mossad operations in such "friendly" allied countries as Great Britain and the U.S. "They don't understand that the Mossad regards the whole world outside Israel as a target," he explains. And yet, Ostrovsky says, the entire Mossad staff numbers not more than 1,200 total, and 35-40 "case officers" worldwide. This is in sharp contrast to the CIA, which is estimated

to have 25,000 employees in Langley alone. How is this possible? Ostrovsky spells it out:

"That's why, for example, a KGB station would employ about 100 people, while a comparable Mossad station would need only six or seven.... You have at your disposal a nonrisk recruitment system that actually gives you a pool of millions of Jewish people to tap from outside your own borders."

Ostrovsky goes on about the recruitment of Jewish Congressional aides in Washington, for example. This will again raise the furor over Jonathan and Anne Pollard, arrested in November 1985 for funneling U.S. military secrets to the Israelis. This recalls the history of anti-Catholicism in England ever since Henry VIII. The issue was not one of religion but of political allegiance: Spain and France, backed by the Pope, were alternately and continuously conspiring to overthrow the British state. The emancipation of British Catholics (as well as non-conforming Protestants and Jews) came after the Napoleonic Wars, when the last Stuart pretender, a Cardinal in Rome, signed over all the rights of his claim and such artifacts of the crown as were still in his family's possession.

Contrast the Zionist conspiracy in the Pollard affair to the case of Mordechai Vanunu, very much on Ostrovsky's mind as he tries to stay a step ahead of the Mossad body snatchers. A Moroccan-born Jew who worked at Israel's Dimona nuclear weapons plant, Vanunu performed a service to the cause of humanity by revealing the nuclear arsenal built up by the mad Zionist rulers. He was then kidnapped by the Mossad and spirited back to Israel for secret trial and imprisonment (see "Free Mordechai Vanunu!" on page 2). As part of his training as a Mossad agent, Ostrovsky was taken on a tour of Dimona. He writes:

"From my personal observation of the Dimona plant, Vanunu's description was

very accurate. Not only that, his interpretation was also accurate. He said they were building those bombs and they'd use them if needed. That's true. It was no secret, either, within the Institute that we helped South Africa with its nuclear program. We supplied them with most of their military equipment. We trained their special units. We worked hand in hand with them for years. There are two countries that regarded themselves as needing the doomsday machine and were prepared to use it."

The Zionists scream that any attack on Israel is anti-Semitism. However, the emancipation of Jews in the Western world coincided with the rise of a secular society and the spread of Enlightenment humanism. Both historically and currently Jews have played a major role in the European and North American left. Many of the most powerful political attacks on Zionism have come from left-wing Jewish intellectuals, for example, Maxime Rodinson in France.

Zionism does not represent the interests of the Jewish people. The Mossad tactics are self-evidently harmful for Israeli Jews, preparing the way for an armageddon with their nuclear madness and lust for a "final solution" to the Palestinian Arabs. And with malicious contempt they willfully imperil the welfare of Jews throughout the world. American Zionist organizations have put themselves in the forefront of domestic anti-communism, witchhunting leftists and associating with the most wretched anti-Semites. In "ADL Redbaiters Defame Anti-Klan Protest" (WV No. 465, 18 November 1988) we noted how the "Anti-Defamation League" of the B'nai B'rith shielded the KKK while attempting to destroy a mobilization to stop these fascists from spreading their terror in the city of Philadelphia, with its large black and Jewish populations.

While he comes out of a Zionist background, Ostrovsky continued to believe the Arabs "are human beings." He increasingly took issue with the Mossad methodology that "There was one simple question asked when anything happened: 'Is it good for the Jews or not?'" This mentality is comical on the Borscht Belt circuit ("Earthquake in China? Is it good or bad for the Jews?"). But it's something else in the brains of maniacal terrorists like Begin, Shamir and Sharon (as well as Laborites like Rabin). Faced with the massacre of 800 Palestinian refugees at Sabra and Shatila, carried out by the Christian Phalange and brain-trusted by the Mossad, the killing of over a thousand Palestinians and maiming and torture of countless more in revenge for the *intifada*, Ostrovsky asks, "Does the fact that Jews have suffered give us the right to inflict pain and misery on others?" For the Zionist fanatics, the question itself brands him as a traitor.

Ostrovsky's "solution" for the "out of control" Mossad is an "oversight" committee, like they have with the CIA. But the Iran/Contragate affair showed that all the Congressional "oversight" doesn't stop this Murder Inc. with state power for one moment. In the context of Israel today, asking for parliamentary controls on the Shin Bet and Mossad is sort of like asking for "oversight" on the Gestapo and the SS!

Israel's rulers have got their "doomsday machine" and they are indeed prepared to use it in a thermonuclear *Götterdämmerung* (twilight of the gods). If you don't believe it, read Ostrovsky's book to see what these loonies are capable of. But that really will make Israel into a deathtrap for the Jews, as Leon Trotsky warned more than 50 years ago.

We Trotskyists defend the right to self-determination for the Palestinian Arab people and the Hebrew-speaking nation in the Near East. Both have the right to exist. But for peace to come to both sides of the Jordan, for this to become a land of milk and honey rather than one of endless war, requires that the Hebrew-speaking working people throw off their Zionist rulers and join with their Arab class brothers and sisters in a common struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East. The fate of the world may depend on it. ■

Prometheus Research Series 3

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After joining the Trotskyist movement in 1934, Fraser was an organizer and union activist for close to 30 years and a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee for 25 years. During internal debates in the SWP in the 1950s he developed and fought for the programmatic perspective of Revolutionary Integration, while the majority, with George Breitman as its spokesman, tailed the liberal pacifist/Democratic Party leadership of the civil rights movement and soon capitulated to black nationalism.

The bulletin contains material reflecting the entire span of Fraser's political life, including his seminal 1953 lectures, "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution."

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Steel Union Prez Finks for Feds to Bust Bingo Bandits

CHICAGO—The local union president at USX's largest steel plant in Gary, Indiana worked for five years as an undercover spy for the union-busting capitalist state, court documents released in June revealed. Scarcely a month after he had been elected president of the 4,500-strong United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1014 in 1985, Larry Regan offered his services to the U.S. Labor Department. Regan had the feds tap his phone and wore a concealed tape recorder during conversations with other union officials. He also helped federal agents get search warrants for McBride Hall, the Local 1014 union hall.

The targets of this investigation were Regan's factional opponents in the union, particularly USWA District 31 director Jack Parton and former Local 1014 president Phil Cyprian. The indictments handed down in June charged these two, along with two other former 1014 officials, a Catholic Monsignor and some out-of-state bingo operators, with fraud, embezzlement, tax evasion and racketeering. According to the feds, besides kickbacks and the rip-off of union funds, the gang used McBride Hall for late-night bingo sessions, and with the priest acting as a front, pocketed some tidy profits.

Reports of this "bingo conspiracy" describe an efficient, far-flung operation taking in \$100,000 a night, with as many as 2,000 players bused in from surrounding states. Local off-duty sheriff's deputies provided security. Some Local 1014 members have trouble believing the allegations, but only because when Parton and Cyprian ran the local they couldn't organize a peep in a henhouse when it came to union action to save jobs at the

Gary mills. Just goes to show what a little incentive can do.

District 31 and Local 1014, once the biggest steel local in the country, have long been a battleground between corrupt business unionists of the Parton type and would-be "reformers" backed by the capitalist state. The district was home to

tions and loot, Parton and Cyprian are well known for bringing in the cops and courts. The presence of police became an increasingly common feature of union meetings during Parton's term. Cyprian opened one particularly raucous meeting in August 1983, attended by hundreds of workers angered by layoffs, with a squad

getting ground down and chewed up by the steel bosses. First came the massive layoffs that slashed District 31 membership by one-half and Local 1014 by two-thirds. Jobs which had always been unsafe became downright murderous as the company forced the remaining workers to do the extra work. In 1983 USWA chief Lloyd McBride shoved givebacks worth \$4 billion (over \$12,000 per worker) down union members' throats. "Progressives" like Fritz and Regan put up only token opposition.

In 1986 USX forced the USWA leaders into a strike they didn't want and didn't have the guts or fighting program to win. By this time liberal bureaucrats like Regan were running 1014 and a number of other locals. Effective action like a plant occupation at USX's flagship plant in Gary could have electrified the entire labor movement and transformed the strike. Instead, Regan kowtowed to the courts and their injunctions against mass picketing, only inviting Democrat Jesse Jackson to the plant gate to lead a prayer! Despite his verbal opposition to the sellout, Regan bore a full share of responsibility for the union's capitulation after nearly six months on strike.

What steel workers needed then—and still desperately need today—to repulse these attacks is a class-struggle leadership determined to mobilize the union's power with mass picket lines, mill seizures and hot-cargoing (secondary labor boycotts). They need a clean break with the capitalist Democratic Party and the construction of a workers party that will battle the racist oppression and unemployment ravaging Gary, Detroit and

continued on page 15

Jack Parton, Jesse Jackson and Larry Regan hold pray-in on the picket line during 1986 USX strike.



Ed Sadlowski, who brought the feds in to run union elections in the 1970s, with the help of his cheerleaders on the reformist left like the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party (SWP). One of Larry Regan's supporters was John Fritz, who as early as 1973 started dragging the local through the federal courts.

In defending their bureaucratic posi-

of gun-toting sheriff's deputies lining the back wall. After one of Cyprian's goons attacked a woman militant, the cops moved in and shut down the meeting, whisking Cyprian out of the parking lot with a police escort.

But as the Parton/Cyprian forces and their "reform" opponents acted out their squalid quarrels, union members were

U.S. Army Invades Humboldt County

It was a U.S. military invasion extraordinary, complete with Blackhawk helicopters, C-130 transport planes, convoys of camouflaged jeeps and troop carriers, and M-16-toting soldiers from the U.S. 7th Light Infantry Division out of Fort Ord. But this wasn't the sands of Saudi Arabia, it wasn't Panama or Grenada or Libya. It was the feds' pot raid last month on a piece of land in the densely wooded hills of Humboldt County on California's north coast.

At the end of the 12-day campaign, Uncle Sam's fighting men led by the Bureau of Land Management with help from California National Guard troops had captured a total of 1,408 marijuana plants—some even taken by the roots—with an alleged street value of about \$4.2 million. "Operation Green Sweep" was pronounced a whopping success.

The inspiration for the operation reportedly came from none other than "Poppy" Bush himself, following the challenge leveled by the president of Colombia who asked just what Bush intended to do about the weed grown in California. And last June, federal drug czar William ("Satan makes them do it") Bennett gave California legislators a dressing down for their overly "lenient" drug laws, calling for jailing pot smokers on felony charges.

Local residents, including aging hippies who "dropped out" years ago to live unhassled in lotus land, were not amused. Since 1983, they've been harassed and intimidated in yearly sweeps under the State of California's Campaign Against Marijuana Production (CAMP). But this

Drug Witchhunt in California

was too much. A local construction worker told the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "As we speak there are eight helicopters flying overhead.... They're closing off roads and intimidating everybody. It looks like El Salvador, except that there are no dead bodies."

Angry residents staged a protest during the campaign with a banner reading "Stop U.S. Military Terrorism." Several later filed a suit in federal court charging federal and state government officials, including Bennett, with civil rights violations including illegal searches and seizures, harassment and invasion of privacy.

Absurd though it was, the feds' stunt was no joke. This was a PR showpiece in the U.S. bourgeoisie's holy war on drugs, which has replaced the "threat" of Godless Communism as the latest pretext for making America a police state. In black and Hispanic poor neighborhoods, like San Francisco's Hunters Point for one, this means routine illegal searches, beatings and cold-blooded murder by racist cops unconcerned with the "technicalities" of (vanishing) constitutional rights.

Los Angeles police chief Daryl "Choke Hold" Gates, famed for terrorizing minority neighborhoods in his "war on gangs," spoke to the Senate Judiciary Committee on September 5 calling for shooting casual drug users dead! Even

casual drug use is "treason," he said.

Abroad, the U.S. war on drugs is increasingly a war on the civilian populations of Latin America in the guise of "counternarcotics aid." In a 16 August *San Francisco Examiner* column, Warren Hinckle points out that Operation Green Sweep "signaled the Bush administration's intention to prepare American public opinion for the escalating involvement of the military in the war on drugs."

In a doomed, "post-industrial" U.S. economy in which blacks and other minorities have been written off as expendable, the spiraling misery and desperation of the ghetto, including drug addiction, are answered with bloody cop terror and the death penalty. But many people recall from the Iran/Contra scandal that one of the biggest drug-runners of all time resides today in the White House.

Bush's proclamations aside, there is growing recognition, even on the part of sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie, that the "war on drugs" through criminalization is unwinnable, producing only courts and prisons overflowing with minority "drug offenders" condemned to rot in hopelessness. California's state commission overseeing research on drug abuse suggested last month that the state "should legalize cultivation of marijuana for personal use, consider decriminalization of other drugs

on an individual basis and legalize possession of hypodermic needles" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 16 August). The state attorney general responded by banning publication of the panel's report!

