

After NAFTA, Clinton Strongarms Japan, Europe



Clinton and leaders of Pacific Rim countries meeting in Seattle at "Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation" forum. U.S. wants to use spectre of Pacific "free trade" as club against European imperialist rivals.

U.S. Gears Up for Trade War

Hours after the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was passed by the U.S. Congress on November 17 by an unexpectedly wide margin, President Clinton shuttled off to Seattle where he had convoked a meeting of the heads of government of the Pacific Rim countries. The purpose: to use his NAFTA "win" to extract trade concessions from the Asian leaders, to be used in turn as a hattering ram against the Europeans. The aim of Clinton's pact with Canada and Mexico is to reinforce the American bourgeoisie's economic muscle against its imperialist trade rivals by creating a U.S.-dominated free trade zone—"free" for capitalist exploitation and immiseration of the workers. This is a step toward global trade war.

Washington's "New World Order" was supposed to be an era of renewed U.S. imperialist hegemony, heralded by the ruthless destruction of Iraq in the Gulf War. The terror bombing that slaughtered tens of thousands of Iraqis was as much intended as a warning to America's chief imperialist rivals, Japan and Germany. With the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the Cold War cement which held together the post-World War II imperialist alliance has come unstuck. And as in the periods leading up to World Wars I and II, trade wars for redivision of the world are ultimately decided by the imperialists in shooting wars—only this time they will be armed with nuclear weapons.

As they gear up for an era of heightened interimperialist competition, the capitalists on three continents are all seeking to squeeze enhanced profits out of the workers through speedup, wage-gouging and ruthless cuts in social services. But the working class has the power to turn the capitalists' trade war into a class war against all the exploiters. This was dramatically underscored last week by an upsurge of class struggle that ripped across Europe, where the bourgeoisie is on a rampage to dismantle the so-called "welfare state" and tear up hard-won union rights and working conditions.

• **Belgium:** A one-day general strike on November 26 completely shut down industry, transportation and even shops.

Workers marched with red flags to protest a three-year freeze on real wages and massive cuts in social security decreed by the Christian Democrat/Socialist gov-

ernment. The international airport at Brussels was shut down by pickets who put up flaming barricades on the access roads. This is the first time since 1936

that the major unions in Belgium have called a general strike.

• **Spain:** On November 25, hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated across Spain against "Socialist" prime minister Felipe González' proposed labor law "reform" which would make it easier to fire workers at a time when official unemployment is almost 23 percent. The workers' demonstrations, supported by students and community organizations, were called by the Socialist Party-led General Workers Union and the Workers Commissions as a dry run for a general strike.

• **France:** Coal miners of the Lorraine region in northeast France struck Wednesday against threatened layoffs, waging pitched battles with police. Armed with ax handles, the miners overran police lines (47 cops were injured), overturned police cars, burned buildings and smashed up a local office of the minister of industry. This explosion of working-class anger comes one month after a two-week strike by Air France ground crews, who battled cops on the airport runways, forcing the right-wing cabinet to scrap its job-cutting plan (see "French Government Reeling—Air France Strikers Ignite Class Struggle," *WV* No. 587, 5 November).

This powerful working-class upsurge, coming after mass marches by tens of thousands of coal miners in Germany's Ruhr region and militant factory occupations in southern Italy, took place simultaneously with big student strikes in France, Spain and Italy. At the same time, amid burgeoning unemployment and petty-bourgeois despair, fascist forces are escalating their racist terror attacks and gaining at the polls (notably in the recent Italian municipal elections). What is clearly posed is international working-class struggle against the capitalists' reactionary attacks. But reformist misleaders have sidetracked labor protests into the dead end of protectionism. The miners in Lorraine burned imported coal on the docks and railroad sidings. German miners—many of them Turkish immigrants—have repeatedly demonstrated against imported coal. This nationalist poison is a deadly obstacle to effective working-class struggle.

Similarly in the U.S., the AFL-CIO bureaucrats and their right-wing allies have pitched opposition to NAFTA in terms of protectionist tirades against Mexican workers "taking American

Class Struggle Explodes in West Europe



Metz, France, November 24: Striking coal miners waged pitched battle with cops as wave of class struggle sweeps across Europe. A day later in Belgium, the first general strike in nearly 60 years shut the country down tight in protest against government wage freeze. On November 27, in Spain hundreds of thousands of workers marched threatening a general strike. Italy was hit by strikes of transport, auto and steel workers,

while students took to the streets to demonstrate against education cuts. Student protests also swept France. The militant Air France strike two weeks earlier rattled French rulers and raised spectre of a new May 1968, when a general strike nearly toppled the regime and posed prospect of workers revolution. What's needed: revolutionary vanguard parties to lead workers to victory over capitalism.

Martinez/Reuters



Fourth Reich Aids Turkey's Bloody War on the Kurds

Down with Germany's Ban on the Kurdish PKK!

The following article is adapted from Spartakist (No. 108, November/December 1993), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

On November 26, the German government outlawed the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and 35 other political, cultural and news organizations of the 450,000 Kurdish people living in Germany. The ban came as German cops staged more than a hundred raids on Kurdish clubs, businesses and homes, breaking into post office boxes and

seizing bank accounts. Only a week before, the French government likewise launched an assault against Kurdish militants, rounding up 111 people "suspected" of belonging to the PKK. The Turkish government expressed "great satisfaction" with these raids. The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany and the Ligue Trotskyiste de France issued urgent statements denouncing the anti-Kurdish repression. Hands off the PKK and other Kurdish organizations!

Christian Democrat (CDU) interior minister Manfred Kanther tried to justify



100,000 Kurds demonstrate in Bonn last May.

this vile racist vendetta as a campaign to wipe out "foreign extremism" on German soil. In fact, it is part and parcel of the German bourgeoisie's unstinting support to its junior partners in Ankara.

In recent months, the Turkish government has dramatically escalated its war against the Kurdish people, as 20 people a day are murdered. The Fourth Reich

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TROTSKY

Freedom for Class-War Prisoners!

In fighting to mobilize the working class in defense of victimized black and labor militants, the Spartakist League and Partisan Defense Committee look to the tradition of the International Labor Defense founded by James P. Cannon. In the face of revolutionary upheavals inspired by the 1917 Russian Revolution, the U.S. bourgeoisie escalated its persecution of working-class militants, notably through the notorious 1920 Palmer



LENIN

Raids. While the imperialists crow over the destruction of the Soviet Union, the class struggle continues, as does the capitalist rulers' vendetta against fighters for the working class and black emancipation. In a 1921 article commemorating May Day, reprinted in the Prometheus Research Library's James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism (1992), then Communist Party and later Trotskyist leader Cannon honored the class-war prisoners of U.S. imperialism and called on the workers movement to fight for their freedom.

There is a definite purpose behind this persistent and systematic railroading of working class agitators. The money-sharks who rule America thought they would be able to break up the movement by taking away the leaders and intimidating the rank and file. But the revolutionary movement grows up out of the life needs of the workers and there is no power that can break it. Persecution is but the fire in which it is tempered and hardened. When leaders go to prison others come forward out of the ranks and take their places. When fainthearted followers desert, new recruits, better suited for the stern requirements of the class war, are enlisted.

The men who have gone to prison for the workers' cause know this. That knowledge enables them to bear their confinement without complaint, oppressive as it is to men of independent spirit. They see the proletarian revolution still triumphant in Russia; they see it rising in all the countries of Europe where capitalism has played out its string and cannot reorganize production; they know that we, who are on the outside of the jails, have not forgotten them nor our sacred obligation to appeal to the all-powerful workers in their behalf.

The day is coming when the toiling masses of America will hear that appeal and act upon it. Then the prison doors will be opened and the prisoners set free, for the masses have an authority higher than that of any court. To redouble our efforts to hasten on the day of liberation is the pledge we make to our imprisoned comrades on this First of May.

—James P. Cannon, "The Political Prisoners" (May 1921)

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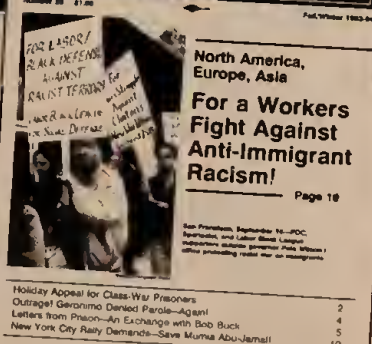
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British Troops Out Now!

Northern Ireland "Peace" Plan Threatens Catholics

Not Orange Against Green, But Class Against Class!

The following article is reprinted in slightly edited form from Workers Hammer (No. 138, November/December 1993), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.

The last period has seen a chilling increase in the level of communal tension and communalist killings in Northern Ireland, in which it has been the oppressed Catholics who have taken the most casualties, while the population, both Catholic and Protestant, live in terror. Enraged by "peace" talks initiated by the "moderate" Catholic Social and Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) leader John Hume and Sinn Fein head Gerry Adams, the fascistic Protestant Loyalist/Unionist thugs intensified their campaign of wanton murders of Catholics. This generated widespread revulsion, and not only among Catholics. The mainly Protestant workers at Shorts aerospace factory in Belfast struck over the murder of a Catholic worker.

On Saturday, 23 October, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), associated with Sinn Fein, planted a bomb in a fish shop beneath the offices of the Loyalist paramilitary Ulster Defence Association (UDA) on a crowded street in the heart of the Protestant working-class district of Shankill, Belfast, killing nine Protestant shoppers and one of the IRA team planting the bomb. In the week that followed, Loyalist death squads implemented their grisly dictum "any Catholic will do." Two Catholic workers were killed and five others injured at a council sanitation depot in West Belfast. The next weekend six Catholics and one Protestant were gruesomely murdered in a machine-gun attack on a predominantly Catholic pub in Greysteel, County Derry.

Sections of the bourgeoisies in London and Dublin, together with their Labour and social-democratic lackeys, have seized upon the widespread fear, revulsion and despair over sectarian vio-

lence as an opportunity to foist an imperialist-imposed "peace" deal on Northern Ireland. Any imperialist "deal" will be bloody and brutal and will necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either.

The bourgeois press, the Tory (Conservative) government of Prime Minister John Major and Labour politicians have whipped up a chauvinist frenzy against "terrorism," which for them applies always to the actions of the IRA, but never to the blood-soaked British Army, which has 20,000 troops there, or the viciously anti-Catholic sectarian Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)/Royal Irish Regiment (RIR). In fact, in recent years there has been a buildup of military and police personnel. There is one army/RUC member for every 3.7 Catholic males between the ages of 16 and 44.

