

## Bush, Democrats Push Racist "Law and Order"

# Los Angeles City Under Siege

Ted Spagnol/Impact Visuals

One month after the racist acquittal of the cops who brutally beat Rodney King to within an inch of his life, L.A. remains an occupied city. While the Army and Marines have been pulled out along with some units of the National Guard, a dragnet of FBI, Federal Marshals and Border Patrol comb the ghettos and barrios along with LAPD SWAT teams and Metro squads. Black and Latino youth have to fear for their lives.

Police are pulling over blacks in their cars, photographing license plates, fattening their computer databases with names of suspected "riot ringleaders" to be tracked down and their homes stormed like victims of Salvadoran death

squads. Contrary to longstanding city policy, hundreds of Mexican and Central American immigrants were turned over to the INS and have already been deported—others are still crammed in the county jail.

Prosecutors wrangle with the media, trying to get their hands on TV news "outtakes" (unbroadcast footage) to better identify and round up more "suspects." Newsmen worry that next time around they will be seen as unarmed adjuncts of the police, with possible dire consequences. Meanwhile, Bush says his plan for the ghettos is to "weed and seed." He wants to "seed" capitalist exploitation with low-wage, non-union

"enterprise zones." And to make this profitable, he wants to "weed"—that is, lock up and *destroy*—a whole generation of black youth.

The cops, panicked by the spectre of Crips/Bloods "unity" against the LAPD, are determined to break up the rival gangs' truce, attempting to provoke massacres by means such as picking up a Crip and dumping him in Bloods territory. Last week the police announced to great fanfare that 100,000-150,000 black and Latino youth in L.A. are supposedly gang members. This shocking figure is based on the 50,000 "suspects" arrested in sweeps by the LAPD and County Sheriff's office during 1987-90. They're

bringing in federal agents, many of them former CIA, to wage "war" on the gangs.

Now cop Stacey Koon, acquitted of beating Rodney King, "leaks" his 275-page unpublished "memoirs," disclosing incidents the jury "somehow" never received. Koon brags how he repeatedly shot an armed black man in the arms, legs and torso. As with the King beating, this incident was filmed and shown to recruits "as a training tool." Koon writes that when cops on the scene asked if the black man would die, he responded, "No way. You or I, we'd die but not a Negro. They're too dumb to go into shock."

Anyone with a black skin is a target.  
*continued on page 7*



Quayle: Putting the hex on Murphy Brown. Gamma

## Dan Quayle and "Family Values"

All last week, people were trying to fathom the weird worldview of Dan Quayle. Overheard in a Manhattan office: "How're your family values today? Thinking of starting a riot?"

In the face of the nationwide explosion of anger over the racist cops' acquittal in the Rodney King beating trial, the knee-jerk reaction from the White House was to blame the oppressed, attempting to stir up a white backlash against "immoral" ghetto blacks and other minorities. George Herbert Walker Bush told a Notre Dame commencement that inner-city problems were due to "the disintegration of the American family." J. Danforth Quayle III likewise told conservative Republicans at San Francisco's elite Commonwealth Club that the "lawless social anarchy which we saw" in Los Angeles resulted from "the breakdown of family structure." Quayle capped

his "law and order" speech by ludicrously placing the blame for America's "declining moral values" on...the heroine of the immensely popular TV sitcom *Murphy Brown*, played by Candice Bergen. Murphy, he claimed, was "mocking the importance of fathers by bearing a child alone" in the series' season finale.

Not surprisingly, the media had a field day with the remarks of the perennial laughingstock vice president, which also threw the administration spin doctors for a loop. Addressing reporters the next day, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater first endorsed Quayle's views, then reappeared minutes later (after someone informed him that 38 million people had watched the episode?) to state that "we're not comfortable getting involved in criticism of her show" and offering the opinion that *Murphy Brown*

*continued on page 6*

# The Execution of Roger Coleman

On May 20, the state of Virginia murdered Roger Keith Coleman. Despite a public outcry, Virginia governor Douglas Wilder refused to block the execution, stating it would cause "no substantial injustice"! And the Supreme Court predictably rejected last-minute appeals for a stay. From a dinner party for Canadian prime minister Mulroney, at which the Murphy Brown TV show was the hot topic of discussion, tuxedo-clad Chief Justice Rehnquist gave the word—Coleman must fry. At 11:38 p.m., after nine minutes and two electric jolts of 1,750 volts surging through his body, Roger Coleman was pronounced dead.

Convicted on circumstantial evidence,

Coleman was executed for the rape and murder of his sister-in-law Wanda McCoy in 1981. With the help of Presbyterian lay minister Jim McCloskey, Coleman had uncovered substantial evidence pointing to his innocence. Witnesses came forward to state that Donald Ramey, a neighbor of McCoy's, confessed to the crime. One witness was found dead in March. Roger Matney, the jail house informant who testified that Coleman confessed to the killing, later admitted to his mother-in-law he had lied to get a reduction of sentence. Court after court refused to review this evidence because Coleman's attorneys filed his initial appeal *one day late!*

Coleman wasn't just another anonymous victim of state murder. His face was on the cover of *Time* magazine. He appeared on the Phil Donahue show the day of his execution, and on ABC's *Nightline* the previous night. National news shows and papers around the country featured his case. The electric chair in which he died was brought into the living rooms of millions across the U.S. As he was strapped into the chair, Roger Coleman issued a searing indictment of this "legal" murder system: "An innocent man is going to be murdered tonight. When my innocence is proven I hope Americans will recognize the injustice of the death penalty as all other civilized nations have."

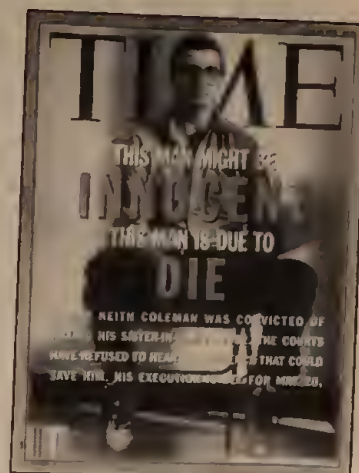
Two days later the *New York Times* reported: "Execution Stirs Up Troubling Questions." To justify the killing, state officials from Wilder on down pointed to Coleman's "failing" a lie detector test hours before his execution. "How could he have passed it?" asked Henry Heller, protesting outside the Virginia state capitol. "A polygraph is a measure of stress. If Roger Coleman is not under a lot of stress, who is?" (*New York Times*, 21 May).

Coleman certainly wouldn't be the first innocent man sent to death in this country, nor the last. One of those innocent men fighting for their lives on death row is political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, prominent journalist and well-known supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was framed and sentenced to die specifically for these political activities. The Partisan Defense Committee has played a leading role in the campaign to save Jamal's life as part of our opposition to the racist death penalty.

A study by professors Michael Radelet and Hugo Bedau documented at least 420 death penalty sentences meted out to people who by the state's own later admission had been wrongfully convicted; at least 23 of them were carried out. During eleven years on Illinois' death row Lloyd Eldon Miller came within a day of execution many times before being exonerated. Florida inmate Joseph Brown was 15 hours away from the chair when a federal court stayed his execution in 1983. Three years later he was exonerated and released. Now in Texas, Leonel Herrera awaits death for the 1981 killing of two police officers, having presented convincing evidence of his innocence. His appeal is before the Supreme Court, which is expected to endorse the state's argument that Herrera's innocence is not constitutionally "relevant."

Coleman was the 18th person executed this year. That same day, migrant worker Jesus Romero was executed in Texas, as was Robert Black two days later. At the current pace more people will be "legally" murdered this year than in any since 1962. "Judge Death" Rehnquist and the ruling class have been pushing to eliminate all impediments, such as the *habeas corpus* challenge to state court decisions which accounts for over 40 percent of death sentences being reversed. To make sure California executed Robert Alton Harris on April 21, Rehnquist & Co. carried out a judicial coup d'état, ordering the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals to issue no further stays (see "High Court Murder," WV No. 550, 1 May).

What created a brief hiatus in executions was not some mythically liberal Supreme Court but the mass social struggles of the 1960s against Jim Crow segregation and the imperialist war in Vietnam. Not a single execution was carried out in the five years before 1972, when the Supreme Court put capital punishment on hold until 1977. In the absence of significant class struggle over the past dozen years, the ruling class has been revving up its death engine, as part of an all-sided assault against working people and the oppressed. And this is bipartisan policy, from Bush and



Time magazine cover (18 May) highlights the Supreme Court's rush to execute Roger Coleman.

Rehnquist to the reformist darling Wilder and Democratic front-runner Clinton. "He's not dying to be president," said Carrie Rengers of Amnesty International about Clinton, "but he is killing to be president."

This racist capitalist state has no right to say who lives and who dies. To this country's rulers guilt or innocence doesn't matter when the victim of legal state murder is poor, black or Hispanic like most of those on death row. It will take mass struggle to stop the killing machine, and it will take a workers revolution to put it out of business for good.

\* \* \*

After eight years of litigation the Seattle Freeway Hall case finally came to a close. On April 27, a judge ruled for the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), dismissing a 1984 suit by a vindictive ex-member, Richard Snedigar.

In 1979 then FSP member Snedigar donated \$22,500 to the Freeway Hall Eviction Fund to assist in the purchase of new headquarters. He resigned in 1980 and four years later sued for return of the donation with interest. Snedigar and his two redbaiting lawyers sought to use pretrial discovery to obtain FSP membership lists, financial records and minutes of party meetings. The FSP's refusal to turn these over led to a default judgment against them in 1987. Two years later an appeals court set aside the default, and in 1990 the Washington State Supreme Court ruled that the First Amendment protected the FSP from disclosing the documents. After a Superior Court judge denied Snedigar's last disclosure motion in March, the trial opened on April 13.

This was a vital legal battle in defense of the right of political association, particularly in the context of increasing government attempts to persecute and prosecute leftist political activity. Had the FSP lost, the case would have set a dangerous precedent for disgruntled ex-members of a political organization to paralyze its very existence by seeking recovery of prior contributions. In 1985 the PDC and Spartacist League were among the 70 organizations that joined in the *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief filed by the National Lawyers Guild against Snedigar's disclosure motions. We have also contributed to the FSP's defense. Intervention by the state into the internal life of left and labor organizations is lethal. The FSP has won an important legal victory for the whole of the left and labor movement.

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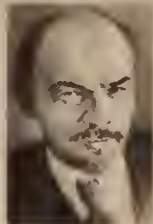
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TROTSKY

## Minneapolis General Strike, May 1934

Three major class battles in 1934—led by the Trotskyist Communist League in Minneapolis, the Stalinist Communist Party in San Francisco and A.J. Muste's American Workers Party in Toledo—set the stage for the organization of large-scale industrial unions in the U.S. The leadership of reds, acting against the hidebound labor bureaucracy, was key to mobilizing the workers in class struggle. But where the Stalinists channeled



LENIN

working-class unrest into support for Roosevelt's Democratic Party, the Trotskyists (with whom the AWP fused in 1934) fought for a revolutionary workers party to sweep away the capitalist system. Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon addressed the significance of the May 1934 Minneapolis general strike.

The open resistance to the conservative labor bureaucracy at Minneapolis and San Francisco, and the disillusionment ensuing from the systematic treacheries in the other situations—in averting strikes that were due and in wrecking those which could not be prevented—presage a widespread revolt against the reactionary officialdom....