The past decade has seen an alarming increase in state intrusion into private lives and activities: what art and music you can see or hear, what sexual activity and with whom you can indulge. Smoking has been prohibited in most public places. In August, a Sacramento judge ruled that a mother involved in a court battle for custody of her 5-year-old son was banned from smoking cigarettes in her son's presence, in her own home!

Now parents are encouraged to turn narc, by purchasing "DrugAlert," a newly marketed aerosol spray that's been used by the U.S. Coast Guard to detect contraband, to test for the presence of drug residue on their kids' belongings. In Nazi Germany, kids were supposed to turn in their parents, today it's reversed. But have they thought through the countermeasures that some ingenious teenagers will come up with against those who intrude on their space?

Under the banner of the "war on drugs," Moral Majority bigots, yuppie moralists and drug-testing employers (as well as some fake-leftists) are all part of the bourgeoisie's drive to regiment the working class for imperialist war and capitalist exploitation. "Work harder and die quicker through clean living." To hell with that! What we need is class war, to pull up a decayed and rotten system by the roots. ■

Soviet Workers: Smash Yeltsin/Gorbachev 500-Day Plan!

Simultaneously with the biggest wheat harvest in Soviet history, bread has disappeared from Moscow's state shops. Smokers riot for cigarettes. Now the traditional celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution on November 7 is to be canceled. George Bush envisions the Soviet Union becoming a junior partner in the imperialist "new world order." But this would spell the death of the Soviet Union as a workers state, albeit ruled by a corrupt and nationalistic bureaucracy. And indeed, the dominant political forces in Russia are openly driving toward the restoration of capitalism—which means the prospect of civil war, sooner rather than later. The social gains of the Bolshevik Revolution—the greatest victory for the international working class in history—are in mortal danger!

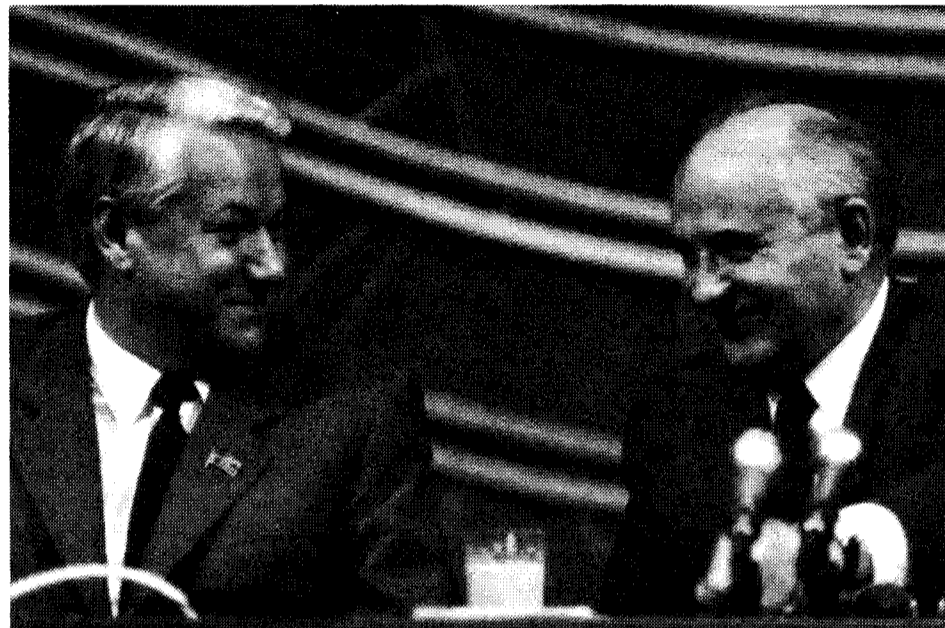
In late August it was announced that the president of the Russian republic, Boris Yeltsin, and Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev had agreed on a program to establish a full-fledged market economy in 500 days. Housing would be privatized, agricultural land sold to peasant smallholders and at least 70 percent of industrial enterprises denationalized. Real power of economic decision-making would be transferred from the central government to the governments of the various republics. This means the effective breakup of the Soviet Union. Yeltsin—a former Gorbachev lieutenant turned pseudo-populist demagogue—wants to drop "Socialist" from the USSR and rename the country the Union of Sovereign Soviet Republics.

The main author of the 500-day plan is Gorbachev economic adviser Stanislav Shatalin, who, when asked if his plan would lead to higher living standards and an efficient economy, replied, "In God we trust." Gorbachev himself waffled, proposing to combine the Shatalin plan with a more "moderate" program devised by Soviet prime minister Nikolai Ryzhkov. Ryzhkov was the main figure behind the aborted move to triple the price of bread this past summer and double consumer prices by New Year's 1991. But this was not enough for the extreme "free marketeers," who have been screaming for Ryzhkov's political head.

To put pressure on Gorbachev, the Yeltsin-dominated parliament of the Russian republic endorsed the "500 days to capitalism" program. And now the Soviet president has more or less come out for it, while calling for a popular referendum on the sale of land. Fighting for his political life, Ryzhkov went on television and denounced the Shatalin plan as leading to "chaos" and mass unemployment. This situation is fast polarizing. Last Sunday, 50,000 right-wingers demonstrated in Moscow calling for the resignation not only of Ryzhkov but also Gorbachev. Yet workers are resisting the effects of perestroika. The official trade unions have organized strikes against the "free market" city government of Moscow.

The Terminal Crisis of Soviet Stalinism

The all-sided crisis besetting the Soviet Union has its roots in the bureaucratic degeneration under J.V. Stalin during the 1920s. Under the nationalist slogan of



Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev plan for restoration of capitalism, as perestroika fuels economic chaos, growing inequality. Below, angry crowd surrounds empty cigarette-vendor stand in Moscow.



"socialism in one country," the Kremlin bureaucracy renounced and opposed the Leninist program of world proletarian revolution. In the 1930s Trotsky predicted that unless the Soviet working class ousted the Stalinist bureaucracy, the latter, far from building socialism, would create the conditions for capitalist counterrevolution.

The "liberal" Stalinist Gorbachev and his apologists claimed that perestroika (restructuring) meant the renewal, and modernization of socialism. From the outset we warned that these market-oriented "reforms" were designed to increase the privileges of the petty-bourgeois bureaucrats and intellectuals at the expense of the working class and would lay the basis for capitalist restoration. Now it is no longer a question of laying the basis but of posing capitalist restoration outright.

In a broadcast interview on September 10 with Pacifica Radio's KPFA news commentator James Cleve, Spartacist

League spokesman Joseph Seymour pointed out, "The program of what you call the radical 'free marketeers' like Yeltsin, who among other things praised Reagan in his autobiography for supposedly restoring the health of the American economy, will lead to the massive immiseration of the Soviet working people for the benefit of what is hoped to be a new class of capitalists and their Soviet yuppie hangers-on."

It is clear that the mass of Soviet working people are hostile to a capitalist market economy *as such*. "Free market" ideologue Gavril Popov, currently mayor of Moscow, states that the "masses long for fairness and economic equality." He worries about the rise of "left-wing populism" provoked by "the policies leading to denationalization, privatization and inequality." The most despised class of people in the Soviet Union are the petty capitalist entrepreneurs, the so-called "cooperativists." Even the *Wall Street Journal* (10 August) admits: "The reputa-

tion of the cooperatives plummeted, and today they are widely criticized as speculators out to make a fast buck at the expense of the nation."

Yet it is also incontestable that Yeltsin is very popular among Russian working people. Polls show he is now far more highly regarded than Gorbachev. How does one account for this contradiction? Yeltsin has *masked* his support for "free market" economics with demagogic attacks on the privileges of the bureaucracy and calls for increasing consumer goods by cutting back military spending and industrial investment. But now the mask has fallen as Yeltsin's slippery demagoguery has been tacked onto a program of open capitalist restoration.

Advocates for the 500-day plan claim the sale of housing, land and factories will soak up much of the excess rubles that have been pumped into the Soviet economy for years. Therefore price increases for consumer goods will be less than would otherwise be the case. This is a lie! Once enterprises are in private hands, they will charge all that the market can bear. Soviet working people will lose all possibility of controlling the cost of living. Furthermore, millions of Soviet workers will be thrown onto the street as unprofitable and unsalable enterprises close down while others radically slash their labor force. This is exactly what's already happening in Poland.

The privatization of housing is intended to bring an immediate windfall to those members of the elite who have nice apartments. But it will be disastrous for Soviet working people especially with the acute shortage of available housing in the USSR. Soviet army officers and their families, scheduled to be withdrawn from East Germany, recently demonstrated against the move to settle them in a *tent city* in the northern Caucasus! Under privatization, rents for the small number of vacant housing units will be out of sight. Young working-class families could never afford their own apartment or house. These will become the exclusive property of the new class of moneyed capitalists and the managerial elite.

The 500-day plan promises Soviet citizens a kind of "people's capitalism," stating that "property in the hands of each individual is a guarantee of the stability of society" (*Financial Times* [London], 6 September). But property is *not* going to be in the hands of each individual. Far from it. You can't have capitalists without capital. Even Russia's petty entrepreneurs with their fruit stands and TV repair shops don't have the money to buy up steel mills and coal mines. Who does? Insofar as they are Russians, Armenians, etc., the new owners will come from the ranks of the bureaucratic elite who have access to state loans and Western banks.

Many of the most profitable enterprises will be sold in whole or in part to Western multinationals. Gorbachev economic adviser Nikolai Petrakov, a principal author of the 500-day plan, wants to "create a situation in which our Western partners can bypass the system of rationing and centralized allocations, buy the raw material and equipment they need in

our internal market, and transfer their part of the profits to the West" (*Problems of Economics*, March 1990). If Gorbachev and Yeltsin have their way, the wealth produced over decades by Soviet workers will be sold off at fire-sale prices to Wall Street raiders, Frankfurt bankers and the Japanese *zaibatsu*.

The mounting economic chaos and collapse of the authority of the Gorbachev regime and central government has created a *political vacuum*. Into this vacuum have poured all kinds of right-wing forces from Russian Reaganites to tsarists to fascists and other reactionary nationalists. Anti-Semitism is on the rise, and Soviet Jews live in fear of pogroms. There is talk of a military coup to restore order. Everyone knows the Soviet Union cannot continue to exist as before.

Today, Trotskyism—the continuators of the Bolshevik Revolution—is the only political tendency with a program which can preserve the Soviet Union as a collectivized economy and multinational state. Soviet workers must sweep away the Gorbachevs, Yeltsins and Popovs, and establish a government of democratically elected workers soviets (councils) such as took power in October 1917.

Many Soviet workers now identify centralized planning and management as such with Stalinism and bureaucratic commandism. This is false. The central direction of the economy by a government of soviets is the *only way* that the working class can *democratically* determine the allocation of society's resources and ensure the fair and egalitarian distribution of wealth that is produced. At the same time, central planning can be effective in stimulating dedicated and creative effort only when the mass of workers *govern* society in order to build a socialist future for themselves and their children.

Behind the Bread Shortages

When the Gorbachev/Ryzhkov regime proposed to triple the price of bread last summer, a delegate to the Supreme Soviet from Tadzhikistan angrily declared: "Bread is socialism." The sudden disappearance of bread from Moscow's state-run "Gastronom" shops is the most striking proof of the economic collapse. Yet Soviet officials have been predicting a record harvest. What happened?

Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union does not have a large pool of impoverished, migrant farm workers. To bring in the harvest it is therefore necessary to mobilize urban workers temporarily released from their factory and office jobs. But with the dismantling of centralized management under perestroika, enterprise managers no longer release their workers for this purpose. The manager of a collective farm in the "Virgin Lands" of Kazakhstan, Zhazit Kudaiukov, exclaimed:

"During the period of stagnation [the Brezhnev era] we gathered the wheat well. The townspeople helped us, the government and the regional Communist Party people helped us, and now they don't. I don't know why. It's *perestroika*."

—*Philadelphia Inquirer*,
7 September

But this is only part of the cause of the bread shortage and not the most im-



Gamma

Striking miners in Siberia last year elected strike committees that established dual power in coal regions. Worker protests continue as signs say: "We demand social justice!" "We demand raising miners' standard of living!"