The words of one Belfast Catholic are apt: "We will not be lectured by the likes of John Major whose army has been responsible for the massacre of thousands of innocent people all around the world" (*Irish Times*, 25-26 October). Belfast Catholics got a bloody reminder

British troops occupy Catholic neighborhood in Belfast, October 1993.



Giles/AFP

of the British Army's role when 60 shots were fired from an army Land Rover at mourners outside the home of Thomas Begley, the IRA member killed in the Shankill bombing, wounding a prominent Sinn Fein supporter. Elements of the British security services are interpenetrated with the fascistic Loyalist paramilitaries. Brian Nelson, a British agent and the intelligence chief for a Loyalist gang, targeted Republicans for assassination and arranged substantial military shipments to the Loyalists from the South African apartheid regime. Beginning with the last Labour government in the late 1970s, the elite British Army SAS (Special Air Services) killer squads have been used to carry out assassinations of Republicans.

The essential assumption, explicit or implicit, in all the "peace" proposals being touted about is that the British Army, with its shoot-to-kill policy, will remain to police capitalist order, backed up by the bloodthirsty Loyalist thugs. The British imperialists played divide and rule in colonies like India and Palestine, and then on their way out sought to wreck these places by whipping up communalism. Today they adopt a racist

and arrogant pretence that they are just trying to stop the tit-for-tat barbarities of the "uncivilised Irish" of all hues. All of SDLP chief John Hume's initiatives, including the talks and proposals with Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams, are based on the premise that British imperialism is somehow "neutral." All history and the graves of many Irish Catholics say otherwise.

The Sinn Fein leaders are hell-bent on pressuring the imperialists, and thus refuse to call for army withdrawal, waffling on about total "demilitarisation" of the situation—as if the armed forces of the capitalist state are about to disarm themselves. The only people slated to be demilitarised are the IRA, and in this process the Catholics are to be totally subjugated. Lenin stressed that the proletariat of the oppressor countries had a special duty to combat in words and deeds the chauvinism of its own rulers. Today British revolutionaries have particular responsibility to lead the English, Welsh and Scottish working class to struggle for the immediate withdrawal of the British troops and the backing [refusing to handle] of all military goods

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IRA bombing of fish shop in Protestant Shankill was a crime which can only breed communal warfare (left). Sinn Fein head Gerry Adams carries coffin of IRA bomber who died.

The Honecker Show Trial and the Berlin Wall

Part One of this article, dealing with the show trials of former East German officials by the courts of the vindictive German bourgeoisie, was published in WV No. 568 (29 January)

November 9 is a fateful day in Germany. On that day in 1918, the Hohenzollern monarchy fell and

PART TWO OF TWO

the republic was born, a tottering bourgeois republic, initially presided over by the Social Democrats, which was able to establish itself only by the bloody suppression of workers' revolution and was subsequently swept away by the victory of Hitler fascism in 1933. Again, on November 9 in 1938, mobs of Nazi stormtroopers staged anti-Jewish pogroms throughout the Reich (empire), burning synagogues and smashing store windows in what became known as "Kristallnacht," the night of shattered glass, that foreshadowed the genocidal Holocaust. On the same day in 1989, the Berlin Wall was opened after mass demonstrations had brought down the Stalinist government of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), the East German bureaucratically deformed workers state, led by Erich Honecker.

From then it was only four months until the decisive elections of 18 March 1990 and the victory of the forces pushing for a rapid *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR by the imperialist federal republic (West Germany). But far from the "blooming landscape" promised by Bonn chancellor Helmut Kohl, the capitalist reunification of Germany has produced a devastated wasteland in the East. The gains of the workers state have been steamrollered; women have been fired wholesale, foreign workers expelled, factories torn down so that today only one job in four remains in what used to be the tenth-largest industrial power in the world. In part to divert discontent among the east (and west) German population, the rulers of the triumphant Fourth Reich of German imperialism staged a monstrous show trial, placing former DDR chief Honecker and his principal aides in the defendants' box. The charge: ordering border guards to shoot those trying to cross the Wall.

In this blatant case of "victor's justice," it was the DDR itself that was put on "trial."



13 August 1961: Thousands of factory militiamen of the *Betriebskampfgruppen* were mobilized to defend construction of the Berlin Wall.

Defending the DDR Was No Crime, Selling It Out Was

The proceedings turned into a "judicial farce," as *Der Spiegel* termed it. Sick old men were dragged before the court in a grotesque public torture, and then one by one were removed from the trial as they were physically unable to continue. To cut short the embarrassment, on January 12 a Berlin constitutional court ordered charges dropped against the cancer-stricken Honecker, who then went to Chile. But with the klieg lights of international publicity turned aside, the Honecker trial continued without Honecker. Former DDR defense minister and member of the political bureau of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) Heinz Kessler, his deputy and secretary of the National Defense Council Fritz Streletz, and former SED district leader Hans Albrecht were accused of "manslaughter." The defendants pointed out that this was a militarized border, where mines and armed patrols are normal. But after ten months of hearings, in September the

three were duly convicted, even though the judge remarked "they shot at no one" and "they didn't want any dead."

The harder between East and West Germany was the front line of the Cold War "The Wall" stood as a barrier to the attempts by imperialism to "roll back" the Soviet bloc, or failing that, to undermine the DDR deformed workers state by draining its skilled labor and hemorrhaging its economy. That is why the capitalists hated the Berlin Wall and why we Trotskyists defended this bureaucratic measure in defense of the DDR economy. The International Communist League and our German section, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), fought tooth and nail against capitalist reunification. And we have subsequently denounced the anti-Communist witchhunt trials, demanding freedom for Honecker, Kessler and the other leading DDR state officials, as well as for individual Volksarmee (Peoples Army) border guards.

The centerpiece of the West German campaign to criminalize the East German workers state has been to portray the DDR as simply a police state, the "Stasi-Staat." So naturally they went after the head of the "Stasi," former minister of state security Erich Mielke. But to charge him with police spying on the population, which was so extensive that it became a burden on the East German economy, would raise questions about the West German secret police (the euphemistically named "Office for the Protection of the Constitution") which admits to having computer files on over 600,000 West Germans. Instead they tried Mielke for supposed involvement in the 1931 killing of two cops in front of the Communist Party headquarters. These charges were first raised by a Nazi court in 1934, on the basis of "evidence" extracted under torture by the Gestapo! Holding the indictment of the blood-soaked fascist judges to be "credible," the Berlin court on October 26 found Mielke guilty of murder, and sentenced the ailing 85-year-old to six years in prison!

As we have said before, Honecker and Mielke were tried by the wrong class for the wrong crimes. For their Stalinist repression of the working class and undermining of the DDR, the revolutionary proletariat in power would call them to account. Instead, they have been persecuted by a revenge-hungry bourgeoisie, which seeks to make an example of them to intimidate a conquered population and criminalize the very idea of socialism.

Another prime target of this "revenge justice" has been the former head of the DDR's renowned intelligence service, Markus Wolf. Accused of high treason, Wolf asked in his opening statement to the court last May, "What country am I supposed to have betrayed?" As the SpAD's newspaper *Spartakist* (No. 103, May 1993) noted, "this can only mean 'betrayal' of the Third Reich, which was smashed by the victory of the Red Army over German fascism. It was out of this victory that the DDR deformed workers state was built. Not only did the (West) German Federal Republic designate itself the legal successor state to the Third Reich, but it took over Hitler's entire 'Foreign Armies East' spy apparatus, the Gehlen organization, which became the core of the later BND [West German intelligence]." Denouncing his seven-month treason trial as a political farce and a show trial, in which a guilty verdict was foreordained, Wolf declared with dignity in his closing statement:

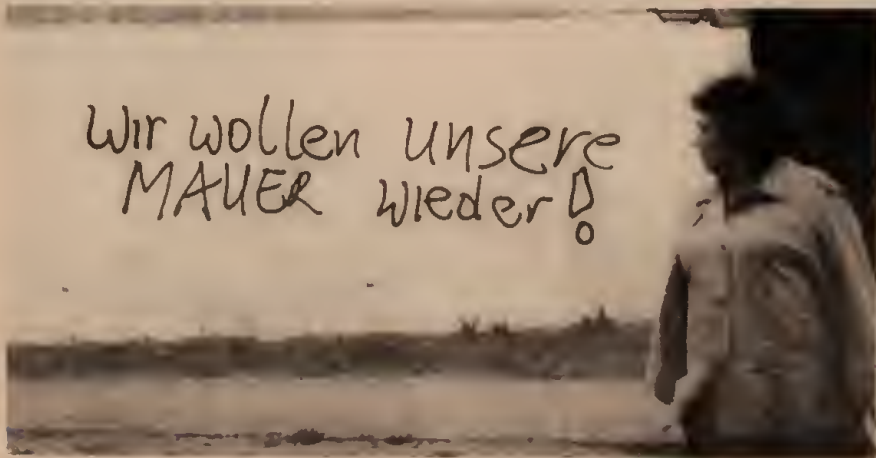
"Apparently no one who once believed in the possibility of another Germany with more social justice, a Germany without arrogance or nationalistic taint or the almighty dollar, is allowed to walk around any more with his head held high."

—New York Times, 25 November

On December 6, the court in Düsseldorf will pronounce sentence on Wolf. In a press release on November 27, the SpAD declared: "Markus Wolf did his best to defend the DDR—now we must defend him."

DDR Nostalgia and the Wall

With the "other Germany" dead and gone, the one that remains is showing signs of social disintegration. The capitalist economic crisis has led to a net



"We Want Our Wall Back" reads graffiti in east German town of Freienwalde after experiencing bitter realities of capitalist reunification.

cutting of three-quarters of a million jobs in 1993 alone. While tens of thousands of coal miners and steel workers march in the Ruhr, the social-democratic union leaders guarantee that "things don't get out of hand." Mass unemployment already numbers over six million, the highest level reached in the Weimar Republic before the Nazi takeover, and nationalist sentiment over loss of "German jobs" is fueling the xenophobic attacks on immigrants by fascists. The number of Jewish cemeteries defaced last year alone (80) equaled the total number attacked between 1926 and 1931. The ugly face of the Fourth Reich is that of Nazi racists who launched murderous firebomb attacks from Hoyerswerda and Rostock in the east to Mölln and Solingen in the west.