The workers, awakening from a long apathy and ready for the militant struggle to regain their lost standards, have not yet found a leadership of the same temper. Minneapolis is the one magnificent exception. There a group of determined militants, armed with the most advanced political conceptions, organized the workers in the trucking industry, led them through three strikes within six months, and remain today at the head of the union. It was this fusion of the native militancy of the American workers, common to practically all of the strikes of this year, with a leadership equal to its task, that made the strikes of a few thousand workers of a single local union events of a national, and even international, prominence; a shining example for the whole labor movement....

The Communist League and the American Workers Party, despite the limited forces at their disposal, took advantage of such opportunities as they had and demonstrated in practice, notably in Minneapolis and Toledo, that they are the bearers of trade union policies and methods around which the left wing of tomorrow will crystallize. The fatal weakness in the labor movement today is precisely the lack of a genuine left wing. This left wing can come to life only on a new basis, with a new policy that is free from every taint of reformist cowardice and degenerate Stalinism.

The mainspring of the new left wing can only be a revolutionary Marxian party. Its creation is our foremost task.

—James P. Cannon, "The Strike Wave and the Left Wing" (*New Internationalist*, September-October 1934)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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## CPUSA Comes Out for Social-Fascist Bloc

The spectacle of the red flag of revolution appearing side by side with anti-Semitic signs and fascist banners should turn the stomach of any communist. But not the Communist Party USA, which positively wallows in the grotesque "popular front" between Stalinist leftovers and outright fascists in the Soviet Union.

The IMF-sponsored "free market" misery being imposed on the Soviet peoples by Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary regime has provoked a series of mass workers protests in the streets of Moscow. However, the leadership of these demonstrations has been in the hands of a gaggle of Stalinists, primarily the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRP), whose increasing emphasis on Russian nationalism has provided a "left" cover for the most sinister enemies of the multinational Soviet proletariat.

RKRP demonstration organizers not only share their platform with "hardline" anti-Semitic general Albert Makashov (a member of the RKRP Central Committee) and the openly nationalist *Nashi* (Ours) party, whose most prominent spokesman is a monarchist. They also



Spatacioli

Stalinist RKRP leader Anpilov (with microphone) joins forces with outright anti-Semites.

accommodate outright fascists, like the revived Black Hundreds tsarist pogromists (the Union of the Russian People) and the virulently anti-Semitic Pamyat fascists.

The Stalinists' bloc with fascistic ultranationalists is a godsend to the Yeltsinite "democrats," who loudly denounce this "red-brown coalition" in an

attempt to discredit any and all opposition to their capitalist-restorationist drive. But when masses of workers have turned out against Yeltsin, as on March 17 when several hundred thousand representing the multinational Moscow working class rallied, they came in search of an avenue of struggle against the ravages of counterrevolution. Thou-

sands have eagerly snapped up the Trotskyist literature of the International Communist League (see WV No. 548, 3 April). But from the self-styled "leaders" of these demonstrations, they have been offered no program for working-class defense, but only the suicidal chauvinist demagoguery of the RKRP and its fascist allies.

Yet it is precisely the "red-brown coalition" which Gus Hall's crowd hails. In the *People's Weekly World* (28 March) report on March 17, Mike Davidow, their man in Moscow, waxes positively lyrical about the disgusting nationalist lashup:

"Cossacks from the Urals rubbed shoulders with Communist workers from Moscow and St. Petersburg [!]. The flag of Peter the Great, emblazoned with its blue cross, snapped in the wind beside the red flag of the Soviet Union. Here, no dividing line between Red and White."

No, siree, Mike! Betcha he was reminiscing about the CP's own "patriotic unity" days in the imperialist Second World War, when American Stalinists were saluting Old Glory and hailing the A-bombing of Hiroshima.

In a subsequent column in the 11 April *continued on page 8*

## Brouhaha Over "Kremlin Gold"

For decades, anti-Communist witch-hunters out to persecute leftist militants regularly screamed about "Kremlin gold." Now, even as they trumpet the "death of Communism," the imperialist media have resurrected this hoary Cold War hobbyhorse. The *Toronto Saturday Star* (14 March) carried a sensationalist front-page "exclusive": "Soviets Secretly Paid Canada's Communists \$2 Million." A *London Independent* (27 March) headline declaimed, "Secret Fund Gave Aid to Foreign 'Workers'." New York *Newsday* (1 March) railed about "a secret, global operation dating back to the 1950s to subsidize left-wing groups in Europe, North and South America and the Middle East."

In the U.S., Gus Hall's shriveling Communist Party has become the focus of allegations that it was one of the chief recipients of Soviet financial assistance, to the tune of \$2 million a year. The bourgeois press has even produced crude hand-lettered "receipts" for the money supposedly signed by Hall. Denying the

claims, Hall aptly noted that his party's total annual expenditure is "peanuts" compared to what a typical bourgeois candidate spends for a single senatorial race. Even an FBI spokesman dismissed the brouhaha, yawning that Soviet assistance to Western Stalinist parties had long been "common knowledge."

Meanwhile, the Canadian solicitor-general seized on the *Star* "exposé" to order an investigation into the Canadian Communist Party by the RCMP and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. In a move reeking of gratuitous vindictiveness, the Canadian government is now going after the decaying remnants of the Communist Party (CPC) and its ailing former longtime leader, 83-year-old William Kashtan.

Bill Kashtan, who says "I never saw any of this money," thinks he might be the victim of a CIA plot. Well, there certainly are such things. Arthur Scargill, leader of the militant 1984-85 British miners strike, was subjected to a torrent of calumny over financial aid from

Toronto newspaper pushes sensationalist vendetta against Canadian CP and former leader William Kashtan.

Soviet trade unions. When this vendetta fell flat, the witchhunters turned around and outrageously accused Scargill of having pocketed Soviet money which should rightly have gone to the union. The bourgeois press eventually admitted that the CIA was up to its ears in the anti-Scargill crusade and the whole affair was a frame-up from the start.

This new anti-Communist vendetta is a by-product of Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary drive in the Soviet Union. Last October, an ever-burgeoning "investiga-

THE SATURDAY STAR 100

Soviets secretly paid Canada's Communists \$2 million



tion" into the hotbed August coup spawned another into charges of "corruption" and funneling billions out of the country, aimed at implicating all associated with the former government, including Gorbachev himself. (Gorbachev, meanwhile, is flying around the U.S. in the private jet of *Forbes* magazine which has emblazoned on it "Capitalist Tool.")

The financing of foreign CPs became a prominent part of this "corruption" *continued on page 4*

## Afghanistan: Mujahedin Terror Stalks Kabul

These chilling photographs of Afghan fundamentalists seizing and gunning down a supporter of the former modernizing regime in Kabul underscore the warning in our recent WV article headlined "Bloodbath Looms in Afghanistan." After cold-bloodedly executing him, the cutthroats continued pumping bullets into the dead body.

While rival ethnic and tribal-based *mujahedin*

gangs continue to kill each other, the chief targets of these CIA-backed feudat reactionaries will be emancipated women, youth and leftists. Women have scarcely ventured out into the streets of Kabul since the *mujahedin* took the city, and the few that have were covered in head-to-toe "veils." "We will make Afghanistan like Iran," vows one guerrilla brandishing an AK-47. The new fundamentalist rulers in

Kabul have now officially decreed that women can only appear in "Islamic dress." *Newsday* (9 May) reports: "Failure to obey is punishable by flogging."

We repeat that the withdrawal of Soviet forces ordered by M.S. Gorbachev was a betrayal of the Afghan and Soviet peoples. Here you see what the victory of Washington's Afghan "freedom fighters" is bringing. ■

Ellis/Reuters photos



# Ox Gored

5/9/92

Dear Brother Norden,

I've read the article entitled: "BT Slezacek Says: Ax the Pensioners" in the current (May 1, 1992) issue of *Workers Vanguard*, and I can't say that I'm too impressed with your brand of "journalism".

First, disregarding for the moment the personal invective, and slanderous vitriol, some factual corrections: No one on the Bay Area Typographical Union Local 21 (BATU-21) Health and Welfare Committee ever proposed "ax(ing)" our union's pensioners and relegating them to "dying in a pool of urine on a gurney in the corridor of some county hospital." Nor, objectively, is that the result of our actions. We recommended that the *subsidy* that reduces the premium paid by our pensioners be continued for another year.

As in many old-line fraternal unions, the subsidy paid by the 500 working members of Local 21 for the 1100 retired members is paid out of the pocket of the working members—not by the employers. With the declining membership due to attrition clauses in our contracts, it is simply no longer possible to continue this tradition. Nor, is it possible to open a fight to have the employers take over this burden in the middle of a contract.

It is not always enough to stand aside in sectarian splendor and denounce the fates—it is sometimes necessary to shoulder some of the responsibility for leading the union. And when you take some of that responsibility, particularly when the workers are suffering defeats one after another, occasionally you must retreat. This was one of those occasions.

Further, your mistaken correspondent notwithstanding, the Committee recommendation was adopted by the union. This was not at all a popular position, as many of the working members wanted to cut the subsidy immediately. Committee members, *Militant Printer* supporters, and others voted with the retirees and salvaged the subsidy for an additional year.

The Committee's intention in making its recommendation, was for the retired members to contract for private Medi-Gap policies to pay the difference between what Medicare pays and what Kaiser Permanente (not county hospitals—urine-soaked or otherwise) charges for their health care. That is now about to take place and the cost per pensioner will decline from \$89.00 per month to about \$50.00. Furthermore Kaiser Permanente will now take on the risk factor inherent in insuring an older population, thereby possibly allowing the rates for the working members to stabilize.

The Committee's recommendation to drop vision care coverage was done because the premium paid (for all BATU-21 members) was higher than the cost of the one pair of glasses allowed every two-years under the plan.

Next time, get your facts straight.

Now, I have a few questions for you. There are several supporters of *Workers Vanguard* in BATU-21—I know, because I sponsored two of them for membership myself. As a matter of fact, one of them was recruited during a BATU-21 organizing drive and the other was the recently-deceased Martha Phillips. (By the way, I find it peculiar indeed that in the many pages of her obituary you printed in *Workers Vanguard*, you did not see fit to mention that she was 10-year member of BATU-21).

In any event, the fight in the union over the health-care question went on for well over a year. The Health and Welfare Committee held open meetings to which any member of the union could come and state his or her opinion. The subject was discussed at many, many union membership meetings—motions put forward, and votes taken. In all those meetings I do not remember a single *Workers Vanguard* supporter speaking on the issue. No leaflets, no motions/counter-motions—no nothing.

In fact, where were your supporters for the last ten years? When the workers at the San Francisco Progress were fight-

ing the union bureaucrats to shut the plant down, where were your supporters? Or the fight over merger with the CWA? Or the fight to shut-down Bowne Printing where one of your supporters worked? And, when the union sent its members to join the PATCO picket lines, where were your supporters? (Perhaps were you too busy crossing PATCO's picket lines in order to fly?).

You weren't there because you long-ago decided that to do political work in the trade unions was "more trouble than it was worth." Your supporters wouldn't be caught dead at a union meeting unless it was to make an ass out of themselves.

Your organization is a sick, sectarian, obedience cult whose internal life is not very much different than that of some of the more repugnant religious sects, but even you people ought to show a little shame for printing such an unprincipled, inaccurate, dishonest and slanderous piece of crap in your paper.

