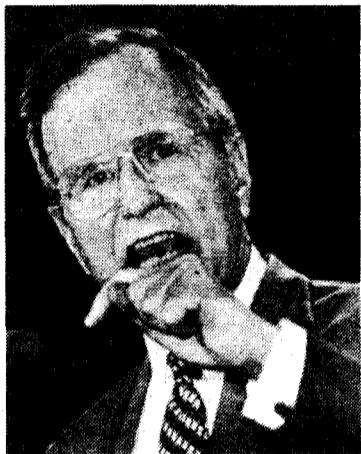


Soldiers Say: When Can We Go Home?

Bush Beats the Drums for War

George Bush came out of last month's bipartisan soak-the-poor budget fiasco widely perceived as an incompetent wimp. For the November 6 midterm elections the patrician president put on his stetson and spurs to try and mobilize the American people for a shoot-'em-up in the Persian Gulf with Iraq's Saddam Hussein. Two days after the elections, the commander in chief of U.S. imperialism ordered more than 150,000 additional ground, sea and air forces to the Gulf to insure "an adequate offensive military option should that be necessary." All leaves have been canceled for forces already deployed in Saudi Arabia, who were supposed to be rotated out every six to eight months. Now it's official: U.S. soldiers won't be coming home for Christmas.



AP



AFP

Despite all the talk of giving the UN fig leaf blockade of Iraq time to work in starving Iraqis into submission, Bush hasn't mobilized close to 400,000 combat forces in the Persian Gulf in an attempt to "scare" Hussein into retreating from Kuwait or to wait for United Nations "authorization" of the "use of force." As one military specialist from Washington's Brookings Institute put it: "It is too big a force to sit on." U.S. imperialism is fast driving toward a war in which hundreds of thousands of Iraqis will be

continued on page 10

U.S. expeditionary force in the Saudi desert: "too big a force to sit on."

High-Tech War Machine Bites the Sand

The Pentagon's PR men have been billing the coming war as a technological breakthrough, a push-button war which will convince you that your tax dollars were indeed well spent on the Reagan/Bush trillion-dollar military buildup of the '80s. But as CNN's Art Harris reported in a 25 October special titled "The Invasion Files":

"The U.S. may find itself saddled with many weapons that are ill-suited for a down-and-dirty war in the desert. All because the biggest military buildup in history turned out to be aimed largely at the wrong enemy."

The much-ballyhooed M1 Abrams tank, for instance, "runs best in cool weather, experts say, like Europe; not the desert where heat and sand can muck-up treads and engines." And while the M1's cannon has a range of nearly two miles, it could be a sitting duck for Iraq's long-

range artillery, which can shoot 22 miles.

Then there is the unglamorous but important little matter of filling the fuel tank: the M1 consumes *five gallons per mile*, which means it can only go 100 miles before it runs out of fuel. So a U.S. division with hundreds of tanks and other vehicles would need 3,000 supply trucks to keep the wheels rolling—in the desert, where there are few roads and the caravans would be exposed to enemy fire.

Meanwhile, the U.S. TOW anti-tank missiles which are supposed to neutralize Iraq's tremendous tank force have a small problem: troops have to stand up to shoot the TOW missiles. As one expert ruefully remarked to CNN, "lying flat on the ground is a good thing to do when bullets are flying." The French-made Milan anti-tank missile can be fired

continued on page 10



Newsweek

Goggled for night fighting in the desert: Pentagon dreams of push-button war with no U.S. casualties.

China and Political Revolution

Detroit, MI
May 20, 1990

Chinese Havel would a month or two later be flying to Washington and giving a speech before Congress!

If at Tiananmen there had been one red flag fluttering, or one picture of Leon Trotsky, then maybe a political revolution. But the Statue of Liberty? *Bourgeois* democracy?

S. Colman

WV replies: It was not the student protests in Tiananmen Square which we referred to as a budding proletarian political revolution, nor did we regard them as such. We wrote that these demonstrations "had something of the character of political theater (including a statue of 'the goddess of democracy') and pressure politics" ("Beijing Massacre—Civil War

Workers Vanguard
To the Editors,

In some of your issues of last summer, you were calling the Tiananmen Square demos a political revolution.

At the time, I had mixed feelings on your estimate of those demos. But since the happenings in East Europe, the re-capitalism or neo-capitalism, I now see Tiananmen as *not quite* a political revolution, and maybe a thing opposite.

And maybe *you too* should now revise your estimate of Tiananmen.

What would have been the outcome had those demos won out? About the same, I'd say, as Czechoslovakia. A



Ming Pao News

Chinese workers carrying posters of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai march to greet striking students in Tiananmen Square.

Looms," *WV* No. 479, 9 June 1989). We did and continue to consider that the predominantly working-class resistance to the military crackdown, immediately after the June 3-4 massacre, was an incipient political revolution.

It is certainly true that the most prominent intellectuals associated with the "pro-democracy" protests like Fang Lizhi and Liu Binyan are politically similar to Vaclav Havel, that is, advocates of Western-style "liberal" capitalism. It is also true that many of the students had illusions in bourgeois parliamentarism. But these illusions coexisted with a vague socialist idealism. On the fateful night of June 3-4 the protesters marched out of Tiananmen Square singing the *Internationale*, just as they had on previous occasions. And there were numerous red flags in the Square.

However, the confused political con-

sciousness of the students was *not* the decisive factor in the situation. In the crucial days after the massacre, the student movement dissipated. The struggle against the bloody restoration of Stalinist order was taken up by young workers and unemployed youth—the main victims of Deng's "building socialism with capitalist methods." Had sections of the army mutinied and gone over to the insurgent masses—and this was a real possibility—the ensuing civil war would have thrown up workers and soldiers councils as organs of dual power.

In their own way the Beijing Stalinists recognized that the workers, not the students, were their fundamental enemy. Several dozen protesters were killed in and around Tiananmen Square. But hundreds were killed in the working-class neighborhoods in western Beijing. *All of*

continued on page 4

Red October and World Socialist Revolution

November 7 marks the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the first time in history that the working class seized power, heralding a world of social justice and equality, free of exploitation. The Bolsheviks viewed the Russian Revolution as the spark which would ignite proletarian revolution internationally. This perspective was perverted by the Stalinist bureaucracy, which declared world socialist revolution a "Tro-



TROTSKY



LENIN

skyite" heresy and proclaimed the defeatist dogma of "socialism in one country." Today Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin seek to sell off the collectivized economy and are openly driving for capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. We print below excerpts from Lenin's remarks on the first anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution before the Sixth All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

Comrades, from the very beginning of the October Revolution, foreign policy and international relations have been the main questions facing us. Not merely because from now on all the states in the world are being firmly linked by imperialism into a single system, or rather, into one dirty, bloody mass, but because the complete victory of the socialist revolution in one country alone is inconceivable and demands the most active co-operation of at least several advanced countries, which do not include Russia. Hence one of the main problems of the revolution is now the extent to which we succeed in broadening the revolution in other countries too, and the extent to which we succeed meanwhile in warding off imperialism....

The workers' revolution is now winning in the defeated countries; everyone can clearly see what tremendous advances it has made. When we took power in October we were nothing more in Europe than a single spark. True, the sparks began to fly, and they flew from us. This is our greatest achievement, but even so, these were isolated sparks. Now most countries within the sphere of German-Austrian imperialism are aflame (Bulgaria, Austria and Hungary)....

We have proved we were not mistaken in banking on world proletarian revolution. Our great national and economic sacrifices were not made in vain. We achieved successes. Yet if we have never previously been so close to world revolution, then it is also true to say that we have never been in such a dangerous situation as we are now. The imperialists were busy among themselves, but now one group has been wiped out by the Anglo-French-American group, which considers its main task to be the extermination of world Bolshevism and the strangulation of its main centre, the Russian Soviet Republic. To do this, they intend to surround themselves with a Great Wall of China so as to keep out the plague, the plague of Bolshevism. These people are trying to rid themselves of Bolshevism by going into quarantine, but this cannot be done. Even if these Anglo-French imperialist gentlemen, who possess the best techniques in the world, succeed in building this Great Wall around the Republic, the germ of Bolshevism will still penetrate the wall and infect the workers of the world.

—V.I. Lenin, "Speech on the International Situation" (November 1918)

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No. 514

16 November 1990

Remember the Greensboro Martyrs

November 3 marked the eleventh anniversary of the Greensboro Massacre. On that day in 1979, a KKK/Nazi death squad drove up to the site in Greensboro, North Carolina where an anti-Klan rally was gathering. The fascists took their weapons out of the trunk, aimed, fired, and drove off. Five leftists, civil rights activists and union organizers lay dying in pools of blood, others wounded or maimed for life.

This fusillade marked the opening shots of the Reagan years' war on labor and blacks, carried out under the Democratic Carter administration. Immediately after the massacre, when the fascists sought to march in black Detroit, we organized a labor/black mobilization to stop them, as we have done from Washington and Philadelphia to Chicago and San Francisco.

In Greensboro, the KKK and Nazis were aided and abetted by the capitalist state, from the G-man who helped train the killers and plot the assassinations to the "former" FBI informer who rode shotgun in the motorcade of death and the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear. Two successive all-white juries acquitted the killers of all charges, affirming once again the meaning of "justice" in this racist capitalist state.

"Greensboro"—the name cries out for justice, for vengeance. When the liberals say to ignore the fascists, we remember Greensboro. When others call on the government to "ban the Klan," we remember Greensboro. Af-



Greensboro Daily News

Wounded Nelson Johnson kneels by a slain comrade.

ter thousands of cops were deployed to let the KKK march in Washington, D.C. last month, this same band of killers returned to Greensboro on November 3 to obscenely "celebrate" their bloody crime at the height of the racist election furor whipped up by North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms.

In honor of Cesar Cauce, Michael Nathan, Bill Sampson, Sandi Smith, James Waller and all those who have fallen in the fight against fascism, we rededicate ourselves to this struggle. The power of labor must be mobilized to ensure that there shall be *No More Greensboros!*

3 November 1979

WORKERS VANGUARD

Germany: Anti-Nazi Demo in Halle

On November 2, more than 1,000 people joined in a protest demonstration against the fascists in Halle, an industrial center of the former DDR (East Germany). The "Reformhaus," a center with the offices of several left groups in Halle, had been repeatedly assaulted by skinhead gangs. The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) along with the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism—successor to the former Stalinist ruling party in the DDR), United Left, Young Socialists, KPD, Marxist Youth League and the League of Anti-Fascists had called for the protest. In the demonstration square there were many youth, who next to immigrants have been the main targets of fascist attacks in the Halle area.

The SpAD initiated the demonstration and defended its united-front character against the political censors and witch-hunters who were circulating violence-mongering slanders. The Spartakists put out their own leaflet, "Stop the Nazis With Mass Workers Mobilizations," and distributed it at the big plants, in workers' districts and foreign workers' dormitories. The SpAD leaflet was also issued in Portuguese and was warmly received by Mozambican workers. The November 2 mobilization was the first united anti-fascist action in the Halle area, which the fascists have sought to turn into their recruiting grounds as they exploit the insecurity and nationalist chauvinism fostered by the capitalist reunification of Germany, formally sealed on October 3.

A speaker from the SpAD local in Torgelow, a town on the Polish border, told the demonstration: "I bring to you greetings from the workers there and from the Soviet Jews with whom I spoke yesterday. They have been given no per-

spective in our country, and I think that after the elections the intention is to send them back home.... Only workers mass mobilization can work against the Nazis. Five thousand workers will work against 150 Nazis, and there won't be any spilling of blood." Reinhard Hartwig, an SpAD candidate for Bundestag deputy from Sachsen-Anhalt, noted in his speech to the protest:

"The fascist assaults and marches, whether in Frankfurt/Oder, Berlin, Erfurt, Dresden, Leipzig and Halle, aren't just an expression of the fascist danger. These actions are part and parcel of the events of recent days. Thus the Nazi war criminals of IG Farben, who contributed to the deaths of millions of Jews, workers and anti-fascists in the fascist concentration camps, are grabbing for the factories at

Leuna, Buna, Wolfen and Bitterfeld.... "Comrades and anti-fascists! Remember the traditions of your fathers and grandfathers, who in the 1920s were the first to take up the struggle against the fascists. There is only one force to stop the fascists and the anti-communist witchhunt, the organized strength of the workers. The German working class is an international working class. That is proved by our fellow workers from Mozambique, Vietnam, Poland and other countries."

The SpAD speaker called for an end to deportations, particularly of Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), for an end to the ban on Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union, and for full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers and their families.

That the demonstration took place at all is in good part thanks to the comrades

of the SpAD, who fought against attempts to sabotage it, above all from the Young Socialists. The Social Democrats (SPD) were behind the appearance of a violence-baiting article in Halle's *Mitteldeutsche Zeitung* denouncing the Spartakists' call for workers self-defense groups against the fascist threat. Meanwhile, the Berlin SPD government organizes a "night and fog" police assault on the PDS headquarters (see "Fourth Reich Anti-Communist Witchhunt," WV No. 513, 2 November).

At the Halle demo, Spartakists carried signs in German, Portuguese and Russian. SpAD placards called for "Hands Off the PDS!" and for "Immediate
continued on page 11



Over 1,000 anti-fascists came out on November 2 to protest Nazi/skinhead attacks in Halle, in former East Germany. Banner says: "For Workers Resistance Against the Fourth Reich! Vote Spartakist!"

New Alliance Uses State to Bar Black Candidates

In a blatant case of Nixon-style electoral "dirty tricks," the dubious New Alliance Party (NAP) has used discriminatory capitalist laws and the NY State Board of Elections to throw two small minority parties off the ballot in November. The NAP, which ran Lenora Fulani for governor of New York, joined forces with the Liberal Party, which ran Mario Cuomo on their line, to bump two competitors for the post—Jitu Weusi of the Unity Party and Joseph Mack of the United African Party. This thoroughly anti-democratic use of the capitalist state for purposes of political exclusion must be condemned.

Weusi submitted ballot petitions bearing 20,250 signatures and Joseph Mack submitted over 24,000, enough to meet the necessary 20,000 to run in the election. But on September 10, as a result of a challenge by the New Alliance and Liberals, the Board of Elections invalidated enough signatures to bar these two black nationalist candidates. Crowing about its dirty work, the *National Alliance* newspaper boasts how "one of Fulani and NAP's first acts after filing 65,000 petition signatures... was to challenge the filings of two of those who had been forced on to the independent road!"

New Alliance also brought suit against the reformist Socialist Workers Party, challenging their place on the ballot, chosen through lottery. The NAP demanded the lottery be replaced by the system of ranking in the 1986 election returns, a method blatantly discriminatory toward smaller parties. In New York such ranking is used only for major parties with permanent ballot status. The

SWP recently won the case in court—the judge cited legal precedent that ballot placement based on election results is unconstitutional.

Weusi and Mack offer no alternative for New York's working class and desperately poor and oppressed black and Hispanic population. Weusi (formerly Les Campbell) is himself a black nationalist demagogue, notorious for the anti-Semitic "poem," "Hey Jew Boy," he read on the radio in 1968, inflaming ethnic hostilities between blacks and Jews in NYC. This was during the '68 teachers strike when Campbell joined forces with the Ford Foundation and Mayor John Lindsay in an attempt to break the union in the name of "community control."

Weusi's "Unity Party" is described by members of the Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus as a "lower frequency" ticket for black Democrats in order to supplement their exposure on the Democratic line (*Amsterdam News*, 11 August). Joseph Mack is a member of the "United African Movement" led by Al Sharpton, C. Vernon Mason and Alton Maddox, whose nationalist demagoguery and promotion of the Tawana Brawley hoax aided racist mayor Koch in bringing the city to the brink of race war. Now New Alliance claims sole rights to the despicable Sharpton, and attacked Mack for seeking to "confuse and disorganize the African American Community."