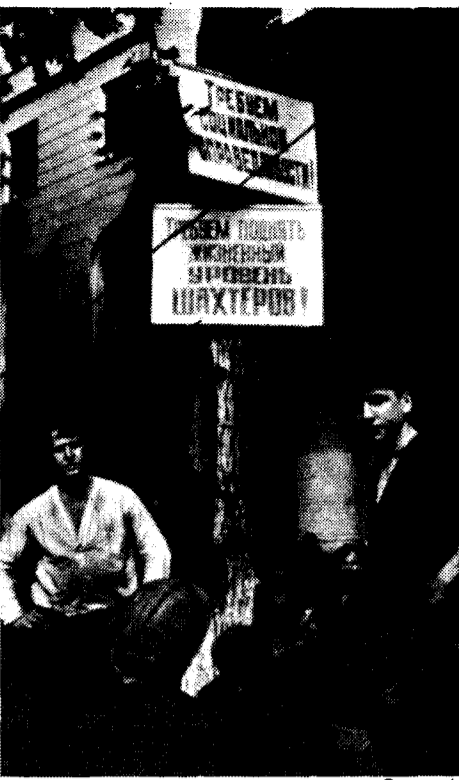
portant part. After all, the grain harvest is estimated at about the same level as last year. But the farmers are not delivering as much to the state procurement agencies. Even Gorbachev complained: "Many state and collective farms are unjustifiably curtailing sales to the state, violating contract discipline." Instead they are using the grain as fodder for livestock whose sale is much more profitable. A kilo of beef in Moscow's cen-

with the regime unwilling to pass on higher cost of grain to Soviet households, food subsidies will have to rise well beyond what was originally contemplated for 1990...."

—*PlanEcon Report*,
21 April

But now the Gorbachev/Yeltsin 500-day program calls for slashing food subsidies and allowing an explosion in the price of bread and other foodstuffs.

The bread shortage today is hauntingly



Ogonyok

what happened in 1928. On the brink of economic disaster, Stalin reacted by pushing through the collectivization of agriculture in a brutal and bureaucratic way.

During the 1920s, the main internal social force for capitalist counterrevolution was the wealthier peasants (kulaks). Today, this role falls to sections of the bureaucracy and intelligentsia, in many cases the privileged children of Stalin's apparatchiks. Thus the grain strike is but one aspect of the general sabotage of the collectivized economy by self-seeking managers and officials.

Only Proletarian Political Revolution Can Save the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union today is threatened with bloody fratricidal strife amid economic disintegration. Practically every national republic has proclaimed its independence or economic sovereignty. The government of the Ukraine—the second largest republic—wants to issue its own currency as well as raise its own army. Officials in the oil-producing regions of Siberia are demanding the lion's share of export earnings from the sale of oil. The London *Independent* (31 August) wrote of the "danger that the Soviet Union will disintegrate into a set of competing republics separated by customs barriers, by Mickey Mouse currencies and by ethnic animosities, waging trade wars against each other."

Only the Soviet working class has the social power and interest to preserve and reconstruct the Soviet Union on a socialist basis with justice and equality for all nationalities. To achieve this it is necessary to organize the working class behind a genuinely all-Soviet, internationalist communist party modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky.

Today, however, the Soviet working class is being politically exploited by contending groups within the bureaucracy and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. Out of hatred for the old-line Stalinist apparatchiks—oppressive, parasitic, corrupt—many worker activists support the advocates of Western-style "democracy" and a "regulated market economy." Other workers, who blame perestroika for everything that has gone wrong, rally behind the conservative Stalinist apparatchiks who have made common cause with reactionary Russian nationalists. At a meeting of the Russian Communist Party, an oil worker from Tyumen, Siberia exclaimed, "No matter what slogans are used, a policy resulting in falling living standards and bloodshed is against popular interests," and he called for "returning the nation to 1985," the year Gorbachev came to power.

But the Soviet Union cannot be returned to the condition of 1985, nor would this be desirable. In its last years the Brezhnev regime tried to create the

continued on page 13



Der Spiegel

Despite record grain harvest, bread has disappeared from state shops as farmers withhold wheat to force up procurement prices.

tral (private) market costs 20 rubles, 50 percent higher than a year and a half ago and equivalent to a day's pay for the average industrial worker!

Soviet farmers are withholding grain to force up the procurement price. Last spring an American newsletter specializing in the East European economies wrote:

"The withholding by Soviet farmers of large amounts of grain means that the regime is forced to import more Western grain and strain its external finances instead of utilizing what is already available within the country. To induce the farmers to sell the grain, procurement prices will have to rise sharply. However,

reminiscent of the peasants' grain strike of 1928 which marked the terminal crisis of the New Economic Policy (NEP). The ideologues of perestroika, or at least those who do not call for the outright restoration of capitalism, have held up NEP as their economic model. As early as 1923 Trotsky pointed to the fundamental contradiction and instability of NEP. Unless Soviet industry expanded fast enough to provide the peasants with cheaper and abundant manufactured goods, Trotsky predicted the peasants would cut back the supply of grain to state procurement agencies in order to extract higher prices. This is precisely

Novoye Russkoye Slovo

Ogonyok

AFP



Threat of counterrevolution: demonstrators in Leningrad, September 3, with signs saying "Enough Experiments—It's Time for Capitalism." "Free market" mayors Anatoly Sobchak of Leningrad and Gavril Popov of Moscow.

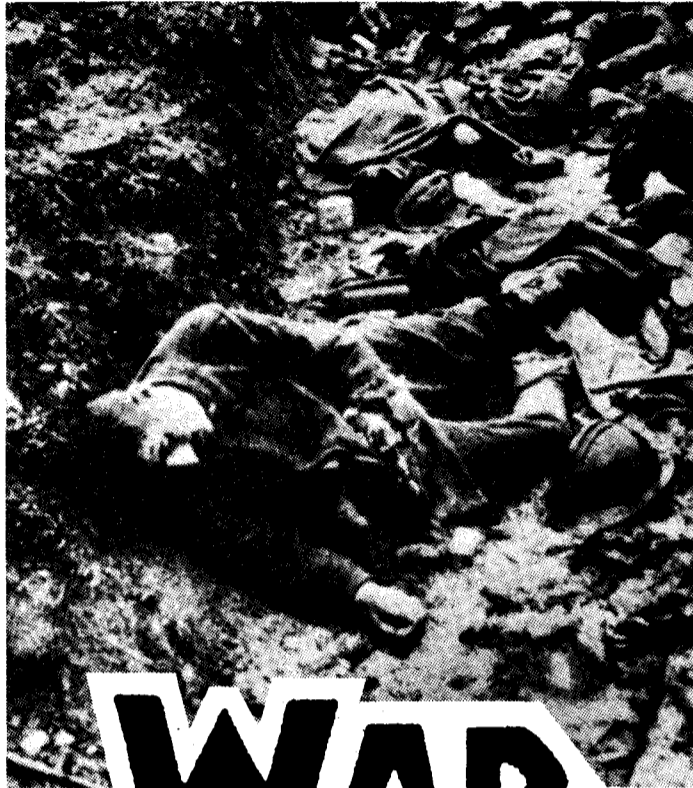
Young Spartacus

GERMANY 1918-19:



Simon and Schuster Photos

The death and devastation caused by World War I...



WAR



Diethart Kerbs, Berlin

...led to insurrections by German workers and soldiers.

AND REVOLUTION

War is the mother of revolution. World War I turned the European continent into a slaughterhouse, leading directly to the first victorious proletarian revolution in history, in Russia in 1917. A revolutionary situation also broke out in Germany but was lost because the working class lacked a resolute political leadership with the program and will to bring the working masses to power. The German workers were betrayed by the Social Democrats, who in 1914 supported the imperialist war, with a thick veneer of socialist slick talk to cover their sellout, and in 1918-19 rescued the capitalist ruling class by drowning the revolution in blood.

As our bloody-minded rulers prepare to sacrifice another generation of poor, working-class and minority youth for the

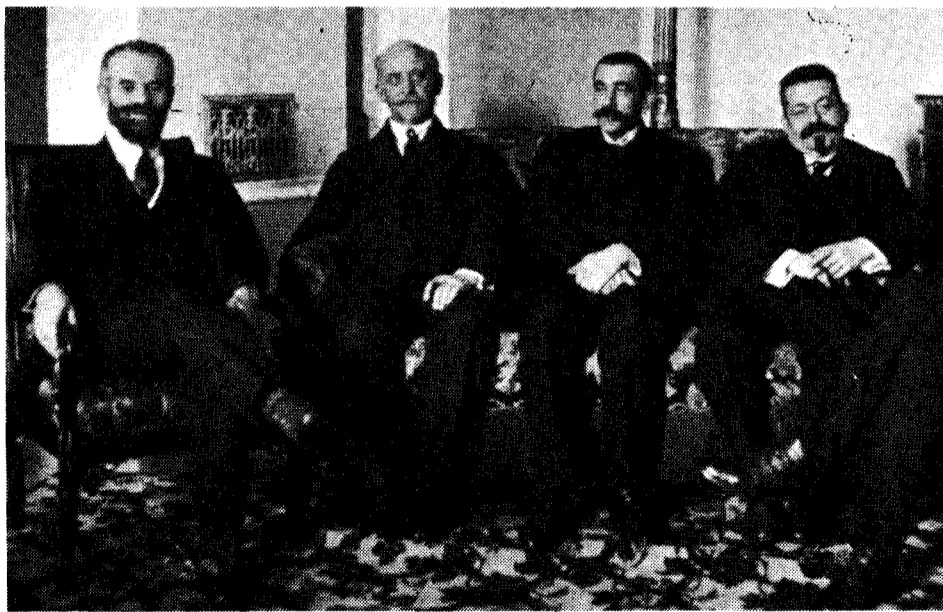
PART ONE OF TWO

spoils of profits for the ruling class in the Mideast oil fields, we must learn the lessons of history. The only way to end the bloody business of imperialist war is to end the system of capitalism which breeds it. Young Spartacus is pleased to print below an edited transcript of a recent class given by comrade T. Marlow to the New York Spartacist League branch on the struggle against imperialist war and for proletarian revolution in Germany around World War I.

The First World War marked the bloody end of a long period of very peaceful capitalist development in Europe. The massive slaughter, the destruc-

Recommended background reading for this class included: Carl E. Schorske, *German Social Democracy, 1905-1917* (Harvard University Press, 1955); Leon Trotsky, *Lessons of October*; selections from *The German*

How Social Democracy Saved the Capitalist Order



Robert Sennecke

"Somebody has to be the bloodhound": "Socialist" ministers who mowed down workers to rescue German imperialism. From left: Landsberg, Scheidemann, Noske, Ebert.

tion of property, and the misery produced in the population of the European nations marked the bankruptcy of the ruling classes of Europe. At least some overdue notes were called in by the insurgent masses following the war. In Russia this led to the overthrow of the tsar and six

Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power (Pathfinder Press, 1986); and "Germany: Revolution and Counterrevolution" in *Young Spartacus* No. 121 (October 1984) and No. 125 (March 1985).

months later to the triumph of the working class in the 1917 October Revolution. In Germany, almost exactly a year later, the monarchy was sent packing, but there was not a proletarian revolution. In fact the uprisings of the German workers in 1918-1919 were crushed in blood. To understand why the German revolutionaries were unable to succeed in the manner that Lenin and Trotsky did, you have to examine the crucial differences between the revolutionary communist organizations in the two countries at the decisive

moment when the seizure of power was posed.

In Russia the Bolsheviks had forged a hard cadre. It was tested in the battles of the 1905 Revolution and also in the years of reaction which followed. The Bolsheviks had extensive ties to the working class. In 1914 there were massive strikes in Russia. The Bolsheviks could not only sense the temper of the masses but had the organization to bring the masses out in action. And, very importantly, they had a leadership that consciously prepared the insurrectionary seizure of power. In particular they had Lenin, who was capable and drove through the fights with the leadership when even the Central Committee vacillated on the seizure of power.

In contrast, the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) was only founded over New Year's 1919—just two weeks before its principal cadres were murdered. At the time the KPD had maybe a thousand members in Berlin, maybe a few thousand throughout Germany, and was very loosely organized. They had no real roots in the working class, and what they had tended to be rather ultraleftist, sliding over to anarcho-syndicalism. So when the hour for revolution struck, the infant KPD was just beginning to tackle the problems of penetrating and gaining political ascendancy within the German working class, which was still overwhelmingly loyal to the Social Democracy (SPD) despite the latter's betrayal throughout the course of the war.

Unlike Russia, in Germany the proletariat formed a large segment of the population by 1914. Following the unification of Germany in 1871, there was an extended period of capitalist development. This didn't occur as a result of an "enlightened" bourgeois revolution. In 1848 the German bourgeoisie looked

over its shoulder, saw the proletariat, got very scared, and made a deal with the feudal classes. Essentially the bourgeoisie ceded its political power to the Prussian Junkerdom (landowning aristocracy). The Prussian king became the German emperor and the bourgeoisie was contented with the consolidation of a nation-state, which eliminated some of the idiocies and customs difficulties which resulted from having 40 little principalities. They also got a parliamentary appendix called the Reichstag. Wilhelm Liebknecht dubbed it a "fig leaf for absolutism."

It wasn't just the bourgeoisie that was satisfied. The SPD hungered for a parliamentary role. During the Bismarck period the party had been illegal under the Anti-Socialist Laws. Following this, the SPD became legal and entered an explosive period of growth. The unions also grew in strength, even more dramatically than the party itself, and had a great power base vis-à-vis the party. The burgeoning trade-union membership of the SPD and a steady increase in their electoral support (in 1912 the SPD got four and a quarter million votes) fostered a conservative attitude which was at the root of the poison which killed the party.