Yours for the truth,

Fred Ferguson

Editor, *Militant Printer*

Member, BATU-21 Health and Welfare Committee

*WV replies.* We stand corrected on one point: unfortunately, Ferguson's criminal scheme to cut off the retirees' medical care subsidy was successfully foisted on the membership. So much the worse. For the rest, with the sliminess typical of the labor officialdom on whose bottom rungs he serves, Ferguson claims that his committee recommended that the subsidy for pensioners' health care "be continued for another year" in order to softsoap the committee's proposal that "At the end of calendar year 1992, the entire subsidy for retirees will be discontinued" (our emphasis). That's what we reported, and that's what he tries to justify.

But the retirees of his own local aren't so willing to be dumped: the April-June issue of the BATU-21 *Bay Area Retirees Club Newsletter* expresses deep "concern" over the cutoff "unless members of our Union see their way clear to continue such coverage." They note that even now "some retiree families are hav-

ing to give up their coverage because they can no longer afford it." One bitter retiree wrote in a stinging letter:

"What a sad day for the retirees of Local 21. Lose our vision care and increase our rate by 85%.... How many can afford it? "Remember in the late forties when we assessed ourselves 8% of our total earnings to win a strike in Chicago? That was unity. We've walked the pavement with picket signs in nearly every Bay and East Bay city to get what we have today. Pensions, medical benefits, shorter hours, holidays and a decent wage.

"It seems the attitude now is 'What are you doing for us now?' Goodbye, we don't need you.... Do we have any unity left?"

It seems our article hit the mark, as Ferguson is now squealing like a stuck pig.

Following the logic of unionism, which accepts things as they are, Ferguson presents the membership with the "inevitable" facts of capitalist-imposed austerity, then hides behind the ranks' despairing vote for the defeatist leadership. With the arguments of a consummate legalistic bureaucrat, he claims: "it is simply no longer possible to continue this tradition" and "Nor, is it possible to open a fight to have the employers take over this burden in the middle of a contract." Oh, the holy contract, savior of every smug labor faker whose worship of the "possible" has led to years of givebacks.

Indeed there is an objective problem: the printing trades unions face a crisis of a shrinking union membership and a growing retiree community. But it is the job of a revolutionary to struggle for a way out of a crisis, not write rationales for the bureaucracy's giveback plans. Here, the way forward is to fight for an industrial union of the printing and newspaper industries and mount an urgent campaign to organize the myriad non-union shops. San Francisco has not quit as a printing town. But with its narrow craft logic, the bureaucracy is leading this union to the grave, and Ferguson "takes responsibility" for juggling the books of the burial fund. This so-called "militant printer" has become a minor aspiring union bureaucrat, devoid of

*continued on page 8*

## Kremlin Gold...

(continued from page 3)

scandal, with claims that in the ten years from 1980 some \$200 million was disbursed by the CPSU to 98 organizations around the world. This would amount to an average allocation of \$200,000 per organization per year. A paltry sum and one moreover that was given to the wrong people in pursuit of the wrong cause. While the capitalist media screams about "Moscow gold" as if it were to foment the cause of "Red Revolution," the truth is that the Stalinist parties they claim were on the receiving end of said funds were charged with the Kremlin's "popular-front" collaboration with the "democratic" imperialist rulers. Meanwhile, through the agency of the "National Endowment for Democracy," Washington pumped nearly \$15 million into Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in 1990 alone to foment capitalist counterrevolution. And this leaves aside the many millions the imperialists have poured into destroying the organizations of the working class and the poor internationally. And that does not include the many millions more in covert funds distributed through the CIA and other U.S. agencies, as well as the largesse meted out by the "AFL-CIA" to Polish Solidarność and other counter-revolutionary "free trade unions" around the world.

Yeltsin & Co. want to prove their credentials and reliability to their imperialist patrons, not least by "exposing" the

Stalinist bureaucracy's links with Communist parties abroad. Fearing an explosion of working-class anger, the unstable regime of would-be tsar Boris also seeks to paint as "criminals" not only the Stalinist has-beens but anyone who would participate in protest against the ravages of capitalist restoration. As former CP official Anatoly Smirnov, who appears to be the chief source for the mishmash of innuendos and vague charges, put it: "As people begin remembering the old party system with fondness, it is necessary to remind them of its crimes."

Yeltsin aims to follow the example of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism. Following its annexation of the German Democratic Republic (DDR) two years ago, the German bourgeoisie launched a vicious witchhunt against all those associated with the former deformed workers state, from government and party officials down to schoolteachers.

Pro-Yeltsin Soviet newspapers have tried to put a vicious twist on the tale, claiming that the money went to finance lavish lifestyles for foreign Communists. *Izvestia* (10 February) snidely remarked that the funds aimed "to ensure a comfortable existence for 'fighters for the idea' abroad." *New Times* (5 November 1991), with more than a hint of xenophobic racism, sneered that "foreign Communists—he they Blacks of advanced age, Frenchmen, Italians or Portuguese—also deserved a life with no problems."

The piggish would-be Soviet yuppies want to pretend that Western Commu-

nists like Hall or Kashtan were treated to the lifestyle they themselves aspire to. Even prominent Canadian social democrat (and ex-CPCer) Norman Penner notes that "it's important to remember that the money wasn't going to enrich the leaders, it was just to maintain the party" (*Toronto Star*, 15 March).

There was certainly plenty of corruption within the Soviet bureaucracy, particularly during the high-flying Brezhnev years. But it is the heirs of Brezhnev and his cronies, who fed at the trough of the Soviet workers state, who today point accusing fingers while hoping to cash in on their services for Western imperialism. Smirnov absurdly claims that his "revelations" show that "the idea of world revolution continued to function right up to 1990," while *Moscow News* (8 December 1991) headlined its piece: "How the USSR 'Exported' Revolution."

Yet the Kremlin dumped the Bolshevik program of world revolution as far back as 1924, when Stalin proclaimed his nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" and embarked on the conciliatorist road which led to Gorbachev's "perestroika" and culminated in Yeltsin's Russian-nationalist counter-revolution. Trotsky warned that Stalin's program would eviscerate the Communist parties, transforming them from revolutionary instruments into "left" pressure groups on the imperialist bourgeoisie. In practice, the Western Stalinist parties long ago became little more than garden-variety reformists, distinguished mainly by a nostalgic connec-

tion to the Soviet Union.

When revolutionary internationalism prevailed under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, the Soviet Union made no secret of its obligation to aid those battalions of the world proletarian movement which needed assistance. One of the first acts of the Bolshevik government was a December 1917 resolution to "allocate two million rubles for the needs of the revolutionary internationalist movement" on the understanding "that the struggle against war and imperialism can be brought to a successful conclusion only if waged on an international scale." And during the Civil War and the famine which followed, Soviet Russia openly appealed for financial aid from the world proletariat.

The leaders of the Western CPs long ago ceased to be fighters for the cause of international communism, and thus they are embarrassed by charges of "Kremlin gold." We Trotskyists continue the fight for the Leninist program of international socialist revolution, and for the reorganizing of a democratic-centralist Fourth International. While sundry left groups in the U.S. invoke the 1940 Voorhis Act, which inhibits international political affiliation, as a convenient excuse for anti-internationalism, we have always insisted that this anti-Communist legislation is a "paper tiger." The Spartacist League/U.S. is proudly a section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), openly taking reciprocal responsibility.

Down with the vindictive anti-Communist witchhunt! ■

# Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

## Defend the New York Times Drivers! Free Robert Boyle!

The *New York Times* has turned up the heat in its plan to break the powerful Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union (NMDU). In Westchester County and Long Island, NMDU drivers have been thrown out of work in a so-called "assets purchase" by Arthur Imperatore, scabherding front man for the *Times*.

Now these spokesmen for the U.S. ruling class, and their scabs and goon squads, have drawn blood. At about 2:30 a.m. on May 24, NMDU member Billy O'Keefe was walking to the picket line at Westfair Distributors in New Rochelle when a van full of scabs struck him in a hit-and-run attack. O'Keefe was hospitalized with leg injuries, and while the cops claim to be "investigating," the scab goons roam free. The arrogant *Times* bosses are demanding one of their compliant judges impose a \$1.5 million fine on the union, and contempt charges against the New Rochelle police, for delaying newspaper deliveries while they took O'Keefe to the hospital!

Meanwhile a union brother, Robert Boyle, is locked up in Westchester County jail, a victim of this campaign by the *Times* to impose "labor peace into the next century." Boyle faces frame-up felony assault charges in the case of a North Carolina scab who was hit by a rock. Boyle is 27 years old, married and the father of a young girl. Drivers told WV he is a well-liked unionist who was active on the picket lines at last year's *Daily News* strike. NMDUers present when Boyle was arrested said that he was singled out by the cops and

taken to jail because he was leading chants on the bullhorn. Strikers told WV that a PBA delegate in New York is being paid \$2 per hour per cop to recruit off-duty NYPD officers for Imperatore.

As we go to press, Boyle is being held without bail and will be arraigned May 26. Almost two dozen NMDU members have been arrested in New Rochelle and at another Imperatore outfit in East Farmingdale, Long Island.

The defense of the arrested union brothers, and of the hundreds of jobs threatened by Imperatore and the *Times*, is being undercut by the union tops in the NMDU. The drivers threw back the first contract with an almost 60 percent "no" vote. When union president Doug LaChance came back with another proposal on May 20, as details of the deal leaked out, it was clear that it was practically the same old deal with the union-busting work rule changes and the introduction of part-timers. If this contract goes through, the rest of the newspaper bosses will quickly move to demand the same givebacks to gut the NMDU.

At the meeting to "explain" the contract, drivers erupted in anger when they discovered that 9 of the over 20 arrested drivers will not be rehired; instead their cases will go to arbitration. LaChance had to postpone the vote scheduled for the following day, with many drivers feeling that even without the firings the sellout was going to go down in flames again.

There have been a series of hard-fought strikes against newspaper bosses. Teamster drivers in Pittsburgh have been out for a week, shutting down both the city's papers. In New York, the *Times* is bankrolling Imperatore's assault on the union: as *Village Voice* writer James Ledbetter revealed, the *Times* gave Imperatore a \$10 million line of credit, "just in case he needs to bus in some poor saps from Oklahoma" to scab. These "poor saps" are *strikebreakers*, brought in by the dozens of professional union-busting outfits that have sprouted up all over the country. It's about time the newspaper unions smashed this scab road show—and New York is a good place to do it.

There must be mass pickets at New Rochelle and East Farmingdale now—clean the company thugs out! Shut down the *Times*—everybody out! Free Robert Boyle! Drop the charges against all the union drivers!



New Rochelle, NY—Drivers union pickets against New York Times union-busting campaign, May 14.

## Defeat the Rock! Victory to Rainbow Room Strikers!

A union spokesman called it a "must win strike," as over 200 workers struck on May 14 to win union rec-



Pickers outside Rainbow Room at Rockefeller Center, in strike by Local 6 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union.

ognition and put an end to the bosses' abuse at the Rainbow Room atop New York's Rockefeller Center. The restaurant, second highest grossing in the U.S., is owned by a closely held company called B.E. Rock. With "B" and "E" standing for the two public owners Joe Baum and Arthur Emil, the workers told WV they have a damn good idea who the "Rock" is.