Brainchild of one Dr. Fred Newman, who runs a chain of psychobabble therapy clinics, the NAP is a tail on the Democratic Party. They have successively presented themselves as a cheering

squad for Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition"; the sinister Louis Farrakhan, the man who wanted Malcolm X dead; and now Sharpton. Despite pretensions of "independence," in 1985 the NAP ran Newman for mayor and Raphael Mendez for city comptroller in the Democratic Party primary. In '88, the NAP supported Jesse Jackson in the Democratic primary. Describing herself as the "spare tire" to "carry the Rainbow agenda," Fulani said she would "stand down" if Jackson were chosen.

Now Sharpton is a member of the New Alliance Party and writes a column in every issue of their newspaper. This vile individual has admitted he worked for the FBI in spying on black Congressmen Major Owens and Al Vann, and also worked for Roy Innis, notorious recruiter for South African-backed UNITA terrorists in Angola. Ahmed Obefemi of the New Afrikan People's Organization has said that in 1983 Sharpton was making suspicious inquiries as to the whereabouts of Assata Shakur. In 1986, the same year he was boosting Reaganite Senator Alphonse D'Amato's election campaign, Sharpton was whipping up racist hysteria against Arab shopkeepers in Harlem in the name of the war on drugs. Last spring, Sharpton & Co. whipped up crowds at the Slave Theater with white-baiting anti-Semitic filth and then made black marchers in Bensonhurst the target of crazed racist mobs with only the racist cops for "protection."

New Alliance grotesquely proclaims the "people's preacher" Rev. Al Sharpton's supposed continuity with Martin

Luther King. A measure of the abyss separating this sinister huckster from even the liberal-pacifist King is that while King's phones were tapped by the FBI, Sharpton wears wires for the feds! So it's no surprise that the NAP, mouthpiece for FBI fink Sharpton, uses the agencies of the capitalist state to bar Weusi and Mack. In its presidential runs, the NAP has been almost singlemindedly dedicated to the pursuit of federal funding. Fulani bragged a couple of years back, "I am the first Black woman ever to receive federal primary matching funds."

If there is any consistency to this outfit, it is their utter lack of political morality. Newman's psychobabble cult joined Lyndon LaRouche's "National Caucus of Labor Committees" on the heels of the NCLC's 1973 "Operation Mop-Up" campaign of physical violence against the Communist Party, and Newman has never renounced this campaign.

Increasingly across the country, election laws are being tightened and ballot access restricted. In the past two years, candidates from Socialist Action and the Peace & Freedom Party have been targets of McCarthyite prosecutions for bogus election law violations. The NAP throws in its lot with the bourgeois state to set a dangerous precedent against all minority and working-class parties. This sex-therapy cult is dedicated to screwing the workers movement.

On October 1, the Partisan Defense Committee sent a protest letter to the Board of Elections, against the anti-democratic ballot exclusion of the Unity Party and United African Party. ■

China...

(continued from page 2)

those publicly executed for resisting the crackdown were workers, none were students or intellectuals. As we wrote at the time:

"The Deng regime has more or less tolerated a 'pro-democracy' student movement for the past decade. Indeed, many of the student leaders were sons and daughters of top bureaucrats.

"So why the savage repression at the very first signs of working-class protest?...

"Because the bureaucrats do not own the means of production, because they do not have the myriad threads of social control of a ruling capitalist class, their power stems from monopolizing political control of the governing apparatus. Since they claim to rule in the interests of the workers, they cannot tolerate any independent workers organization. Any real workers movement necessarily challenges the legitimacy of the Stalinist bureaucracy."

— "Defend Chinese Workers!"

WV No. 480, 23 June 1989

To be sure, as the example of Polish Solidarność demonstrates, a workers movement is not immune from falling under the sway of reactionary, pro-capitalist leaders. The decisive question therefore is the political consciousness of China's working people, which is radically different from the attitudes now prevailing in East Europe. In the first place, the People's Republic of China has a national and popular legitimacy totally lacking in the erstwhile "People's Democracies" of Husak, Kadar and Jaruzelski. The 1949 Revolution, despite all the Stalinist-Maoist deformations, remains identified with the liberation of China from imperialist overlordship, and with national unification and modernization.

In East Europe, a "market economy" is being sold as an alternative to decades of Stalinist bureaucratic mismanagement. But after a decade of Deng's market-oriented "reforms"—which were loudly hailed from Wall Street to Tokyo—China's working people found their conditions deteriorating while private entrepreneurs and their bureaucratic cronies drove Mercedes limousines to newly-built golf courses. It was the seething economic discontent of China's urban workers, in both factories and offices, that transformed the student protests for "democracy" into a mass movement threatening to sweep away the corrupt bureaucratic caste.

Communism and Nationalism: China vs. East Europe

The mass movement which erupted in the spring of 1989 displayed an intensely

patriotic attitude toward People's China. The naive belief that the People's Liberation Army (PLA) would never fire on the people was itself testimony to the depth of support to the 1949 Revolution. For the first time in the 4,000-year history of the Chinese state, the working people of China did not view the army as an instrument of brutal oppression and exploitation.

When the first attempt was made to bring army units into central Beijing in mid-May, tens of thousands of working people blocked their path and appealed to the soldiers. "The army is the army of the people's own sons and brothers; how can you attack your own family?" one of them shouted from the top of a bus (quoted in Michael Fathers and Andrew Higgins, *Tiananmen—The Rape of Peking* [1989]). These appeals were for the moment effective. The Deng regime was forced to postpone the crackdown for three weeks to secure the reliability of the armed forces.

Patriotism toward the People's Republic of China was also displayed in the respectful attitude toward the memory of Mao Tse-tung, who was no friend of Western-style liberalism. When three rowdies threw paint on the huge picture of Mao in Tiananmen Square, they were instantly branded as provocateurs employed by the Deng regime and turned over to the police! Next to the defaced picture a banner was put up, saying "This was not done by the students or the people."

More striking and significant, in protest marches a number of young workers carried portraits of Mao. For those who did not live through the violent delirium of the Cultural Revolution, Mao had come to be identified with Communist purity and Spartan virtues as against the flagrantly corrupt and luxury-loving Deng regime. The London *Independent* (24 May 1989) observed that "while few would relish any return to dogmatic Maoism, the past does offer an appealing if highly romanticized vision for many Chinese: prices were stable, crime was low and unemployment was unheard of."

It is inconceivable that any of the protesters in Prague last November would have carried a portrait of Klement Gottwald, the Stalinist boss of Czechoslovakia in the late 1940s. It is likewise inconceivable that any of the protesters would have a romanticized vision of the Stalin era in Czechoslovakia. This is not to suggest that the East European Stalinist regimes were always despised by their own people nor that anti-Soviet nationalism was always rife in the region. Far from it.

The Soviet Red Army was warmly

welcomed when it liberated East Europe from the nightmare of the Nazi occupation in 1944-45. The traditionally socialist working class also welcomed the destruction of the reactionary old order of Pilsudskiism in Poland, the Arrow Cross in Hungary and Iron Guard in Romania. Many workers, especially young workers, threw themselves into the "socialist reconstruction" of the war-ravaged East European economies. Andrzej Wajda's film *Man of Marble*



On Contradiction: Chairman Mao, red flags and "goddess of democracy" in Tiananmen Square.

tells the story of an idealistic young model worker in Poland in the late 1940s—a true hero of socialist labor—who becomes an innocent victim of the Stalinist apparatus of terror and deceit.

But after four decades of Stalinist rule, popular discontent in East Europe has been channeled into anti-Communism and anti-Soviet nationalism, although even here one should not oversimplify. For example, in East Germany last fall and early winter many of those who initiated the protests against the Honecker regime were striving for the democratization of what they considered to be socialism. In Romania coal miners broke up a right-wing student demonstration last June, and Romanian workers have recently protested moves to privatize their factories.

In contrast to East Europe, in China and also Russia the Stalinist bureaucracy has utilized nationalism to justify the suppression of social unrest and maintenance of the status quo. In the Soviet Union, old-time Stalinists of the Ligachev type have made common cause with reactionary Russian chauvinists like those of Fatherland. In China, the strongest political weapon available to the beleaguered Deng regime was an appeal to national unity and security in the face of "turmoil."

For Proletarian Political Revolution in China!

Elements of the military cadre were clearly sympathetic to the mass protests, or at least opposed to suppressing them. In late May the commanding officer of the elite 38th Army, General Xu Qinxian, was arrested for failing to carry out martial-law orders. Last December, the PLA's chief political commissar, Yang Baibang, revealed that 21 officers at the level of divisional commander or above "breached discipline in a serious manner" during what he called "the struggle to crush the counterrevolutionary rebellion" in June (*Nation*, 11 June).

In the end the military cadre carried

out the repression for fear that mutinous actions would lead to civil war, the breakup of China, the return of warlordism and re-establishment of imperialist spheres of influence. Had a Trotskyist party existed in China at this crucial juncture, it could have won a significant section of the PLA cadre to the understanding that a strong and united socialist China is possible only under a workers and peasants government based on soviet democracy.

There has been a widespread illusion in East Europe, including among erstwhile Stalinist bureaucrats, that if these countries cut their ties to the USSR and ally with Western capitalism, Wall Street and Frankfurt will shower them with billions of dollars and deutschmarks. But China has been a staunch ally of U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union since Mao embraced Nixon in 1971. And during the past decade capitalism has made substantial inroads into China's collectivized economy. At the economic level, much of what Havel wants to do in Czechoslovakia Deng has already done in China.

Even the editors of *Time* magazine, in their book on the Beijing massacre, acknowledge a working-class backlash against Deng's market-oriented "reforms":

"Workers were also unhappy about how the urban reforms were changing their jobs. Part of Deng's reforms were aimed at breaking 'the iron rice bowl' of lifetime job security, a Chinese worker's most prized perquisite. Although jobs in state enterprises did not pay very well, they were handed down from father to son, mother to daughter. They provided lifetime job security, subsidized housing and food, and free medical and child care. The urban reforms set out to end that system by forcing all enterprises to turn a profit."

— Donald Morrison, ed., *Massacre in Beijing* (1989)

Added to the scourge of unemployment was that of rapid inflation. In 1988 the regime removed price controls. Those hit hardest were employees in state enterprises where wages had long been fixed. The editors of *Time* reported "the seething discontent among dispossessed city dwellers—students and teachers, office workers, factory workers and retired cadres. On public buses and in barber-shops, classrooms and offices, they complained openly about spiraling prices, nepotism, graft and profiteering." In the period leading up to the explosion in the spring of 1989, there was a growing incidence of wildcat strikes, popular sabotage of private enterprises and physical assaults on wealthy individuals.

In short, while there were illusions in Western-style "democracy," especially among the intellectuals, there was a mass reaction against the "Westernization" of the collectivized economy. To be sure, illusions in Western-style "democracy" could have served as a bridge to capitalist counterrevolution. This only underscores the decisive need for a conscious revolutionary party. A Trotskyist party in China could have channeled the workers' striving for a socialized and egalitarian economic system into a proletarian political revolution, obliterating the bloody and corrupt Beijing Stalinists and establishing a government expressing the democratic will of the working people. ■

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Zionist State Prepares to Carry Out His Genocidal Program

Fascist Kahane Gets His

From organizing terror squads against blacks in Brooklyn, spying on American leftists for the FBI, pushing pro-Vietnam War propaganda on college campuses for the CIA and bombing Soviet embassies for the Mossad, Meir Kahane "graduated" to become the *Führer* of a full-blown fascist movement in Israel. This Zionist terrorist was intent on doing to the Palestinian Arab population of Israel and the Occupied Territories what Hitler had done to the Jewish population of Eastern and Central Europe—eradicating them, by any means necessary. He was a sicko racist and one of the most sinister scumbags on the face of the earth. Finally, on November 5 in a midtown Manhattan hotel, Meir Kahane got his.

The response was sickening. Scarcely a single American politician or news commentator would say openly what even the Israeli Knesset (parliament) had called Kahane and his "Kach" movement—fascist. Black Democratic mayor David Dinkins, whom Kahane considered no less an *Untermensch* (subhuman) than West Bank Arabs, called his assassination "an international tragedy that shocks all of us." The leaders of mainstream American Jewish organizations

Meir Kahane: From JDL racist terrorist in Brooklyn to fascist Führer in Israel.



"What is most astonishing is that so far there has been only one Grynspan." But getting rid of one murderous fascist will not put a dent in the system of state terror and mass murder presided over by the Zionist rulers of Israel.

An Israeli visiting New York said what none of the "respectable" elements would, "Kahane planted hatred in Israel. I will shed no tears." Kahane planted

covertly funded his lobbying efforts for the government's position on the Vietnam War among America's 400,000-strong Orthodox Jewish community." He published a book on *The Jewish Stake in Vietnam* (which listed "Michael King" and Meir Kahane as authors) and founded a "July 4th Movement" which pulled in a lot of right-wing money but virtually no student support.

With the growing racial polarization in New York between blacks and middle-class Jews—exemplified by the 1968 New York teachers strike—Kahane saw his chance to hit the big time. He founded the Jewish Defense League, whose stated aim was to "defend" Jewish areas of Brooklyn against "black crime" and "black anti-Semitism." In fact, the JDL aimed at being the vanguard of "white backlash," provocatively confronting black nationalists and organizing vigilante terror forays into black neighborhoods.

Kahane's first act as head of the newly formed JDL was to appear before a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing, where he pushed his credentials as an opponent of black nationalists and Jewish leftists. He soon enrolled the JDL in the service of the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO disruption and assassination program, which targeted leftist and militant black groups, especially the Black Panther Party.

A September 1969 memo from the "racial intelligence section" of the New York FBI stated, "our intent to create a fictitious source of information who will furnish public source data to Rabbi Meir

Kahane" to "be published and cause embarrassment to the BPP...." A May 1970 memo of the New York office of the FBI gloated that the JDL's picket of the Harlem Panther office showed that "some of the counter-intelligence measures of the NYO have produced tangible results."

In late 1969, Kahane was recruited by right-wing Israeli politician Geula Cohen to work under her and Shamir, one-time chief of operations for the Israeli secret service Mossad, to turn the JDL toward a terrorist campaign aimed at forcing the Soviet Union to expel its Jewish population and drive them to move to Israel. "Why are you wasting time fighting the 'Schvartzes' [racist epithet for blacks]," Cohen taunted Kahane.

So the JDL embarked on an international campaign of terror bombings targeting Soviet officials and cultural groups. The "Jewish Defense" League's first victim was a Jew, a young secretary for Sol Hurok, who had brought the Bolshoi Ballet over on an American tour. There would be many other victims, among them Arab American activist Alex Odeh, struck down by a JDL pipe bomb in his Los Angeles office in 1985.

But as we wrote in "Jewish Defense League: Jews and American Fascism" (*Revolutionary Communist Youth Newsletter*, March-April 1972): "To be sure, the ideology of the JDL is fascist.... But the prospect of Jewish-based or black-based fascism coming to power in this racist country is absurd." The would-be Jewish fascist *Führer* was clearly coming to the same realization. Kahane moved to Israel, where he was initially hailed by the Zionist establishment and even offered a safe seat in the Knesset by soon-to-be prime minister Menachem Begin's rightist Herut party.

But the megalomaniacal Kahane had other ambitions, and began bringing over his Brooklyn-born thugs to set up the Kach movement, which agitated single-mindedly for the expulsion of all Arabs from "Greater Israel." Kahane reveled in vowing, "When I'm prime minister no Arab will be hurt by Jewish terrorists because there won't be an Arab left in Israel!" By 1984, appealing largely to impoverished lumpen Israeli Sephardic Jews, Kahane had won a seat in the Knesset on the basis of his genocidal program.