One clear sign came pretty early on—in 1893 just prior to the Köln Congress the leaders of the trade unions in their so-called "general commission" met, and Carl Legien defended a position that the unions should be politically neutral. What that really meant was they wanted to be independent of the party. Around 1900 this was codified in the so-called "two pillars" theory, where the trade unions would be responsible for the economic struggle and the party would be responsible for the political struggle. As the unions grew they collected a large dues base; there was a structure there to defend and they became more and more tied to the existing social order. The bureaucrats saw every strike (and there were many in this period) as a real threat to the organizations which were their livelihood. They accommodated themselves more and more to the existing order rather than wishing to overthrow it.

At bottom this controversy was over whether to pursue a revolutionary or a reformist course, and it came out into the open politically as well. The trade unions and their conservative leadership provided a basis for the explicitly reformist group led by Eduard Bernstein & Co. They took it to its logical conclusion. Bernstein essentially said, "Well, Marx was wrong. Capitalism seems to be developing in a fairly linear fashion, living standards are going up and you should give up on this whole idea of revolution. What immiseration of the proletariat? Our duty is to seek reforms within the existing state apparatus."

Within the bounds of traditional SPD faith, as represented in the Erfurt Program, Karl Kautsky and the SPD leadership came out and fought against the revisionists—at least on paper. It hadn't really come to an issue of decisive consequence, it was basically more of a theoretical fight. The revisionists were in fact programmatically defeated at the Dresden congress in 1903. But that was in words only. It didn't lead to a split because "unity, unity, unity" was more highly prized than programmatic clarity. Bernstein and all his cohorts were still happily within the fold of the SPD—the "party of the whole class." But it was a watershed because it was the last time that Rosa Luxemburg and the left wing would be able to get any support from the leadership bureaucracy of the party. From then on the left wing is attacked.

What really pushed the issue was the 1905 Revolution in Russia. All of a sudden the question of reform vs. revolution became very, very real. The left wing was inspired. They thought, "OK, the Russians have done it. It's time for us to get in motion." The party's previous goal of socialist revolution, which they'd meant only way in the future, was suddenly looming very, very close and this polarized the situation rapidly. The



Rosa Luxemburg addressing socialist congress in 1907. After SPD voted for war credits in 1914, Luxemburg declared Social Democracy a "stinking corpse" and founded the communist Spartacus Group.

party executive went over to the right wing and became more antagonistic to the left. The party bureaucrats were basically very comfortable with a parliamentary oppositional role in the Reichstag. None of them wanted to upset the apple cart.

There are some interesting debates which outline the future collapse of the SPD. In 1907, August Bebel (who was one of the old leaders of the party) attacked the abuses of militarism but on the basis that corporal punishment impinged on the fighting quality of the German army and what was needed was real war training for the youth! This particular parliamentary debate was also important because one Gustav Noske (who we'll hear about later) made his freshman debut, stating that the SPD's stand on militarism was "conditioned by our acceptance of the principle of nationality." The SPD wished Germany to be "as well armed as possible," and "the whole people have an interest in the military establishment which is necessary to the defense of our fatherland."

The German party was the biggest party of the Second International, and was regarded as the "jewel in the crown." These were the people who learned their Marxism from Marx and Engels, and they had a multimillion-based party with a huge organization. But they ended up in the right wing of the Second International. To give you a flavor of it, at the 1907 congress in Stuttgart the German delegation proposed a motion in the colonial commission, which read in part: "The Congress does not in principle and for all time reject all colonial policy, which, under a socialist regime, may have a civilising effect." Now this one got voted down, but the party had become very different than what Marx and Engels had envisaged. The party had taken the parliamentary road to accommodation with the bourgeoisie.

Social-Chauvinism vs. Revolutionary Internationalism

Now we come to the war. The war was a test of all political tendencies, including the nominal left. Luxemburg in the Junius Pamphlet, which was written while she was in prison, cited the heroic, class-conscious response of the SPD's forebears at the start of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870. Then, both Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht refused to vote war credits. They said:

"As opponents, on principle, of every dynastic war, as socialist republicans and members of the International Workingmen's Association which, without regard to nationality, has fought all oppressors, has tried to unite all the oppressed into a great band of brothers, we cannot directly or indirectly lend support to the present war."

But when push came to shove in 1914, the SPD's Reichstag delegation said: "In this hour of danger we will not desert our fatherland."

The party which encompassed the vast majority of the German proletariat committed a massive class betrayal. Lenin summed up the whole development very sharply in his book *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. He put it succinctly in an article, "The Collapse of the Second International":

"Legal mass organisations of the working class are perhaps the most important feature of the socialist parties in the epoch of the Second International. They were the strongest in the German Party, and it was here that the war of 1914-15 created a most acute crisis and made the issue a most pressing one. The initiation of revolutionary activities would obviously have led to the dissolution of these legal organisations by the police, and the old party—from Legien to Kautsky inclu-

There were some very conscious right-wing elements in the SPD, like one Friedrich Ebert, who was named chairman of the party when Bebel died in 1913. When the threat of war really came to a head at the end of July 1914, Ebert remarked privately that "War and the powerful revitalization of the labor movement in Russia will surely fill the Rosa [Luxemburg] group with new plans." There were actually 14 people in the SPD's Reichstag delegation who opposed voting for war credits, but they bowed to party unity. The Reichstag delegation always voted en bloc, so even Liebknecht ended up voting for it. But here's an example of what it was like for another SPDer named Konrad Hänisch to give in now that war had broken out:

"The conflict of two souls in one breast was probably easy for none of us.... [On the one hand] this driving, burning desire to throw oneself into the powerful current of the general national tide, and, on the other, the terrible spiritual fear of following that desire fully, of surrendering oneself to the mood which roared about one and which, if one looked deep into one's heart, had long since taken possession of the soul. This fear: will you not also betray yourself and your cause?... [Thus it was] until suddenly—I shall never forget the day and hour—the terrible tension was resolved; until one dared to be what one was; until—despite all principles and wooden theories—one could, for the first time in almost a quarter century, join with a full heart, a clear conscience and without a sense of treason in the sweeping, stormy song: 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles'."

—Carl E. Schorske, *German Social Democracy, 1905-1917* (1955)

And Hänisch was a leftist, once!

What was the response to the SPD's endorsement of imperialist war? Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin actually almost had a nervous collapse and some reports indicate that they were close to suicide at one point. Lenin, who saw the issue of

Der Hauptfeind steht im eigenen Land!

Karl Liebknecht, in uniform, on way to the Reichstag to denounce imperialist war. His call, "The Main Enemy is At Home," echoed across the frontiers.



sively—sacrificed the revolutionary aims of the proletariat for the sake of preserving the present legal organisations.... The proletariat's right to revolution was sold for a mess of pottage—organisations permitted by the present police law."

The collapse of the International with the vote for war credits on 4 August 1914 did come as a shock even to Lenin and a large number of people. You can see the accumulation of rot within the SPD in what I've described. But literally up until the week before war broke out, the International and its various parties were making strong statements against the war. There were also resolutions of the International like the 1912 Basel Manifesto which called upon socialists to utilize the "economic and political crisis" created by the war to "hasten the downfall of capitalism." Well, only one group did it, and that was Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

Vorwärts (the SPD's newspaper), initially thought it was a forgery by the German general staff. Unfortunately, it wasn't. He soon realized that the collapse of the Socialist International was very real. And in contradiction to Luxemburg who had collapsed, and Liebknecht who had gone along with SPD party discipline, Lenin outlined a program: the Second International was dead, turn the imperialist war into civil war, and fight for a Third International. That was within a couple of months, and he was in exile in Switzerland.

War: The Mother of Revolution

The war brought untold misery. The ruling classes thought this was going to be a "quickie." They all assumed that people would be home for Christmas. They were wrong. They should have

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Sinéad O'Connor Defies Flag-Waving Censorship

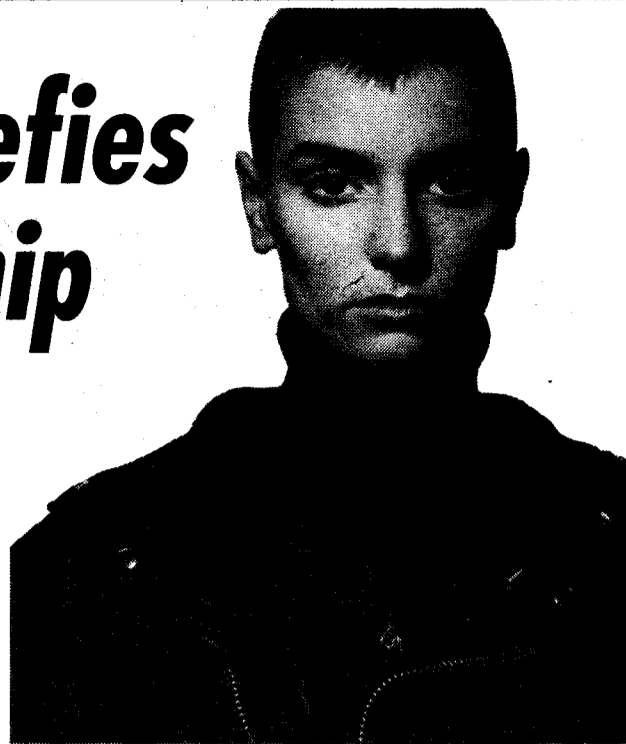
Never mind that hardly anyone under 30 knows the words; never mind that anyone who tries to sing it sounds like Roseanne Barr screeching at the Padres game—in today's America, ritual worship of the *Star-Spangled Banner* is the new equivalent of the loyalty oath in the McCarthyite 1950s. Amid the war hysteria occasioned by the U.S.' military adventure in the Persian Gulf, popular Irish singer Sinéad O'Connor's refusal to allow the playing of the U.S. anthem before a concert in New Jersey set off a media firestorm of "love it or leave it" jingoism.

After O'Connor's August 24 performance to a near-capacity crowd at the Garden State Arts Center, the state highway authority, which runs the facility,

announced that she would henceforth be banned from the site. Thereupon several area "top 40" radio stations, which had been playing her hit ballad *Nothing Compares 2 U* to death, outrageously cut O'Connor from their play lists, and the tabloid press predictably basked in the "rockets" red glare." Enough of this patriotic thought-control. We hail Sinéad O'Connor's stand against flag-waving censorship!

The 23-year-old singer objects to all national anthems, including the Irish, on the grounds that they "have nothing to do with music." At the music video awards this month, O'Connor deplored patriotic and racist censorship, a reference to the Florida ban on the 2 Live Crew rap group. The orgy of patriotic ranting

Sinéad O'Connor. Courageous singer faces barrage of jingoist harassment.



Andrew Macpherson

against her defiant gesture spotlights the attempts of the U.S. ruling class to enforce conformity and racist nationalism on the population, the better to ensure subservient cannon fodder for its war for oil profits in the Middle East.

But when the giant C-5As flying back from the Persian Gulf to Dover AFB start offloading their cargos of coffins, the strains of the *Star-Spangled Banner* coming from the flagwavers will ring pretty hollow. ■

Columbia Rally: "Break the Blockade of Iraq!"

Chanting "George Bush, imperialist beast! U.S. out of the Middle East!" and "Break the blockade of Iraq!" several dozen people gathered at the sundial at Columbia University on Monday, September 10 for a soapbox rally led by the Spartacus Youth Club (SYC). Somebody had put up flyers on campus announcing that General Colin Powell would be speaking to the College Republicans that evening. The Progressive Union of Columbia Students called for a protest against him and invited the SYC to participate. But while Powell's visit turned out to be a hoax, enthusiastic support from both students and faculty encouraged the SYC to go ahead with a protest. The rally was splashed across the front page of the *Columbia Spectator* the next day.

At the rally, a speaker for the Spartacus Youth Club said: "To secure 'freedom' for the profit-gouging oil companies, the warmongers in Washington are ready to spill a lot of blood. Not their own blood, of course—a lot of Iraqi blood. The rulers of this country are willing to fight...especially to the last drop of blood of black and Latino youth, who are shafted at home and make up the bulk of the armed forces abroad. So welcome to the 'post-Cold War' world. From the perspective of our imperialist rulers, the supposed end of the Cold War is their opportunity for hot war."

The SYC speaker noted that the U.S. is emboldened by the seemingly limitless attempts by the Soviet Union to appease them—pulling out of Afghanistan, getting the Cubans out of Angola, and acquiescing to a Fourth Reich in Germany. With over 170,000 U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf area, just a few hundred miles from the Soviet border, she said, "Defense of that workers state is at stake. A genuine communist leadership in the Soviet Union would give Baghdad whatever weapons they need to defend themselves against the U.S. military threat."

A speaker from the Progressive Union



Soapbox rally at Columbia University, September 10.

Young Spartacus

of Columbia Students denounced the mythical consensus of support for U.S. war in the Middle East: "To have some perestroika in this country, to break the media blockade, this kind of protest has got to happen, Colin Powell or no. A lot of people have talked about this as the first war since the end of the Cold War. We don't even have clichés now, it's just gas. Who is going to die for gas? Is that what's going to be written on the tombstones, 'These people died for cheap gas'?"