Workers began organizing with Local 6 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union a year and a half ago. Strikers on the line told WV that they are frequently forced to work 17-18 hour days, and management has arbitrarily canceled workers' medical coverage. Maria, a waitress, said that one worker was fired when management found out he was HIV-positive. Others among the multiracial workforce told of racist and sexist remarks by managers. Every striker was furious that the owners take 85 percent of the tips which workers depend on to survive. Management's attitude is "if you don't like it, there's the door." At least three pro-union workers were fired.

This is a high-visibility strike, and NY labor had better back Local 6 in action. But members of Musician's Local 802, a fixture at labor parades in the city, are crossing the picket lines every day! And pickets want to know if any of the liquor or food purveyors are using Teamster drivers. See how fast B.E. Rock folds when their booze and meat is cut off! Victory to the Rainbow Room strike! ■

## Mexico City Forum Against Racist Terror in L.A.

MEXICO CITY—Over 100 people attended a "Forum Against Racist Terror in Los Angeles" held May 19 by the Grupo Espartaquista de México at the National University (UNAM). Despite heavy media coverage of the L.A. events, this was the first public protest here against the racist verdict in the Rodney King case and the subsequent reign of terror against minorities and working people in L.A.

Calling for "Cops, Troops, Migra Out of the Ghettos and Barrios!" and "Workers, Blacks, Latinos, Asians—Organize to Sweep Away This Rotten Racist System!" the forum drew an audience of students, professors and trade unionists. The GEM had publicized the event among activists in the teachers, seamstresses, electricians and steel workers unions, as well as at area campuses.

Speakers noted how the bourgeoisie's triumphal propaganda blitz about the "death of communism" and class

struggle is based on lies. Now the upheaval in L.A. and protests across the U.S. show the deepgoing instability at the heart of the so-called "New World Order."

"It's almost comical that the bulk of the nationalist left in Latin America has maintained that in 'Gringolandia,' as they call it, there is no class struggle, no rebellinn, no revolutionaries," a Spartacist spokesman said:

"We have always insisted that the class struggle in Mexico and throughout Latin America is inseparably linked to the class struggle in the U.S.; that Latino immigrant workers in the U.S. are a human bridge connecting the proletariat of the Americas; and that the socialist revolution in the United States is not only possible but crucial for the emancipation of the working people of Latin America and the whole world."

Black workers, strategically placed in industry and transport and fed up with the "American nightmare," are the Achilles' heel of U.S. imperialism, the

speaker noted. The key to unlocking the tremendous revolutionary potential of the U.S. and Mexican proletariat is the construction of an internationalist revolutionary party—in the fight to reforge the Fourth International—which acts as what Lenin called the "tribune of the people," mobilizing the power of the multiracial working class for the emancipation of all the oppressed.

Another GEM spokesman stressed that, contrary to the nationalist left which claims "racism is just something that happens north of the Rio Grande," the struggle against racism, widespread anti-Semitism and other reflections of the social values of the ruling class, is key to building a Leninist party in Mexico.

The basis for revolutionary class struggle is shown in the multiracial protests against the Rodney King verdict, in which large numbers of Mexican and Central American immigrants partici-

pated. The militant struggles of Latino janitors in L.A. and Mexican women garment workers in El Paso—just across the border from Mexico's huge *maquiladora* (free trade zone factories) region—underscore the growing role of Latino workers in the U.S. class struggle and the need for the workers movement to fight against racist deportations and for full citizenship rights for immigrant workers.

The meeting also heard a report on the International Communist League's fight for a serious investigation of the murder of American Trotskyist Martha Phillips in Moscow. A GEM spokesman stressed the international importance of the fight to save the life of U.S. black journalist and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, and drew attention to the Partisan Defense Committee's protest statement against the racist death penalty hanging over the head of Mexican immigrant worker Ricardo Aldalpe in Texas.

A wide-ranging discussion period featured debate on the question of building a Leninist party and on the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union, as well as discussion on the urgency of the defense of Cuba against U.S. imperialism, the situation of Indian peoples in the U.S. and Mexico, and the materialist analysis of the roots of black oppression in the U.S. and South Africa.

# Quayle...

(continued from page 1)

actually exhibits "pro-life values which we think are good" because the character decided not to have an abortion. The show's producer, Diane English, retorted to Quayle: "If the Vice President thinks it's disgraceful for an unmarried woman to bear a child, and if he believes that a woman cannot adequately raise a child without a father, then he'd better make sure abortion remains safe and legal."

Quayle carried on regardless, continuing to attack the show for "glorifying illegitimacy" in a speech the next day before bewildered L.A. junior high students. One responded, "I don't understand why he would say something like that. Most people here have single mothers." Doubtless *Murphy Brown*'s depiction of a prickly, not-so-young urban professional choosing motherhood plus career hasn't got much to do with the lives of most working-class single mothers. But the motivation for Quayle's ravings lies in his role as point man for Bush in a broader attack on women and minorities, which must be treated more seriously than Dan ("What a waste it is to lose one's mind, or not to have a mind") Quayle deserves to be.

The most substantive part of Quayle's now notorious speech claimed that "By any measure the America of 1992 is more egalitarian, more integrated and offers more opportunities to black Americans and all other minority group members than the America of 1964!" This would be laughable if it were not so horrifying, immediately following the savage beating of Rodney King and at a time when even the limited gains of the civil rights movement are under heavy attack, and levels of unemployment, segregation and poverty for black people are at their highest point since the Great Depression. Repeating the mantra of "law and order" over and over, Quayle went on to state that, since blacks have it so good, the only reason for last month's ghetto explosions was "a poverty of values.... Our inner cities are filled...with people who are dependent on drugs or the narcotic of welfare." If anyone needed proof that the "war on drugs" has always meant a war on blacks, here it is again.

Beginning with his State of the Union address, Bush has laid out "family values" as the main "issue" for his '92 election campaign. In his speech to the National Religious Broadcasters on "the decline of the American family," he called for "a nation closer to 'The Waltons' than 'The Simpsons'," in reference to TV's hilariously dysfunctional cartoon family. Accordingly, in that week's episode Bart Simpson responded, "Gee, we're just like the Waltons. We're praying for the end of the Depression, too." What "Poppy" Bush wants to do is bring back *Father Knows Best*. With the Bush administration feeling some pressure

from the even-further-right wing, and fearing being outpolled in the June 2 California primary by billionaire H. Ross Perot, the hoary racist code words of "family values," "personal responsibility" and "law and order" are being invoked with a vengeance.

## "The New Paternalism"

Although the Republicans are clearly in the forefront of the post-L.A. reactionary backlash, the Democrats are running hard to catch up in the "traditional family values" ratings. Democratic front-runner Clinton inanely called for a policy that "enshrines family values by placing a value on family." Across the country, Democrats are vying with Republicans to "reform" welfare—denying mothers on welfare additional payments for each child, as in New Jersey, or fingerprinting welfare applicants and slashing the budget in New York. This so-called "new paternalism" is no new phenomenon; one of the most frequently quoted "authorities" on the disintegration of the black family is Democrat Daniel Moynihan, whose 1965 tract, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," sought to shift the blame for the social problems of blacks from the racist capitalist system onto single black mothers, who are alleged to have "emasculated" black men.

Under this racist capitalist system in deep economic and social crisis, welfare is the only means of survival for over



Connolly/Picture Group

"Family values" the answer? Mother and father and kids, homeless and jobless in America.

dependent on crumbs from a ruling class which couldn't care less if they live or die? And what of the millions of homeless people in America? To even get welfare, you need a fixed address. Full employment for all is only possible through expropriation of the capitalists' wealth and productive forces.

The all-sided attacks on welfare and

women. The traditional family is a powerful conservatizing force, instilling respect for authority, religious morality and patterns of social and sexual behavior. So while everything from household appliances to housewives working has tended to undercut the traditional family, the bourgeoisie has all the more tried to prop it up through laws, organized religion and other forms of ruling-class ideology. This is behind the '80s backlash against women's liberation. It is fundamentally the reason for the drive to deprive women of their right to abortion, and for the vicious persecution of homosexuals in the U.S.

A number of feminist authors, such as Susan Faludi in *Backlash* (1991), have written recently about the 1980s rollback of limited gains in women's rights during the '70s. This only underlines that so long as capitalism remains, any improvement in the lot of the oppressed will be temporary and reversible. This is reflected also in the realm of popular culture. Thus in the 1940s, when women were needed in production, there was a spate of movies with independent women, from Katherine Hepburn and Rosalind Russell to Ann Sothern in *Swing Shift Maisie*. But after the war, when women had to be sent back to the home, there was a spate of movies in which women find fulfillment as housewives in the monogamous family. In the '70s, coming off the women's liberation movement, you had *An Unmarried Woman*, *Kramer vs. Kramer* (aka 'The Unmarried Man') and *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* ('The Unmarried Waitress'), but in the Reaganite '80s, the pop culture industry plays on yuppies' angst over the ticking "biological clock" and we get a host of movies like *Baby Boom*, *She's Having a Baby* and *Three Men and a Baby*.

"Family values" is a perennial theme of bourgeois reaction, such as the Nazis' appeal to the traditional worldview of the narrow-minded German middle class, encapsulated in the catch phrase "*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*" (children, kitchen, church), in order to turn women into breeders of Aryan warriors. (This theme was echoed by the anti-abortion mobs in Wichita last summer, who carried signs "Support Our Unborn Troops!") A century and a half ago, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of modern communism, denounced "the bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child" which "becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder" (*Communist Manifesto* [1848]). The *Manifesto* proclaimed:

"Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists. 'On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only



Steven Shames

Single mother in Holland Hotel, Manhattan, 1987. Closure of "SRO" hotels has thrown black mothers and children onto the street.

13 million people whom the ruling class has cut off from productive employment. Given the U.S. economy's current state, and the wholesale demolition or migration of factories which took place throughout the 1980s, many of these people may never hold a job again. But what future do they have on welfare,

single mothers reflect a broader quandary for the capitalist class: how to legislate the two-parent, Ozzie-and-Harriet style family into existence even as the decay of bourgeois society undermines it. As the last U.S. census showed, there are 10.1 million single women with children, and they aren't engaging in an "alternative lifestyle" inspired by listening to Madonna's "Papa Don't Preach" or watching *Murphy Brown*. In Dan Quayle's topsy-turvy world, "Marriage is probably the best anti-poverty program of all." But in the real world, as unemployment skyrockets and rents go through the roof, working-class people and minorities are waiting later and later to move out of their parents' homes or get married. Especially with sex education, contraception and abortion getting less and less accessible, "accidents are bound to happen." And if you're an unemployed woman with children, you can't get welfare if there's a man living in your house. So go figure.

## "Family Values" and Bourgeois Reaction

While on the one hand capitalism in its degeneration fosters the breakup of the traditional family, it remains a key institution of the capitalist system. It is the means by which the next generation of workers is raised, based on the parents' wages and the household drudgery of

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## TORONTO

## CHICAGO

# Los Angeles...

(continued from page 1)

Olympic track gold medalist Al Joyner howed out of contention for the U.S. team in the Barcelona games, saying he had been traumatized by the police in the aftermath of the riot. Joyner was driving his wife Florence Griffith-Joyner's Japanese sports car, when he was pulled over by cops, handcuffed and forced to kneel on the sidewalk with guns pointed at his head. Two blocks later he was stopped again by police as a suspected "hit and run" driver.