In his election campaign, Kahane demanded legislation calling for five years imprisonment "to any non-Jew who has intercourse with a Jewish woman" in order to end the "epidemic of assimilation." Kahane did not intend to carry out his program through parliamentary measures. Several years earlier, Kach tried to organize a "Guard of Jewish Honor" to patrol Arab areas and make sure that Jewish women "do not go out with Arabs and other non-Jews (goyim)."

In an interview with Friedman, he said if the Arabs refused to be voluntarily expelled, "I'd forcibly move them out." "How could you do that," asked Friedman, "Midnight deportations in cattle

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Hollander/Reuters

Victim of Zionist massacre at Jerusalem's Al Aksa mosque, October 8.

not only mourned him, but many (such as the anti-communist witchhunters of the "Anti-Defamation" League) went out of their way to appear at the Brooklyn funeral ceremony which had all the trappings of a fascist rally, with signs in blood red screaming for "Revenge" and "Death to Arabs." The head of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York ranted against "Arab violence against Jews which has reached into the heart of Manhattan."

In Israel, the Knesset staged a minute of silence in Kahane's memory (though only 30 members showed up). Shamir aide Avi Pazner seized on Kahane's killing to "deplore and condemn this further act of Arab terrorism." The Kach was more explicit, vowing "there will be a river of Arab blood." Less than an hour after Kahane's assassination was announced over Israeli radio, two elderly Palestinians were gunned down in a West Bank village.

The bourgeois press speculated about what could have conceivably motivated the alleged assassin, Egyptian-born El Sayyid Nosair, as though Kahane's genocidal anti-Arab racism were not enough. As Trotsky wrote when a young Polish Jew named Herschel Grynszpan killed an official of the Nazi regime which had tormented his family and people in 1939,

hatred wherever he went. Raised in a right-wing Zionist household in Brooklyn, Meir Kahane decided early on that he was to be the "messiah" of the "chosen people" through terror and racist nationalism. As Robert I. Friedman documents in his recent biography, *The False Prophet, Rabbi Meir Kahane—From FBI Informant to Knesset Member* (1990), Kahane started out as a smalltime street hustler who used his rabbinical credentials to con his Orthodox Jewish supporters into financing his highly un-Orthodox and lavish lifestyle.

Drummed out of his first congregation for attempting to turn his students into fanatical zealots, he sold his deeply ingrained anti-communism to the government, becoming an informant for the FBI in 1963 under the name of Michael King and telling people he was a Presbyterian. In this role he lived with a mistress, Gloria Jean D'Argenio, who threw herself off the Queensboro Bridge after he told her he was married. Kahane then became a front man for the CIA, which was attempting to stem widespread antiwar sentiment on the campuses.

Friedman notes that Lyndon Johnson complained about American Jews' opposition to the Vietnam War, and that many leaders of the antiwar movement were Jewish. Kahane claimed "that the CIA



Bar-Am/NY Times

August 1984: 20,000 Israeli Arabs and 2,000 Jewish protesters drive Kahane and his murderous henchmen out of Um El Fahm, Galilee.

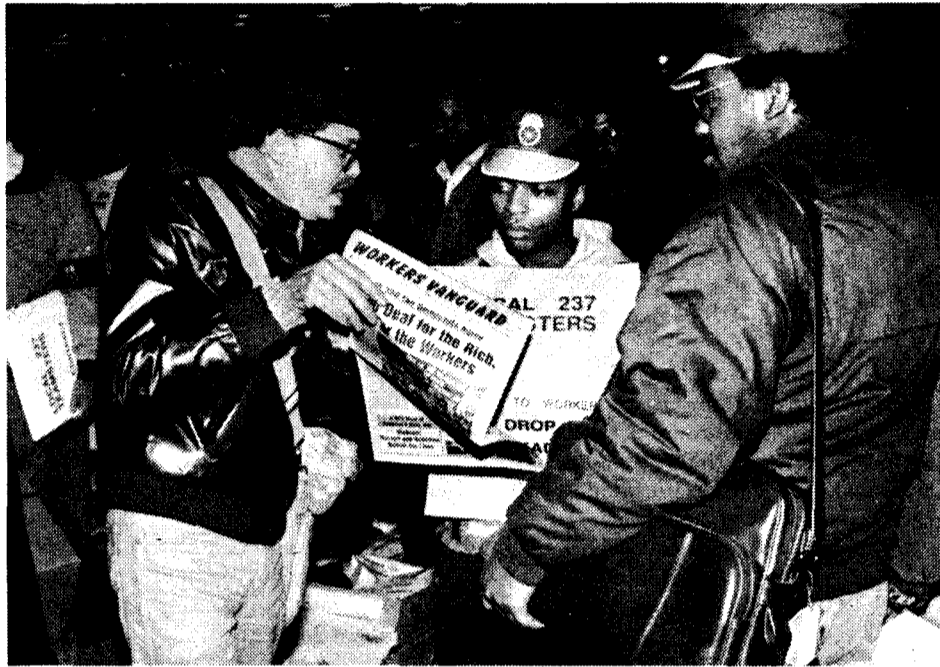
How We Sold the Subs...and Who Bought Them

Winning New Readers in a New Decade

Congratulations to all the comrades and sympathizers who participated in this year's *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. We made 127 percent of our quota for the six-week campaign (see chart in our last issue). All locals and organizing committees met their overall quotas, topped by Atlanta and New York; both locals raised their quotas in response to early signs of success.

Each year the intensive outreach of the sub drive campaign gives our organization some feel for this country's political pulse. Planning the drive this summer, organizers didn't really know what to expect. With the rulers of this country salivating over the alleged "death of communism"—while the bottom is falling out of their own economy!—how would potential readers respond to a newspaper which is forthrightly bright red communist, so unlike other organizations who slither their pale pink opinions in sideways in articles otherwise indistinguishable from left liberalism? With the government and media beating the Persian Gulf war drums nonstop—even the World Series teams wore little American flags on their uniforms this year!—how would students and workers respond to a paper which says the *defeat* of U.S. imperialism would be an unequivocally good thing—that war is not "a mistake" which will be corrected by electing more "peace-loving" Congressmen, but an inevitable consequence of capitalist rule?

Our experiences during the sub drive told a lot about the country we live in. We found that the massive military mobilization is already—even before there has been any fighting—provoking opposition among layers of students and young workers, especially blacks. These young people are not radicals but have suddenly—and understandably—become more concerned to figure out what's really going on in the world and what to do about it. This article is in part directed to our new readers, people we've just met who want to find out more about us,



WV is there with a program to win as thousands of NYC city workers rally against layoffs and in support of the *Daily News* strikers. WV Photo

in hopes of winning many of you to join the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs. Since we like to "tell it like it is," here is some of what we learned from our recent sub drive.

The sub drive results were not nationally uniform. This year we found our greatest successes east of the Appalachians. New York estimates that roughly 59 percent of their subs were sold to blacks and other racial minorities. The corresponding figures would certainly be lower for the West Coast, and higher for the South.

We sold subs by pointing out articles of urgent interest in our current press and on the basis of our work over the past period. We brought to potential readers our Trotskyist analysis of the spectacular crisis of Stalinist rule which the ideologues of imperialism trumpet as the "death of communism"—but which demonstrates only the bankruptcy of Stalin and his heirs. Today's headlines are the direct outcome of the dangers the great

Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky warned of in works like *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936). The bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the Soviet working class, imposing a "theory of socialism in one country" which is the antithesis of communism, exiled and finally murdered Trotsky but could not prevent the unfolding of the scenario as he outlined it over a half a century ago.

We won many new readers by pointing out our articles on the struggles against racial oppression and the need to finally "finish the Civil War" through thoroughgoing social revolution; some of these articles are collected in our popular pamphlet series on *Black History and the Class Struggle*. Other subjects of particular interest included the fight to defend abortion rights, our opposition to censorship which masquerades as "protecting youth" from such "dangers" as rap music, and the struggles of working people around the world, from Central America to South Africa to Japan. We stressed the work of our comrades in Germany in opposing the capitalist reunification, which already is bringing mass unemployment and a resurgence of anti-Semitism and anti-Communist repression. As usual we met a number of people who first encountered the Spartacist League through our labor/black mobilizations to stop fascist provocations in Washington, Philadelphia, Atlanta and elsewhere.

Another component of the sub drive was the ongoing campaign initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee to save the life of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal became a target of the Philadelphia cops and the capitalist legal system because of his years as a radical activist and a journalist. Even from behind bars, his voice is heard in columns carried in *WV* and other newspapers, in defense of prisoners' rights, in support of anti-fascist organizing and to keep alive the memory of the MOVE martyrs: eleven men, women and children who were deliberately murdered by the Philly cops in an aerial bombard-

ment of their home on 13 May 1985.

Students at Hampshire College in Western Massachusetts organized a very successful showing of the PDC video "From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal." At predominantly black Cheney University near Jamal's hometown of Philadelphia, 50 students came out to see the video and discuss with our traveling subscription team.

The Country We Live In

By the sub drive's end, the bipartisan effort to screw workers and the poor with the new federal budget had evoked palpable hostility to Bush's government. The past period was marked by a striking decline in America's competitive position among capitalist powers—the crumbling of American industry and infrastructure and a marked worsening in working people's standards of living. Now the country is rapidly sliding into a depression, while the bourgeoisie gloats over Eastern Europe and tries to turn the Persian Gulf into an American-policed lake.

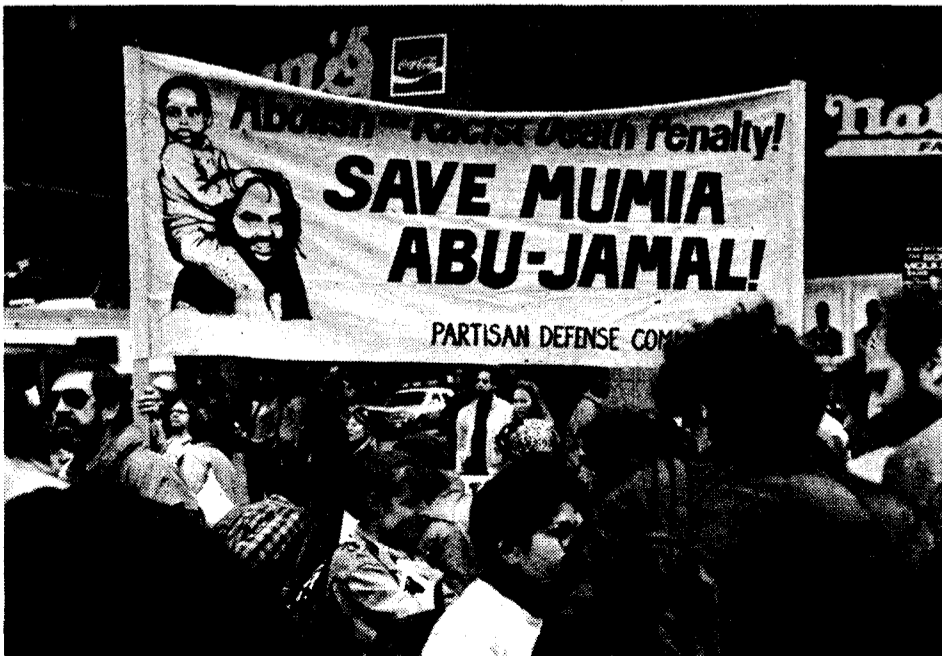
Already in 1983, statistics showed that 54 percent of the American population had zero net financial assets. Among employed industrial workers, real wages fell 10-30 percent in the last decade. There are 6.2 million on-the-job injuries a year. In New York, tens of thousands of employed workers' families double up on housing. Mayor Dinkins—a black Democrat who is and can only be, like his counterparts everywhere else, an overseer on Bush's plantation—has threatened to lay off thousands of city workers while hiring more cops to cope with increasing poverty and unrest.

Of course the deindustrialization of America hits black workers the hardest. Cutbacks and unemployment have turned the urban inner cities into wastelands. Many of today's black teens will never have a job in their lives. In 1988, for the first time since the turn of the century, the percentage of blacks living in the South rose.

The budget crisis is the outcome of a massive war mobilization to be financed in accordance with the slogan of the wealthy: "representation but no taxation" (for the rich). But there's a limit to what can be squeezed out of the people that don't have anything, no matter how ruthless our bipartisan rulers are toward the elderly, the mothers on welfare, public health, and the things working and poor people spend their money on: gas, oil to heat homes, tobacco and alcohol.

And in the midst of all this, the working people see the rulers of this country—those who own the factories and banks and real estate, who therefore decide who works and who starves, and who goes off to war to protect profits—plying their dirty tricks like the savings and loan scam. Now hundreds of thousands of troops have been mobilized for a foreign adventure in the Near East quagmire, and without the cover of an ideology like the war against Communism in Vietnam.

Even before the shooting starts we see



Campaigning to save death row political prisoner: banner at October 20 antiwar protest in New York. WV Photo

significant opposition to Bush's oil grab; our experience in the sub drive confirmed that this disgruntlement is strongest among working people, especially those who are black and other minorities. An early poll published in the *New York Times*, which said Americans generally support Bush's goals in going in to the Near East, showed deep suspicion just beneath the surface: 9 out of 10 people are "not ready" for the U.S. to start a shooting war in the Gulf, and 47 percent thought that if the U.S. started a war the government would lie and tell the people that the Iraqis started it.

Persian Gulf War Mobilization

The American army was whipped in Vietnam and the spectre is still haunting the government. To reinstitute the draft would be political suicide even today. But the bourgeoisie manages to get young men and women to enlist, spurred overwhelmingly not by enthusiasm for war but by the desire for job training and funds for college. In many cases the armed forces have sucked in the cream of the disadvantaged strata, those with an ambition to be more than a face behind a McDonald's counter.

Today 16 percent of American families have someone in the military. Concern for the fate of these family members and for friends now being mobilized for the Gulf loomed large as a factor in selling subscriptions in this year's drive. It is indicative that the Atlanta local led all areas in outstripping their quota—in the State of Georgia, 33 percent of families have someone in the armed forces. As comrade Gloria reported about Atlanta University, where WV teams sold 138 points:

"It was clear from the first few doors on the first evening of sub driving in the dorms that the situation in the Persian Gulf was of immediate interest to these

Spartacist contingent at October 20 Persian Gulf demo in Boston. Nationwide, over 1,800 SL newspapers were sold to protesters that day.



lords. Hussein (like Panama's Noriega, a long-time CIA "asset" who made the mistake of defying his American paymasters) would be a good candidate for the White House's list of loyal anti-communist "moderately authoritarian dictators"—except for the conflict of interests with Washington over Kuwaiti oil fields. Hussein's Ba'ath party has massacred leftist-led workers and dropped poison gas on the Kurdish minority population.

But what is *not* different in the present conflict is the role of U.S. imperialism. America's rulers are the world's number one war criminals. The U.S. is the only country in the world ever to use nuclear weapons, and those atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki even

ened, this will bring immeasurably closer the day that the Iraqi workers and peasants settle accounts with their hometown butcher, Saddam Hussein.

Black Students

The Washington, D.C. comrades sold 87 points at Howard University and capped off the sub drive with a well-attended forum on the Persian Gulf. The annual "Southern Tour" of North Carolina campuses was extremely successful, netting 208 points. These early returns from the South spurred additional regional trips to Texas and Tennessee.