Two days later, at a meeting to plan further actions on campus against the U.S. invasion, a sharp debate broke out over the decisive question of taking a stand for the defeat of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. The Spartacus Youth Club argued for a united-front protest to be called around the demands: "U.S. oil pirates—Out of the Persian Gulf!" and "Break the blockade of Iraq!" Various reformists, including the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Solidarity,

opposed these demands arguing that they would "alienate" people, that what was needed was a "broad-based coalition" and to send postcards to Congressmen! But their abject appeals to the warmongers alienated the few independent students at the meeting.

A spokesman for the Arab Student Club asked incredulously how anybody could be genuinely opposed to the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf if they weren't for breaking the blockade of Iraq, since that's what the troops are there for. Another Arab student held up the current *Workers Vanguard* bearing the headline "Break Blockade of Iraq!" The Spartacists forced the issue to a vote and won. (The weaselly representative from the ISO changed her position on "breaking the blockade" after the Arab student spoke.) But desperate not to commit themselves to action in opposition to the U.S. ruling class, the reformists limited the call to a planning meeting to talk (again) about (possible) protests. The reformists want to lead antiwar

sentiment into the lap of the Democratic Party—even when there's no Democratic opposition to hitch their wagons to. There is bipartisan consensus for a power grab by U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. Jesse Jackson was calling for troops to be sent in even before Bush deployed them! To fight the warmongers in Washington, what's needed is to mobilize the working class and minorities at home against the capitalist ruling class, which plans to sacrifice them for the "freedom" of Exxon and Texaco to extract profits, for the "freedom" of the oil-rich monarchies that enslave women, for the "freedom" of U.S. imperialism to strut around as the cops of Bush's "new world order."

As the Spartacus Youth speaker stated at the soapbox rally: "We need to organize and struggle on an internationalist, class-struggle basis. Today, we and the toilers of the Middle East have a common enemy—and it is not each other. Our enemies are the warmongers in Washington, the reactionary sheiks and colonels, the Zionist butchers of the Palestinian people. The only way out of a system that spawns poverty, racism and war is through internationalist socialist revolution. And that is a cause worth fighting for. Join us!" ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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Thurs.: 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
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Desperately Seeking Imperialist Doves

Though Iraqi and U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf have yet to exchange gunfire, there is already a strong current of opposition in this country to a war for Big Oil. In black, Hispanic and Arab communities, sentiment against Bush's war moves is widespread. And among the GIs roasting in the Arabian sands, the bourgeois press complains that demoralization is running high and bound to grow. A wave of demonstrations and teach-ins against the American invasion has already started sweeping the country. Some 2,000 turned out for a protest meeting at New York's Cooper Union on September 13. Two days later, even more packed into a teach-in at Berkeley.

Yet the featured speakers at these events were Vietnam-era Democratic "doves"—Ramsey Clark in New York and Daniel Ellsberg in the Bay Area—who agree with Bush's aims but differ with his means. They condemn Hussein's takeover of Kuwait and support worldwide economic sanctions to force an Iraqi withdrawal. The principal organizers of these teach-ins—such as Sam Marcy's Workers World Party in New York and Socialist Action in California—are self-styled leftists who claim in principle to oppose American imperialism and the world capitalist system. Yet they have tailored their line so as to collaborate with imperialist "doves." Thus they oppose the demand to break the blockade of Iraq, in order to avoid defending Iraq in a war with the U.S.

The line of these fake-left groups is reformist, an attempt to pressure the American capitalist state—which props up every bloody, reactionary regime on the planet—to establish a peaceful and just new world order. Thus the grotesque slogan "Blockade Racist South Africa, Not Iraq!" put forward by the People's Anti-War Mobilization, a Marcyite front group. As if this government, which wages war on the black and Hispanic poor at home, could be induced to emancipate the blacks of South Africa. The United States would blockade South Africa only when the black toilers rise up and overthrow the gold magnates like the Anglo American Corporation.

From the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the carpetbombing of Vietnam and the CIA's "Operation Phoenix" mass assassination program, to the bombing of Panamanian barrios, U.S. global policy is synonymous with mass murder. For decades only fear of war with the Soviet Union restrained to some extent the bloody course of American imperialism, which would otherwise have certainly used nuclear weapons in both the Korean and Vietnam wars, not to mention retaking Cuba. But with the capitulation and internal collapse of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the U.S. has invaded the Persian Gulf, mobilizing its arsenal of mega-death against Iraq.

Whether or not this leads to a full-scale war with Iraq, one thing is certain: as long as the American capitalist class and its state exist, they will continue to kill, starve, oppress and exploit the workers and peasants of the world. This blood-drenched and war-driven system must be destroyed through the revolutionary struggle of the American working

class supported by the black and Hispanic poor.

The UN Fig Leaf Brigade

There are some who claim to be opposed to U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf and counterpose the "peaceful" alternative of pursuing the United Nations sanctions against Iraq. For example, a statement by the Communist Party

tal war against the Korean people 40 years ago. In the Persian Gulf today, the UN olive branch is even less of a fig leaf.

Various centrists, claiming to stand in defense of Iraq against the U.S., have also taken up the cause of "poor little Kuwait." Thus the Fourth Internationalist Tendency writes in *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (September 1990) that "Saddam

Iraqi people but for millions of Indians, Pakistanis, Bengalis and Sri Lankans.

But does anybody really believe that Washington is sending 200,000 troops to the Gulf to bring "democracy" to Baghdad—not even Bush claims that. The starting point for Marxist opposition to the U.S. invasion is that the workers have a side in this conflict—with Iraq against U.S. imperialism. In his 1915 pamphlet "Socialism and War," Lenin argued against pseudo-socialists like the modern-day CP that:

"If tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' and 'defensive' wars, irrespective of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slaveholding and predatory 'Great' Powers."

When Lenin wrote this, Morocco was ruled by the sultan Mulai Yusuf, Persia by the military dictator Ephraim Khan and China by the warlord Yuan Shih-kai—rulers just as bloody and reactionary as Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

That the Iraqi strongman is a butcher of his own people does not determine a working-class attitude toward the con-



Reform vs. Revolution: Reformist left seeks bloc with Democratic "doves" to cut losses for U.S. imperialism. Spartacists call for defeat of American bourgeoisie, oppose imperialist blockade.



National Committee proclaims: "Cooperation with those U.N. measures, not unilateral military intervention, is the way the United States can assist in peacefully resolving this crisis" (*People's Daily World*, 18 August). Radical columnist Alexander Cockburn likewise supports the "entirely proper effort to establish U.N. sanctions against Saddam Hussein's grab of Kuwait" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 31 August).

Cockburn and the CP want economic sanctions against Iraq, but nothing "messy" like troops and warships. But to enforce sanctions, you need a blockade, and a blockade is an act of war backed up by the prospect of a shooting war, whether it's carried out under the Stars and Stripes or under the blue flag of the United Nations. Cockburn and the CP know full well that it was under the UN flag that Washington carried out its bru-

Hussein's invasion and annexation of Kuwait is unjustifiable" and demands that Iraq "restore Kuwaiti sovereignty"—i.e., the "sovereignty" of the very sovereign Emir al-Sabah!

From the standpoint of the working class it matters not one whit whether Kuwait—that oil well turned into a state by British colonialism—is controlled by Saddam Hussein or the filthy rich Kuwaiti or Saudi monarchs. This statelet was created when the defunct Ottoman Empire was divided between the British and French after World War II. The entire working class in Kuwait consists of South Asians and Palestinian and Yemenite Arabs whose remittances keep their impoverished families alive. Thus the imperialist blockade and economic sanctions—supported by many self-styled champions of the proletariat and socialism—mean starvation not only for the

frontation between Iraq and the imperialist powers. Trotsky addressed this question directly in the 1930s when he explained why Marxists would support Brazil under a semi-fascist regime should it go to war against "democratic" England:

"Because in the conflict between them it will not be a question of democracy or fascism. If England should be victorious, she will put another fascist in Rio de Janeiro and will place double chains on Brazil. If Brazil on the contrary should be victorious, it will give a mighty impulse to national and democratic consciousness of the country and will lead to the overthrow of the Vargas dictatorship. The defeat of England will at the same time deliver a blow to British imperialism and will give an impulse to the revolutionary movement of the British proletariat."

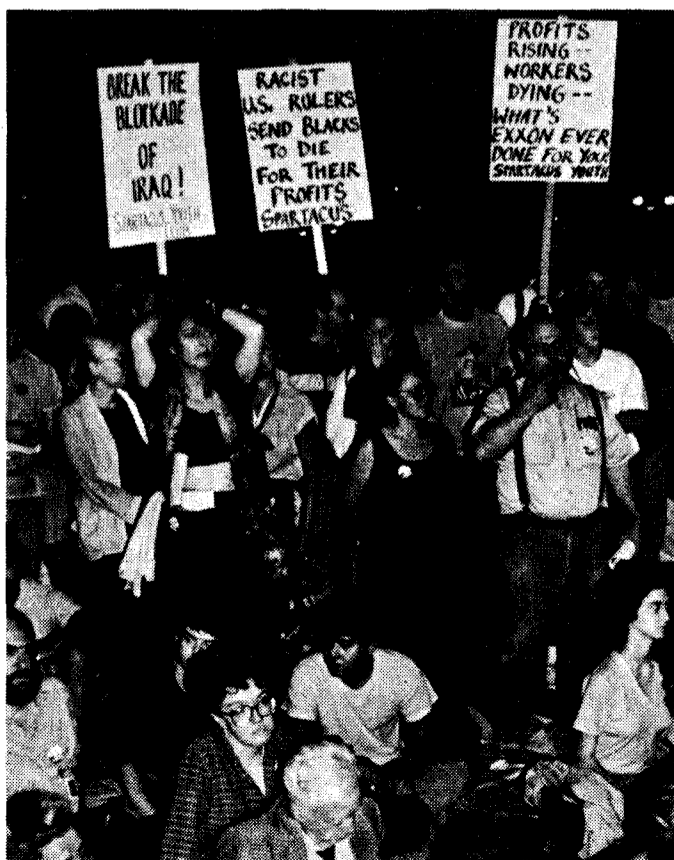
—"Anti-Imperialist Struggle Is Key to Liberation" (September 1938)

Washington is intent on re-establishing its position as unchallenged cop of the world by securing a military stranglehold over Near East oil reserves. Those, like the CP & Co., who concentrate their efforts on denouncing Saddam Hussein, are lending backhanded support to the imperialist invasion. Lenin had a term for people like this: social-imperialists—socialist in words, pro-imperialist in deeds.

From Protest to Power

Many left groups, like Workers World and Socialist Action, try to avoid the question of Iraq altogether. These two outfits are trying to be the best builders of a new antiwar movement centered around slogans like "Bring the troops home now! No Vietnam War in the Middle East!" Well, what's wrong with that? Aren't we for U.S. troops out of the Middle East?

The question is how to get them out. What they're trying to do is convince a wing of the Democratic Party that American military intervention in the Gulf is a losing proposition from the standpoint of imperialist interests, to put together a popular front which ties the working



Overflow crowd at Cooper Union rally, New York City, September 13. Spartacists raise signs calling for revolutionary class struggle against U.S. invasion.

Blood, Sand and Oil...

(continued from page 1)

Palestinian and South Asian refugees driven out of Kuwait by the imperialist blockade are now sleeping and starving in the sand without a whit of assistance from either the U.S. or the Saudis.

Arabs in the U.S. and abroad have rightly denounced the hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism, which for years has "tolerated" Israel's murderous assault on the Palestinian people and its military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The Palestinian masses have been victimized by every king, dictator and Zionist butcher in the region. Iraq's Hussein today poses as a friend of the Palestinians, but he will turn on them if Washington or Jerusalem makes it worth his while (just like his namesake and current ally, King Hussein of Jordan, did in the infamous 1970 "Black September" massacre). His own treatment of the Kurdish minority, massacred and devastated by poison gas, is no less brutal than the Zionist militarists' "iron fist" in the Occupied Territories. Denied an independent state and divided among five countries, the Kurds have been ravaged by Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey, as well as used by the Israelis and Americans who then unceremoniously dumped them.

In fact, the whole region was cynically carved up by the imperialists for their own control and profit. Kuwait is about as artificial a statelet as one could imagine. The vast majority of its inhabitants were denied citizenship (and even the parliament elected by the "citizens" was dismissed by the autocratic, high-living al-Sabah family). To get an idea of the historic injustice caused by the artificial boundaries engineered by Britain in and after World War I, consider the following: suppose the oil region of Venezuela was separated off, granting 50,000 residents of Maracaibo "citizenship" in an oil-rich city-state, and the rest of the country was left to starve! No wonder there is massive, deep bitterness of the Arab masses against the colonial masters and imperialist overlords who have condemned them to poverty.