As economic conditions deteriorate and think tank experts warn of impending social unrest, one effect of the pervasive malaise has been a growing dissatisfaction with reunification. In the west, right-wingers blame "Ossis" for undermining prosperity: a supporter of the fascist Republikaner in Bavaria grumbles, "Plenty of people, myself included, think they should put the wall back up and make it four meters higher" (*Wall Street Journal Europe*, 29 October). In the east there is widespread resentment against "Besserwessis" (western know-it-alls), while graffiti proclaim "We want our wall back." On the third anniversary of formal reunification on October 3, Kohl held a ceremony in Saarbrücken, about as far west as you can get in Germany, while several thousand pro-DDR demonstrators marched in Berlin.

There is now a wave of nostalgia for the DDR, dubbed "Ostalgie," including TV spots for the East German Club-Cola showing Erich Honecker doing calisthenics. A Dresden disco attracts big crowds with no cover charge for anyone wearing the blue shirt of the SED's youth group FDJ (Free German Youth); hundreds weep as the DDR flag unfurls to chants of "Peace! Freedom! Solidarity!" and "DDR, my fatherland!" (*London Guardian*, 9 November). Interestingly, this yearning for the good old days under "Honi" has sparked complaints by former leaders of the East German "citizens movement" which arose in the fall of 1989. Filmmaker Konrad Weiss, now a well-paid Bundestag deputy for Alliance '90, lamented that "our peaceful revolution failed" and denounced this "strange DDR nostalgia" as "downright perverse." The former dissident author Christa Wolf, just returned from Santa Monica, California, also rejected DDR nostalgia:

"No one can make me think in retrospect that everything about it was wonderful, but at the same time I can't find everything so wonderful now either, when everything is being closed down and done away with."

—*The Week in Germany*
(1 October)

We Trotskyists, who consistently defended the DDR against counterrevolution, also do not idealize the Stalinist-ruled deformed workers state. Following the fall of the Honecker government and the opening of the Berlin Wall, we intervened to the limit of our forces in the DDR, calling "For Political Revolution

Der Spiegel



Walters/Sipa

10 November 1989: Crowds at the Brandenburg Gate as the Berlin Wall was opened amid mass upsurge in the DDR.

in East Germany!" and declaring "Workers Soviets Must Rule in All Germany!" But the incipient political revolution in the DDR was overwhelmed by German imperialism's drive for *Anschluss*. In the March 1990 Volkskammer (DDR parliament) elections, the SpAD ran under the central slogan "No to Capitalist Reunification!" In contrast, Alliance '90, many of whose leaders had signed the November 1989 manifesto "For Our Country" which called for a "socialist alternative" to West Germany, went along with the reunification drive. And subsequently, while the Spartakists called for "Fourth Reich Hands Off Honecker!" and freedom for Kessler, Mielke and Markus Wolf, the "citizens rights" advocates have been the biggest pushers (along with the rabidly anti-Communist SPD "justice" minister of Berlin) of the anti-red witch-hunt. Some "democracy!"

In the conflicted attitudes of the "citizens rights movement" toward the DDR one can see the failure of the "classless" perspective of these petty-bourgeois democrats as opposed to the Marxists' proletarian-revolutionary program. Nowhere is this clearer than in their attitude toward "The Wall." Thus in November 1989, following the million-strong demonstration in East Berlin's Alexanderplatz and the opening of the Berlin Wall, after reiterating that the Wall was erected as a barrier to capitalist reunification of Germany, we wrote:

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

—WV No. 490
(24 November 1989)

Leaders of the "citizens movement," such as Sebastian Pflugbeil of Neues Forum, however, lamented the opening of the Wall, saying that this was "nothing

but the corruption of the people," and that "the small amount of national identity that developed over the last two months will be drowned in West Berlin chocolate" (*New York Times*, 13 November 1989). New Left groupings similarly complained that the DDR population had been bought off by bananas.

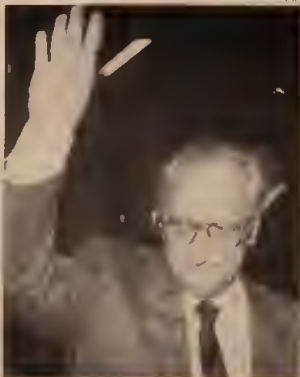
We warned at the time that the economic consequences of the breaching of the Wall posed a challenge to the existence of the DDR, but did not necessarily spell the doom of the workers state. While open to individual travel, it could remain as an instrument of exchange control, if combined with a convertible DDR currency to act as a buffer to the world market. But even under the SED reformers, the Stalinist regime could not carry out such a program. The necessary economic defense measures—currency reform, exchange controls, rationalizing subsidies—were only possible with the political loyalty of the citizens, which "requires the establishment of a revolutionary workers soviet government" and "socialist international economic planning to replace nationalist bureaucratic commandism" ("For a Red Germany in a Socialist Europe!" WV No. 491, 8 December 1989).

The Spartacists defended the Wall as an economic measure. For all their complaints about Ulbricht and Honecker treating the population like children, the "citizens rights" movement joined the Stalinists in seeing the Wall as a means of preventing the "corruption of the people."

The Berlin Wall and "Peaceful Coexistence"

In his speech to the Berlin court last December, Honecker noted: "How and why it came to the building of the Wall does not interest the state attorney.... Erich Honecker built the Wall and upheld it. Basta.... The Communist is branded a criminal and found guilty for that."

Andreas Schoelzel



From left: Markus Wolf, Heinz Kessler and Erich Mielke. Leading DDR officials put on trial by vengeful Fourth Reich rulers.

For the official spokesmen of the Fourth Reich, only a socialist "state of illegality" could ever restrict emigration by its citizens. They might have considered West Germany's own history. When the federal republic was being formed, at a time of mass unemployment and hunger, there was a debate in the Parliamentary Council of the western occupation zones in September 1948 on the demand for a basic right to emigration. This was rejected. One of the delegates, Carlo Schmid, warned of the danger of a mass exodus: "Germany today shares a common destiny, from which there may be no flight" (quoted in Peter Glotz, "We Accomplices" in *Kursbuch 111: In Sachen Erich Honecker* [1993]). He urged the seizure of the belongings of those who left. *Republikflucht* (flight from the republic) wasn't just a crime in Germany East, it turns out.

West Germany's rulers never accepted that one-third of the reduced Reich had been wrenched from capitalist domination by the victory of the Soviet Red Army. For years, West German authorities denied the very existence of the DDR, threatening to cut off relations to any country that recognized the East Berlin government (the "Hallstein Doctrine"), even referring to it exclusively as the "SBZ" (for "Soviet Occupation Zone"). After the erection of the Berlin Wall in August 1961, anti-Communists seized upon this as the symbol to discredit the DDR, calling it the "Mauerstaat" (walled state). By invoking the image of a gigantic concentration camp, they equated Stalinism with fascism along the lines of the Cold Warrior "totalitarianism" thesis, beloved of pseudo-liberals like Hannah Arendt and Nazi apologists like Professor Ernst Nolte, who gained notoriety in the late-1980s "Historians Debate" for insisting that Stalin was worse than, and responsible for, Hitler.

Behind this terminology and imagery stood the determination of German imperialism and its parties (Christian Democratic, Free Democratic, Social Democratic alike) to reconquer the DDR for capitalism. Against this counterrevolutionary drive, the Stalinists answered with the pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence" of the two contradictory social systems. In his speech to the court, Honecker argued that the "situation of tension in Germany...threatened world peace. Humanity stood on the brink of an atomic war." If the Wall had not been built "it would have resulted in the deaths of thousands or millions." In an extended "cross-examination" of Honecker by two east German authors, Reinhold Ander and Wolfgang Herzberg, *Der Sturz* (Aufbau-Verlag, 1991), the DDR leader said of building the Wall that "we later heard that even [then West German chancellor] Adenauer as well as the American president" were "relieved that we solved the problem in this way on the night of 13 August 1961, thus contributing to securing peace."

There was certainly plenty of tension in Germany threatening world peace. Pursuing a "policy of strength," Adenauer's government in Bonn was massively rearming, building up a Bundeswehr that was several times the size of the DDR's Volksarmee as right-wing war minister Franz Josef Strauss was noisily demanding tactical nuclear weapons. And while Washington was not trumpeting the "roll-back" rhetoric of Eisenhower's secretary of state John Foster Dulles, the Kennedy administration, after its debacle at Cuba's Bay of Pigs, was trying to look tough to the Soviets. At the June 1961 Vienna summit, Kennedy refused Soviet leader Khrushchev's call for a peace treaty on Germany, saying this was impossible until there was a single German government. A National Security Council memo declared that the reason the U.S. and its allies had "refused to recognize the so-called 'German Democratic Republic'" is that there is in actuality no such

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Honecker...

(continued from page 5)

country" (quoted in Norman Gelb, *The Berlin Wall: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and a Showdown in the Heart of Europe* [Times Books, 1986]).

Dulles was gone, but the Cold War was blowing hot and Dulles-style nuclear "brinkmanship" was still Washington's approach to Moscow. In a saher-rattling TV speech in late July, Kennedy whipped up a crisis atmosphere, announcing a multibillion dollar increase in Pentagon funding, sharply increased draft calls and reactivation of reserve and National Guard units. In the event of a new blockade of Berlin, U.S. plans included not just an airlift but sending military units up the Autobahns—i.e., invading East Germany. U.S. war secretary Robert McNamara publicly declared, "We will use nuclear weapons whenever we feel it's necessary to protect our vital interests." And JFK worried to aides about command procedures: "If we're going to have to start a nuclear war, we'll have to fix things so it will be started by the President of the United States" rather than "a trigger-happy sergeant on a truck convoy at a checkpoint in East Germany" (quoted in Peter Wyden, *Wall: The Inside Story of Divided Berlin* [Simon and Schuster, 1989]).

More effective than the imperialists' military threats was West German economic warfare. In September 1960, Bonn unilaterally canceled its trade agreement with East Germany, underscoring that the DDR had become dependent on the West for various raw materials, as well as intermediate goods including rolled steel. And as the Berlin crisis escalated, so did the numbers of East Germans crossing to West Berlin. Western propaganda flamed this flow across the unsecured border on the "hardline" policies of the DDR regime headed by Walter Ulbricht, in particular the collectivization of agriculture. But the late 1950s were a period of rapid economic improvement in East Germany, including the elimination of rationing of meat, sugar and fat. And collectivization was carried out in early 1960, when the number of border crossers was lower. What happened in the summer of 1961 was *Torschlusspanik* (panic over the door slamming shut) as the "tough" talk from the West convinced many that it was now or never. Moreover, even the leading West German historian of the DDR admits that the "West German mass media with sensational headlines about numbers of refugees" helped "swell the stream of refugees into a flood" (Hermann Weher, *Geschichte der DDR* [DTV, 1985]).