The civil rights movement prompted the American "establishment" to seek a more "integrated" face for its racist system—the quest for more "black elected officials," professors, bank officers, TV anchormen, etc.—and swelled the ranks of the black middle class. But with the shift to a more openly racist climate, there's rather less need for layers of college-educated blacks. Today the curtailment of financial aid for students—scholarships and loans—and the worsened economic position of black families have combined with the general racist climate to push black students out of the elite private and state universities and back toward black colleges. Many black students say they prefer to be at these black schools, citing the rise in overt racist provocations and threats at ostensibly liberal integrated campuses. Although such feelings are understandable, the re-segregation of higher education represents a significant step backward from the ideals of equal education which were at least given lip service as a result of the mass activism of the civil rights movement.

In a racist society, "separate" is always profoundly unequal—guaranteeing black students inferior facilities and greater regimentation. A comrade who visited black colleges in Louisiana noted indignantly about one of them: "Campus life here is also heavily controlled. On the night we were visiting, dorm rooms had been checked for neatness (even seniors) and little evaluation forms were taped on doors."

A visit to Fisk University in Nashville

was telling. Fisk used to be a showpiece, heavily endowed by white philanthropists supportive of Booker T. Washington's idea of "uplifting the race" through "pulling ourselves up by our own bootstraps." This scenario has been resuscitated (with a good deal more cynicism) by today's rather more cynical spokesmen for "black capitalism." This idea (predicated on the classic American—and totally false— notion that this country is a "meritocracy" where anyone can "make it" given talent and superior diligence) makes no sense in a class society where a tiny minority owns the factories and mines, the banks, the land, etc. This tiny minority, the ruling class, makes the rules, writing the laws and tax codes to line the pockets of the rich and keep the poor "in their place"; it owns and controls the government and uses the cops as its private army of strikebreakers and to terrorize the ghettos and barrios.

At Fisk today, the signs of its former grandeur—the "cathedral-like structures built with dollars from the Carnegies," our comrade reported—stand in sharp contrast to the pervasive signs of decline. "Paint is sorely needed, windows are shattered or taped over and some buildings are abandoned. Those that function are poorly maintained. In the dormitories, untended garbage is everywhere." It seems that many families were able to scrape up their kids' tuition and room fees but couldn't manage enough for board, with the result that many students exist on local fast food or cook for themselves on hot plates in their own rooms. There were protests at Fisk this fall over fees and tuition. "Many students who owed money arrived to find they'd have to pay up before they registered. No prior notice had been given. Alumni intervened; some students were given personal loans, especially seniors. Others had to leave—at least 200 freshmen were not in school."

In addition to the work on campus, locals sought out black and integrated working-class neighborhoods for door-to-door sub canvassing. In particular Boston and Chicago had good results selling subs and renewals in neighborhoods

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Black students at Southern University of New Orleans meet Spartacus Youth Club comrades.

students. The first subscriber I sold to was on his way to a goodbye party for a reservist on his way to Saudi Arabia. We were able to cash in on our good reputation—upperclassmen told us they remembered us for issues such as the January 21 mobilization against the KKK and the Jamal case. Some renewed or subscribed for the first time because of the war drive. We didn't have to hammer home the fact that it would be largely black and poor youth who would be dying for oil profits—it was very obvious to these students and none were keen on dying for this country. We sold our subs on the Persian Gulf issue, combined with the Jamal case and the S&L rip-off. The combination made for a very rounded and compelling indictment of capitalism and U.S. imperialism."

Iraq is not Vietnam. Saddam Hussein is not any kind of revolutionary, not even a Stalinist like Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh, who despite conciliating imperialism at several crucial points (and killing the Vietnamese Trotskyists) did lead his people in a revolutionary war which liberated Vietnam from the imperialist over-

though Japan was already defeated and ready to sue for peace. After World War II America rescued hundreds of Nazi war criminals from Germany to enlist them as its operatives in the Cold War against the USSR. Today American funding and military hardware prop up regimes of dictatorial terror all over the world. The U.S. has directly trained secret-police personnel from virtually every country of Latin America in the techniques of high-tech torture. The CIA has masterminded the violent overthrow of nationalist and left-leaning governments and assassinated "unfriendly" heads of state from Santo Domingo to Iran to the Congo.

A defeat for the U.S. in the Persian Gulf today would be a blow on behalf of the working masses of the whole world. Billions of people today live in abject poverty, social misery, illiteracy and fear because the U.S. props up the bloody-handed regimes that make sure they stay that way. In the Near East, if imperialism's grip on the region can be weak-

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Young Spartacus

GERMANY 1918-19:



Revolutionary soldiers and sailors in Berlin, January 1919.

Willy Römer

WAR

AND REVOLUTION

Young Spartacus is pleased to print the second and final part of a presentation 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. Part One (printed in Workers Vanguard No. 510, 21 September) covered the impact of the imperialist war on the German left and the emergence of a revolutionary internationalist opposition, led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, to the social-chauvinism of the Social Democrats.

PART TWO OF TWO

There was also a "little" event which took place in Russia in 1917 which had no small impact on the German proletariat and that was the overthrow of the tsar. It wasn't too hard for a German worker to figure out that "Tsar" and "Kaiser" sounded alike. The Russian Revolution also had an impact in the other imperialist armies. In mid-1917 there was a massive mutiny in the French army—54 divisions went out, thousands deserted and whole stretches of the front were basically undefended. The Germans either didn't know or didn't take advantage of it. Well, I bet you they knew but they were afraid of pouring their troops into an area of mutineers.

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

News of the October Revolution and the conquest of power by the working class spread rapidly, including into the German army. One of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) arguments to drum up support for the war was that you had to save Germany from the fright of tsarist reaction. Well, after 1917 tsarist reaction didn't exist anymore and that really entered the popular consciousness. Despite the efforts of the SPD union tops to stop any kind of strike action, there was a massive strike wave in January 1918. It encompassed 400,000 in Berlin, a million across the whole country. Military discipline was again imposed against the strikers but an organization sprang out of this: the Revolutionary Shop Stewards.

The Brest-Litovsk peace negotiated with the new Soviet workers state (under very harsh terms to the Soviet Union) allowed the German High Command to move troops to the Western Front. General Ludendorff wanted to have one final push to try to crack the British and French armies before the Americans

could get there. It didn't work. By autumn 1918, the Allies were on the offensive throughout the Western Front. On August 11, Kaiser Wilhelm got the word from Ludendorff, "We must realize that we have suffered a great defeat."

The German bourgeoisie had been lied to up and down. The General Staff had promised them victory and all of a sudden Ludendorff demands an immediate armistice to save the German army. An eyewitness account captures their horror:

"The delegates were shattered; Ebert turned deathly pale and could not utter a word; the delegate Stresemann looked as if he were about to have a fit.... Minister von Waldow is said to have left the room with the words: 'All that is left now is to put a bullet through one's head.' Herr von Heydebrand, the leader of the Prussian Conservatives, rushed into the corridor shouting 'For four years we have been lied to and deceived!'"

—Sebastian Haffner, *Failure of a Revolution* (1973)

Ludendorff wanted to push the blame for German defeat off the High Command and onto the Social Democrats by moving them into the government. He said to Wilhelm, "Let them conclude the peace which must now be concluded. Let them cope with the mess. It's their mess after all." So, the Social Democrats finally had their offer of ministerial port-

folios. At least one Social Democrat, Scheidemann, was opposed. He argued that the SPD should not step into a bankrupt enterprise. Ebert insisted however, because he saw the monarchy going down the tubes and knew that somebody had to step in and save the capitalist system from itself and thwart a revolution from breaking out. Ebert not only won the debate in the Reichstag fraction, but Scheidemann was the poor schlep who was given the post of secretary of state without portfolio in the government which was then formed by Prince Max of Baden.

Throughout the period leading up to the November revolution there was a rather hilarious jockeying back and forth between Prince Max and Ebert and General Gröner (Ludendorff's successor). Max wanted to save the monarchy, but to save the country he thought he might have to call upon the Kaiser to abdicate. Ebert was also interested in saving the monarchy but he didn't want to "betray" the revolution, at least *formally*, because in the eyes of the proletariat he was still the head of the German Social Democracy.

On 4 November 1919 there was a mutiny of the sailors at Kiel. The naval high command had decided to preserve their honor essentially by committing suicide and throwing the fleet up against the British. Well, the sailors didn't want to commit suicide and they mutinied. All but one ship went out. One captain attempted to stop the mutineers when they tried to grab the ship's flag. He shot one of the sailors and the sailors shot him. From there on the mutiny spread

very widely. You had the decomposition of the German armed forces and soldiers councils being elected all over the place.

It came to a head in the revolution of November 9. Liebknecht, who had gotten out of prison in October (Luxemburg is still in prison at this time), was trying to make arrangements with the Revolutionary Shop Stewards to call an insurrection. These guys were prepared, at least ostensibly, to carry out an armed seizure of power. It never came quite to that eventuality. Ebert had his ear to the ground and knew that the shop stewards were calling for a general strike. He sent his organizers out to the plants to try and quash it.

The strike was called on November 9. The factories of Berlin were empty and hundreds of thousands of workers poured into the squares in front of the Reichstag and in front of the palace. The question was whether the troops would fight them. The workers had prepared—they had armed contingents. But the troops fraternized and it was basically all over. While all this is going on Ebert and Prince Max are doing their dance over who is going to abdicate, who is going to betray... meanwhile in the streets, the decision has been made.

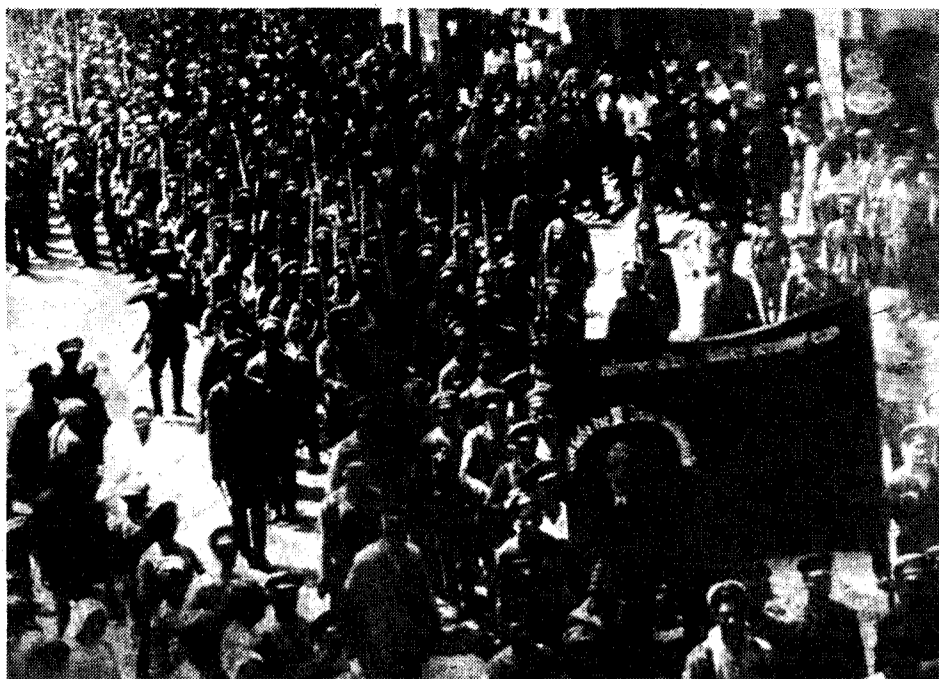
Here's one perceptive description of the uprising:

"There was little resistance, violence or bloodshed. These days of Revolution were marked by a feeling of stupefaction: the authorities were stupefied by their sudden and unheralded impotence, the revolutionaries stupefied by their sudden and unheralded power. Both sides moved as in a dream. For the one it was a nightmare, for the others one of those dreams in which one can suddenly fly. The Revolution was good-natured. There was no mob rule and no revolutionary justice. Many political prisoners were set free but no one was arrested. At the worst a particularly hated officer or sergeant might have got beaten up. The revolutionaries contented themselves with depriving officers of their insignia of rank—this was as much part of the revolutionary ritual as was running up the red flag. Many of the victims, however, felt this to be a mortal insult. It is of little avail to the victorious masses to be good-natured; what their vanquished masters could not forgive was their victory."

—Haffner, *op. cit.*

While the workers thronged outside the Reichstag, Ebert and Scheidemann were inside eating their potato soup (at separate tables—they hated each other). A bunch of workers came in and demanded that Scheidemann come out and speak. He was known as a good orator and they said, "look, you know Liebknecht is already talking." And Scheidemann thinks, "oh my god" and knows he's got to get out there real fast. So he goes out and gives a stirring speech and ends with "Long live the German republic!" Word gets back to Ebert who turns livid with rage and has to be physically restrained from strangling Scheidemann for proclaiming the republic! Later that day, Liebknecht proclaimed a "free socialist republic"; but Ebert had other ideas.

Ebert's goal throughout was to stifle the revolution. Once Prince Max asked Ebert, "well if I get the Kaiser to abdicate can you stop the revolution?" and



TASS
International regiment of the Red Army, including former German prisoners of war, marches with banner emblazoned with Liebknecht's picture and slogan, "Long Live the Third International."

Ebert said, "yes, I hate it like *sin*." So the working class of Germany was still overwhelmingly loyal to the SPD and thought that now that the SPD was in the government that they had created a socialist revolution. Meanwhile Ebert & Co. were organizing a counterrevolution against it.

Along with the soldiers councils that were elected during the decomposition of the German army, you also had *soviets*—workers councils—that were formed across Germany. The Revolutionary Shop Stewards occupied the Reichstag on the evening of the 9th and issued a call for a mass meeting at the Busch Circus in Berlin to announce elections to be held the next day for a workers and soldiers council. Immediately upon hearing this Ebert kicked his organizers in the ass and got them out to the plants to make sure that the elected delegates would be his Social Democrats. The shop stewards recognized they had lost and noted that even some trade-union officials who had been kicked out of the plants by the workers for trying to break the strike on the 9th were elected as delegates! The SPD got at least half of the working-class delegates plus they had overwhelming support among the soldiers.

Here you had a soviet which was dominated by a party which was intent on disbanding the soviets, although the soviets didn't know that yet. Ebert's goal was to try and derail the revolution as much as possible while appearing to be on the side of the workers. He put forward a call for a constituent national assembly, basically a *bourgeois* parliament to assume power. The Berlin council acquiesced to that and also to giving up its own sovereignty once the assembly came into being.

Social Democracy Spearheads Counterrevolution

Now we move into the period of the counterrevolution. Ebert had made a secret deal with General Gröner to bring

in troops to smash the working-class districts of Berlin and suppress the revolution. Anybody carrying arms was to be shot. They brought in ten divisions from the front but as soon as the troops got to Berlin they deserted. It was near Christmas and they didn't want to fight anymore. By the end of it they had 800 men left. A telegram from General Staff sums it up:

"I see no way of protecting the government with means so far employed. The result of today's clash can become a political catastrophe for the government."

What was "today's clash"? In a particularly stupid maneuver, the Social Demo-



Der Spiegel

Social Democratic leader Ebert reviews counter-revolutionary shock troops. SPD newspaper, *Vorwärts* (top), calls for "Offensive Against Spartakus." Right-wing placard demands murder of Karl Liebknecht.

Arbeiter, Bürger!

Das Vaterland ist dem Untergang nahe.
Rettet es!
Es wird nicht bedroht von außen, sondern von innen:
Von der Spartakusgruppe.
Schlagt ihre Führer tot!
Tötet Liebknecht!
Dann werdet ihr Frieden, Arbeit und Brot haben!
Die Frontsoldaten

cratic commandant of Berlin, Otto Wels, attacked the "People's Naval Division." These sailors were a thorn in the side of the SPD and the SPD decided to get rid of them. Meanwhile the sailors hadn't been paid and there was a confrontation over this. They weren't so much revolutionaries as they were angry—it's not good not to pay sailors at Christmas. Ebert ordered the remnants of one command to attack the People's Naval Division. It turned out to be a fiasco. Not only did they fail in the assault but the Berlin workers streamed in and fraternized with the troops while also helping the sailors defend their position.