"I faced a group of LAPD officers who pointed a gun at my head for no reasons except the color of my skin," Joyner stated. "My dreams of becoming an Olympic champion again were shattered, and I have been trying with all my heart and soul to put this behind me and move on. But the pain persists, the nightmares haunt me, and my thoughts are constantly disturbed."

Another flash point in South-Central L.A. is over the case of three black men who were arrested by Chief Daryl Gates and an army of cops and charged with the vicious beating of white truck driver Reginald Denny in the first hours of the riot. This gruesome thuggery has been repeatedly replayed on TV and is being used in pro-cop commercials. As the *Los Angeles Times* (22 May) noted, this trial is seen as a "litmus test of equal justice": Rodney King's assailants walked, what will happen in this videotaped assault? We have called for freedom for the thousands of victims of the racist cop round-ups, but whoever brutally beat Reginald Denny because of the color of his skin are criminals who should be behind bars, as should the racist cop lynch mob that beat Rodney King!

The capitalist media has followed up its riot hysteria with headlines prattling about "healing" and "rebuilding," usually quoting a preacher or two. And the black Democratic Party establishment

begs Bush for more crumbs and pushes voter registration. Any fool can see that L.A. remains a powder keg about to blow. Last week the LAPD went on tactical alert in southeast L.A. County, following the hung jury in the case of killer cop Skiles, who blew away two Samoan brothers in March 1991. Samoan community leaders strained to keep the lid on, organizing rallies to blow off steam.

Make no mistake, the "healing" won't begin this side of a social revolution. The L.A. upheaval was an elemental outpouring of anger and desperation from the poor and oppressed of every race. An analysis of the first 5,000 arrests from all over the city revealed that 52 percent were poor Latinos, 10 percent whites, and 38 percent blacks. Even an official in the Bush administration, Associate Attorney General Wayne Budd, noted that "problems of class not race, constituted most of the tensions that led to the riots" (*New York Times*, 23 May).

The riot was about class and race. And it is integrated class struggle that can bring down this whole racist capitalist

system. Long a non-union town, in recent years L.A. is changing in major ways. There is now a burgeoning multiracial union movement, with a big component of radicalized Central American workers, that is gaining confidence and a sense of its own power. Two weeks ago the janitors of SEIU Local 399 marched demanding justice after the Rodney King verdict and protesting the criminalization of "illegal aliens." And since their city-wide contract expired in mid-April, Local 11 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union has staged marches and civil disobedience actions. On May 21, a thousand hotel workers marched from Century City to Beverly Hills demanding health care and job security.

In L.A. there are powerful forces for the revolutionary unity of the workers and the oppressed. There are also sinister demagogues who seek to cash in on the poison of racist hate and anti-Asian chauvinism spewed by a bankrupt American ruling class. Mike Davis reports in the *Nation* (1 June) that in the arson fires that lit up L.A., Korean merchants were ruthlessly singled out, suffering damage to almost 2,000 stores from Compton to

the heart of Koreatown. In part, this reflected the anger of the black community over the case of Latasha Harlins, the teenage girl murdered by a bullet in the back by a Korean shopkeeper who was let off with a \$500 fine.

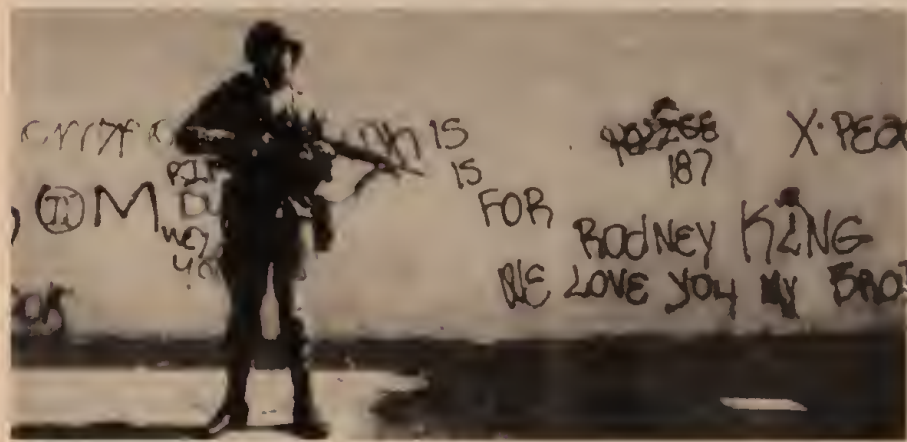
Now anti-Asian chauvinism has become a program of a layer of "black capitalists" who leech off the misery of ghetto blacks, most widely propagated by Louis Farrakhan. Davis writes of the conscious agenda of those who sought the destruction of Korean merchants in the ghetto:

"I saw graffiti in South Central that advocated, 'Day one: burn them out. Day two: we rebuild.' The only national leader whom most Crips and Bloods seem to take seriously is Louis Farrakhan, and his goal of black economic self-determination is broadly embraced.... At the Inglewood gang summit, which took place on May 5, there were repeated references to a renaissance of black capitalism out of the ashes of Korean businesses. 'After all,' an ex-Crip told me later, 'we didn't burn our community, just their stores'."

These aspiring black capitalist profiteers are enemies of the black dispossessed.

To defeat the most powerful ruling class in history requires a class fight—black, white, Latino, Asian—to rip the wealth and productive forces out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters. What's needed is the power of labor mobilized in defense of minorities. As we declared in a 30 April leaflet by the Partisan Defense Committee and a *Workers Vanguard* supplement (100,000 distributed nationally, 10,000 in L.A.): "the powerful L.A. unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers should organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to solidarize with and defend the black community."

The troops of the class war must be brought together behind a conscious revolutionary leadership, a multiracial workers party that champions all the oppressed, to smash capitalism and take power. ■



Support for Rodney King on a wall in South-Central, occupied by National Guard.

among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution. "The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital."

The whole concept of "illegitimacy" which gets Quayle so hot under the collar is fundamental to capitalism's oppression of women. The family developed to ensure the passage of property to the patriarch's children, necessitating the forced monogamy of women. In class society, inheritance of property and social power is the means by which the few are set over and above the many—just ask a Rockefeller. Also, as Engels noted in his groundbreaking work, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884):

"The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules....

"With the transfer of the means of production into common ownership, the single family ceases to be the economic

unit of society. Private housekeeping is transformed into a social industry. The care and education of the children becomes a public affair; society looks after all children alike, whether they are legitimate or not."

Abolition of the legal concept of illegitimacy was one of the first laws enacted by Lenin's Bolsheviks after the 1917 Russian Revolution.

During capitalism's progressive period of development and expansion, when child labor was commonplace, Karl Marx wrote in *Capital*:

"However terrible, however repulsive, the break-up of the old family system within the organism of capitalist society may seem; nonetheless, large-scale industry, by assigning to women and young persons and children of both sexes, a decisive role in the socially organized process of production, and a role which has to be fulfilled outside the home, is building the new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes."

Today, in capitalism's period of decline, even adult black men are thrown into permanent unemployment, while a gen-

eration of teenage ghetto youth face the prospect of never participating in social labor.

The unbreakable link between capitalist class society and the family makes it clear that the liberation of women and of oppressed minorities can only come about in a socialist society in which the productive forces are put at the service of humanity. Then the institution of the family can be replaced with socialized childcare and housework, freeing women to be full participants in social and political life, breaking the chains imposed by organized religion and the state.

Under the banner of "traditional values," U.S. imperialism has sought to impose its "New World Order" on the world, to the tune of 100,000 Iraqi dead, while crushing workers organizations and social programs at home. Its "law and order" means the cops' brutal reign of terror against blacks, Hispanics and the labor movement. Its "family values" mean the bombing of abortion clinics and starvation of young mothers with children along with the aged and infirm.

The goal of Marxists is to liberate mankind from the misery of exploitation, from racial oppression, from the domestic slavery and stultifying restrictions of the family, through socialist revolution, so that once freed of these moral strait-jackets they can then decide for themselves what they want to do. ■

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# S.F. Cop Bonapartism and the Gay Paper Caper

SAN FRANCISCO—The outrage over SF top cop Richard Hongisto's crack-down on protests over the Rodney King verdict was still hot when the chief trampled on one constitutional right too many. Predawn on May 8, some 2,000 copies of the free biweekly gay newspaper *Bay Times* were stolen from news-racks by cops acting, so they said, on Hongisto's orders, and squirreled away in a cop's basement. The "offending" paper's cover showed a composite photo of the Chief masturbating his nightstick and was headlined, "Dick's Cool New Tool: Martial Law."

To Mayor Jordan's hand-picked Police Commission, busting a couple thousand anti-racist protesters who took to the streets in outrage is one thing, but now Hongisto was a liability and they fired him after just 45 days in office. Ever since, Hongisto's been squealing like a stuck pig. Protesting that he'd only asked the newspaper be distributed to cops (so they could read the article), not stolen, Hongisto fumed, "I guess what the commission saw was 2,000 people bitching about being arrested and the Board of Supervisors who cater to that crowd...asking for my head." Of course, it didn't help Hongisto that Police Commission member Ed Campana was himself almost arrested twice as he was observing the May 8 fiasco.

Hongisto's liberal friends are stunned and amazed at his behavior. But the man speaks for himself. Asked some years back what figure in history he'd choose to be, Hongisto answered: Hitler, so he

could reverse the evil done (*San Francisco Examiner*, 15 May).

In fact, there is a whiff of the fascistic about Hongisto. Even some veteran protest-smashers in the SFPD have expressed qualms about the Chief's m.o., including nightly cruises he made through the Tenderloin district with a searchlight and loudspeaker, swooping down on "criminals." The *San Francisco Chronicle* (14 May) quotes a "high-ranking officer" about Hongisto's "fixation" with busting prostitutes, and his call to "Round up the whores'."

As SF County sheriff in the '70s, Hongisto won infamy when he at first refused to evict poor tenants from the International Hotel, and then, when a court order came down, personally took to the task with gusto and a sledgehammer. Always an opportunist, millionaire Hongisto's career has included stints as prison warden and Cleveland chief of police. Pretty strange even for what constitutes a "liberal" nowadays.

Mayor Jordan's racist constituency turned out at a May 20 Police Commission meeting to howl against the firing of Hongisto, and weird Warren Hinckle wrote a long defense of Hongisto in the *SF Independent*, stating the firing was a political coup by the chief's enemies in the SFPD. No doubt, some of the department brass were worried about the effects of the chief's "unorthodox" practices and *did* want him out of the way.

In the aftermath of the King verdict, the ruling stratum in SF was hysterical

The front page that hung Hongisto.



and divided. Mass outrage over Jordan and Hongisto's police-state measures led liberal members of the Board of Supervisors to cancel the cops' "emergency" martial law powers (which the Board initially approved). But Hongisto ignored the cancellation of his mandate, and on May 8 set up a police trap, sweeping up and jailing 575 people. This "pre-emptive strike" was a bridge too far for a more conciliatory wing of the bourgeoisie.

In the end, Hongisto's antics proved too expensive for ex-police chief Jordan's troubled regime, so he had to be removed. But behind the politics-as-circus is etched the deadly serious face of capitalist class rule. The spectre of the "underclass" surging in the direction of downtown brings forth screams from

the propertied few and their hirelings for increased powers of repression and control.