Already the "great powers" are jockeying for an advantageous position behind the façade of "unity" against Iraq. While Bush, his British junior partner Thatcher and now French president Mitterrand seem to be gearing up for a bloodbath in the sands of Arabia, the newly reunified German Reich and Japan Inc. are standing on the sidelines. Bonn and Tokyo now find it convenient to hide behind their U.S.-imposed constitutions, which prohibit military action abroad. (We note, however, that the Bundeswehr has sent troops to join UN "peacekeeping" forces in Namibia, once known as Deutsch-



Der Spiegel
El Chorrillo, Panama City, December 1989. Washington warmongers have no compunction about mass murder, destroying poor neighborhood, killing thousands.

Südwestafrika, and the Japanese have no qualms about breaking the constitutional limits on the size of their "self-defense" forces.)

The current imperialist madness derives from the fact that the United States is running third in the world market behind Germany and Japan, and yet the Americans possess an enormous military apparatus. They're trying to resolve this contradiction by demanding forced welfare payments from their defeated former World War II enemies who have since become economic victors. This has produced an orgy of Japan- and Germany-bashing in Congress. Kentucky Democrat Hubbard fumed that "the Japanese have been acting totally the way they usually do: if there's no profit in it for Japan, forget it." Some stupidly "threatened" to pull U.S. troops out of Japan (Senator Nunn retorted that the Japanese might just say "adios, amigo"). And German chancellor Kohl is cleverly taking the opportunity to amend the constitution so that the Bundeswehr may once again fight for a "New Order."

Secretary of State Baker has been shuttling around the world literally with tin cup in hand, asking for donations for the war effort. The emir of Kuwait offered \$5 billion to get his throne back, the Saudi monarchy kicked in heavily as well, and threw in another \$20 billion to American munitions manufacturers for the biggest arms deal in history (which has the Israelis shaking). The "superpower beggar" might even dig up enough petrodollars for its oil war to "produce a profit for the Treasury" this year (*New York Times*, 8 September). But mounting budget deficits and oil-price shock waves plus a junk bond-bloated financial system are plunging the U.S. economy into deep recession. Their way out of the unfolding

capitalist economic crisis is war. And don't forget that Washington drove Japan to war last time by imposing an oil and steel embargo on it.

Turn Imperialist War Into Class War

The Pentagon is now talking about October 15 as D-Day for when they'll have everything in place for "offensive action." They've been preparing "war

one former naval pilot who flew over North Vietnam commented, "surgical strikes exist only in think-tanks and mental institutions." (Now the Israelis and Dugan are advising that Washington target not only Hussein's wife and children, but also his mistress.)

While Dugan was dumped, the media have been lionizing the U.S. commander in the Gulf, General "Stormin' Norman" Schwarzkopf. It turns out that Norm's dad was U.S. "adviser" to the Iranian shah's police during the CIA-engineered 1953 coup which overthrew and assassinated Prime Minister Mossadegh when he nationalized the oil fields. Jimmy Breslin reports (*Newsday*, 2 September) that the senior Schwarzkopf's prime trainee "had spent the war in British jail as a Nazi sympathizer." Like father, like son.

Another piece of craziness is the Pentagon claim that they're going to win this one strictly with night-fighting to avoid the daytime heat. "All of our fighting equipment can operate at night," bragged Major General Barry McCaffrey, commander of the 24th Mechanized Infantry Division. Well, so much for the surprise factor! Do they intend to wear their infrared goggles underneath or over their gas masks? In addition to everything melting down in the desert heat, by the time they get to fighting all that sophisticated optical equipment is going to be sandblasted. The fact is that a war won't be won by sea blockades, air raids or high-tech stunts but with soldiers dying on the ground. And Saddam Hussein was



Bossu/Sygma
Soviet tanks withdrawing from East Germany. Gorbachev's "new thinking" gives imperialists free hand to carve up the world.

crimes" charges against Hussein, presumably to justify killing him, like they tried and failed to do with Qaddafi when the U.S. bombed Libya in 1986, and Panama's Noriega last December. Air Force chief Michael Dugan told the press that the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided that the key would be a massive bombing campaign, and "the cutting edge would be in downtown Baghdad." This is a serious proposal to kill tens of thousands in the space of a few hours—a real war crime. It recalls then-Air Force chief General Curtis LeMay's threat to bomb Vietnam "back to the Stone Age." And the Americans have no compunctions about bombing crowded urban areas—just look what they did to poor barrios in Panama.

But Dugan opened his mouth a bit too wide, and was peremptorily sacked by his superiors. And the U.S. military juggernaut is far from ready to roll. "With all their impressive infrared optics, digital computers and laser range finders, they are not invulnerable to desert heat or human error," moans the *New York Times Magazine* (16 September). The much ballyhooed F-117 "stealth" fighter's "pinpoint" accuracy was off by more than the length of one and a half football fields in Panama. (In the 1986 bombing of Tripoli, only two of the nine EF-111 bombers so much as dropped their bombs, and they weren't on target.) As

right when he told the U.S. ambassador, "Yours is a society that cannot accept 10,000 dead in one battle."

A lot of those who don't accept that are now sitting in the Arabian desert. As the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, toured the troop emplacements in Saudi Arabia this week, he was met everywhere with the same question, "When can we go home?" When the general asked an Air Force sergeant how he felt, the soldier replied, "I would be better if I was home." Another asked, "Are you going to get me out of here, sir?" This kind of questioning of their commander normally would get GIs sent to the brig for insubordination, and usually comes after an army has been through punishing battle. These troops don't have much stomach for a drawn-out bloody war.

Once the body bags start coming in, you can be sure the army, along with U.S. society, will explode in massive opposition to this crazy adventure. And no doubt many GIs will find friendly people at left-wing coffeehouses ready to hand them antiwar leaflets, as they did during the Vietnam War; only Bush's draft-dodging friends believe the Hitlerite lie that returning vets were spat upon by the New Left. In the 1960s, as the Vietnam War tore the U.S. apart, New Leftists raised the slogan "Bring the War

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Home," an attempt to link the revolutionary struggle of the heroic Vietnamese against imperialism with the class war at home. But the New Left never seriously tried to mobilize the one social force which could force an end to the war, the working class.

At an antiwar march in October 1967, the Spartacist League issued a leaflet, titled "From Protest to Power," pointing to the road of class struggle:

"It is necessary for the antiwar movement to achieve the maximum social power it can muster in protests. To this end, the Spartacist League advocates concretely building for a one-day general strike in factories, offices, ghetto neighborhoods and schools as the next national mobilization."

By the end of the war, protest strike action was becoming a very real possibility, despite and in the face of the Cold War anti-Communist leaders of the AFL-CIO. Today this is a very real possibility from the outset. More than one generation vividly remembers the Vietnam debacle. Even the *New York Times* (8 September) nervously noticed that opposition to the present military build-up is "along class lines," concentrated among blacks and workers.

Blacks know this coming war offers nothing but more misery and death for them, already ground down by a decade of social service cutbacks, anti-union attacks, rising unemployment and racist terror. Blacks are noticeably less enthusiastic in every poll about dying for Bush's corporate pals and yuppie underlings, who will no doubt arrange to avoid serving when the draft is inevitably revived in a major war. "The majority of the troops over there who will fight on the front lines are blacks, and it's a white man's war," one black veteran told the *Washington Post* (11 September). No wonder the U.S. media have suddenly forgotten about Grenada and Panama, where American forces trampled over dark-skinned peoples in truly naked aggression.

Black or white, American working people have no interest in this oil war, and in fact have a vital interest in defending Iraq against the ravages of imperialist attack. Here's a chance at last to strike back at that venal corporate cabal running the White House and Congress, who cheer for war and a lower capital gains tax while sucking the blood of the working class through S&L rip-offs and brutal exploitation, with drastic wage cuts and "two-tier" wages which have sent real pay falling for the last decade and a half. A defeat for Washington in the Middle East would significantly weaken imperialism and set the stage for a worldwide proletarian offensive. U.S. get your bloody hands off the Persian Gulf! Break the blockade of Iraq! ■

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 7)

illusion of rising living standards by increasing money wages faster than output while freezing prices in state shops. Some of the excess rubles spilled into the growing underground, private markets. Most of it went into savings accounts or was stuffed into mattresses. In 1985, it was estimated that Soviet households had unspendable rubles equal to 80 percent of their annual income. Thus the present condition of suppressed hyperinflation, made worse by perestroika, is rooted in the sclerotic Stalinism of the Brezhnev regime.

The fundamental cause of the political and economic disintegration of the Soviet Union is the powerful and unrelenting pressure of world imperialism. To match the U.S. military buildup under Carter and then Reagan without cutting living standards, the Brezhnev regime reduced investment in new plant and equipment. As a result, labor productivity steadily declined in the country's ever more aged and technically obsolete factories. In an important sense Gorbachev's perestroika

The Left and the Gulf...

(continued from page 11)

class and antiwar activists to a section of the imperialist ruling class. They've got a problem there. The Democratic Party has rallied solidly 'round Bush's war except for a few completely unimportant mavericks like Ramsey Clark, a former member of Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam War cabinet.

If, however, some big-shot Democratic politicians did get garnered into a "No Vietnam War in the Middle East" campaign, this would not advance but instead *set back* the struggle against imperialist war. Rather than appealing to one or another section of the American government to "see the light" and bring the troops home, we counterpose *class struggle* here and in the Middle East to *drive the U.S. out*. But how can you call for labor protest strikes against the war when your "antiwar partners" are strikebreaking politicians?

So these "socialists" make it absolutely clear to their hoped-for Democratic bloc partners that they present no challenge to the capitalist system. During the Vietnam War, the supposedly Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party literally policed antiwar protests on behalf of the bourgeoisie, censoring and even physically attacking radical opponents of U.S. imperialism. Today, Socialist Action, run by recycled SWP has-beens, longs to play this role.

It is a myth that the pro-Democratic Party peace crawls of the 1960s forced the U.S. out of Indochina. The right wing puts a sinister twist on this by rehashing Hitler's "stab in the back" myth, claiming that the Vietnam War was lost on the home front. This is a vicious lie designed to cover up a simple fact: the U.S. was militarily defeated on the battlefield by an armed people fighting for social revolution. In the last years of the war American soldiers refused to fight, and officers who were too gung ho risked being killed ("fragged") by their own men. "No More Vietnams" means no more humiliating *defeats* for U.S. imperialism. We say Vietnam was a victory for the Indochinese masses and working people around the world—two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!

In his column in the *Nation* (24 September), Alexander Cockburn writes of the "spectrum of opinion stretching from Senator Moynihan to the *Workers' Vanguard*" on the extreme left. Unlike the rest of the left which tries to pass itself off as—and eventually becomes—nothing more than reformists and pacifists in order to swim with the stream, the Spar-

was a reactionary response to the *objective* crisis of the Soviet economy after decades of bureaucratic mismanagement in the name of building "socialism in one country." But these halfway measures only made things worse.

Now the parasitic Kremlin bureaucracy is capitulating to Western imperialism at all levels. Gorbachev and Yeltsin want to sell off the Soviet Union's industrial and mineral wealth to Wall Street and Frankfurt while supporting U.S. imperialism in waging war against the Arab peoples of the Near East. The Soviet working class must link the defense and regeneration of the collectivized economy within the USSR to the perspective of socialist revolutions worldwide.

Capitalist development itself has brought into being an international division of labor. Thus the struggle to secure for the Soviet masses the good things of life—both material and cultural—presupposes participation in the world economy. And this means the replacement of the imperialist-dominated world market—deformed by monopolies and national protectionism—by an international socialist economy, through proletarian revolution throughout the capitalist world. ■



WV Photo
During Vietnam War, Spartacists fought for mobilizing the power of labor, key to stopping U.S. war machine.

tacist League is forthright and uncompromising about our revolutionary politics.

Indeed, even imperialist hawk Moynihan made that point back in 1972, comparing our youth organization favorably to other leftists in attendance at a Harvard meeting because "they sail under their own colors." He quoted from a statement forthrightly proclaiming our aims:

"...to develop young radicals into lifetime communist militants, and to build a socialist youth organization which can intervene in all social struggles with a revolutionary program based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky."

Moynihan commented, "It is doubtless perverse to do so, but I happen to find that an honorable statement of purpose."

A shooting war in the Middle East will lead almost instantly to an outbreak of mass protest in the U.S. The real question is: will the working people and minorities, already deeply disgruntled

with this government and bitter over rising racist attacks and falling living standards, be mobilized in a fight against this whole rotten system? Or can the recycled reformists and liberals prevail in a new "peace" movement modeled on the middle-class protests which, whether restricted to the "single issue" of Vietnam or expanded to include a reformist laundry list, remained dominated politically by the Democrats who saw the war as a "tragic mistake"—because it was *losing*.

For the first time in a generation, young people are questioning the character of the imperialist system which is readying to send them off to die. These young people must be won to opposing war by opposing the whole capitalist system which needs wars and racism to preserve its "right" to seize the wealth that all the world's working people have created. ■

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State Hires Nazi Executioner

Illinois Starts Up Assembly Line of Death

CHICAGO—Just after midnight on September 12 the state of Illinois administered a lethal injection to convicted murderer Charles Walker. The killing of Walker was the first execution in Illinois in 28 years, and the first in a major Northern state since the Supreme Court revived the death penalty in 1976. This marked a turning point in transforming legal murder from a largely Southern practice into national policy.