By the end of December Ebert had very little to go on in terms of what he would call "reliable men." The regular army had been shattered. The officer corps was incensed by these soldiers councils, the loss of insignias, etc., so here you had a potent base of counterrevolution to engage. Ebert sent off Gustav Noske ("someone must be the bloodhound") to organize counterrevolutionary detachments known as the *Freikorps*. Ebert was desperately trying to get a hold of the situation and in the end provoked what has come to be

known as the "Spartakus Uprising."

After the attack on the People's Naval Division, the USPD (Independent Socialist Party) quit the government. (They had three ministers and the SPD had three.) Another USPDer, Emil Eichhorn, had become the de facto chief of police in Berlin and he did some good things, including giving arms to USPDers. This did not endear him to Ebert who wanted to get rid of Eichhorn particularly now that the USPD had left the government. The SPD's *Vorwärts* launched an attack on him and the Prussian interior minister demanded Eichhorn's resignation. Eichhorn refused and said he owed his responsibilities and his position only to the workers council. It was a stand-off.

Meanwhile the Communist Party (KPD) had been founded around New Year's of 1919. Luxemburg had finally been freed from Breslau prison by the revolution of November 9. The Spartacists had been trying to get the USPD to hold a national conference so they could have a decisive fight within the organization and attempt to split away some of it. When the USPD leadership refused, they said, "OK that's it," and the KPD was launched.

Liebknecht went off to a meeting with the Revolutionary Shop Stewards and some of the left of the USPD. They realized that this provocation of dismissing Eichhorn was a big deal. They called for a protest demo on January 5. Nobody realized the massive response they were going to get. Berlin workers came out in hundreds of thousands. I think Liebknecht and others got carried away. They formed a revolutionary committee and decided to call for the overthrow of the government. The KPD central committee

had *not* been consulted about this action and knew absolutely nothing about it. Only later when Liebknecht wandered back into the office of *Rote Fahne* did Rosa Luxemburg find out what he had done. She was not pleased. And they were stuck in a bad situation.

The next day there was again a massive turnout—workers in the street—armed! The revolutionary committee sent delegates over to negotiate with the People's Naval Division who basically said, "No way. We're staying neutral." The Berlin garrison said "No way." Without the People's Naval Division in particular there was no decisive armed force for the insurrection. Meanwhile all these workers were sitting out there patiently waiting for someone to tell them what to do. And the leaders did nothing. Then it got cold and it started to rain and the workers went home. That was it.

A couple of individual detachments went off and occupied some of the newspaper buildings, including *Vorwärts*. But they were isolated and there was no organization, no command, no direction. In contrast, just think back to how the Bolsheviks organized the October

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Diets Verlag Berlin

Revolutionary committee of sailors declares: "Long Live the Socialist Republic."

Bush...

(continued from page 1)

killed along with tens of thousands of American soldiers, many of them black and Hispanic youth who joined the armed forces to escape the hellish conditions of this country's ghettos and barrios.

To whip up war hysteria the White House propaganda machine is churning out atrocity stories about the Iraqis. Bush and his Secretary of State James Baker charged that American hostages are being starved in the U.S. embassy in Kuwait and talked of small children being shot on their way to the hospital by Iraqi soldiers. They even claimed that Iraqi soldiers are using lions, tigers and bears from the Kuwait Zoo for target practice! But instead of a rally 'round the flag effect, polls show a level of antiwar opposition that wasn't reached until several years into the Vietnam War. Already soldiers' families are organizing against war in the Near East and soldiers are refusing to ship out.

While Bush was beating the drums for war on the campaign trail in the U.S., American troops in Saudi Arabia greeted Secretary of State Baker with demands of "when are we going to get to go home?" One soldier offered Baker some "hot water" from his canteen and another suggested that he should try eating the inedible precooked Army rations for 30 days. Arguing that Washington should go to war sooner rather than later a senior Administration official said: "It's tough to keep an edge on your forces out there as weeks go into months and they say, 'Why are we here?' Morale goes down" (*New York Times*, 10 November).

In the confrontation between Iraq and the bloody U.S. imperialist war criminals the international working class has a side: for the defense of Iraq and the defeat of the United States and its allies. Iraqi despot Saddam Hussein (not long ago Washington's ally) is indeed a bloody butcher—of tens of thousands of Iraqi Communists, militant workers and Kurds. He must be brought down by the Iraqi working masses and oppressed, not

Revolutionary opposition to imperialist invasion. Spartacist contingent in October 20 NYC demonstration calls to "Break the Blockade of Iraq" and for labor/political strikes against the war.



the rapacious U.S. imperialists who are seeking the devastation and subjugation of the Arab peoples.

Baker told the troops that they were defending the American "way of life" against Iraqi "barbarism." In the USA racist cops get their target practice gunning down black people in the inner city ghettos. While millions of homeless are starving on the streets, Washington is pumping billions in to pay off the giant savings and loan rip-off: estimated total cost, one trillion dollars, more than the entire cost of World War II! And the U.S. is now sliding into a recession which even Wall Street economists predict could be the largest and most severe since the Great Depression.

After more than a decade of union-busting and slashing services, in which the rich more than doubled their incomes and the bottom 60 percent of the population saw their earnings and living standards fall, the overwhelming majority of Americans aren't going to buy the idea that they should fight and die to defend the profits of Big Oil, so that Washington can lord it over the world. For labor/

political strikes against the war! Break the blockade of Iraq! U.S. out of the Near East!

Bipartisan Military Adventure

Even though this country is on the verge of a major war, the Persian Gulf was not an issue in the recent elections. Although the Democrats have a majority in Congress, they are not even insisting on the constitutional principle that Congress, not the president, has the right to declare war. While Bush is blowing the bugle on the hustings, trying to get the patriotic vote, the Democrats were doing everything to duck the issue. And with good reason, since so far they have supported Bush every step of the way, just as they negotiated the budget bonanza for the rich at home. The American people are so contemptuous of the "Republicrats" that only a third of those eligible to vote did so. And despite the widespread anti-incumbent sentiment to "throw the bums out," 96 percent of incumbent Congressmen running were re-elected. So much for American "democracy"!

While supporting the military buildup in the Persian Gulf, the Democrats are also cynically trying to position themselves to head off popular opposition to the war. The *London Independent* (29 October) reported that 81 Democratic Congressmen signed a petition declaring "We are emphatically opposed to any military action." This news wasn't "fit to print" in the American press nor was it mentioned by Democrats during the elections. Now Georgia Senator Sam Nunn, the Democrats' leading spokesman on military affairs, is saying that Bush is moving too fast in the Gulf and called canceling leaves for U.S. troops a "mistake." The liberal and reformist organizers of the new "antiwar movement" are already pushing the Democrats—the party which A-bombed Hiroshima and napalmed the Vietnamese—as the "people's" alternative to Bush's war drive.

We communists have another alternative—to organize the working people and all the exploited and oppressed in this country in class war against all of the greedy misrulers. They have squandered the wealth produced by generations of

High-Tech War...

(continued from page 1)

lying down, and guess what—Iraqi troops have them."

And if American troops have to don their chemical warfare suits in the desert fighting, they will be felled by their own sweat since the suits were designed for the cooler climate of Central Europe. Heat exhaustion from wearing the gear "could cause as many casualties as the direct effects of chemical attack" (*Jane's Defence Weekly*, 29 September).

Former U.S. Air Force chief of staff Michael Dugan boasted that air power would make the difference—Iraq would be brought to its knees by a massive bombing campaign which would include "downtown Baghdad," and then U.S. ground forces could just "walk in." (He got fired for his loose lips, but Bush wants to keep Dugan on the payroll long enough to raise his retirement pay.) It now turns out that American air raiders might not have an easy time of it. Iraq's inventory of radars and missiles includes not only Soviet models but also some very sophisticated West European versions, not to mention the 144 U.S.-made Hawk anti-aircraft missiles captured in Kuwait.

For instance, Iraq has more than 200 French Matra radar- and infrared-guided air-to-air missiles, plus French/German Roland and Italian Aspide anti-aircraft missile defenses. As one former Pentagon electronic warfare specialist cried, "we probably know more about the capabilities and vulnerabilities of most Soviet weapons than we presently know about those produced by our European allies.

And they will not be eager to tell us, lest it hurt future weapons sales" (*Aviation Week*, 15 October). Well, that's capitalist competition for you!

Perhaps the expensive "stealth" F-117 fighters might slip through enemy defenses unscathed, but given that the plane couldn't hit the broad side of a barracks in Panama, it probably won't matter much. (A recent report that the supposedly "invisible" plane was tracked by the Saudis' French-made Thomson-CSF radar suggests that the only "stealth" is with the manufacturer who made off with the government's money.)

For a time there was a lot of bragging that U.S. forces will "own the night" because of their night vision goggles (NVGs). The Pentagon has gotten more humble after a series of crashes

forced them to curtail their night-flying exercises.

Army officials are "shipping suitcases of Saudi sand" back to the Night Vision Lab at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, where they're "conducting 'reflectivity tests' to see whether Saudi sand when viewed through the goggles creates a sparkling effect that disorients pilots and causes them to send their helicopters careening to the ground" (*Newsweek*, 22 October).

In fact, since the goggles amplify existing light, *Jane's Defence Weekly* (13 October) writes that "an anti-collision light on a radio mast 45 km away could completely blind a helicopter pilot" wearing NVGs. So maybe a string of cheap lights, or some ordinary flares, could foil the whole begoggled U.S. invasion?

But that old American "can-do" spirit



Previous White House adventure in the desert: wreckage of bungled 1980 Delta Force "rescue" mission lies in Iranian sands.

never gives up. The Army's Natick Research, Development and Engineering Center in Massachusetts is said to be developing "a milk chocolate bar able to withstand temperatures of up to 140 degrees without melting or softening" (*Washington Post*, 18 October). If that doesn't win the war quick, nothing will.

The reality is that this will be a terribly bloody war on both sides. A recent U.S. War College study noted with trepidation, "a cadre of genuinely competent professional officers exists within the Iraqi military" (Pelletiere, Johnson, Rosenberger, *Iraqi Power and U.S. Security in the Middle East*, 1990). Estimates of U.S. casualties in a war with Iraq range from 10,000 to 30,000 dead and tens of thousands wounded. No doubt nervous about this computer readout, the Pentagon is now sending another 150,000 troops to bolster the quarter million already in the Gulf.

If they go from the phase of "phony war" to what is known in Pentagon-speak as "the ultimate option," a real, all-out war, the U.S. can "prevail." There are now two well-equipped modern armies facing each other in the desert, with one major difference. The Iraqis have no means of resupply. If U.S. rulers are willing to accept the loss of 1,000 tanks, and perhaps tens of thousands of soldiers, while slaughtering hundreds of thousands of Arab troops and civilians, they can beat Saddam Hussein. Then they will have won...Iraq.

But are they prepared to face millions of Arabs seething with hatred for U.S. imperialism, and quite likely a seething cauldron of social unrest at home? This prospect, even more than the problems of their night goggles, is what is giving General "Stormin' Norman" Schwarzkopf and his superiors nightmares. ■

workers whose sons and daughters are now being mobilized to die in the Persian-Gulf so the U.S. can control the world's oil supplies. Triumphant proclaiming the "death of communism," the U.S. rulers see the world as a "free market" for their unbridled aggression and exploitation. But as Lenin said "war is the mother of revolution." And communism is the last best hope for those who want to put an end to this system of poverty, immiserization, racism and war.

Shaky Alliance

With the exception of British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, Bush's "allies" are none too enthusiastic about plunging into a war in the Near East to fulfill the ambitions of the deranged rulers of the declining American empire, who are to reassert themselves as the global policemen and bully their imperialist rivals through control over world oil supplies. And Washington's most important Arab ally, Egyptian leader Hosni Mubarak, is calling for more time for the sanctions to work and has stated his troops will not go into Iraq (only Kuwait).

Bush's announcement that he was doubling U.S. forces in the Gulf came on the heels of Secretary of State Baker's global tour to harden up the U.S.' shaky anti-Iraq "coalition" partners. France and the Soviet Union were floating calls for a "peaceful" solution. Baghdad was becoming, in the words of the London *Independent* (24 October), "an international convention centre for opposition politicians," as everyone from former British Tory prime minister Edward Heath to former Social Democratic West German chancellor Willy Brandt flew to Iraq to negotiate the release of hostages.

So at a Moscow press conference, Baker and his aides could barely contain themselves when Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze said the use of force "could not be ruled out. A situation may arise which will call for such a solution." The Kremlin bureaucrats have endorsed the most massive imperialist

military mobilization since the Vietnam War—which will put close to half a million U.S. troops only 700 miles from the borders of the Soviet Union! So much for the ballyhoo over the "end of the Cold War."

Gorbachev might be the imperialists' most-favored Russian leader since Tsar Nicholas II, but the Kremlin's policy of trying to "appease" imperialism has only tightened the military noose encircling the USSR. As Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney commented, every time the Soviets capitulate he "moves back the goalposts" and demands more. Any hope of "peacefully coexisting" with this crew of Cold Warriors is ludicrous. They won't be satisfied until they have completely reconquered the land of the Russian Revolution for capitalist exploitation and plunder.

"A Thousand Casualties a Day"?

The U.S. is out to achieve global control of oil supplies. ("You can be sure we wouldn't have a platoon on the Kuwaiti frontier if the resource in the region was guano," quipped one Democratic analyst.) But even if the U.S. imperialists win the war, they won't achieve their aim. There is oil in too many places on the face of the earth outside of the U.S. and the Near East. Moreover if Bush takes Iraq, after murdering hundreds of thousands of Iraqis and killing tens of thousands of American soldiers, he could reap a whirlwind of hostility, from the Near East to the U.S. In Riyadh, senior U.S. staff officials figure that they will be shipping home a thousand corpses a day as soon as war breaks out.

One U.S. Air Force officer commented: "A thousand casualties a day would be too many for Americans, especially since there would be women soldiers, too, in the rubber bags. People would not believe such a sacrifice was worthwhile" (London *Independent*, 29 October). Certainly women in the U.S. military must wonder why their lives are on the line in

defense of the feudal dictatorships in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait where women have no rights. Recently 50 very wealthy Saudi women, who seized the keys to their Mercedes and BMWs from their chauffeurs, were arrested for the "crime" of driving their own cars!

But it isn't just women soldiers. The Americans who are going to fight and die in a Persian Gulf war are people the U.S. rulers have been waging war against on the home front—blacks, Hispanics, working people. Bush is trying to mobilize a population for war which has had no stomach for imperialist military adventures since the U.S. was defeated by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. And according to the *New York Times* (4 November), in an election-eve poll, "77 percent of those surveyed said they believed government is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves rather than for the benefit

of all the people. That was the highest figure ever recorded in the quarter of a century that various researchers have been taking this measure of cynicism toward government."

You don't have to be a communist to see that this is a government by the rich and for the rich. What is desperately needed is a revolutionary workers party that says to the exploited and oppressed: we produced the wealth of this country, and we are going to take *all* of it because it belongs to us. Then there will be the basis for building a planned socialist economy on an international scale which will secure equality and abundance for all. Then we can right the historical crimes and pay off some of the debts left over by our rulers, like some tens of billions of dollars to the Vietnamese and other peoples who paid such a heavy price as targets of the U.S. war machine. ■



No "thumbs up" for Baker. Troops would rather thumb a ride home.

Halle...

(continued from page 3)

Release of Pohl and Langnitschke," the PDS treasurers who were turned over to the capitalist police by party chairman Gregor Gysi. Several PDS members surrounded our comrade, demanding that he take down this sign. Refusing to do so, he asked them: "They want to dissolve you, how long will you wait before defending yourselves?"