Hongisto justified the initial cop crackdown by darkly alluding to revolutionary plots fomented by Berkeley students and other intellectuals. The *SF Weekly* (6 May) quoted Hongisto saying, "Yesterday you had sophisticated Caucasian students and political organizers who organized demonstrations, got a lot of poor people involved that were angry about their status in life and their situation, and involved them in the looting and destroying of downtown. And we're not going to let it happen."

In a crude way, Hongisto voices the bourgeoisie's fear of an integrated, organized uprising to uproot their class rule. That day is still to come. ■

## Ox Gored...

(continued from page 4)

social vision of any kind, even in the parochially limited arena of the printing trades.

Incidentally, if Ferguson is so proud of his role in shafting the retirees, why did his buddies in the grossly misnamed Bolshevik Tendency (BT) cover it up in selectively reprinting from the *Militant Printer* in their recent 1917 West?

The BT's departure from the Spartacist League and revolutionary politics was in no small part a capitulation to the anti-communist ideological pressures of the Reagan era, as transmitted by the trade-union bureaucracies. Thus on the PATCO strike, while the SL was at Oakland and SF International with our paper and signs calling for "Labor: Shut Down the Airports," which the bureaucrats tried to censor, the future BTers ballyhooed the AFL-CIO tops' self-serving consumer boycott calling on "the public" not to fly. Meanwhile, the bureaucrats refused to put up picket lines to pull out the pilots, Machinists, Team-

sters—who kept the airports functioning.

Coming to the defense of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, the BT objected when we called Doug Fraser a company cop as he joined Chrysler's board of directors. When the SL initiated a labor/black mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, the BT sneered at this as "ghetto" work, claiming we were abandoning "union work." Their idea of the latter is exemplified by Ferguson's fall 1990 election campaign, when he put out a flurry of *Militant Printers* filled with pure economism—the only mention of Bush's war buildup in the Persian Gulf was one social-patriotic line about "our sons and daughters who will die" and nary a word about defending Iraq.

This adoption of the chauvinist worldview of the American labor bureaucracy was clearly displayed over the recent L.A. upheaval. A 15 May BT leaflet scandalously called for "workers defense guards" in order to "expose the futility of individual terrorism, and thus prevent spontaneous explosions, like riots" (see graphic). Issued two weeks after the

explosion of outrage over the racist verdict absolving the LAPD killer cops, this is nothing less than a call to enlist labor to police the ghettos and barrios in the interests of capitalist "law and order"!

As Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?*, the Bolshevik's ideal "should not be the trade-union secretary, but the tribune of the people." With their caricature of economist, chauvinist trade unionism, Fred Ferguson and the BT have got it exactly backwards. ■

## CPUSA...

(continued from page 3)

PWW, Davidow enthused over the recently formed "United Opposition," which formalizes the Stalinists' (as well as Roy Medvedev's Gorbachevite social democrats') bloc with such outfits as the "All Slav Assembly" and the "Society of Christian Revival." In language that could have been lifted from Pamyat, Davidow whitewashes such "nationalist tendencies" as a "not surprising" response to "mass persecution of Russian-speaking minorities in other republics." He continues:

"Extreme nationalist forces are attempting to exploit these grievances and anti-Semitism is making its appearance among them. It is precisely an alliance like the United Opposition that can best fight against these dangers."

So the way to fight resurgent anti-Semitism is by...joining with the anti-Semites!

Davidow concedes that "Many patriotic groups, for example, view the October Revolution as 'Russia's tragedy.'" "But," he concludes, "the alliance marks an important stage in the struggle for a united socialist state." In the old days, Stalinist hacks like Davidow were justifying blocs with supposedly "progress-

sive" bourgeois forces in the name of "democracy." Now, with the fate of the October Revolution hanging in the balance, they have to explain how an alliance with Great Russian chauvinists and fascist reactionaries furthers "the struggle for a united socialist state." Even in the framework of time-dishonored Stalinist doublespeak, this is surely a new low.

Meanwhile, the CP's erstwhile front group, the Soviet-American Friendship Society, has renamed itself the Association for American-Russian Relations (like the State Department?). With the name goes the game. The Spring issue of the *New York Friendship Bulletin* carries a glowing eyewitness account of Yeltsin's pro-imperialist counter-coup last August and the Russian people's "journey toward freedom!"

A front-page article purrs that "when we were called to provide a program for the wife of Boris Yeltsin, the President of Russia, it made us feel quite important." As they were fêting Mrs. Yeltsin on the evening of January 29, the Spartacist League was militantly protesting with the call "Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counter-revolution!" outside hubby Boris's Wall Street banquet with the capitalist financiers.

The *Friendship Bulletin's* craven bowing to Yeltsin is not as incompatible with the CP's support to the nationalist opposition as it might appear. The RKR et al. seek to channel the anger and frustration of Soviet working people into a battering ram for Great Russian chauvinism, with the aim of pressuring Yeltsin or imposing a more nationalist-sounding, Pinochet-style strongman like Russian vice president Rutskoi.

The CPUSA, bereft of its lodestar now that the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy has collapsed, is clearly in a tailspin into oblivion. ■

### For Workers Defense Guards!

We cannot call on the state to curtail its own armed force. We must organize to defend ourselves against the cops. Organized and disciplined workers defense guards, organs of the most conscious layers of the working class, are in reality the only defense against savage state violence. This also is the best way to smash the growing fascist threat, an even more vicious and violent side of capitalism. We cannot rely on the state to defend workers against fascism — the cops have prosecuted the Klan in public demonstrations. Again, this is a task that organized workers must do for ourselves.

This will also expose the futility of individual terrorism, and thus prevent bloody spontaneous explosions, like riots. Workers defense guards thereby have the potential of being a deterrence to and minimizing violence.

Workers must do for ourselves.

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The worldview of the labor aristocracy: "BT" leaflet calls on workers defense guards to "expose terrorism" and "prevent riots"—i.e., preserve capitalist order against black outrage.

# Germany...

(continued from page 12)

only to see the whole region blow up in internecine civil war. The departure of Genscher after 18 years as foreign minister, the third cabinet resignation in a month, shows how shaky the Bonn regime is. TV coverage of German tanks in Turkish Kurdistan blowing away women and children on Kurdish New Year cost Kohl's defense minister his job. And while mocking the Americans for having to beg Bonn for money to finance the carpetbombing of the Iraqi population in its Persian Gulf "war," the Fourth Reich is accumulating its own debt "mountain."

Bonn pumped more than 180 billion D-marks into East Germany last year (168 billion in public subsidies, 15 billion in private investment). It has also invested 75 billion D-marks to further counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and another 105 billion in East Europe to turn the former deformed workers states into Deutsche Bank neocolonies. So it has to get the money from somewhere. The Bundesbank, the central banker for Europe, can put the squeeze on the capitalists of Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland, etc. by keeping interest rates high. But that is not enough. The bourgeoisie is also seeking to increase the rate of exploitation of the workers throughout Germany.

This has been at the heart of the current offensive against the unions on the part of the bourgeoisie and government. Even before *Anschluss* (annexation of the DDR) Bonn began its campaign of slashing benefits with its so-called "health services reform." Last year they launched a concerted campaign over sick pay, with *Der Spiegel* screaming about workers "partying" on sick days (*krankfeiern*). Now, after 40 years, the CDU/FDP (Free Democratic) cabinet is demanding the reintroduction of unpaid sick days, provoking an angry reaction from the unions.

This year the wage confrontations began in steel, a lower-paid sector of IG Metall where negotiations were dragged out to the beginning of 1992. Then came the bank employees, where despite weak union organization rotating work stoppages went on for six weeks. Next up were ÖTV, postal workers and rail. Bonn intended to face down these sectors before a showdown with the Metal Workers, the most powerful union in the capitalist West. And in the middle of the ÖTV strike, tens of thousands of layoffs were announced in West German auto as part of "rationalization" schemes in the name of "international competitiveness."

Yet the steel bosses backed off from a strike at the last minute. In ÖTV, Kohl threw down the gauntlet over 4.8 percent, determined to make the union crawl. But he suffered a defeat even though ÖTV leader Wulf-Mathies sold out the ranks—who were ready to strike for a lot more, and a lot longer than eleven days. Yet with its "warning strikes" and "rolling strikes" the ÖTV

leadership played by the rules of the class-collaborationist game. While Kohl got a slap on the ear, the unions should have shut the country down tight, against both the CDU/CSU/FDP federal government and the SPD-led state governments. That would have thrown a wrench in the bosses' drive against the Metal Workers and the rest of the labor movement.

## East and West—Strike Together!

We wrote in May (*Spartakist* No. 95):

"Just casting a glance at the Berlin subway shows that a spark could set off a citywide strike. A common strike of all ÖTV members, in the West and the East, would really shake the country and demonstrate the strength of the working class."

On Monday, May 4, East Berlin transit workers walked out in a spontaneous strike in solidarity with their class brothers in the West, risking their own jobs in the face of mass unemployment. One after another, several barns went out. Altogether 30 out of 38 streetcar lines and a dozen bus lines in East Berlin shut

and West divided, and to play them off against one another. The anti-Communist witchhunt they have been running is designed to ideologically purge the workforce and to demoralize and paralyze it. This was graphically shown in the East Berlin nurses strike last autumn, where a witchhunt at the Charité hospital was instrumental in demobilizing the strike. But now workers are increasingly sick of it, particularly when they start to fight. At the Lichtenberg transit depot, the city's firing of bus drivers and other workers as part of the anti-Stasi witchhunt has produced outrage among their coworkers.

Last December the Hennigsdorf steel workers occupied their plant near Berlin for 13 days against plans for a takeover and mass layoffs. On the eve of the negotiations in the West German steel industry, they were ready to strike in solidarity with their fellow workers in the West—even the picket signs were ready. Instead, with the steel bosses the IG Metall tops pulled out all the stops to get the factory occupation off the

agenda before the confrontation in West German steel, and sold the workers down the river. In the ÖTV strike, the Tempelhof and Tegel airports in Berlin were shut down, but the bosses agreed with the ÖTV tops to keep open the Schönefeld airport in the East. Joint action with Schönefeld workers cutting off the new imperial capital would have had enormous repercussions. But that's exactly what the union bureaucrats didn't want.

The DGB even tried to hold its May Day demonstrations under the pay-for-*Anschluss* slogan "Sharing Bonds." Following Kohl, the bureaucrats' idea of "solidarity" is telling the workers in the West to tighten their belts for the Frankfurt moneybags, after destroying the East German economy. Thus the arrogant union bureaucrats foster disgusting anti-"Ossie" sentiment (while as part of the witchhunt mainly "Wessies" staff their offices in the East). But the bureaucrats' appeal to Fourth Reich nationalism was hastily withdrawn in the face of outraged protest from the member unions and replaced in a number of cities, including Augsburg (the central DGB rally), Essen and Berlin, with "Solidarity Is an Obligation."

Now the banks and trusts are raking in profits like never before. For them the government has announced drastic cuts in taxes on interest and capital gains; for the workers there are draconian austerity measures. Bonn dismembered the East German health care system and is slashing it in the West, and now it wants to finance reunification out of unemployment and retraining benefits. While the SPD/DGB is verbally protesting this measure, it too is an effect of a counter-revolution in East Germany which they spearheaded, giving the capitalists free rein to liquidate historic gains of the East German working people. The German bourgeoisie and its helpers want revenge for its defeat by the Red Army in 1945, and want to root out any memory of the workers state in the East.