The choice of Walker as first to die was calculated to defuse protest over this ominous expansion of capitalist state terror. Walker, a white man who affirmed his guilt, rejected all appeals on his behalf and demanded the ultimate "punishment." The lives of thousands of death row inmates across the country, many of them innocent of any crime and the overwhelming majority black or Hispanic, have been placed in immediate danger by this act of state-sponsored barbarism.

"Capital punishment" has nothing to do with "detering" crime and everything to do with defending the criminal system of capitalist exploitation and racism. The clearest example is the attempt by the state of Pennsylvania to legally lynch the courageous journalist and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was framed as a "cop-killer" because of his outspoken defense of the oppressed.

Brimming with bloodlust, Chicago's Democratic mayor Richard Daley declared on the eve of the Walker execution that he was "pro-death": "It doesn't deter murders.... It's a punishment" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 12 September). Equally eager for a confirmed kill, Republican governor Jim Thompson turned down all appeals to stop the execution, despite a host of unsettled legal questions surrounding the case.

Behind the death penalty lurks the impulse to genocide. Outrageously, when Illinois began to prepare for this execution, it turned to one Fred A. Leuchter, a Boston "engineer" and self-styled "authority" on the Nazi gas ovens. A "Holocaust revisionist" who flatly denies the historical fact of Hitler's genocide, Leuchter makes his living designing execution "hardware" and writing manu-

out this summer. They then quickly dropped him before growing public outrage could scuttle the execution. Now Leuchter is up on charges of impersonating an engineer in Massachusetts.

"Engineer" or not, Leuchter is a certified defender of Nazi genocide. In 1988 he hired on as an expert witness for Nazi propagandist Ernst Zundel (author of *The Hitler We Loved and Why*), who

the touchstone of modern-day fascism. White-supremacist groups like the Aryan Nation and David Duke's "National Association for the Advancement of White People" distribute Leuchter's *Report*. The sinister Institute for Historical Research, sponsored by the fascistic Liberty Lobby, featured Leuchter as a speaker at its 1989 conference.

State-sponsored murder in official death chambers has its counterpart in the racist terror in the streets carried out by kill-crazed cops and fascist punks. On August 2, a black postman was attacked by a racist mob while delivering mail in the white Bridgeport enclave, just two blocks from Mayor Daley's house. On August 11, three blacks were beaten and chased from a nearby neighborhood bar after they tried to use the bathroom. A few nights later, KKK followers burned a cross on the lawn of an interracial family living on the North Side. In the suburb of Arlington Heights, skinhead scum attacked a black woman bus driver last spring.

It is high time for Chicago's powerful integrated labor movement to drive these vermin off the streets and mobilize mass action against legal lynching. On July 14, 130 trade unionists, death penalty abolitionists and anti-racist activists came out for a Partisan Defense Committee-sponsored rally to save death row political prisoner Jamal. When Louisiana's Nazi state representative David Duke came to town in March 1989 for a convention of his fascist Populist Party, the Spartacist League and PDC held a militant labor-centered protest demonstration. Mass labor/black action is needed to stop capitalism's lynch-law "justice." Build a workers party fighting for a workers government, to smash the racist terrorists once and for all! ■



Chicago march against the death penalty, April 1989.

WV Photo

als on proper hanging and lethal injection techniques.

In 1987, the Illinois Department of Corrections quietly paid Leuchter \$25,000 to build the death machine that was used to kill Walker. This would-be Dr. Mengele was even hired onto the state payroll as a consultant, until word of him leaked

was tried in Toronto for "spreading false news" that the Holocaust never happened. The result was *The Leuchter Report: The End of a Myth*, which claims that the "gas chambers at Auschwitz and other death camps were too leaky and poorly equipped for killing purposes."

Denial of the Holocaust has become

Germany 1918-19...

(continued from page 9)

thought otherwise. If you read about the military technique at that time, you had artillery, machine guns and rapid-fire weapons. They had masses of troops, but how do you move 300,000 men when you don't have trucks? They had to go on foot. That was a real limitation and basically why the war bogged down into trench warfare.

The French general staff thought they could overcome the Germans with *élan* and just throw 100,000 more men against German machine guns with great spirit. German machine guns usually won. The Battle of Verdun is the classic example. The French general staff had withdrawn guns from the fortress because they realized it was useless, but the political leadership demanded that Verdun be defended. The German commander Falkenhayn had the bright idea to just sit there and let his artillery pound the hell out of the French army. He also poured German troops in so that the net result was that they both lost several hundred thousand men. But as a result, the French army was *broken* and came to the verge of mutiny. The British weren't much smarter. They decided to get into action in an equally useless place—on the Somme in July 1916. The British lost 60,000 men *in one day* on the Somme! Over a third were killed.

In *The ABC of Communism*, Bukharin and Preobrazhensky graphically describe

the horrors of the war:

"The levying of troops advanced with giant strides. The proletariat was positively decimated on the battlefields. The reports show that down to March 1917, the number of dead, wounded, and missing totalled 25 millions; by 1 January, 1918, the number of the killed had been approximately 8 millions. 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."

Obviously a catastrophe of this magnitude had its social consequences. Cracks were beginning to appear in the seemingly solid imperialist edifice. Liebknecht, who had originally voted for the war credits in August, broke discipline and voted against them in December. He was the only one. In 1915 he was joined by other Reichstag delegates, about 20 in all who voted against, and another group abstained. This clot later became the core of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD). On May Day 1916, Liebknecht (who had some immunity because he was a parliamentary delegate) and the Spartacus group called a demonstration in the Potsdammerplatz. Several thousand people turned out. Remember, this is Germany under martial law. Liebknecht got just eight words out before they arrested him: "*Down with the government! Down with the war!*" But that call was a very important symbolic act that echoed across the fighting frontiers.

In the Reichstag, the SPD moved immediately to suspend Liebknecht's parliamentary immunity. After the May Day demo, Kautsky was looking askance at Liebknecht and said:

"The boy Karl has become a real menace. If we in the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* [Kaut-

sky's nucleus in the Reichstag] had not appeared and proved that we too exist, the irresistibly growing opposition would simply have gone over to *Spartakus* altogether. If a break has been avoided and *Spartakus* held at bay, that is entirely to our credit. The right-wing has not helped us but has only helped *Spartakus*."

Now Kautsky later was in the USPD with the Spartacists! Friends like this you don't need!

The policy of the SPD, which was supported whole hog by the unions, was called *Burgfrieden*, a policy of *class*

peace. They came to agreements very quickly with the employers to freeze wages and that there would be no strikes. But the Berlin proletariat did not react kindly to Liebknecht's arrest: 50,000 workers went out on strike. This was very bold—under martial law these guys faced immediate conscription into the army. The class peace had finally been broken. The German proletariat had begun to move.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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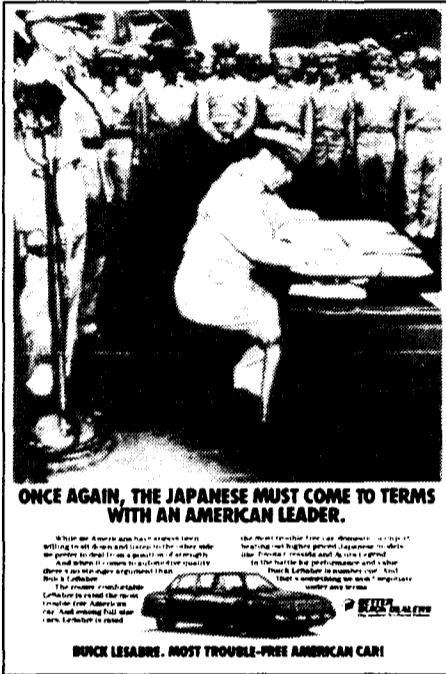
Auto...

(continued from page 16)

board when he took \$4 billion in givebacks out of Chrysler workers' pockets. Then these traitors destroyed what little union protection was left for workers on the line, whipping local against local to impose their "teamwork" schemes. And plants continue to close.

The Sacrifice House gang are destroying the union. To break the vicious cycle of defeats, auto militants must forge a class-struggle leadership that will clear away these sellouts and rebuild the UAW, using the weapons of hard class struggle—sitdown strikes, hot-cargoing and flying pickets. Non-union plants have been springing up like weeds. Bieber & Co. can't organize them because they can't defend the existing union jobs.

To organize Honda, Nissan and the rest, the UAW must strike hard against the Big 3 now. The Canadian Auto Workers are already out against Ford. GM workers: throw this stinking contract back in Bieber's face. Shut down the industry tight from Canada to Mexico. Send thousands of workers in flying squads down to the Honda plant in Marysville, Ohio



ONCE AGAIN, THE JAPANESE MUST COME TO TERMS WITH AN AMERICAN LEADER.

BUICK LESABRE. MOST TROUBLE-FREE AMERICAN CAR!

GM ad shows World War II Japanese surrender. Imperialist trade wars lead to shooting wars.

and pull them out! For a single industry-wide contract with a whopping pay increase! Fight for jobs—for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!

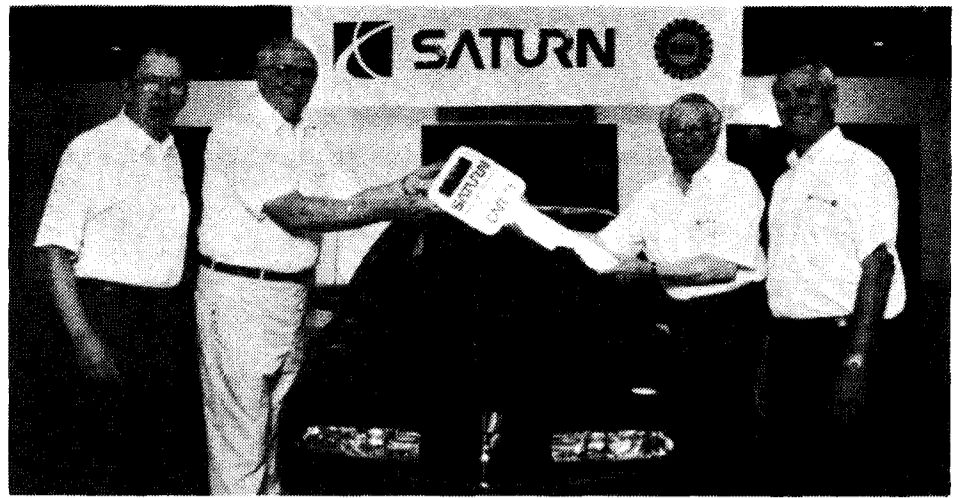
Detroit: "I Do Mind Dying"

The industrial cities of the Midwest rust belt are decimated. The Detroit city administration is scrambling to find 30,000 residents in order to bring the city's population above one million for the census. Twenty percent of the population has fled since 1980, as plant closings have left only one factory inside the city. Cleveland's population has sunk to the lowest level since 1900!

Fifty years ago black workers from the South migrated to the auto and steel towns of the Midwest to get unionized, industrial jobs—and social power. Now their grandchildren are thrown on the slag heap. The cynical traitors running the UAW could care less—as the Elyria (Ohio) *Chronicle-Telegram* put it, the bureaucrats know that "workers of the future don't vote." They don't pay dues either—but the UAW tops have always been able to find themselves a seat on the board of directors or a professor's chair.

They don't even try the lie that "concessions save jobs" anymore. Chrysler has closed *one-third* of its plants in the last three years, including thousands of jobs for black workers at the Detroit Jefferson plant, and is in real danger of going belly up. At the end of this year the "Big 3" will be GM, Ford and non-union Honda!

Even as GM closes plants across the country, Bieber gives them sweetheart deals and substandard contracts. The "future" GM and the UAW tops have in store for auto workers can be seen at the newly opened "Saturn" plant in Spring Hill, Tennessee, where wages are determined by the "health of the company" and even the contract is called a "living document" with no expiration date. More like a "living will"! Modeled after the auto industry in Japan (and a plan in force at Mazda in Michigan), a fifth of the workforce is kept in second-class "associate member" status, without SUB benefits or recall rights. The touted "team concept" in plants like Saturn and GM/Toyota's NUMMI plant in Fremont, California is just glorified union-busting



UAW tops "team up" with GM to impose substandard contract on Saturn workers.

and speedup. The only thing new is that now it's the UAW tops who are ramming it down auto workers' throats.

Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!

Over and over, Solidarity House and the auto bosses push their givebacks with jingoist appeals to "Buy American." TV car ads are filled with racist crap, like the Pontiac commercial about "Christmas at Hirohito Center" after New York's Rockefeller Center was bought by Japanese capital. The flag-waving protectionism of the UAW tops led straight to the brutal murder of Vincent Chin on the streets of Detroit. Chin, a young Chinese American, was bludgeoned to death with a baseball bat by a Chrysler foreman screaming that the "Japanese were stealing our jobs."