A PDS speaker at the rally, Bundestag deputy Roswitha Stolfa, gave as the answer to fascist attacks, "talking with the young people who are inclined to extremist thinking and actions." It's not a matter of "left-wing extremism" and "right-wing extremism," but of fascist killers. What are Mozambican workers supposed to say to the skinhead gangs attacking their dormitories? Or the elderly Jewish couple standing before grave-stones defaced with swastikas?

What is common to the SPD and PDS is fear of a genuine mobilization of the working class conscious of its own interests.

Present at the demonstration were several hundred anarchistic Autonomes, who share many anti-communist prejudices while they are also frequent targets of fascist attacks. Their desperate answer is street fights with the Nazi skinheads, which usually end up in hopeless clashes with the police. After the Halle demonstration broke up, two hundred youths proceeded to Halle-Neustadt where they were dispersed by the cops. The fascists can't be stopped by small group street battles, but only by mobilizing the social power of the working class.

In the days following the demonstration, skinheads in the Halle area gang-raped a young woman, dragged a driver from his car and brutally beat him, and

smashed the windows of a restaurant. The next weekend hundreds of skinhead Nazis converged on Leipzig, terrorizing the city, attacking passers-by and culminating in a shoot-out with the police which ended only when one hooligan was shot dead. Now police have launched an "investigation" against the organizers of the anti-Nazi protest, beginning with the United Left spokesman who registered the demonstration, reportedly over the trashing of a notorious fascist gathering place in Halle-Neustadt on the night of November 2.

Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party have issued an appeal to all anti-fascists to join them in demanding the immediate dropping of all charges and proceedings against the organizers of the November 2 protest demonstration and march against Nazi/skinhead attacks in Halle. ■

Fascist Kahane Gets His...

(continued from page 5)

cars?" "Yes," replied the would-be Jewish Hitler. And fanatical killers like "Eli the Wolf," the head of a Kach death squad, were to be the core of Kahane's future SS. "Eli" was the former James Mahon, who was an FBI provocateur inside the antiwar movement in the U.S.

So Meir Kahane is dead, but Kahaneism is not. As Friedman observed in his biography, Kahane's call for expelling the Arabs "unlocked wellsprings of support in the Jewish state because expulsion had always occupied a central—though never public—position in mainstream Zionist thinking." Kach was banned from the Knesset in 1988 not for

its racism but because it was siphoning votes away from the other right-wing parties, who sought to carry out Kahane's program in a "parliamentary" way. The program of terror aimed at driving Arabs out of Palestine has been a cornerstone of Zionism throughout, from the Deir Yassin massacre of 1948 to the Al Aksa massacre today.

Indeed, from the "Labor Zionists" of David Ben-Gurion and Golda Meir to the former pro-Nazi terrorist Shamir, the aim of the Zionist state has always been to make "Eretz Yisrael" an exclusively "Jewish state" "cleansed" of the Arab people who populated the country. The differences have been over tactics and tempo. In 1948, Ben-Gurion said explicitly, "I am for compulsory transfer; I don't see anything immoral in it." Today the Shamir government, the most right-wing government in Israel's history, seeks to provoke a regional war to carry out the forcible expulsion of the Palestinian population of the occupied West Bank, in order to create *Lebensraum* for the influx of Soviet Jews.

What awaits Soviet Jews when they get to Israel is a military garrison state whose survival depends on billions in U.S. aid. The Israeli economy is so bankrupt that a thousand Soviet women immigrants, many of them with highly-educated professional backgrounds, have reportedly turned to prostitution since they arrived in the "land of milk and honey." Unlike the handfuls of rabidly Zionist Russian and American Jews who moved to Israel in the 1970s and '80s, the Soviet Jews emigrating now are overwhelmingly secular and non-Zionist. But as soon as they arrive they are pressured into moving into the Occupied Territories, to serve as cannon fodder for the Zionist state's expansionist project. *Zionism is a deathtrap for the Jewish people.*

And not just in Israel. The grotesque justification by leading American Zionist spokesmen for the Israeli massacre at Jerusalem's Al Aksa mosque fuels anti-Semitism in the U.S., by seeking to identify all Jews with the Israeli state's terror. Now these same "mainstream Jewish leaders," who once publicly spurned Kahane as a pariah (while pushing plenty of dollars his way under the table), show their solidarity with Kahane by appearing at his funeral. Washington's attempt to forge an Arab consensus in the Persian Gulf has the Zionists running frantic that the U.S. will eventually dump its Israeli client state.

The war-crazed Zionist rulers must be swept away before they trigger a nuclear Armageddon. But blowing away one or another Zionist terrorist will not do it. The Israeli state must be destroyed from within, through joint class struggle by the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab workers. The combative and cosmopolitan Palestinian people spread throughout the Near East, in their statelessness, in their striving for education, today occupy a role somewhat analogous to the Jewish people of East Europe at the turn of the century, out of whose ranks came large numbers of proletarian socialist cadres. Under an internationalist leadership, the Palestinian workers can be the vanguard for socialist revolution which unlocks the deadly stranglehold of Zionism and transcends the dead end of Arab nationalism.

As Trotsky wrote in "For Grynspan": "Not the lone avenger but only a great revolutionary mass movement can free the oppressed, a movement that will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression, and racial persecution." Defend the Palestinian people—Israel out of the Occupied Territories! For a socialist federation ensuring the national rights of all peoples of the Near East! ■

Chicago Tribune Strike Was Betrayed

New York *Daily News* strikers fighting hard to defend their unions are being told by the union tops to trust in the courts, labor boards and a consumer boycott to win the strike. The AFL-CIO brass have sunk millions in dues dollars into pleading with big department stores and retail chains to support the workers by pulling their ads. Incredibly, the labor bureaucrats cite the 1985-86 strike at the *Chicago Tribune*, owner of the *Daily News*, as support for their beg-on-your-knees policies.

Recently the president of Mailers Union Local 2, one of the unions that struck the *Tribune*, hailed as a "great victory" an NLRB decision that said strikers could get their jobs back. Sure, as vacancies occur, and the company can legally ignore the order. The bitter truth is that the striking Trib unions were routed and destroyed. Anyone who says otherwise is lying, and setting up the *Daily News* strikers for a similar fate. But the bitter defeat didn't have to happen—the militancy of the strikers and their allies in the Chicago labor movement was thrown away. The labor tops played by the bosses' rules.

From Day One of the strike, the *Tribune* mobilized scabs from around



January 1986: 17,000 unionists came out to back strikers at *Chicago Tribune*, union tops held them back, sank strike.

the country to take the jobs of striking Typographers, Web Pressmen and Mailers (unlike in the *News* strike, the drivers, members of the Teamsters union, were scabbing.) Each night buses brought the scabs into the *Tribune's* so-called "Freedom Center," which was ringed with gun-toting thugs accompa-

nied by attack dogs. Delivery trucks went through the picket lines which had more holes than Swiss cheese. Instead of calling on Chicago labor to turn out in force and shut down the scab paper, union leaders called on consumers to boycott the *Tribune*.

Six months into the strike, on 4 Janu-

ary 1986, the bureaucrats held a solidarity rally at "Freedom Center." But instead of the tame talkfest they had planned, 17,000 Trib-busters showed up ready for action. With a 3,000-strong IBEW contingent held back blocks away, hundreds of strikers and supporters waged a fierce struggle to enforce the picket lines. But union officials worked in tandem with the cops to keep the scab trucks rolling. The Typographers' vice president even denounced militants as company agents "trying to start a riot." Union members were ready to play hardball and win the strike, what they needed was a leadership that didn't kowtow to capitalist property "rights," and the "law and order" of the profit system.

The January 4 mass picket terrified the Chicago Federation of Labor bureaucrats, and they made sure workers didn't have another opportunity to use their muscle. The consumer boycott dragged on with no effect on *Tribune* Company profits. The strike died a slow death. In 1986 a handful of ITU members crawled back to work, crossing the picket lines of their brother unions.

Daily News strikers: don't let the union tops chalk up another disaster. Play hardball and win!

Daily News...

(continued from page 16)

out 5,000-plus to City Hall Park to demand a contract and oppose Mayor Dinkins' threatened 1.5 percent pay cap and layoffs.

While the union tops spouted hot air from the platform, New York City's rulers took note of the sea of labor on 42nd Street. For a while Dinkins' "financial advisers" were talking of up to 50,000 firings. Now this was scaled down to a few hundred layoffs this year plus cutting back through attrition. Yet this is only postponing the showdown. Financier Felix Rohatyn talks of a looming "social, political, and economic crisis far more serious than the fiscal crisis of the 1970s" (*New York Review of Books*, 8 November). Then, too, the Emergency Financial Control Board complained that a teachers contract was too costly, and canceled it. Sound familiar? Today "Felix the Fixer" wants to slash 18,000 city workers' jobs per year, freeze wages and put the EFCB back in the saddle.

And, of course, they're intent on hiring thousands more cops—adding more than the entire police forces of Dallas, Baltimore, Denver and San Francisco combined!—to protect their property and profits.

The tremendous response to the *Daily News* strike shows a real appetite to fight on the part of New York City workers. More than 16,000 copies of a *Workers Vanguard* strike supplement were snapped up, and over 1,700 of the current issue of *WV* have been sold on picket lines and at labor rallies. Harlem Hospital workers in AFSCME Local 420 eagerly grabbed copies of the *WV* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win." That means facing the capitalist state which brings out the cops to protect any boss against any strike, and has in its anti-labor arsenal the Taylor Law banning strikes by government employees. Militant transit workers in the recent labor demos carried signs declaring, "Strike to Defend Jobs, Save Lives, Smash the Taylor Law!"

To win a solid union victory in the life-and-death battle at the *Daily News*, to squelch Wall Street's plans to get



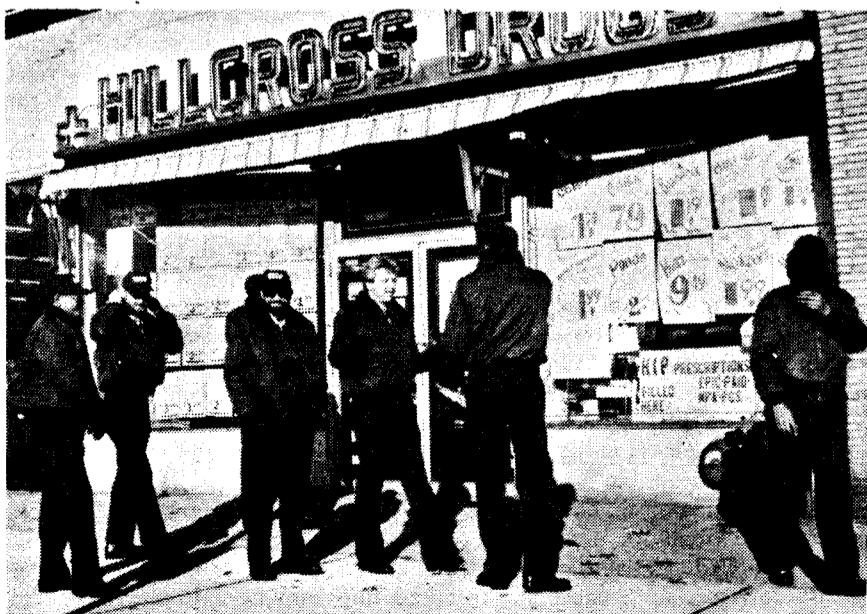
Unionists victimized by *Daily News* goons: From left, Eilene Dolan, Newspaper Guild; Estela Vazquez, Local 1199 hospital workers organizer; Dan Seymour and Don Roberts, drivers union.

out of its bank crisis by bleeding city workers, NYC labor must organize a city workers strike that will bring this center of world finance capital to a screeching halt!

Scab "Ninjas" Get Hot Welcome in the Big Apple

The desperate *Daily News* management is currently giving out hundreds of thousands of copies free, tossing bundles onto street corners in poor neighborhoods,

hoping that the poor will sell them instead of collecting nickels for bottle returns. While screaming about "union violence," the scabherders have put a paramilitary private army on the streets to "protect" *News* hawkers and beat up strike supporters. But bogus statistics, freebies and strong-arm tactics haven't held up their circulation, which is approaching zero. Advertisers are abandoning it in droves. Instead, on Sunday, November 11, one million copies of the



Daily News' army of hired strikebreakers patrols in Queens to enforce distribution of scab paper. For workers defense guards to sweep the "ninja" thugs off the streets.

unions' strike paper, the *Real News*, were handed out by members of a dozen unions.

Tribune Company chairman Charles Brumbach, dubbed the "heavyweight champion of union-busting," has a long string of broken strikes and smashed unions behind him. The *Daily News* was to be his crowning "achievement."

He pulled out the stops in a \$30 million campaign to try to destroy the press unions once and for all. Strikebreakers were brought up from the South, uniformed company goons were hired to enforce distribution of the scab paper on the streets. Caught out by the strength of the unions' opposition, the *News* is now vilifying strikers as "terrorists" and "mobsters." Pro-union columnist Robert Reno ridicules *News* publisher Jim Hoge, who "would have us believe that the newspaper dealers of New York have each been visited personally by John Gotti carrying a bucket of cement as his message" (*Newsday*, 7 November). Striking *News* columnist Mike McAlary quotes a striker's wry remark:

"The truth is that we like management saying that we're threatening news dealers," a driver at the Brooklyn plant confessed the other night. "Because that keeps us from having to actually threaten any dealers."

—*Real News* (11 November)

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WV Photo

The labor-haters at the *New York Times* were sitting back and licking their chops at the prospect of the *News* breaking the Allied unions. They even got a sociologist to pronounce that New York isn't a union town, there are no more union towns. Boy, were they surprised. Stung by the labor militancy, the *Times* (2 November) published an editorial, "Striking Out at Public Order," lamenting that strikers were not playing "within the ground rules." Right—when unions stop playing by the bosses' rules, strikes can be won. The 43rd Street bosses are also furious that "their" drivers are building the picket lines; some drivers have been disciplined already. And doing their bit to plug the "union violence" line, *Times* editors decided that a photo of a city cop pulling a gun on strikers wasn't "fit to print," and killed it (see illustration below).

The *Daily News* PR team, previously employed as corporate spin doctors for Three Mile Island, the Exxon Valdez, Drexel Burnham junk bond dealers and the racist and homophobic *Dartmouth Review*, retail stories of "union terror in the streets of New York." But it is the goons hired by the *News* from an outfit called Special Response Corporation who are threatening newsstand owners who don't want to carry the scab paper. In Queens, these thugs patrol the streets, looking for strikers. And in Manhattan, a Local 1199 hospital union organizer, Estela Vazquez, was among a group of mostly women workers in Midtown who were assaulted by the SRC thugs after giving a homeless man \$60 from their pockets for the bundles of scab *Daily*

The Scab by Jack London

"After God had finished the rattlesnake, the toad, the vampire, He had some awful substance left with which He made a scab.

A scab is a two-legged animal with a cork-screw soul, a water-logged brain, a combination backbone of jelly and glue. Where others have hearts, he carries a tumor of rotten principles.

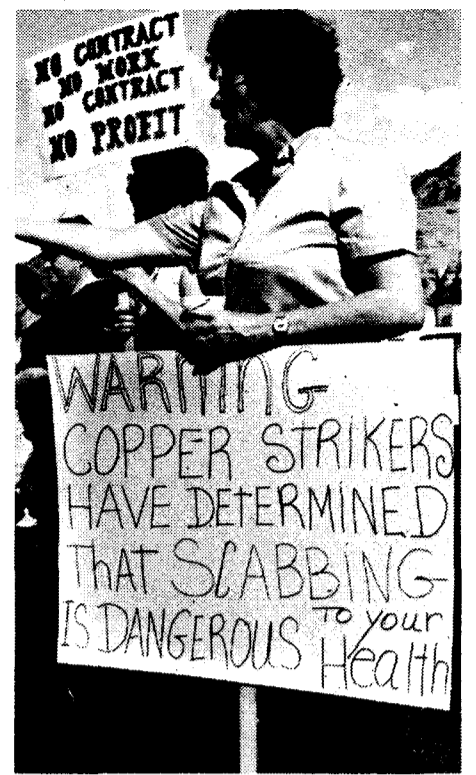
When a scab comes down the street, men turn their backs and angels weep in heaven, and the Devil shuts the gates of Hell to keep him out.