East Germany's Stalinist rulers could not deal frankly with this phenomenon. DDR propaganda spoke of "headhunters" and "smuggling of human beings," and they even caught some people recruiting skilled workers in the Elektrokoble Lichtenberg plant in East Berlin. But mass flight of such proportions, totaling almost 2.7 million people (out of a population of 17 million) from 1949 until the border was closed in August

Cold War face-off at Checkpoint Charlie in August 1961.



1961, cannot be explained by the actions of Western agents alone. This exodus was clearly the effect of the West German Federal Republic's lead (estimated at roughly 25 percent) in production of consumer goods.

Ulbricht declared at the Fifth SED Party Congress in 1958 that the "main economic task" for the DDR was to "reach and surpass" West Germany in "the per capita consumption by the working population in all important foods and consumer goods." But by 1961 it was clear that this utopian program (linked to Khrushchev's talk of surpassing the USA by 1965) was not working, and despite substantial DDR growth the economic gap with the West was expanding. Internally, the top level of the bureaucracy had a pretty accurate picture of the situation. In recently released correspondence with Khrushchev during 1960 (*Utopie kreativ*, May-June 1993), the DDR leader admitted that "fulfilling the main economic task by the end of 1961 is proving more difficult than anticipated," and later, "In the economic competition between the DDR and West Germany, West Germany expanded its lead in 1960." But they couldn't admit as much publicly because they couldn't explain it: it didn't square with the Stalinist program of "constructing socialism in one country."

A July 1960 Ulbricht letter to Khrushchev stated plaintively:

"But West Germany is proving itself economically strong. Ultimately we cannot choose whom we would like to test our strength with in competition. We are simply forced to stand against West Germany. Of course, the economic strength of the DDR alone is insufficient for this.... Put plainly, without the closest ties with the powerful economy of the USSR, our economy cannot develop overall."

Empirically, this was a frank admission of the impossibility of building "socialism" in half a country, particularly the weaker half (or third) of a country facing the most robust capitalist economy in the world. And despite early successes of the planned economy, even the Soviet bloc of countries could not withstand the onslaught of the much more powerful capitalist world market (combined with the relentless imperialist military pressure). The workers states could seek to hold out against impe-

rialism, but they could only build socialism by spreading revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. This was the watchword of the Soviet republic under Lenin and Trotsky and of the early Communist International. But the program of world socialist revolution was *reviled* by the conservative, nationalist hureaucracy—whose spokesman Stalin became—which sought a live-and-let-live "coexistence" with imperialism.

What the Wall Did: Temporary Stabilization of the DDR

Well, it takes two to tango. The imperialists would coexist "peacefully" with the Stalinist regimes (alternating between Cold War hostility and "détente," combined with a string of proxy wars in the Third World) only so long as they couldn't destroy these workers states, however bureaucratically degenerated and deformed. The building of the Berlin Wall was a defeat for the Kremlin's attempts to negotiate recognition of the status quo in Europe with the Western imperialists. The DDR was hemorrhaging badly, losing professionals (particularly doctors) to the West along with young skilled workers enticed by the image of prosperity they saw on Western TV. Key plants were in danger of production stoppages, food shortages were growing.

Faced with this emergency, at least the Stalinists were still able to act with determination. A meeting of the top representatives of the Warsaw Pact states was held in Moscow from 3 to 5 August 1961, and called for the DDR to secure its borders with West Germany. Marshal Koniev (who together with Zhukov took Berlin in 1945) was named commander of Soviet forces in the DDR to oversee the operation. Ulbricht's ambitious young protégé Honecker, who was secretary for security affairs of the SED central committee, formed a staff to carry out the operation which had been prepared since the spring. There were no leaks; they caught the NATO imperialists napping, and in the early morning hours of August 13 the border was closed, first with barbed wire and later with the concrete wall. This is the "crime" for which the German bourgeoisie tried Erich Honecker.

American and Soviet tanks faced off

at Checkpoint Charlie, but did not move. The German chancellor said little and stayed in Bonn. Does that mean that Kennedy and Adenauer were "relieved," as Honecker claims? Hardly. In Washington, Pentagon planners under Paul Nitze staged two "crisis simulation" war games, with players including McGeorge Bundy and Henry Kissinger. The games showed, according to another player, Daniel Ellsberg, "how quickly you were confronted with the choice of using nuclear weapons or giving up." Kennedy adviser Arthur Schlesinger Jr. wrote that "Everyone agreed that we might eventually have to go on to nuclear war." Eventually? Journalist Paul Wyden in his book *Wall* debunks later claims by McNamara that use of nuclear weapons over Berlin was ruled out, reporting that "the sneak-attack 'first strike' scenario... had resurfaced, this time fleshed out by military planners down to the altitudes and flight tactics of the attacking American bombers." It was deemed feasible, but the likely U.S. casualties (3-15 million dead from a Soviet second strike) were considered too high.

West Germany's "policy of strength" had failed. Khrushchev called Kennedy's bluff. So instead the imperialist propaganda machine went into high gear, with the usual "Iron Curtain" rhetoric about a totalitarian regime in East Germany. But photographs show East Berlin families standing around watching the NVA troops putting up the barriers around the Brandenburg Gate rather than desperately "fleeing to freedom." Moreover, since the 10,000 Volksarmee regular troops stationed in the Berlin area were insufficient for the operation, they were supplemented by 12,000 factory militia-men of the *Betriebskampfgruppen* (plant fighting groups) in Berlin, and thousands more were called up from Saxony. The reality was that everyone could see that the existence of the DDR was at stake, and those who defended it supported the building of the Wall. This included many pro-socialist intellectuals. In response to an open letter by West German SPD writer Günter Grass, declaring that in the face of the Wall "whoever is silent is guilty," DDR writer Stephan Hermlin wrote:

"I did not send a telegram of thanks to my government on August 13, and I also wouldn't define my inner feelings as 'joyful agreement,' as many are wont to do... But I give my unlimited earnest support to the measures of the German Democratic Republic... to brake the most dangerous state in the world, the federal republic, on its aggressive road."

from Hans Werner Richter, *Die Mauer, oder Der 13. August* (Rowohlt, 1961)

The construction of the Wall did allow the DDR regime to stabilize economically. A "New Economic System of Planning and Management" (NÖS) was introduced in 1963, giving state-owned plants more autonomy. In the following years, there was a sharp increase in production of consumer goods. While the goals of the seven-year plan ending in 1965 were not met in many areas, the number of autos and TVs tripled, the number of washing machines increased five times and the number of refrigerators six times. Larger numbers of women were



Berlin, 4 November 1989: During incipient proletarian political revolution, protesters marched with banner demanding "For Communist Ideals—No Privileges." German Spartakists intervened with daily press against West German Imperialist drive for capitalist counterrevolution.

drawn into the workforce, higher education and the technical intelligentsia (but not into the SED leadership) by providing essential services such as day care, laundries and birth control, as well as housing allotments for single mothers. When the decentralized economic system produced imbalances and bottlenecks—e.g., manufacturing output increased twice as fast as electrical power generation, leading to power cuts—in 1970 the NÖS was scrapped and the economy recentralized.

After Honecker staged a palace coup with the support of Brezhnev in 1970 to oust the aging Ulbricht, he put a particular emphasis on continually increasing consumer goods production, which was largely achieved. Trying to compete with

last analysis, productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system" ("A Great Beginning," July 1919). The fundamental material basis of socialism is a level of abundance high enough to make possible a classless society. Karl Marx underlined in *The German Ideology* (1845-46) that "the development of the productive forces...is absolutely necessary as a practical premise" of communism, because, first, "without it only want is made general, and with want the struggle for necessities and all the old crap would necessarily be reproduced." And secondly, "because only with this universal development of productive forces is a universal intercourse between men established." "Without this," he emphasized, "communism could only exist as a local event," and "each extension of intercourse would abolish local communism."

Here is the key to why the relative stabilization brought about by the Berlin Wall could not ultimately save the DDR. Even though Ulbricht and Honecker managed to supply the population with television sets, refrigerators,

washing machines and (to a lesser extent) cars, West German capital, because of its higher level of labor productivity, could supply cheaper and better color TVs, faster and more comfortable automobiles, as well as new products like VCRs and food processors. Again Marx foresaw these developments, writing that "if in England a machine is invented" such as a mechanical loom, this will in far-off India and China "overturn the whole form of existence of these empires." Even the East German fascination with bananas as a contributing factor to counterrevolution was prefigured by Marx when he wrote, "take the case of sugar and coffee which have proved their world-historical importance in the nineteenth century by the fact that the lack of these products, occasioned by the Napoleonic Continental system, caused the Germans to rise against Napoleon...."

International Revolution Is Key

In his critique of the Stalin/Bukharin draft program of the Comintern, *The Third International After Lenin* (1929), Leon Trotsky wrote:

"The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state if only there is no intervention. From this there can and must follow...a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention.... The task of the parties in the Comintern assumes, therefore, an auxiliary character; their mission is to protect the U.S.S.R. from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power."

Thus the anti-Leninist, anti-Marxist nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" at home was eventually codified in the class-collaborationist policy of the "popular front" abroad, in which the call for allying with sections of the bourgeoisie was the excuse for heading off proletarian revolution, for example in Spain during the 1936-39 Civil War. The Western Communist parties were to be nothing but "horder guards" for the Stalinist-ruled Soviet Union.

And what better border guard than a wall? To Ulbricht/Honecker et al., the Berlin Wall was the ultimate expression of the Stalinist false consciousness that they could build "socialism" in their country if only they could avoid Western military intervention. It went hand in hand with the development of a hypertrophied internal secret police, which went beyond the necessary combating of imperialist espionage and counterrevolutionary subversion to become generalized snooping and intellectual suppression. Many DDR reformers hoped that the relative economic protection and stabilization which the Wall afforded in the early years would lead to a progressive liberalization of the regime. But the bureaucracy was viscerally hostile to

workers democracy, which would have threatened its privileged position. It saw in the Wall a guarantee of its immortality. In 1986, DDR officialdom turned out with much pomp and circumstance to celebrate "25 Years of the Anti-Fascist Dike"(!), and early in 1989 Honecker predicted that the Wall would last another *hundred years!* But the "dike" sprung a leak.