The labor bureaucrats holler that the Japanese should "Build American." Well, they have. From Nissan's truck plant in Smyrna, Tennessee to Honda's complex in Marysville, Ohio, the Japanese "transplants" are placed in rural, largely white communities. UAW workers, especially black UAW workers, aren't welcome. By 1992 there will be 15 such plants producing almost three million vehicles. And the UAW tops haven't organized a *single damn auto job* in the new plants where they weren't invited in by the capitalists in some under-the-table deal.

For years, the UAW has had a tame "opposition" seeking to revive the supposed "glory days" of Walter Reuther.

An amalgam of old New Leftists and bureaucrats discarded by Solidarity House, brain-trusted by Victor Reuther, "New Directions" shares the bureaucracy's protectionist program against the "export of American jobs" because they share their allegiance to the profit system. They use the capitalist courts and Labor Department against the union, and push Jesse Jackson and the Democratic Party. The only direction that New Directions will take auto workers is down.

With the increasing integration of the auto industry internationally, as companies and parts flow across international borders, the bosses are *more* vulnerable to joint class struggle. This spring, Hyundai steel and auto workers in Korea and Ford workers in Mexico and Brazil fought sharp class battles. With no help from the auto bosses' labor lieutenants in the UAW. In Mexico alone, there are 75,000 workers in the auto industry, slaving 48 hours a week for between 30 and 75 cents per hour. These are not our enemies but our *allies* in the struggle to reverse the destruction of industrial unionism in auto.

What auto workers urgently need is a revolutionary, internationalist leadership to join Mexican, Japanese, Korean and North American workers in common battle against the "team" of labor traitors and capitalist bosses who have ripped up the unions. Militants in auto must fight to construct a revolutionary workers party that can lead the fight for a workers government. Strike to organize all auto! ■

Bingo Bandits...

(continued from page 5)

other dying industrial cities. But what workers have gotten from the pro-Labor Department "reformers" is the same crap being dished out from USWA headquarters in Pittsburgh: racist protectionism, support for the strikebreaking Democrats and crawling before the bosses' anti-labor laws.

This was driven home during the hard, bitter strike at the Hormel meatpacking plant in 1985. Regan and other local union bureaucrats came together with a grab bag of reformist "left" water boys in the National Rank and File Against Concessions (NRFAC), whose main activity was to back the impotent consumer boycott strategy that was strangling the strike as scabs waltzed across the picket lines. In particular, the SWP, the Communist Labor Party (CLP) and the dubious Workers League (WL) trumpeted the virtues of Jim Guyette, Hormel strike and NRFAC leader, even after his diversionary consumer boycott strategy had led the strike into a blind alley, enabling the AFL-CIO traitors to knife it. The SWP and WL cheered when Guyette sued the union in the capitalist courts and labor boards (see "Who Killed the Hormel Strike," *WV* No. 411, 12 September 1986).

Now, with consummate hypocrisy, the political bandits of the Workers League denounce Regan for...running to the government. This from an organization

that dragged the SWP into federal court in Los Angeles demanding that it turn over party records to the capitalist state. Two of the key character witnesses in their suit were *ex-cops from the LAPD red squad*. More recently, the dubious WL has pursued as its principal political activity a cop-baiting persecution of Iowa SWP member Mark Curtis, an innocent man sentenced to 25 years in jail on rape charges (see "The Workers League and Mark Curtis," *WV* No. 480, 23 June 1989). Two years ago, the WL boasted that they had gotten Regan to withdraw, momentarily, as an endorser of the Curtis defense case. Now that Regan's work for the feds has become public, the WL squeals like a stuck pig that the whole thing has been a giant conspiracy...to "smear" the Workers League.

But even now the "Communist Labor Party" runs a laudatory article on Regan (*People's Tribune*, 3 September), not mentioning his role as a government informer, with a photo of him sitting in front of an American flag and the caption, "Larry Regan is a 'pit bull' fighter for working class justice!" A snake in the grass for the capitalist state would be more like it. These PR agents for labor fakers don't recognize the class line even when they trip over it (which is pretty often). It's a short step from suing the unions to finking for the feds, and turning over names and union records. When Larry Regan tapped his phone and wore a wire for the Labor Department, he joined the likes of late Teamster boss Jackie Presser, who was a stool pigeon for the FBI. You can't get much lower than that.

The Spartacist League has uniquely fought against all forms of capitalist state intervention in the labor/socialist movement. In the early '70s, when the CP/SWP/WL et al. were cheering Arnold Miller and his "Miners for Democracy," we warned that this "reformer" who ran to the Labor Department (under Nixon!) to bring "democracy" was handcuffing the union to the bosses' state. The proof came in the great 1978-79 coal strike when Miller tried to shove government-dictated contracts down the throats of the miners, who burned effigies of this traitor.

As Trotskyists we stand for basic working-class principles, like picket lines mean don't cross and labor must clean its own house. While various fake-lefts have their formulas for quick success by tailing after one or another wing of the labor bureaucracy—these "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class"—we say that there is no shortcut to the difficult task of winning the most advanced workers to a revolutionary program. ■

Ohio Steel...

(continued from page 16)

The International was enforcing the bosses' rules at the courthouse, while the picket line dwindled to a couple of dozen. Then the police exacted their revenge. Over 200 cops from seven counties, wearing riot gear with nightsticks, shotguns, M-16 rifles and tear gas launchers, rushed the line in force and opened up with gas on the steel workers. The strikebreaking thugs shot the fleeing

strikers in the back with wooden bullets. Seventeen workers were arrested. A couple of upended cars in front of the plant gate caught fire as unionists fled the police assault, which continued all the way to the union hall near the plant.

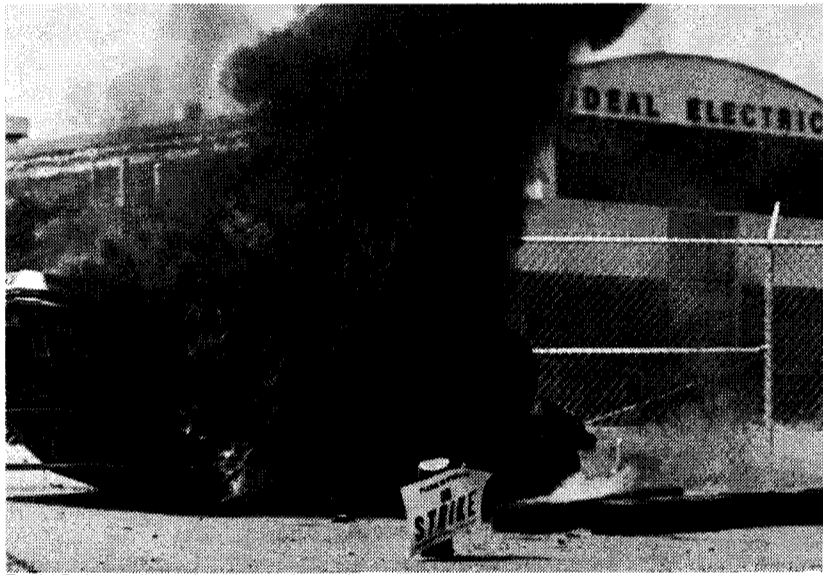
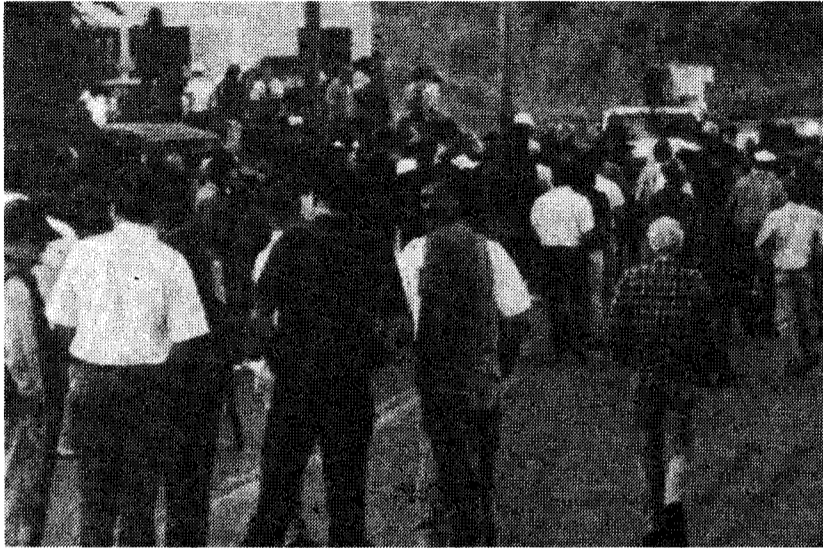
The wife of one striker described the cops' attack on her husband at the union hall: "knees were in his back and a club across his neck and his face was in the concrete and then they cuffed him." The cops also seized a house rented by the union, declaring it part of a "riot zone."

As word of the police charge spread, offers of picket line support poured into Local 8530. Workers at UAW Local 549 began calling miners they had met during the Pittston strike. LTV steel workers offered to come down from Cleveland. But the USWA tops told workers to rely on a seven-day "cooling off" period imposed by a local judge. Eventually they managed to sell the same contract offer Ideal strikers had thrown back almost three months ago. On September 15, workers voted by a narrow margin to accept the contract and end the strike.

The company's demand to be able to fire militants for picket line incidents was defeated. However, these strikers have a big reason to be bitter, because the settlement allows the company "to discipline" up to 16 strikers with 90 days suspension without pay. The unionists in this rust belt town played hardball to save their union. They were not broken, but they were betrayed by the cowardly pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic Party trade-union bureaucracy that finds a way to lose even when victory is within grasp. Drop the charges against the Mansfield strikers and their supporters! ■

Ohio Steel Workers Fight for Their Union

Mansfield News Journal



David DeNoma/Mansfield News Journal



Jamie Sabau/Mansfield News Journal

Ideal Electric strike: Mass pickets and burning barricades kept scabs out. Cops went berserk, tear-gassed and shot picketers with wooden bullets.

MANSFIELD, Ohio—Militant steel workers at the Ideal Electric Co. smashed repeated attempts to bring in scabs during their eleven-week strike against the industrial motor and generator manufacturer here. The company first tried to bust up the strike with “replacement workers” on July 10, but they were repulsed by 300 area unionists blocking the gates. On Labor Day weekend Ideal announced it was going for its third try to bring in strikebreakers. The decisive battle with the company and the police occurred on September 4. Ideal’s attempt to run the scabs failed as over 300 unionists massed at the plant.

The 165 striking workers, members of United Steelworkers Local 8530, were joined on the early morning mass picket line by fellow USWA members, Teamsters and UAW members from a nearby GM plant. One picket sign from UAW Local 549 proudly proclaimed “Scab Busters,” and that’s what they were. The Mansfield News Journal (4 September) reported, “union workers in football helmets, carrying 2-by-4’s and baseball bats, angrily awaited their replacements at Ideal Electric Co.” Before the pickets massed, an electrical transformer feeding the plant was knocked out, even cutting power to City Hall for a while. One worker told WV that he heard it was a lucky lightning bolt. Not one scab entered the plant.

While this USWA local was playing hardball, the International bureaucrats rolled into town to stab the strike in the back. John Sloey, executive board member, told WV that the USWA reps ordered board members to “go down and give a very honest effort and be very sincere to tell these people that they were not allowed to mass picket...to let scabs into the plant and not to stop them.” The International’s lawyer told Sloey he would have to toe the line or resign. Sloey told him “Consider it done,” refusing to bow to the injunction. It’s about time some union officials were willing to risk their posts or go to jail in order to win a strike!

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Strike to Organize All Auto!

UAW Tops: Japan Bashing and “Teamwork” with Big 3 Bosses

SEPTEMBER 18—The United Auto Workers tops have come up with a contract which sells union jobs down the river for good. Wall Street calls it “downsizing.” For auto workers it’s U Ain’t Workin’. In exchange for promises of a few extra months unemployment and pension hikes for those that make 30 years, the UAW bureaucracy is wiping out the future of tens of thousands of auto workers. The 45,000 GM workers who have been thrown on the street in the last three years, and the 500,000 UAW members who have been “disappeared” in the last decade, are simply written off.

General Motors entered the contract negotiations profit-rich and arrogant. The

company raked in \$127 billion in sales last year, and gave outgoing chairman Roger Smith an annual pension of \$2.1 million. GM workers are seething over the “job security” hoax that the UAW tops sold them in 1987. Promising “no plant closings,” GM instead “indefinitely idled” a half-dozen plants. Now UAW president Owen Bieber proposes to let GM set aside a fraction of their billions to “buy out” another 100,000 jobs.

Bieber and his crew of company cops are the ones who should be “indefinitely idled”! They organized 1,000-man goon squads to break sitdown strikes in the early ’70s. Former president Doug Fraser was rewarded with a seat on the Chrysler

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Chrysler workers march against closing of one of last auto plants in Detroit, November 1989.