No man has a right to scab so long as there is a pool of water to drown his carcass in, or a rope long enough to hang his body with. Judas Iscariot was a gentleman compared with a scab. For betraying his master, he had character enough to hang himself. A scab has not."

weapons and assault charges after 50 PA cops waded in, causing a riot. Two strikers were grabbed in the cops' dragnet—let them go!

Mayor Dinkins' NYPD brass have assigned Organized Crime Control Bureau cops to the picket lines, and the "major cases squad" has been assigned to investigate "strike violence." Already there have been five dozen arrests of strikers. This should give the lie to the labor bureaucrats who invite the police

on the picket line at the Pacific Street, Brooklyn plant. At a November 2 strike rally on 42nd Street, scores of Indian, Pakistani and Korean newspaper vendors came in solidarity. (Jesse Jackson, the bureaucrats' featured speaker at the rally, crossed the picket lines to go inside for a chat with Hoge and *News* management. Jackson's talk show—where he obscenely hosted Klansman David Duke—is carried on the Tribune Company's Channel 11 in New York.)



Phelps Dodge, 1984

WV Photo

in order to recruit scabs. Only the NABJ agreed. Their executive board, led by *New York Times* reporter Tom Morgan, offered to sell it for \$400. (At the NABJ's last convention the keynote speaker was none other than chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell.)

A storm of protest erupted among minority journalists. *Newsday* editor and former NABJ president Les Payne called "Morgan's decision a singular act of perversity." Striking *News* reporter David Hardy, who sued the *News* bosses for their racist practices and won in 1987, told the *Guild Strike News* (6 November): "They want to break the unions and create a subclass of people there.... It's corporate greed and I've never seen anything like it." Another striker, columnist Juan Gonzalez, "pointed out that [minority] workers have suffered personally from such management tactics. 'The destruction of unions has affected Latin, Afro-American and Asian workers more'" (*El Diario/La Prensa*, 2 November). Within a day, Morgan and the NABJ executive board reversed themselves and refused to scabherd for Hoge.

Workers Vanguard has emphasized repeatedly, in articles going back to last spring, that it is crucial for the unions to immediately demand special union-run recruitment and training programs to bring black, Hispanic and Asian workers into the newspaper crafts. Make the capitalists pay by demanding a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to create jobs at the capitalists' expense!

Meanwhile, Hoge & Co.'s recruiting of scores of homeless men from the Bedford Armory and Greenpoint shelters to hawk the *News* in the streets provoked cries of outrage. The Coalition for the Homeless denounced this cynical ploy: "This is the lowest form of exploitation imaginable.... It is unconscionable to be

continued on page 14



An unidentified off-duty police officer, center, drew his pistol last night on a striker, left, who jumped on the officer's car after chanting "Union Flatbush Avenue and Dean Street. The off-duty officer dropped his weapon without shooting after two other officers appeared." ing plant in the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn to the intersection of

Not "fit to print" in the labor-hating *New York Times*. The *Times* killed this captioned photo of man identified as an off-duty cop pointing gun at strikers outside *Daily News'* Brooklyn plant.

News he was selling. At an Allied press conference held at the Newspaper Guild strike headquarters Vazquez described the attacks:

"In a symbolic display of solidarity with the striking workers we went to the corner and started tearing the *Daily News* and placing them in the garbage can. While we were doing that a van almost drove onto the sidewalk, four men dressed in black with paratrooper's boots came out, started swinging, pushing us aside. I was hit in the back with a walkie-talkie. They threatened that they would break our arms."

But the strikers haven't just been on the receiving end. There are 25,000 news outlets for the *Daily News*, and at key distribution points across the city scab drivers have run into union flying squads. At the Port Authority bus terminal on November 9, 15 of the thugs dressed in midnight blue jump suits with berets and paratrooper boots and armed with pipes, hammers and numchakus got a taste of union power. The "ninjas," as the strikers call them, were met by a flying squad of 100 unionists who made short work of them. No *Daily News* were stocked in the Port Authority that day. Five of the "ninjas" were arrested on

and prison guards into the unions. Cops out of the labor movement! Drop the charges against all strikers!

For Integrated Class Struggle!

Despite the campaign of terror by out-of-state strikebreakers and the scores of arrests by city cops, the strikers are solid. Some members of the Newspaper Guild crossed the picket lines, but a few of them came back out. In addition to intimidation, the *News* bosses have mounted a crude campaign to pit the striking unions against the black, Hispanic and Asian population of New York. This is an out-and-out attempt to foment race war. Publisher Hoge denounces "lily-white craft unions," while the *News* runs spots on black radio and recruits "replacement workers" among the desperately poor black and Hispanic population of New York. The *News* bosses are cynical racists: Brumbach dismissed the *News* as "a local paper for immigrants" (*Newsday*, 2 November).

But so far Hoge has run into a wall of racial unity in defense of the strike. The very first night, pressmen chanted "scab flag" as they burned a Confederate flag

To divide the Guild's ranks, *News* management solicited membership lists from the National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ), the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, and the Asian American Journalists Association

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Cops Gun Down Bronx Mother in Her Home



New York Times

Mrs. Mary Mitchell

Mary Mitchell, a black 41-year-old mother of three, was brutally gunned down by New York police Saturday night, November 3, in her apartment in the Melrose section of the Bronx after a family quarrel. Mrs. Mitchell suffered from epilepsy, but the killer cops didn't bother to find that out. The murder of a black mother in her own home invoked instant memories of the 1984 SWAT-cop shotgun murder of Mrs. Eleanor Bumpurs, a black Bronx grandmother whose "crime" in racist America was to be "behind in her rent."

After savagely pumping a .38 calibre slug into Mary Mitchell's chest, ending her life, the cops arrested and handcuffed her 18-year-old daughter Tiffany

and two other relatives. As usual, the victim was blamed. The first version had Mrs. Mitchell brandishing a knife, then it was changed to striking the cop with a nightstick. Now they admit that these are lies, that the diminutive 5-foot, 2-inch woman didn't beat the strapping 6-foot killer cop with his own billy club. But Mary Mitchell is dead.

"I don't care if the officer was white, black, Chinese or Puerto Rican. He was called to help. Not to murder," Mrs. Mitchell's grieving niece said (*Newsday*, 6 November). But the cops are not there to help, they're there to keep minority populations down and prevent the working class from infringing on what the bosses consider "their" property. That's

what the NYPD and the rent-a-cops are doing for the owners of the scab *Daily News* against strikers who are fighting for their livelihoods.

Faced with a "budget crisis," black Democratic mayor David Dinkins' response was to order another 11,000 added on to the Police Department payroll, while ordering harmful essential service cuts and threatening massive layoffs. New York City does not need thousands more killer cops on the loose to prey on labor, blacks and Latinos. What is needed is massive mobilizations of precisely labor, blacks and Latinos to stop the killer cops, defend the *Daily News* strikers, and bring down the murderous, racist capitalist system!

Daily News...

(continued from page 13)

using the poorest of the poor as strike-breakers." As for the haughty patrician Hoge, we suggest that the homeless occupy his million-dollar Gramercy Park apartment, which was featured in *Vanity Fair* last year. And they should move into the Helmsley on 42nd Street as well, to displace the scabs being housed there at \$200 per night.

Labor Fakers and Their Wall Street Masters

At the November 1 labor rally outside the *Daily News* building there was plenty of posturing from the podium. Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 head Sonny Hall, well-known doormat for the Transit Authority, blustered: "If we see anybody selling the *Daily News* in the subways, their ass belongs to us." But transit workers who have been down to the picket lines at the *News* plants sure as hell haven't seen Sonny Hall. And ask the hundreds of fired provisional track workers, and transit workers who work in the deadly dangerous tunnels and structures with no union protection.

But it wasn't just labor fakery up there. Wall Street's boy on the City Council, Andrew Stein, was given a prominent position on the platform. No wonder—Central Labor Council (CLC) president Thomas Van Arsdale, when asked to support a milquetoast "Tax the Rich" city workers rally on Wall Street, responded: "Don't attack the guys on Wall Street, some of them are nice guys"! And probably even his golf partners. Former DC 37



New York municipal workers rally at City Hall, November 7. Organize a city workers strike against Dinkins and Wall Street!

chief Victor Gotbaum used to boast of being Rohatyn's tennis partner, while he was pouring \$3.8 billion of city workers' pension funds into the Big MAC rat-hole. This time around, the thousands of layoffs they're planning will be overwhelmingly of black, Hispanic and other minority workers.

In an article in the *Village Voice* (1 November) Jonathan Tasini recounts the cold split in the CLC over the *News*

strike and the Dinkins assault on city workers. Tasini quotes officials who were furious when the strike began: "It's unbearable. The CLC can't lead and there are people who want to do something." Barry Lipton, Newspaper Guild president, is quoted saying "The AFL-CIO strategy ain't doing shit." This is hardly news to the *News* workers. For eight months they worked without a contract, frozen into a defensive posture by the paralysis of the Allied union bureaucrats. Even after the battle was on, drivers head Mike Alvino admitted, "I wasn't prepared for war" (*New York Observer*, 12 November).

But Tasini offers "progressive" union bureaucrats like Dennis Rivera of Local 1199 and Jan Pierce of the Communications Workers (CWA) as an alternative to the business unionists like Van Arsdale and Cold Warriors like teachers head Sandra Feldman. Control of a *News* strike steering committee was apparently given over to Rivera and Pierce: "We're going to start running the strike away from the CLC," Pierce is quoted as saying. But what *both* wings of the CLC share is complete and total support to the capitalist Democratic Party. Rivera and Pierce are darlings of the Democratic Socialists of America, to which Dinkins also belongs! When Dinkins was elected less than a year ago (with the support of Wall Street and the *New York Times*) he said of the city workers: "They'll take it from me." And as long as workers and minorities remain tied to the class enemy, the trail of broken strikes and racist cop terror will continue.

For within the confines of New York City, and the capitalist system, there's no solution to the problems this city faces.

Municipal workers can't even afford to pay their astronomical rents (or own a car!) on the money they make, but when they demand more, the politicians and bankers say there isn't any. And aside from a few billion in their usual hidden funds, there isn't. This city is the linchpin of world capitalist finance and generates enormous amounts of income tax, very little of which finds its way back to NYC. America, with its declining economy, is now paying for the world's most expensive military establishment, and for the past decade and a half, the capitalist rulers have systematically starved America's cities of funds. Koch got the banks to roll over the huge municipal debt, but now the whole financial system is in deep shit and they're calling in the loans. It's a blind alley, and the only way out is revolution that expropriates the entire capitalist ruling class.

At the November 7 City Hall union rally, AFSCME District Council president Stanley Hill said that in the '70s, "We lost close to 60,000 workers. We put a guy in named David Dinkins. We put him in office because we said he's the guy that will not lay off people. Now what has happened is that I've had a nightmare." Hill's nightmare is that his ranks will rise up and blame him, along with Van Arsdale, Rivera and Feldman and all the "labor lieutenants of capital" for chaining them to the Democratic Party of war and racism. Today, even the most basic defense of workers' organizations, of workers' livelihood, demands challenging capitalist property rights. For that you need a workers party committed to waging the class struggle to victory for all the oppressed. That is what the Spartacist League is fighting to build.

- Shut down the *Daily News* with mass pickets! Longshoremen on the Newark docks must "hot-cargo" the rolls of newsprint from Canada! Occupy the printing plants—let the Tribune Company try to publish when the strikers are on the inside holding their presses and real estate. For workers defense guards to sweep the "ninja" and brownshirt scabherders off the streets!

- Extend the *News* strike—Take back the givebacks at the *Post* and open up a fight for jobs with a citywide newspaper strike. For an elected citywide strike committee. Turn the *Real News* into a mass circulation, daily strike paper for the working people of New York. If the Trib bosses threaten to close the *News*, hold their precious private property hostage.

- City workers—Organize a city workers strike, including transit and the schools, that will smash the no-strike Taylor Law for good! Hands off the teachers contract! For an immediate 10 percent pay hike with full COLA for everyone! Cancel the debt—screw the banks!

- Break with the Democrats! For a class-struggle workers party that will fight for a workers government! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Newspaper of the Trotskyist League of Canada

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New Readers...

(continued from page 7)

worked in previous years, while New York expanded its traditional sub arenas by adding door-to-door work in a mainly Caribbean black neighborhood in Brooklyn.

WV teams also met with a good response in the heat of labor struggle, selling hundreds of papers to striking teachers in New Orleans, workers on strike against Ideal Electric in Ohio, and shipyard workers preparing to strike in Norfolk, Virginia.

Another targeted audience was transit workers, with Chicago and New York leading the way. Importantly, of New York's 101-1/2 points in transit, 73 points are renewals. Single-issue sales of WV to trade unionists saw a sharp rise from coast to coast. The Chicago local once again did an excellent job in WV renewal subs (215 points) and did well off literature tables in a black neighborhood where WV is sold regularly. The Cleveland branch got over half of its quota in resubscriptions.

West Coast

The West Coast comrades who toured the normally lucrative Pacific Northwest campuses found the whole area quite conservative. But at Eugene, Oregon, two enterprising comrades sold 154 points although the campus seemed pretty quiescent; one student even complained, "mostly just pro-trees and anti-vivisectionists up here." Nonetheless *Women & Revolution* was a hit at Eugene, tapping into the hot issue of abortion rights. An attractive press display the comrades put up helped:

"The kiosk was a major attention-getter. It saved us a lot of energy letting the kiosk do some of the selling for us. We applied something we learned from the Mexico City comrades. They let people really look over and study their literature displays for a long while. It was common for people to study the kiosk for 5-10 minutes, even complaining about wanting to finish an article that had been cut off for the display."

At UC Berkeley, the center of West Coast student protests against U.S. war moves, comrades sold 132 points.

New and long-term subscribers to WV represent our party's lifeline to the working class, youth and the oppressed. It takes a lot of hard work and some very special talents. Here we must pay special tribute to comrade Emma from New York, the individual winner for the past two years, who sold an astounding 257 points—certainly a new standard in our comradely competition. Honorable mention goes to comrade Hursey (Oakland), who rang in at 131 points.

A "Collective Organizer" of Our Intervention

The role of the communist press is to be the collective organizer of the party as well as its best propagandist and agitator. In this respect comrades in the field found two recent WV articles particularly useful: "Blacks Don't Buy Bush's War" (WV No. 509, 7 September) and the polemical "Desperately Seeking Imperialist Doves" (WV No. 510, 21 September).

New York mobilized heavily for the September 13 Cooper Union rally headed by Vietnam-era bourgeois defeatist Ramsey Clark. Inside the hall, the Workers World/PAM types allowed no floor discussion, but many among the overflow crowd outside were intrigued by our giant placard proclaiming "Break Blockade of Iraq," provoking many discussions and helping us sell our press. While the rare bourgeois "doves" and scads of fake-leftists in "dove" clothing droned on about Iraq's violation of Kuwaiti "sovereignty" and urged the U.S. rulers to find a more "peaceful" way—like hiding behind the fig leaf of UN "peacekeepers"—to grab the Near East's oil resources for themselves, we sold 325 newspapers. Our intervention into events around the country generated new readers and contacts and swelled participation

in SL contingents at the October 20 protests. At these demonstrations nationwide, comrades and friends of the party sold 1,848 pieces of literature; the day before, 295 papers and pamphlets were sold to Haitian demonstrators in Washington.