The Stalinist repressive content of the DDR's policies can be seen even in their success stories. Thus Honecker undertook a massive program of housing construction. From 1970 on, more than 3.2 million apartments were built, so that more than half of the DDR population lived in new accommodations. This was more than double the per capita rate of any other deformed workers state, and even higher than in West Germany. A decision was made not to throw scarce resources into renovating the central areas of East German cities. While bourgeois critics call the new apartment blocks which were built "barracks" and "silos," they are generally comfortable and in some cases attractive. Such a vast effort was made possible by the perfection of industrial prefabrication techniques. Moreover, it was accomplished by appealing to socialist consciousness: the vast East Berlin *Plattenbau* (slab construction) districts of Hohenschönhausen, Marzahn and Hellersdorf were built by mobilizing FDJ youth. There are notorious problems of quality, captured by the ironic name of an East Berlin rock band, "Einstürzende Neubauten" (Collapsing New Buildings).

But the most notable deficiency is that these huge areas were built *without any commercial or social centers*, because

each other, and wanted to keep down the cost of bugging the phone lines.

Perhaps the most famous example of failed Stalinist repression concerns West German TV. For a long time, the DDR tried to prevent the population from listening to Western stations. They devised a special antenna which couldn't receive signals from the West. When Honecker was head of the FDJ, the youth group carried out "Operation Ochsenohr" (Rabbit Ears), climbing up on top of apartment buildings throughout the republic to take down the antennas that were pointing West. In Halle at one point confiscated TV sets with their antennas broken were piled up in the market square as a lesson to the population. In the third grade, schoolchildren were made to sign statements that they would not watch Western TV. But then they went home to watch Big Bird on Sesame Street. What Ulbricht/Honecker & Co. accomplished was to turn nine-year-olds into conscious lawbreakers!

Finally, they gave up trying to block Western TV, and so the whole of the DDR could watch it at will. Except for the area around Dresden, which is located in a depression that became popularly known as the "Tal der Ahnungslosen" (the Valley of Those Who Don't Have a Clue). So in order to gain popularity, during the last years of the DDR, the local SED and city officials (Modrow and Berghofer) set up a cable system so the Dresden population could watch Western television. Rather than relying on impotent measures of information control, a genuinely communist regime would promote openness of the media, with honest news, frank discussions of problems at home, creative cultural development and aggressive and believable reports on the

Percentage of Families Owning					
	1955	1966	1970	1975	1985
Television	1	54	69	82	93
Washing Machine	0.5	32	53	73	92
Refrigerator	0.4	31	56	86	99
Automobile	0.2	9	15	26	46

Source: Hermann Weber, *Die DDR, 1945-1986* (Oldenbourg, 1988)

the West in terms of "consumerism" rather than communism, the DDR produced millions of pairs of jeans a year, and when fashions changed, stone-washed jeans. There were still plenty of examples of horrendous top-heavy mismanagement. In the interview in *Der Sturz*, Honecker relates a case that was decided by the Politburo: "For example, for a long time there were no women's panties to be bought, not in Berlin, not in the whole republic. I heard that and brought it up in the Politburo. Inge Lange said: 'Well, don't you know that the Women's League is now giving out patterns for sewing panties?'" Honecker remarks it was "a scandal" that "a country with a big textile industry and enormous exports cannot produce enough women's panties."

Even aside from such bureaucratic absurdities, this did not produce all-round satisfaction. In the first place, as Trotsky had predicted in the 1930s, with the development of the economy the heavy hand of the bureaucracy increasingly held back improvements in quality. The most notorious example was the Trabant auto with its noisy, smoky two-stroke engine and fiberglass body which provided a bone-jarring ride. In the mid-'60s, Ulbricht actually decided against producing a decent family car on the order of the VW Golf sedan (at a time when VW was still producing the Beetle) because it would cost too much and would tend to "privatize" the population. The logic: the bureaucracy knows best what the people need.

This same principle was behind pricing policies which bore no relation whatever to production costs: to increase the birth rate, everything from baby carriages to children's clothing was heavily subsidized. On the other hand, some shortages were caused by the DDR tops' desperate efforts to obtain hard currency from export of consumer goods. Thus the top-of-the-line East German camera model was extremely expensive and hard to get in the DDR because it was produced almost exclusively for export to the West. The bureaucracy's arrogant *Bevormundung* (treating the people like children) infuriated the DDR population and estranged them from "those on top."

But above all, as Ulbricht noted, the DDR didn't get to choose who it competed against: the comparison was always to rich West Germany. And here one comes back to the fundamental impossibility of the Stalinist pipe dream of "socialism in one country," even in a relatively advanced state like the DDR. For even more threatening in the long run than the danger of military intervention is the inexorable power of cheap (and high-quality) commodities.

Lenin repeatedly insisted that "In the



Der Spiegel
Erich Honecker commemorates anniversary of Berlin Wall, August 1986. Sign reads, "25 Years of the Anti-Fascist Dike."

the Honecker regime feared any uncontrolled gathering of large numbers of its population. In order to organize the burgeoning suburban population under the domination of the dollar, American-style capitalism developed the mall, which has subsequently become a social gathering spot. But DDR Stalinism, contrary to its communist claims, deliberately sought to *privatize* the population by sending them home after work. (On the other hand, factories had extensive social and cultural facilities—including day-care centers, libraries, athletic clubs—which are inconceivable in a capitalist enterprise.) The lack of social facilities in residential areas, along with the shutdown of all the FDJ youth clubs in the East after reunification, has played a role in the rise of Nazi gangs among the youth.

A similar overriding concern for social control was shown in the extremely limited development of the telephone network: only about a fifth of the population had phones, and at most 10 percent of the workers. Honecker and Mielke didn't want the workers communicating with

reality of life under capitalism. The ironic part of it is that West German TV is almost as boring as was the DDR's, suffused with boring talk shows and run by Lutheran pastors and Social/Christian/Free Democratic politicians determined to provide the population with what they determine is good for it.

The revolutionary answer to the very real Western ideological subversion wasn't to turn the antennas the other way but to aim the broadcasts to the West to undermine the capitalist federal republic. But that is something that the Stalinists were incapable of doing, for it ran headlong into their restriction of information at home and their policies of "peaceful coexistence" abroad.

The imperialists certainly never accepted coexistence with the workers states. With their military and direct economic subversion checkmated by the Berlin Wall, they adopted other methods. In an October 1962 lecture at Harvard University, SPD leader Willy Brandt declared that "we must live with the
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Young Spartacus

No to National Guard in Black D.C.!

Washington, D.C. mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly is pushing for a massive escalation of police terror against the population of this majority black city. In October, she asked President Clinton to deploy 3,000 National Guardsmen on the streets, especially in the overwhelmingly black and poor Northeast and Anacostia neighborhoods. Clinton passed the buck to Congress. Whether the Guard is unleashed on D.C. or not, Kelly has gotten promises from Attorney General Janet Reno, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin and drug czar Lee Brown to help occupy black neighborhoods with more feds and cops from a whole panoply of police agencies—including the Secret Service, FBI, the BATF of Waco infamy, the Drug Enforcement Agency, U.S. Park Police, U.S. Marshals and the U.S. Capitol Police.

Washington, D.C. has more cops per capita than most major cities in America, a statement about the force and violence the ruling class feels is necessary to lord it over a population that is trapped in poverty and stripped even of the elementary right to vote. The federal government is the de facto colonial master of

12,000 National Guard and Army troops occupied Washington, D.C. as city exploded following assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968.

UPI



a representative who is utterly powerless—as all decisions are made by Congress.

While D.C. statehood got slammed, Clinton's draconian \$22 billion "crime package" breezed through both the House and the Senate with one of the most overwhelming majorities in Congressional history. Aimed at vastly reinforcing the government's monopoly on force and violence, the bill would expand the racist death penalty, restrict the population's right to bear arms through even more stringent gun control laws, make

old children as adults (*Washington Post*, 26 October).

For Kelly to talk about fighting crime is a disgusting affront to the working people and black and Hispanic youth victimized daily by the criminals in blue uniforms. Salvadoran immigrants in D.C. compare the cops to the jack-booted National Guard death squads of the U.S.-backed dictatorship at home. City labor unions are also in Kelly's crosshairs—3,200 city workers were recently laid off. Among the homeless, she's earned the nickname "the black Marie Antoinette" for her haughty "let them eat cake" attitude. Under the guise of a "war on drugs," D.C.'s paramilitary "RDUs" (rapid deployment units) rampage through the streets, using the bloody martial-law tactics that Bill Clinton has unleashed on Somali women and children in Mogadishu. Last June in Hyattsville, Maryland, a black man, Archie Elliott III, was killed by police who had arrested him for "drunk driving." It didn't matter that he was the son of a District Court judge. The 24-year-old Elliott was shot 14 times while strapped into a seatbelt and handcuffed!

If National Guard units are deployed in D.C., there will be an increase in racist police terror against black and Hispanic youth and working people. In 1967, the National Guard rolled through the streets of black Detroit in tanks, killing 43 people. The D.C. Guard units were among the first sent to massacre Iraqis in the "Desert Storm" slaughter in the Persian Gulf two years ago. And you better believe that the Guard won't stop to distinguish between "respectable" Howard students and "boys in the 'hood." Any gathering of black youth frightens this trigger-happy ruling class. In 1990, hundreds of Howard students were met with a full-scale cop riot while waiting to get into a school basketball game. In 1989, Virginia police backed up by National Guard units terrorized hundreds of black college students at a Labor Day weekend "Greekfest" in Virginia Beach. And no one should forget the massive, murderous show of police force, including National Guardsmen, unleashed against the poor of Los Angeles to put down the multiracial upheaval of outrage at the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King.

The Los Angeles explosion terrified the capitalist ruling class. In Washington,

D.C., the bourgeois media worried openly that this city was a powder keg ready to blow. Since 1968, when the city was engulfed in flames in the riots that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., the White House has feared the disenfranchised black population of this city. On the heels of the Rodney King upheaval, black and Hispanic D.C. residents exploded in anger over their routine regimen of racist cop terror.

Despite its resounding rejection by city voters last fall, the death penalty is being sought in D.C. as a weapon in the bogus "war on drugs" which is nothing but a pretext for more police terror against the black and Hispanic population. Reno, who made her bones by overseeing the murder of 86 people in Waco, Texas, is leading the charge. Wayne Anthony Perry is being tried under federal law in order to bring the death penalty against him in the District's first death penalty case since 1971. The state of Maryland is set to gas its first victim in 32 years, and in Virginia a mentally retarded black man, Earl Washington Jr., faces execution. Capital punishment is state murder, racist "legal" lynching that reveals the impulse toward genocide in a racist society that offers its youth a downsized "future" of non-union jobs as low-paid wage-slaves, or, more likely, life on the streets, in jail or in the military.