In late 1989 and early 1990, as the Stalinist Honecker regime started to crumble and masses of East German working people in the streets were demanding *real socialism*, the SpAD's predecessors, the *Trotzkistische Liga* and *Spartakist-Gruppen*, intervened to fight for proletarian political revolution from East Berlin to Moscow, and for a social revolution in the West—for a red Germany of workers councils. When the working class failed to move in the absence of a revolutionary party strong enough to lead it, German imperialism mobilized its power to ram through counterrevolution by reunification. The Spartakists alone intransigently opposed capitalist reunification. Meanwhile the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the former Stalinist ruling party of the DDR) and the rest of the so-called left were on their knees begging for reunification "one (DDR-mark) to one (West German D-mark)," and the SPD were Kohl's bloodhounds as Bonn moved in for the kill.

In the aftermath, we Spartakists called for workers' resistance against the destruction wrought by the Fourth Reich while the SPD-led factory councils were strangling workers' struggles and "co-determining" East German plant closures. From the beginning the SpAD has fought against the vicious SPD-led anti-Communist witchhunt, exposing it as a tool of the rulers to paralyze and split the workers, and demanded "Hands off Markus Wolf [chief of DDR intelligence], Erich Honecker [DDR head of state] and Erich Mielke [DDR state security minister]!" Throughout we have fought for joint class struggle by workers East and West.

continued on page 10



East Berlin, May 4: Transport workers spread West German public service strike to the East in wildcat strike demanding "Equal Work, Equal Pay." United workers struggle could bring Fourth Reich to its knees.

down. The subway did not run at all. For 24 hours East Berlin transit was virtually closed down. At the Lichtenberg depot the gate was shut with a banner that read "Equal Work, Equal Pay!"

The old Stalinist lie that the West German workers would never fight has been burst. As a letter to the editor in the *Berliner Zeitung* said, "Mass strikes produce clarity." Now East Berlin transit workers are particularly bitter about ÖTV bureaucrats who worked overtime to get them back to work, with the threat of punitive firings hanging over their heads. But remember—the only "illegal" strike is one that loses. There were also reports of brief stoppages in Thüringen and Sachsen. The prospect of a nationwide transport strike had the bourgeoisie sweating. Joint strike action East and West is key!

The bosses and the SPD/DGB (trade-union federation) bureaucrats have tried everything to keep the workers in East

agenda before the confrontation in West German steel, and sold the workers down the river. In the ÖTV strike, the Tempelhof and Tegel airports in Berlin were shut down, but the bosses agreed with the ÖTV tops to keep open the Schönefeld airport in the East. Joint action with Schönefeld workers cutting off the new imperial capital would have had enormous repercussions. But that's exactly what the union bureaucrats didn't want.

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Spartakist Workers Party called for workers mobilization against Nazi provocation in Halle (right), 9 November 1991. Spartakist banner calls: "Workers/Immigrants: Stop the Nazis!"



Börsch/Photoarchiv



Drive by German imperialism turned incipient proletarian political revolution into capitalist counterrevolution. Above: Berlin, November 1989, protesters carry banner "For Communist Ideals—No Privileges." Right: Kohl whips up Fourth Reich nationalism at rally in Erfurt, February 1990.



Der Spiegel

## Germany...

(continued from page 9)

PDS. First they are going after the most vulnerable—those who have arrived most recently and are seeking asylum. Bonn consistently encourages the Nazi/skinhead terrorists by its racist policies and economic devastation. As the elections in the states of Schleswig-Holstein and Baden-Württemberg show, so far the biggest winners in the government's racist manhunt are the fascists. Tens of thousands voted fascist there—disproportionately former SPD voters, spurred by the racist policies of CDU/CSU and SPD. The CDU and SPD in turn use the fascist electoral successes to escalate their own attacks on immigrants.

Immediately after the ÖTV settlement, SPD candidate for chancellor Engholm announced agreement with the CDU/CSU on policies to torpedo the right of asylum and deport additional thousands of immigrants to misery and death. The defense of all immigrants is key to unlocking the power of the organized workers movement. As we wrote in our last issue: "The workers movement must be mobilized to fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants and those seeking asylum." An attack on one is an attack on all. Class unity is vital to workers' struggle. Among our disenfranchised foreign-born brothers and sisters are many of the best fighters for the workers' cause.

### Mobilize Worker/Immigrant Power to Stop Nazi Terror

On May 9 the fascist "Nationalen" threatened to rally with Hitler fan David Irving in the Soviet garrison town of Berlin-Karlshorst—in front of the museum commemorating the Red Army's liberation of Europe from the fascist nightmare on that day in 1945. The SpAD intervened in May Day demonstrations, in the public service strikes and in key metal plants calling for a worker/immigrant mobilization, finding strong sentiment in the ranks to stop this

ominous provocation. The PDS and Greens/Bündnis 90 instead appealed together with the SPD and Heinz Galinski (head of the Berlin Jewish Community) for the Berlin Senate to ban the fascist rally, and launched a vicious violence-baiting campaign against the anti-fascists. Under the impact of the ÖTV strike and pressure from the ranks, and after the ban was confirmed, the DGB along with the SPD joined the call for a counter-demonstration at the last minute.

It was indeed a good thing that the Nazis didn't march in Karlshorst on May 9, but it was not a good thing that a massive presence of riot police held the

attack, despite neighbors' demands that they intervene. In Berlin-Marzahn on April 24, a young Vietnamese, Nguyen Van Tu, was stabbed to death in broad daylight by skinheads, while the SPD-led Marzahn district council runs a "youth club" for Nazi/skinheads. The government turns its fascist-ridden cops loose against anti-fascist demonstrators. On May Day in Berlin thousands of cops and Federal Border Guards were mobilized first to protect the Nazi/skinhead FAP and then to tear apart the immigrant Kreuzberg district. Obscenely, the so-called cop "union" had an official booth at the DGB rally earlier that day, and

Naumann said training of German soldiers would now be "hard, challenging and similar to battle conditions" for action outside Germany. And now they are sending troops to Cambodia, where the imperialists are preparing new killing fields.

The appetites of the Fourth Reich's rulers lie now, as before, beyond its eastern borders. By bankrolling Yeltsin's counterrevolution to destroy the Soviet degenerated workers state, they expect to grab for themselves the choicest pieces of the Soviet and East European feast. But for the "New World Order" they now need a new foreign policy—which, given the price tag, is not going to be easy to orchestrate, either to the East or West. The fruits of SPD/Genscher *Ostpolitik* (Germany's "Eastern policy" first implemented by Willy Brandt) are growing economic difficulties at home and bloody civil war abroad. With his unerring nose for changing political winds, the Machiavelli Genscher jumped ship on the eve of the public employees strike.

For decades Bonn's motto has been "a European Germany," in Thomas Mann's famous phrase, as the Federal Republic sought its place as a junior partner in the U.S.-led anti-Soviet imperialist alliance. In a declaration of our international tendency published in June 1982 (*Spartakist* No. 44) when Reagan flew to Europe to bring his NATO allies into line, we noted:

"West Germany, of late Washington's most loyal NATO ally, is today the most déclassé-minded. But behind the 'peace-loving' image of Brandt/Schmidt's *Ostpolitik* stands the appetite to reverse the outcome of World War II and recreate a unified capitalist Germany as the dominant European power."

Today the rulers in Bonn want a "German Europe," for now not with panzers but through the D-mark, but they are still too weak to impose it. Despite protest from the Common Market countries the Germans dictate interest rates in Europe and they even occasionally try to tell the U.S. imperialists where to get off. Kohl & Co. rail about how the workers in Germany spend less time working and more time on vacation than anywhere else in the world. "Sir" Ralf Dahrendorf threatens in the "liberal" *Die Zeit* (15 May): "Germany's public service cannot remain as it has been, nor can Germany's social services.... The necessary restructuring will be very, very painful." But the German working class is still a lion blocking their way and has showed it will fight hard against this onslaught.

While Kohl & Co. dither, it is SPD chief Bernd Engholm who makes the "sweat and tears" speech on behalf of the German bourgeoisie. The SPD is aiming for the chancellor's office with offers of round table discussions, hints at "grand coalitions" and threats against immigrants and the workers.

### Break with the Social Democracy!

On May Day, IG Metall chief Steinkühler questioned "whether the



Spartakist

Counterrevolution particularly targeted women workers. East Berlin protesters rallied in March 1990 against childcare cuts.

residents of Karlshorst hostage all day long. It is a deadly illusion to rely on the Fourth Reich to "ban" the fascists. That same night 60 skinheads attacked a leftist pub in Magdeburg with baseball bats, clubs and iron bars, sending eight people to the hospital, one of whom, the young worker Torsten Lamprecht, died. Murder was the fascists' answer to the anti-working-class, "no violence" popular front.

In Magdeburg on May 9, police in front of the pub stood idly by during the

their representatives were not pleased with our placard demanding "Cops Out of the DGB!" But the cops as well as the Bundeswehr are the armed fist of the bosses' state.

Stopping fascist terror is a necessary extension of working-class struggle—strike pickets are the embryo of the workers militia. The Spartakists say: Mobilize the workers to stop the Nazis!

### Kohl: The Would-Be Kaiser Sits on a Shaky Throne

Given Kohl's shaky regime, his one-liner, "I am not Willy Brandt," is the joke of the year. The Treuhandanstalt (state agency charged with dismantling the DDR economy) has changed leaderships three times (not always of its own accord), and its "scorched earth" policy was stopped by the bourgeoisie itself. They need East Germany as a low-wage, class-peace paradise and a pivot for the drive to the East.

In a world where escalating inter-imperialist rivalries revive great power lineups reminiscent of the years before World War I, reunited German imperialism is again probing everywhere to see how far they can go. They again want to be the masters in the Balkans and are arming the Turkish army to the teeth. At a Leipzig commanders' conference where Kohl and the new war minister, Bundeswehr general inspector Klaus

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social provocateurs will succeed in drastically weakening the trade unions after the rival system has fallen away." Significantly, he is compelled to raise the "Russian question," although in his own way. Since it was the Soviet Union that crushed Hitler fascism, a victory that led to the planned economies of the Eastern European deformed workers states, West European capital felt compelled to tout the "welfare state." After World War II in the zones occupied by the imperialist victors, capitalism was re-established as a bulwark against Soviet "Bolshevism"—with the inestimable help of the SPD politicians and trade-union bureaucrats. Ludwig Erhard proclaimed the capitalist "social market economy," built on the crushing of mass proletarian struggles.

In the prerevolutionary situation which arose after the war the working class, in the Western occupation zones as well as the East, engaged in mass struggles to prevent the restoration of capitalist rule, demanding socialization of basic industry. But the U.S.-financed Social Democrats were determined to dissipate proletarian resistance and break the considerable Communist influence resurgent in the unions, particularly in the plant councils. The Communists were purged, militant anti-capitalist resistance was broken, and the councils themselves were turned into class-collaborationist straitjackets—enforcing the reactionary plant council (*Betriebsrat*) law, passed in 1952. With the DGB's support for the Cold War Marshall Plan, workers were firmly tied politically to the state, and the state to anti-Soviet NATO.