People who are now reading WV for the first time will find that we are not like other left groups you may have encountered. We seek to be clear and forthright about our communist views, while others seek to blur their differences and blend into the purported liberal "mainstream." At planning meetings for activities against the Persian Gulf war, you will find us arguing openly for "Break the Blockade of Iraq—Defeat U.S. Imperialism" while the rest of the organizations prate about "unity" while stabbing each other in the back as they jockey for seats on the steering committee. We are proud of our history and record, whereas others hope to bury the memory of the now-embarrassing opportunism of the past: their cheerleading for the "Iranian revolution" led by ayatollah Khomeini; their championship of Polish Solidarność, the "free trade union" beloved by Reagan, the Pope and Western bankers; their support for the con artists who put forward "consumer boycotts" as the alternative to "old-fashioned" (and generally illegal, but effective) union tactics like mass picketing and solidarity strikes.

For these opportunists, support for the Nicaraguan Revolution meant raising only the timidest of criticisms while loudly enthusing over the Sandinistas' "mixed economy"/"political pluralism" efforts to straddle the class line—policies which meant disorienting, demoralizing and impoverishing the working masses to conciliate the "patriotic" capitalists (and in the vain hope of placating the U.S.). Only now, after the Sandinistas' electoral disaster under the unremitting economic/military pressure of U.S. imperialism, do these American "leftist" cynics "discover" there was a need to *break the power* of the capitalists; one group is even publishing articles on how "Sandinistas Didn't Learn Historical Lessons of the Russian Revolution"! There's a good reason why these groups don't push back issues of their publications! In contrast, we publish a subject index to WV every year and sell back issues and bound volumes of our press.

Our party now faces the challenge of winning new recruits from among these layers we intersected in the sub drive. We urge young people to learn more about the Spartacist League, our political work past and present, about history and Marxism as the means for understanding the world in order to change it.

An Introduction to Marxism

The conflict of interests between defined groups of people over the social surplus produced in the course of human labor is called the class struggle and it remains the driving force of history down to the present moment. In the course of that struggle, successive ruling classes corresponding to economic development have replaced one another, usually quite violently.

Marx and Engels pointed out that one of capitalism's advantages over previous social systems is that (by turning labor into a commodity) it conceals the basic division of society into competing classes under a shroud of impersonalized and allegedly objective forms: the job market, the corporation owned by investors, the banks. In feudal society, by way of contrast, the serf knew he would work all his life for the lord in his manor house (nor was the American slave in any doubt about who his master was and that he was his enemy).

Capitalism has produced some fine things including a world economy, the possibilities for mass literacy, the industrial revolution, an explosion of science and technology, etc. It now stands, like chattel slavery did before it, as a monstrous fetter on further human development, and in its decay generates a litany of evils from the poverty of the so-called "Third World" to the rise in racism, crime and social pathology here at home. But another huge explosion of productive human endeavor will result if the working class supplants the capitalist bourgeoisie as the rulers of society. What prevents this outcome at present is not merely the willingness of the ruling class to shed rivers of blood to prevent such a thing, but above all the absence of tested and authoritative international revolutionary leadership.

This whole way of seeing the world is profoundly "un-American." Surely nowhere else in the world do people believe that "there are no classes" or that moral questions guide matters of public policy.

An illiterate tea-picker on an Indian plantation knows full well that the life-and-death questions of his existence are not susceptible to resolution by his voting in some free election but are decided by tiny groups of people in New Delhi or Tokyo. In most countries people would laugh out loud at the idea that what you read in the daily paper is true. American kids newly exposed to the idea of "socialism" might ponder the fact that the vast majority of people on this planet would probably say they are for it.

An Invitation from the Spartacus Youth Clubs

Students interested in socialist ideas should consider taking initiative to pursue the questions raised in the pages of WV. Join together with others at your school in a study group—we would like to work with you in preparing discussions and reading materials and can perhaps arrange a visit by an SL comrade to speak to your group. If you support students being exposed to the distinctive, uncompromisingly Marxist views of the Spartacists, show the press around to people you know, or arrange to receive additional copies for study groups or sales. Pick up the phone or the pen to call or write us.

Thinly spread across the North American continent, there are about a dozen branches of the SL, Trotskyist League of Canada and Grupo Espartaquista de México conducting active political work you can become involved in, from demonstrations and educational events to defense cases and strike support. For example, during the current strike at the New York *Daily News*, Spartacist supporters distributed 16,000 copies of our strike supplement in the course of a week, then sold 931 copies of the last issue of WV at one support rally held on November 1. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are looking for students and young workers who like what we have to say and want to pursue their political education through involvement with our work.

We're building a revolutionary party to intervene in the explosive political battles ahead: find out why an authentic socialist program is the way forward out of the poverty, racism and war that are the only future that capitalism holds out for the young people of today. The social misery we see all around us cries out for a solution, and you can be part of it. ■

Germany 1918-19...

(continued from page 9)

Revolution and this is almost a parody of an insurrection. It flowed from the flawed consciousness of the German lefts and the KPD. They thought revolution would spring from the masses and they would worry about organization later. It was a fatal defect. The *Freikorps* was

moved in under the bloodhound Noske and proceeded to brutally finish off each isolated pocket of militancy, even as they tried to surrender. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were captured and murdered. Rosa's corpse was thrown in the Landwehr canal.

For a Leninist Vanguard Party!

The German proletariat was not totally defeated. Workers reacted to the obvious betrayal of the Social Democracy and joined the fledgling KPD in droves. The

KPD became a mass party and in 1923 proletarian revolution was again on the order of the day, but this time a resolute leadership was not in place to lead it. Schorske raises a very interesting question, contrasting the situation in Germany and in Russia:

"Why was there no theory like Lenin's in the German left? The presence of a higher degree of civil liberties in Germany doubtless operated against the rise of those concepts of revolutionary organization which are produced by a conspiratorial existence. More important was the fact that the party organization, while more highly perfected in Germany than elsewhere, was more consistently employed to thwart the development of revolutionary radicalism. The political content of the German organization made the party's revolutionaries suspect it as a kind of counter-revolutionary instrument which the revolution would have profoundly to alter—in unspecified ways. The left radicals believed as a matter of faith that the masses, once in motion, would find the proper forms of organization."

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

Schorske is wrong to reduce it to simply a matter of conspiratorial existence. Lenin had a political *program* and he forged an organization to carry it out. Unfortunately the tragedy of the German Revolution is that you didn't have that organization. As Leon Trotsky wrote in *The Lessons of October*: "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer." ■



January 1919: Spartacists man the barricades in Berlin. After seizing office of SPD newspaper, revolutionaries made sandbags out of Social Democrats' yellow press.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Scab News Too Hot to Handle NYC Labor Shows Its Muscle, Now Use It!

Organize a City Workers Strike Against Dinkins and Wall Street

NOVEMBER 12—As the strike against the New York *Daily News* by 2,500 workers in nine Allied Printing Trades Council unions enters its third week, the union-busting bosses are in trouble. New Yorkers laugh at the claims of spokes-scab Lisa Robinson that the union-busters at the *News* are distributing a million copies of their scabloid. Newsstand owners refuse to carry it, the strike remains solid, and support for the strikers at "New York's hometown paper" who are being gang-banged by out-of-town owners is enormous. Practically the only paper the scab *News* is competing with is the *Street News*, a yuppie-owned rag which exploits the homeless who hawk it on subways.

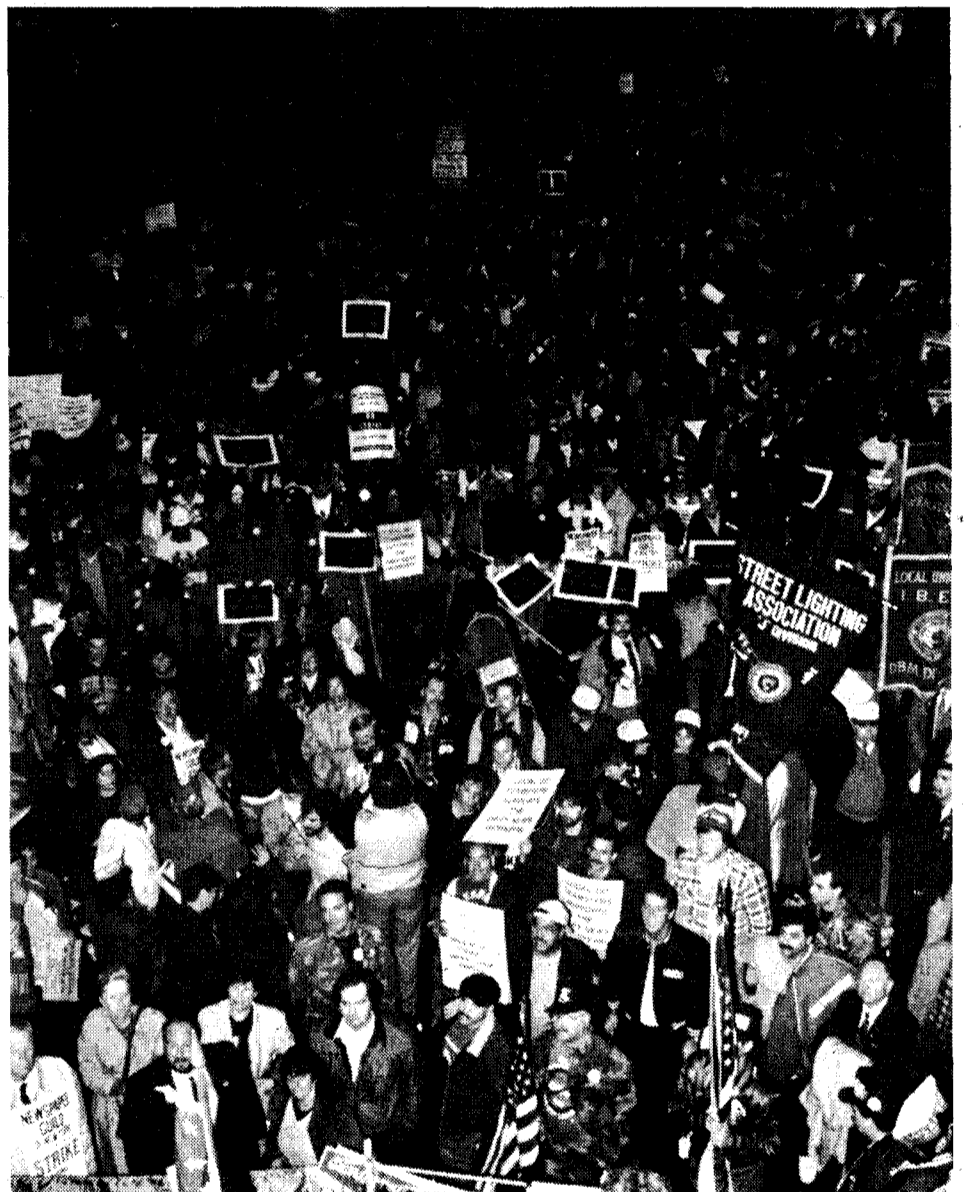
"Not since Ronald Reagan fired striking air traffic controllers in 1981, which put unions on the defensive for the rest of the decade, have the stakes seemed so high in a labor struggle," wrote *Time* (12 November). This battle has been a long time coming. The professional union-busters of the Chicago-based Tribune Co. declared war on the *Daily News* unions, and they got war. So far the strikers are winning. But not because of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats' impotent consumer boycott, the union tops' \$2 million campaign to plead with the *News*' big advertisers or support from phony "friends of labor" in Albany and City Hall.

In the absence of mass pickets to shut

down the printing plants in Brooklyn, Kearney, New Jersey and Garden City, Long Island, *the strike is being won on the streets of New York, by the courageous efforts of flying squads of drivers, pressmen and their allies.* For once labor is playing some hardball. And the hugely popular battle of the *News* workers has drawn outpourings of support from construction, hotel and hospital workers, and sparked rallies by thousands of city unionists facing layoffs and cutbacks from the Democratic administration of black mayor David Dinkins. The impact is being felt across the country, with a strike set against the San Francisco *Examiner* and *Chronicle* and the San Jose *Mercury News*.

When the Central Labor Council finally called a rally at the *Daily News* building on 42nd Street on November 1, over a week into the strike, 15,000 construction workers, city workers and others rallied with pressmen, drivers and the Guild. A roar went up when an effigy of Lisa Robinson was burned, and workers got a few licks in on a hapless scab who tried to slither into the *News* building from the Helmsley Hotel. The day before, 500 Local 1199 hospital workers came to the *Daily News* picket line. And on the 2nd, another several thousand unionists rallied on 42nd Street. The following week, AFSCME District Council 37 and Teamsters Local 237 brought

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WV Photo
Combative *Daily News* strike has energized the labor movement. NYC union rally of 15,000 in defense of their striking class brothers at the *News* building on 42nd St., November 1.

Bay Area Press Unions: Strike to Win!

SAN FRANCISCO—As we go to press, workers at the three largest daily newspapers in the Bay Area are fed up with the management drive to impose take-back contracts and are gearing up for a fight. Unions representing 4,500 workers at the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *San Francisco Examiner*, and the *San Jose Mercury News* have set a strike deadline for November 16. Last week, at a rally of over 300 workers in front of the *Chronicle* and *Examiner* buildings in San Francisco, more than 100 copies of *Workers Vanguard* were snapped up as workers saw the headlines: "All Out to Defend *Daily News* Workers!" and "Class War at *Daily News*." The strike against the scab NYC *News* is being closely followed by Bay Area unionists.

Most of the ten newspaper unions

representing drivers, pressmen, typographers, janitors and writers have been working without a contract since February. The Conference of Newspaper Unions says that they face "an onslaught of management demands to give up working conditions and rights we have had for decades." Members of the mailers union, Teamsters Local 15, told WV they've worked with no contract and no raise for five years, adding "This all started when Reagan busted PATCO." But it can be stopped here. A union fact sheet reveals that the Knight-Ridder chain, owner of the *Mercury News*, reported \$95 million in profits in the second quarter of 1990, while the jointly produced *Chronicle* and *Examiner* are also raking in the dough.

In the East Bay, the financially crumbling *Oakland Tribune* just announced

20 percent wage and benefit cuts for its 600 workers whose contracts expire on December 30—this is on top of the paper's elimination of 100 jobs last June! What's needed is one strong industry-wide union, including the *Trib*, to fight the Hearsts, Thierot-DeYoungs (owners of the *Chronicle*) and the rest. A strike now during the holiday season when newspapers are especially vulnerable to losing advertising revenue would hit the press owners where it hurts, as the increasingly desperate union-busters at the *Daily News* are learning.

At the November 9 rally, SF Central Labor Council head Walter Johnson made all kinds of "solidarity forever" promises in the event of a strike, including longshoremen refusing to unload paper destined for *Chronicle/Examiner*

pressrooms. Sounds good, but where has his spouting off gotten the Greyhound strikers? Bay Area unionists remember that eight months earlier, at another labor rally to honor Robert Waterhouse, a striking driver killed by a scab bus, Johnson and ILWU president Jimmy Herman's "solidarity" consisted in pulling back pickets who had rushed to stop a scab bus.

The Greyhound strike needed the muscle of all labor—in the Bay Area, Teamsters, longshore, city workers, Muni and AC Transit—on mass, rock solid picket lines! The newspaper bosses say that if there's a strike they'll publish anyhow. This means *showdown*. The unions can and must build picket lines that no one can cross to shut it down tight, from the loading docks to the composing room! ■