The multiracial working class, which keeps the capital city going, must be mobilized to use its social power to combat the onslaught of anti-working-class measures sought by Kelly, Clinton and Congress. Transit workers in particular, who've been hit hard by layoffs and cutbacks, must defend the oppressed black and Hispanic masses against escalating police-state repression. The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs are committed to building a party that can mobilize this social power to fight racist oppression and capitalist exploitation. While the Kellys and Clintons of this world see in Northeast and Anacostia unruly subjects they seek to repress, we see in Anacostia the home of Frederick Douglass—an inspiration to the disenfranchised of the city to complete the Civil War's unfulfilled promise of black freedom. Finish the Civil War! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■



California National Guard "practices" crowd control El Salvador-style in Los Angeles last February. Carey/L.A. Times

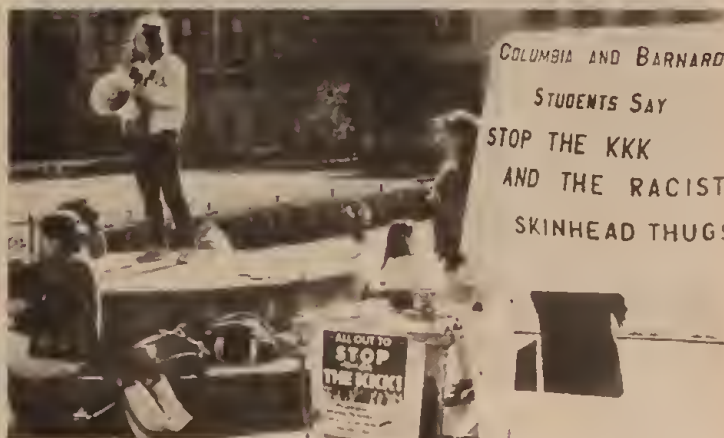
this vast plantation—the district can't even schedule garbage pick-ups without Congressional approval! A proposal for D.C. statehood was trounced in the House on November 21 amid racist appeals for "law and order" in black D.C. One Texas Congressman raved that the district "is a liberal bastion of corruption and crime. Let's take it back and clean it up" (*New York Times*, 22 November). Until 1964, D.C. residents were denied the right to vote in presidential elections; now they live under the sham of "home rule," which operates much like the bogus "independence" for the Ciskei, a South African apartheid "homeland." D.C. residents have the "right" to elect

membership in street gangs a federal offense under the RICO conspiracy law, put tens of thousands more cops on the streets and build thousands more jail cells to fill with the victims of capitalist "justice." And all these new prisons and cops are to be funded by cuts in Head Start and drug treatment programs, among others.

Kelly is demanding her cut of this deployment of police-state terror for the District of Columbia. Besides bringing in the National Guard, Kelly wants to bring retired officers back into service, build more prisons, reclassify handgun possession from a misdemeanor to a felony and allow prosecutors to try 14-year-

Defeat Anti-Communist Ban at Columbia!

Defend the Spartacus Youth Club!



Spartacus Youth Club breaks the ban at Columbia. Left: Spartacist forum "Yeltsin's Coup Serves Washington," October 26. Right: Spartacus Youth Club militants organized to bring Columbia students to Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the fascists in Philadelphia, November 1988.

The New York Spartacus Youth Club is fighting for its rights against anti-communist witchhunters at Columbia University. We reprint here the SYC leaflet which was issued on November 16.

On November 11, while setting up a literature table on College Walk, a female supporter of the Spartacus Youth Club was attacked by right-wing male student Mircea Murnu. Murnu grabbed literature off the table and threw it to the ground while shouting anti-communist epithets. When our comrade reached to pick up the papers, Murnu kidney-punched her from behind. This violent physical assault by an anti-communist thug comes only weeks after the Student Governing Board of Earl Hall "banned" the Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club, declaring them *persona non grata* on the pretext that the group was dominated by "outside agitators." Bad things tend to happen to people who have been declared without rights.

The Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club is just that: a group of students who agree that revolutionary Marxists have a right to openly advocate their views on campus. The FOSYC was singled out for harassment and suppression for a purpose that has nothing to do with supposed violations of petty bureaucratic bylaws. The members of the Earl Hall Chess Club are not hauled

in and interrogated about the extent to which each member actively takes part in club activities. Nor do we presume that the College Republicans decide which candidates to support independently of off-campus political organizations like the Republican National Committee. The reinstatement of the FOSYC is an act of elementary self-defense for Columbia students, faculty and campus workers against an assault on your democratic rights of free political association by the junior Joe McCarthys of the SGB.

"Outside agitator" is a time-worn slur used to set up and persecute those who fight against racism, exploitation and injustice—from militant labor organizers, to integrated teams of civil rights organizers, to the blacks and leftists who took part in the takeover of Hamilton Hall in 1968. Indeed there are dangerous "outsiders" who insinuate themselves and usurp control of the Columbia campus—but it's not who the SGB has in its sights. The School of International Affairs' Russian Institute is crawling with "non-student" CIA spooks and high-level NSC aides and operatives. The Board of Trustees is a veritable who's who of the major real estate moguls, bourgeois media czars, and financiers who preside over a capitalist system that is bleeding the poor and minorities of this city to death.

Chartered before the American Revolution as Kings College, Columbia thinks itself above the laws that nominally accord democratic rights—rights which were wrested through hard struggles by working people against the arrogant ruling class. Columbia has trained generation after generation of the ideologues, technicians and administrators who run American society for the profit of the few. The ultimate defeat of the "outside agitator" huns at bastions of bourgeois privilege such as Columbia will come the day that these schools are nationalized and opened up to the sons and daughters of the working class with open admissions and free tuition.

As profits for America's ruling class have become more and more dependent on the global military hegemony of U.S. capital, the imperialists have come to rely more and more on weapons researchers,

strategic planners and other "academicians." Columbia is a preeminent agency in the service of U.S. imperialism. During World War II, Columbia played a key role in the development of the atomic bomb which was used to slaughter hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians. After the war, Columbia helped spirit Nazi technicians and war criminals out of Germany through the infamous "rat line." In the 1970s, Columbia was exposed as the CIA's prime research facility for project "MK-ULTRA," a sinister program of mind control experiments.

The Columbia administration has welcomed with open arms "outsiders" who stand out as a virtual rogues' gallery of labor-haters and henchmen of imperialism. In 1977, only seven years after the saturation bombing of Cambodia, Henry Kissinger—the architect of America's dirty war to suppress the revolutionary masses of Southeast Asia—was offered academic haven with a prestigious post at Columbia. Columbia alumnus and union-buster Frank Lorenzo was bestowed a special award for "distinguished professional achievement" at the height of the strike against Eastern Airlines. And symbolic of Columbia's many contributions to counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union was would-be czar Boris Yeltsin's reception by New York's high rollers at Low Library in 1989.

Meanwhile, the university has used its extensive real estate holdings and armed security officers to push around the black and Hispanic residents of neighboring Harlem. The exclusion of the black community from Columbia's proposed gymnasium sparked the militant student revolt in 1968. Last year, Columbia students occupied Hamilton Hall again to protest the university's razing of the Audubon Ballroom—the historic Harlem building where Malcolm X was assassinated.

The Spartacus Youth Club at Columbia is looking for a few good class traitors—students who will dedicate themselves to a lifetime of partisanship of the working class and its struggles. The Spartacus Youth Club brings to Columbia the light for a socialist future—an end to imperialist war, atrocities and racial oppression. In 1988,

we mobilized a bus of Columbia students to participate in a successful labor/black mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan and skinheads from staging a white supremacist provocation at the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia. During the Eastern strike, we took students off campus to walk picket lines at the New York airports—and we are the *only* group that has built support for Columbia's workers by honoring the principle that *picket lines mean don't cross*. We initiated the successful united-front campaign that kept war criminal Kissinger from donning the respectable robes of academia at Columbia. We've initiated student protest against NSA and CIA recruiting efforts and fought for the defense of the Soviet Union and the workers states of Eastern Europe when it counted, warning that capitalist counterrevolution would bring fratricidal wars and immiseration of working people.

Presently, we are fighting against racist "legal lynching" and the speed up on death row in America. We champion the case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther, MOVE supporter, and former president of the Philadelphia Association of Black Journalists. Jamal is the first political prisoner on death row since Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Now Columbia University and the Earl Hall *in loco parentis* board aim to silence those who organize and speak out in defense of Jamal, a man known as "the voice of the voiceless." We will break the anti-communist ban so that Jamal's voice will be heard and students will retain their right to organize for cases and causes in the interests of the working people.

These acts of political censorship and anti-communist thuggery now directed at us, contain an implicit threat: Who will be next? Black students at Columbia "mistaken" for residents of surrounding Harlem? Campus workers who express solidarity with "outside" unionists? Gay students who were harassed with anti-gay graffiti on the very day our comrade was attacked on College Walk? *An injury to one is an injury to all! Join the "banned" Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club! Defeat the Earl Hall witchhunters!*

Spartacus Youth Club
16 November 1993

Spartacist League Public Offices

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NEW HOPE, Pennsylvania—As 200 anti-fascist protesters lined the road outside Washington Crossing Park November 6, some 50 racist terrorists of the "USA Nationalist Party" and the KKK staged an anti-gay, racist provocation in the woods outside this eastern Pennsylvania town. Facing off against the anti-Nazi protesters were 300 state troopers, including a squad of mounted cops, who had been mobilized to protect the fascists.

Two days earlier, the Nazis held a joint press conference with the police to announce that "for reasons of safety" they were abandoning their threatened "Gay Bash '93" march through New Hope. It was expected that crowds of gay, minority and leftist youth would have jammed the narrow streets of this heavily gay tourist town on the Delaware River, about 30 miles from Philadelphia, and the fascist scum would have needed thousands of cops to emerge unscathed.

So instead, under heavy police protection, the racists slithered into the park four miles away and held their provocation, drawing a few dozen skinhead thugs and KKKers from Delaware. As state troopers sealed off the park, anti-fascist protesters were left to chant at the Nazis across a 50-foot-wide canal. Meanwhile, a liberal "Stop the Hate" diversion several miles away was sparsely attended.