While there was much talk of "co-determination" of workers and capitalists (an impossibility in any case), these schemes merely meant a framework to ensure the complicity of the union tops in managing exploitation and purging reds. Increased productivity was accompanied by persistently high unemployment. Millions of immigrant "guest workers" were brought into heavy industry but denied all citizenship rights. The Bundeswehr was built under the *Social Democrats* into the strongest European army in NATO. The SPD was the architect of *Ostpolitik*—designed to economically undermine the Soviet Union and the East European workers states. As German imperialism grew strong enough to again vie for great-power status, resurgent German nationalism—clothed in the "left" garb adopted by the "peace" movement of the '80s—was spearheaded by the SPD.

This was the Social Democrats' "Model Deutschland" (German model). And thus the SPD naturally acted as the Trojan horse of the counterrevolution in the DDR, giving it a mighty shove so that the "competing system fell away" there. Subsequently, with their anti-Communist witchhunt, with their stranglehold on the unions and as the spearhead of the all-party manhunt against the "flood of asylum-seekers," they have sought to split, paralyze and strangle every instance of workers' resistance. This has divided workers East and West, men and women, immigrant and German. The "left," including the PDS, all help fan the flames of the anti-Communist witchhunt and the racist drive against immigrants, and now they seek to convince the workers that an Engholm government would be better than Kohl. This is a dangerous illusion.

The SPD blames everything in the ex-DDR on "40 years of Communism." Today East German workers are being hit in the face with the results of 40 years of social-democratic class collaboration in the Federal Republic. SPD bosses, for example, run or have run Mercedes-Benz, Volkswagen, Lufthansa, Hoesch—not to mention the Deutsche Bank and the Treuhand. Steinkühler and his comrades are themselves experienced labor cops in the unions. Under the Cold War flag of "social partnership" the SPD tops

have for decades managed the mass layoffs in the West and have directly attacked wages—from the Saar and Ruhr to the North Sea coast. And they were literally on the other side of the class line in the ÖTV strike in the SPD-governed states.

The bureaucracy that these "labor lieutenants of capital" have at their disposal is truly legion. This includes 30,000 union members of plant councils whose salaries are directly paid by the bosses. Among them are many serious unionists, including immigrants. But if they are to defend the workers' interests they must break out of the *Betriebsrat* trap with its "oath of secrecy" and other airtight obligations to act in the bosses' interest. The plant council makes them complicit



Berlin, May Day 1992: Spartakists call "For Workers Resistance Against the Fourth Reich!" "Stop the Nazis Through Workers United Front Action!"

every time a worker is fired and every time a strike is sold out.

The SPD-controlled council members sit around the table at every *Betriebsrat* meeting "in the same boat" with the bosses. And yet various fake-leftists such as the national-Stalinist DKP and pseudo-Trotskyists, followers of Ernest Mandel, in the VSP have long enjoyed the bureaucratic privileges that rubbing shoulders with the bosses in the *Betriebsräte* brings. We Spartakists fight for the complete independence of the workers movement from the bourgeoisie and its state. Our tendency in Germany was forged with the Trotskyist understanding that since 1914 the SPD has been a *bourgeois workers* party, the transmission belt for German nationalism into the workers movement; the SPD must be split in order to win its proletarian base on the road to socialist revolution.

#### Workers Need Revolutionary Leadership! For Proletarian Internationalism!

The ÖTV ranks threw Wulf-Mathies' stinking contract on the garbage heap but see no alternative to the treacherous ÖTV/DGB tops. Whereas workers massively joined the union at the beginning of the strike, now many are quitting. But despite their pro-capitalist leadership, the unions are today the workers' sole defensive organs. If we want to win, instead of throwing out your union card, throw out the bureaucrats who turn the unions into organs for disciplining the workers on behalf of the imperialist state, and thus risk their destruction. The SPD/DGB tops know very well that a *real* solid class struggle in East and West would sweep away not only the Kohl gang but them as well. To conduct a fight to push through and secure their own interests, the workers need a program that serves *their* class interests, not those of the bosses. We need a revolutionary leadership and party that is prepared to mobilize the working class to take on the bosses and their state in a struggle leading to the fight for power.

The bourgeoisie talks big about the "death of Communism," but the struggles of the working class the world over

give the lie to these pipe dreams of a "New World Order." In Seoul, 20,000 South Korean workers struggling against superexploitation and police terror expressed their solidarity with the German strikes. In Warsaw, 15,000 came out on May Day against the capitalist regime of Solidarność leader Walesa. When Los Angeles exploded in rage over an atrocious racist provocation and desperate poverty, the American rulers answered with cop terror and troop occupation. In Berlin, May Day marchers in Kreuzberg carried signs and banners expressing solidarity with Los Angeles.

In the Los Angeles upheaval in the U.S. and the ÖTV strike here, we have seen watershed events in two of the three leading world imperialist powers—and

treatment" misery and murderous nationalist civil war.

Germany and its West European allies want to create a "Fortress Europe" to keep out refugees escaping the economic and social havoc they have wreaked worldwide. Hardly a day goes by without an incident of vicious anti-Semitism and racist/fascist terror. *Anschluss* turned the clock back 50 years for East German women, destroying the social institutions which provided comprehensive free medical and childcare, and driving women back to "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" (children, kitchen, church). Whereas over 90 percent of women worked in the DDR, two-thirds of the jobless in East Germany are now women. As the Protestant and Catholic churches drive to re-Christianize the East, all governmental parties are nearing agreement on a *grossdeutsch* (Greater Germany) anti-abortion law putting women and doctors at the mercy of blackmailing clerical "counselors."

To undo this all-sided social devastation, the working class must be mobilized to fight for all the oppressed. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants—Stop Nazi terror through worker/immigrant mobilizations! Preachers, cops and judges out of the bedroom and doctor's office: Abolish Paragraphs 218/219! Down with the church tax! For separation of church and state! In the face of the destruction being carried out by the bourgeoisie, we must fight for a massive program of public works to rebuild the plants and social institutions, to build millions of quality affordable homes, to clean the filth out of the environment. We must fight for equal pay for equal work—women and men, immigrants and Germans, East and West. The DGB tops go on talking about winning a 35-hour week in 1994, but the bosses are on a drive to *increase* the workweek. The fight for massive social reconstruction, dividing up the work among all hands with a significantly shorter workweek and no loss in pay, means a revolutionary struggle.

Germany remains the key to Europe, for barbarism or socialism. To rebuild this country in the interest of all the working people and plan the economy sensibly on an international scale, it is necessary to fight for a workers government that *expropriates* capital, putting the means of production into the hands of those who produce the wealth. To organize that struggle and lead it to victory, the workers need a revolutionary workers party. Such a party, in the internationalist tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, is what the Spartakists are fighting to build. Join us! ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Defend the Immigrants and the Right of Asylum! Down with the Anti-Communist Witchhunt!

# Strikes Rock Kohl's Germany

The following article is translated from a special supplement of Spartakist (25 May 1992), published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Break with Social Democracy—  
Not a "Grand Coalition" of Capital,  
But a Workers Government to  
Expropriate Capital!

Bring Down Kohl with  
Workers' Action!

MAY 22—The strike in West German public service and transport was the biggest labor struggle here since World War II and the first strike by the government workers union (ÖTV) since 1974—when they brought down the government of Willy Brandt. This wasn't about a lousy 5.4 percent. It was a provocative test of strength on the part of the German bourgeoisie with major international repercussions. Together with the Social Democrats (SPD), they first bulldozed the East German collectivized economy and have thrown six million unemployed on the street nationally. And now there is a de facto Christian Democratic (CDU)/SPD coalition that wants West German workers to pay for the devastation caused by capitalist counter-revolution in the DDR (East Germany) and East Europe.

German imperialism is emboldened by what they see as capitalist victory over "communism" with the collapse of Stalinism, and at the same time it is under severe economic pressure as it seeks to digest the spoils. But CDU chancellor Helmut Kohl's gang and the SPD labor traitors miscalculated with the most powerful working class in Europe. They precipitated an overwhelmingly popular strike against themselves and the

Postal workers picket during public service strike. Two years after capitalist reunification, German rulers face massive working-class unrest.

consequences of capitalist reunification. Moreover, the strike began to spread to the East, showing the tremendous potential for united class struggle.

In spite of the government's anti-union propaganda, with the Berlin gutter press *BZ* writing about "the first rats sighted on the Kurfürstendamm," the strike had wide support; discontent among the population turned against the regime. According to the latest polls, Kohl is the most unpopular politician in Germany next to (Free Democratic economics minister) Möllemann, and a popular joke about the "tax lie" (Kohl's election promise that there would be no tax increases to pay for reunification) refers to the new "sucker-bait surtax" (*Volksverarschungsabgabe*). With this

kind of anger, it was a good time to strike, and strike hard. During the strike Bonn was playing with the idea of sending in the Bundeswehr (army) to pick up garbage. If that had happened, it should have been answered with a general strike.

There was a lot of sentiment among strikers to hold out for at least "six [percent] before the decimal point," but any real struggle to regain and defend workers' jobs, wages and benefits from the inroads of economic devastation in the East and the slashing of social programs, inflation and tax hikes in the West would require the full mobilization of the working class *East and West*. Because what's involved here is not a squabble over a few D-marks, but a sharp *political class confrontation*. The bourgeoisie has announced the end of the "German model" of organized class collaboration. They would like to introduce the economic policies of Reagan and Thatcher, which signals a hot war against the unions.

This confrontation with the German state is not over. Workers everywhere say they're "pissed off" about this shameful sellout, which means a stinging pay cut—because they knew that for eleven days they had the government where it hurts. In Braunschweig the strike continued after the settlement was announced. The ÖTV ranks—particularly transit and garbage workers—rejected the contract by a resounding 55 percent, but the bureaucrats are shoving it down their throats. Negotiations are under way for East German public employees and strikes are directly posed, but any struggle is being orchestrated by the union tops to begin after the strike ended in the West.

Right behind the public sector workers were four million metal workers, as well as construction workers and printers;

already tens of thousands of metal workers and printers have walked out in "warning strikes." Traditionally, struggles in metal have been restricted to "pilot" regions—a national metal strike could set off an explosion. The *Wall Street Journal* (6 May) worried that "A full-fledged metalworkers' strike would be devastating for Germany's economy." But after the ÖTV strike and contract vote, IG Metall union leader Steinkühler is so worried that the ranks could get out of control that he wants to impose 5.4 percent for this year and 3.3 percent for 1993.

What's necessary is to bring down Kohl through workers' action. Break with social democracy—a "grand coalition" of capital will mean escalating attacks on workers, immigrants, women. What we need is a workers government to expropriate capital!

From "Social Partnership"  
to Class War

Since the '50s the bosses have kept the workers in line with the help of the SPD-fostered myth of "social partnership." But now, as the bourgeoisie declares open war against the working class, *Die Zeit* notes, "The social consensus is disintegrating." After swallowing the East German deformed workers state, German imperialism has grown more aggressive, seeking its "place in the sun" as did Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany leading up to World War I. And in its *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East), it has taken on new economic burdens that challenge even its tremendous strength.

The Bonn regime has bitten off more than it can chew. In Yugoslavia it bent the rest of the EC to its will by forcing recognition of Slovenia and Croatia.

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Berlin, Alexanderplatz, May 21: Several thousand came out to protest "Republikaner" fascist provocation in the heart of the former East German capital. Spartakists (above) called for workers mobilization to stop the Nazis.