From California to the Midwest and New York there has been an ominous rise in provocations by the deadly fascist marauders. Their campaign of racist terror is stoked by the "respectable" racism, anti-immigrant hysteria and anti-gay bigotry of the Republicans and Democrats. The fascists are the capitalists' dogs of war, protected by the forces of repression and held in reserve to be used in times of deep capitalist crisis against minorities and the organizations of the working class.

The integrated working class is the one force with the social power to crush the fascist gangs while they are still small and to sweep away their capitalist masters. In major black and proletarian centers around the country, the Spartacist

Cops Protect Nazis in New Hope



Hundreds of Pennsylvania state police line the road against anti-fascist protesters on November 6.

RWL Strategy: Militant Liberalism

League has successfully called on the unions allied with minorities, gays, immigrants—all the fascists' intended victims—in *labor/black mobilizations to stop the Nazis and Klan*.

In New Hope, the anti-fascist protest was called by a collection of anarchists, many organized in "Love and Rage," and members of the Revolutionary Workers

League (RWL) and its National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) from Detroit and upstate New York. Some reformists like the Socialist Workers Party camped out with the liberals, while others like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) built the liberal diversion and attended both rallies.

In a revealing report on New Hope, "Love and Rage" in Detroit writes that, "considering the fact that we couldn't even get a few licks in," chanting "Death to the Nazis" across a wide canal "didn't seem to be particularly threatening." Hostile to organizing the necessary labor/black mobilizations which can stop the fascists and back down the forces of repression, the anarchists and the RWL/NWROC can offer nothing more than a vague program of "militancy." While sometimes landing well-deserved blows

against the Nazi scum, more often this amounts to impotent posturing, and in all cases it relies directly or indirectly on the forces of the capitalist state.

But it was clear to everyone at New Hope that "more militancy" and "unity" wasn't going to stop the Nazis, as they carried out their provocation protected by the bourgeois state. What the cynical RWL leadership means by "militancy" was demonstrated when they started chanting "militant action" in an attempt to *drown out* a transit worker and Spartacist League supporter from New York who called on a bullhorn for mobilizing *labor/black power*. What else can you expect from an outfit like the RWL which "militantly" defends crossing picket lines?

In a report on New Hope, the reformists of the ISO explicitly amnestied the role of the cops, claiming, "The cops' main function at the demonstration was not to protect the 40 Nazis from the 200 counter-demonstrators" (*Columbia Daily Spectator*, 15 November). The RWL/NWROC made their own illusions in the capitalist state disgustingly clear throughout the day at New Hope. They hysterically denounced the SL for our opposition to gun control and our denunciation of the feds' slaughter of almost 100 people in Waco, Texas and the set-up and murder of fascist survivalists in Idaho simply because they exercised their right to bear arms. Like the liberals who want to see the working class and blacks disarmed, it is completely alien to the RWL to defend this vital right. In New Hope, members of NWROC grotesquely screamed, "Fuck Waco, let 'em burn!" and pushed Clinton and Reno's lie that "They incinerated themselves."

In their paper program, RWL/NWROC calls for developing an "alternative locus of power in our society" as the road to liberation. But the ruling class won't brook an "alternative" to its monopoly on armed force, as they showed with fire and blood at Waco. The RWL's idea is nothing but the liberal belief in the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state. It is what leads them to herd their supporters through police searches and into "pens" which were a set-up for victimization of anti-fascist demonstrators, as in Indianapolis and Columbus in October (see "Stop the Fascists Through Labor/Black Mobilization!" *WV No. 587*, 5 November). The fight against fascist terror must be based on the clear understanding that the capitalist state is not a neutral arbiter in society, but the enemy of workers and minorities. ■

—Can You Top This?— RWL Apologists for Scabbing Now Call for Mass Pickets

Striking workers attending the Caterpillar UAW Local 751 meeting in Decatur, Illinois on November 14 were handed a flyer signed by a couple of Detroit-area union caucuses and the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC). Calling the brief strike "the key battle for American labor," NWROC argued that it could "force the cowardly [?], pro-business courts to declare—finally!—that CAT's union-busting has been illegal!" Sure, and after the courts slap CAT boss Donald Fites in jail they can declare capitalism unconstitutional! Earth to NWROC: busting unions is perfectly legal in Clinton's America. Defending capitalism is what the capitalist state is there for.

The fact that the leaflet lacked a union bug and was presumably printed in a scab shop shouldn't surprise anyone familiar with this crowd: NWROC is a front for the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), an opportunist outfit for which the most

basic working-class principles are at best empty words.

But if hypocritical lip service to the class struggle is what you're looking for, this is the group for you. The flyer calls for "mass, militant picket lines to stop scabbing—by any means necessary!" An excellent demand! Funny they didn't raise it last fall, when they *crossed picket lines* of striking teaching assistants in Berkeley! In fact, this group has been slinking across picket lines since its inception, a scabbing policy they defended at great length in the very first issue of their increasingly infrequent newspaper, *Fighting Worker*.

In the Transitional Program, Trotsky wrote that "Strike pickets are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army" needed to sweep away the fascist terrorists. Little wonder that with their blatant disregard for picket lines, the occasionally radical-sounding liberals of the RWL are equally dismissive of a labor-centered strategy for fighting fascism.

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Building Takeover at Cornell

Latino Students Protest Racist Vandalism

On Friday, November 19, more than 100 Latino and black students at Cornell University seized the university administration building to protest the desecration of an Hispanic art exhibit on campus. The exhibition, entitled *Revelaciones (Revelations)* consists of works by eight different Hispanic artists and was defaced with racist epithets, including a fascist swastika. "We feel that just as this work of art has been attacked and violated, so we also have been attacked and violated," said Ricardo Roman, one of the organizers of the protest.

The provocation against Latino students was perceived as a threat against all minorities at Cornell and black, Asian and gay students quickly rallied to support and join the building occupation. Locked out of their own offices and unable to get the students to bend to their

demands for "private" negotiating sessions with a small hand-picked group of student leaders, the administration grew antsy and surrounded the building with armed phalanxes of police officers. More students then flocked to the protest, scuffled with the cops and stormed inside to bolster the occupation. The administration responded by suspending some 40 student participants from school and refusing to negotiate with the students until the building was vacated by the protesters.

Eduardo Penalver, one of the protest organizers, responded, "We intend to stay here until they drag us out, or until they agree to an open meeting." Among the demands raised by the students were: no reprisals against the protesters and increased minority student enrollment and employment. On "Day Four" and



Okoniewski/NY Times

After fascists defaced Latino art show, Cornell students occupy administration building.

with the protest still growing in strength, the administration blinked and rescinded the suspensions and agreed to negotiate.

Hasta la victoria! For militant, mass

student/labor action to smash racist attacks! Increase minority enrollment through open admissions and free tuition! ■

PKK...

(continued from page 2)

is the godfather of this genocidal war against the Kurds, through its support to its NATO partner in Ankara and particularly through generous weapons deliveries and training of Turkish army counterinsurgency units. With the demise of the neighboring Soviet Union, and with Ankara's German military ally providing protection, Turkish chief of staff Güres declares: "We will kill the Kurds. By the spring of 1994 we will have liquidated them. We will also liquidate them in Europe."

According to reports, 1.7 million Kurds have been driven from their homes and 778 villages have been destroyed by flame throwers and tanks. Simultaneously the Ankara regime has strengthened Article 8 of the "anti-terror law," which bans the playing of Kurdish music, speaking in Kurdish or identifying oneself as a Kurd, and designates "collective work stoppages" as acts of terror. The Kurdish town of Lice was razed to the ground, with hundreds killed there alone. Its fate brings to everyone's mind the Nazi destruction of the Czech town of Lidice (as an act of "collective punishment") during World War II.

In response to the genocidal onslaught, on November 3 Turkish establishments in over 25 cities in Germany, Switzerland, France, Denmark and Britain were subjected to attacks and firebombings. These attacks targeted not only consulates and other symbols of the Turkish ruling class, but also vegetable stores and restaurants. One man was killed and dozens of people were injured.

That same night, German cops seized on the attacks to launch a series of anti-Kurdish raids, breaking into 29 immigrant organizations, cultural centers and meeting places and confiscating files and leaflets. A total of 46 "Turks of Kurdish origin" were reportedly arrested. The pretext of "terrorism" has been used to launch another racist campaign against immigrants, directed in the first instance against Kurds and Turks, with the Social Democrats (SPD) running point. Even as Kanther declared a ban on meetings and freedom of travel, as well as

other repressive measures, the SPD was denouncing the Christian Democratic Kohl regime for not having outlawed the PKK long ago.

Concerning the anti-Turkish attacks, in a November 4 press release the PKK's European representative said, "These incidents do not have any connection with our party." The statement nevertheless justified the "attacks by Kurds on Turkish institutions" as "natural and understandable reactions against the massacre and extermination of a nation." Yet these were not simply attacks against symbols of the genocidal regime, but also indiscriminate nationalist terror against all Turks. The innkeeper at "Hermannssee" in Wiesbaden is a Kurd. As immigrants sat drinking tea in his restaurant, Molotov cocktails crashed through the windows. One 31-year-old Turk was so paralyzed by shock that he was unable to get out and burned to death in agony.

As Leninists we reject the substitutionist strategy of individual terror. Only the mobilization of the working class is capable of smashing racist terror and sweeping away bloodsoaked German imperialism and Turkish capitalism. But those who strike out against their capitalist and nationalist oppressors must be defended against bourgeois repression. When last June Kurds occupied a consulate of the Turkish state—butcher of the Kurdish people—we defended them against state repression. The Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) denounces the ban on the PKK and demands an end to the monstrous show trials of the PKK. The SpAD also opposes the ban on the Turkish left group Devrimci Sol, and calls for freedom for all imprisoned members of the Red Army Faction.

But the PKK's attacks on travel agencies and kidnapping of tourists is another matter—i.e., *indiscriminate terror* against those who are deemed an "enemy" people. This reflects the genocidal logic of nationalism, which identifies entire peoples as the enemy rather than the bloody ruling class. Driven to the wall by the genocidal attacks of the Turkish regime, Kurdish nationalists have desperately lashed out against anything Turkish, including restaurants and cultural centers. Such random terror against innocent people is utterly indefensible.

At the same time, we vehemently oppose the German government's anti-Kurdish repression.

During its consulate occupation in June, the PKK begged Fourth Reich chancellor Kohl to establish "peace" in Kurdistan. The flip side of guerrilla war and terrorism is appeals to the imperialists or their neocolonial lackeys to arrange a "political solution." In the best of circumstances, this would lead to a Kurdish "banjistan," as has so tragically proved to be the case recently for the Palestinians, where the PLO is being installed as cops for the Israeli occupying power.

Social Democracy serves the masters of German imperialism by inciting west Germans against east Germans, Germans against immigrants, men against women. And the PKK covers the SPD's flank by organizing Kurdish workers on a nationalist basis and preventing joint class struggle with Turks and other workers against the common enemy. Following the fascist firebombing in Mölln, the PKK consciously decided *not* to fight against the Nazis, characterizing the subsequent murderous Nazi arson attack on Turkish women and girls in Solingen as a "diversion." And the current indiscriminate attacks on Turks in Europe have only worsened the situation. The fascist stormtroopers of this bourgeoisie make absolutely no distinction between Turks and Kurds.

In the face of mounting racist terror, the Spartakists fight for worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the Nazis. Especially after Mölln, there were significant discussions—and even some modest efforts—in the factories aimed at mobilizing the unions against Nazi terror. In Solingen it was above all Turkish and Kurdish protesters who drove off nationalists who had attacked the demonstration waving Turkish flags and shouting "Down with the PKK!" Especially with Ankara waging a war of extermination against the Kurdish people, it is important for Kurdish workers to defend Turkish immigrants in Germany in order to frustrate the chauvinist appeals of the Turkish rulers.

This kind of unity must necessarily be based on the right of self-determination for Kurds. The Turkish workers must be

won to this perspective, through the struggle for an internationalist revolutionary workers party to bring down the murderous Turkish NATO regime. The liberation of the Kurds requires the smashing of four capitalist states. What is needed to bring that about is a revolutionary alliance of the Kurdish, Turkish, Arab, Persian and Hebrew-speaking workers in struggle for a federation of workers republics of the Near East, including a socialist republic of united Kurdistan.

Common action by Turkish and Kurdish workers against fascist terror in Germany can go a long way toward forging proletarian unity in Turkey itself. This potential for united struggle was shown by the protests against the Islamic fundamentalists and the Turkish regime following the fundamentalist pogrom in the Turkish city of Sivas in July. Dozens were killed as a mob of Islamic fanatics attacked a cultural festival which included the famous secularist poet Aziz Nesin, whose newspaper published excerpts from Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses*. In response, hundreds of thousands—Turks and Kurds together for the first time in years—took to the streets from Istanbul to Cologne, chanting: "In Sivas Islamic reactionaries, in Solingen the skinheads."

In Germany today class-struggle unity is more urgent than ever, because the German bourgeoisie is now carrying out an all-sided war against the working class. The explosion of racist terror in Germany is directly fueled by the capitalist rennification which devastated the former DDR (East Germany) and destroyed jobs and social programs throughout Germany. The Spartakists fight for a revolutionary workers party that can unite and lead Kurdish, Turkish and other immigrant workers along with their German class brothers and sisters in a fight against the ravaging onslaught of German imperialism, which can only be brought down by proletarian revolution.

Down with the ban on the PKK! For immediate freedom for imprisoned Kurds! No extradition—Stop all attempts at deportation! Defend the right of asylum! Full citizenship rights for immigrants! ■

Ireland...

(continued from page 3)

and transport bound for Northern Ireland. In itself, withdrawal of troops does not constitute a solution, but it is an essential prerequisite for any just resolution to the conflict.

Within Northern Ireland, the Catholics, part of the Irish nation, are an oppressed minority. But they live within the same territory as the Protestants, who are a distinct community which very much defines itself against the Irish Catholic nation, and who fear becoming a minority which would in turn be oppressed and discriminated against within a capitalist united Ireland. And finally there is the presence of the British imperialist hutchers, whose rule sprang out of 800 years of bloody English domination of all Ireland. In such situations of interpenetrated peoples there can be no just solution to national oppression outside the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers rule.

Imperialist "Peace" Manoeuvres

In the mid-1980s, an attempt to break the stalemate which had developed in Northern Ireland was made with the Anglo-Irish Accord. It was a Cold War, pro-NATO deal, which granted the southern clerical state a "say" in the running of the North and tried to cajole the pro-imperialist Protestant Unionists into "power-sharing," in return for which Ireland was to be made into a nuclear aircraft carrier for NATO against the Soviet Union. There were promises of "financial aid," which included the "National Endowment for Democracy," a CIA conduit, pouring money into the SDLP. This "peace deal" saw 100,000 outraged Loyalists marching through Belfast, a big crackdown on the IRA and more British troops in Northern Ireland. Underscoring the fact that the Unionists are not simply a creature of British imperialism, Loyalist mobs burned effigies of then British Conservative Prime Minister Thatcher.

The victory of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union undercut the Cold War imperatives of the Anglo-Irish Accord. At the same time, British imperialism was becoming increasingly concerned about its overheads for the situation in Northern Ireland. In a November 1990 speech Thatcher's Northern Ireland secretary, Peter Brooke, declared that Britain had "no selfish, strategic or economic interest" in remaining in Northern Ireland. And although Thatcher successor John Major is in a corridor coalition with the Ulster Unionists, while simultaneously manoeuvring with the Dublin government, he has now announced that there is a role at the negotiating table for Sinn Fein if they renounce violence for good.

In the "New World Order" Sinn Fein has junked most of its rhetoric about "socialism" and enthused over Bill Clinton, butcher of Somalia. (Major slapped an exclusion order on Adams preventing him from entering Britain, and Clinton followed suit by barring him from the U.S.) The Hume/Adams talks have been inspired by the PLO "deal" with the Zionists and Mandela's negotiations

with the apartheid butchers. In effect, the Palestinians have been granted "community control" over a couple of impoverished slums, hounded and terrorised by the Israeli army and heavily armed Zionist zealots. The PLO has been promised its own cops to help suppress the Palestinians, but that hasn't happened yet. The U.S. imperialist-orchestrated "peace" in the Middle East and the ANC rapprochement with the racist South African regime is a product of the destruction of

uphold the Green nationalist claim that Dublin has an inalienable right to rule the whole island. However, Spring is anxious to stitch up a deal with Britain, including granting the Unionists a veto over Northern Ireland while demanding that the IRA lay down its arms before getting anywhere near the negotiating table. This fits well with Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) leader Jim Molyneux's call for a "period of quarantine" for the IRA. Among Catholics in the North there



Bloody Sunday, 30 January 1972: British troops open fire on march of 6,000 Catholic civil rights protesters, killing 13 unarmed civilians.

the Soviet Union through counterrevolution. As we noted:

"So long as the Soviet degenerated workers state existed as a counterweight to U.S. imperialism, this allowed petty-bourgeois nationalists like the PLO and ANC and the bourgeoisies of the semi-colonial countries to jockey for position between the two 'superpowers'... Now faced with a 'one superpower' world, the various nationalist movements see no option but to go begging hat in hand for any crumbs the U.S. is willing to dispense."

—WV No. 583, 10 September

Among the foremost enthusiasts for both the Anglo-Irish Accord and current "peace" negotiations is the Irish Labour Party leadership, part of the Dublin Fianna Fail/Labour coalition government, which is vehemently anti-Republican, anti-women and anti-working-class. Irish president Mary Robinson actually resigned from the Labour Party in sympathy with the Protestant Loyalists, but the Labour Party still backed her for the presidency. Irish Labour leader and foreign minister Dick Spring was vitriolic in his denunciation of "IRA terrorism," of Gerry Adams, and even of John Hume, who is a darling of the imperialists. Spring proposed a harsher version of "Pax Britannica."

Dublin has made conciliatory gestures toward the Loyalists over the Irish Constitution's Articles 2 and 3, which outline the nationalist claim to Northern Ireland. As Leninists, we oppose forcible reunification of Ireland, and therefore do not

is a strong feeling of betrayal by the Dublin politicians, and although Sinn Fein's electoral support in the South is currently low, there remain large residues of solidarity with the northern Catholics.

The spectre of the southern state—where workers struggles are attacked and the bourgeois parties, along with Labour and petty-bourgeois Republican politicians, pander to reactionary and clerical forces over questions of women's rights and education—helps to cement the hold of reactionary Loyalist politicians on the Protestant masses. The Protestants are neither a colonial administration (i.e., mere agents of British imperialism), nor even a closed colour caste like the South African whites, but a distinct, million-strong community, differentiated by class as much as Irish Catholics. Arguments that the Protestants should be accorded no democratic rights because Northern Ireland is an artificial imperialist creation are based ultimately on reactionary notions of nationalist irredentism.

Any attempt by the Catholic bourgeoisie to forcibly incorporate this large and relatively well-armed community into a common state could only precipitate a bloody communal conflict. At the same time, the Protestants have not crystallised into a separate nation, and the establishment of an independent Ulster would necessarily be oppressive of the Catholic minority and likely accompanied by the expulsion and slaughter of the Catholics.

In the history of the Irish labour movement there have been examples of significant workers solidarity, which has temporarily cut across sectarian divisions. Invariably, as in the case of the 1919 Belfast engineers strike and the mass unemployment marches in the 1930s, they have been countered with massive sectarian mobilisations intended to wipe out the fragile proletarian unity. The defeat of the 1919 strike and the subsequent expulsion of Catholic workers from the engineering industry helped lay the basis for Partition (which divided Ireland into a republican South and the British-controlled North). In 1934 Protestant workers marched from the Shankill to join a commemoration for

Wolfe Tone (leader of the 1794 United Irishmen revolt against British rule), carrying a banner "Break the connection with capitalism." This was an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist act by Protestant workers, who were rebuffed by the IRA.

In recent months there have been large demonstrations of both Protestant and Catholic workers against the proposal for the Royal Victoria Hospital to "opt out" of the National Health Service. Situated in the predominantly Catholic Falls Road, the RVH is the second largest employer in Northern Ireland, employing 5,700 workers, 3,000 of whom are drawn from the Falls and Shankill Roads. The industrial decay of British imperialism has particularly impacted on Northern Ireland. In some Protestant working-class slums, male unemployment can be as high as 50 per cent, and it is even higher among Catholics.

Most of the killings in Northern Ireland this year have been carried out by Protestant paramilitaries, mainly targeting Catholics not connected with any organisation. These acts are not only aimed at disrupting the "peace negotiations" but are also pre-emptive blows designed to undercut the possibility of joint class struggle. The fascist thugs explicitly motivate their attacks as "mass murder" intended to totally intimidate the Catholic population.

We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror antithetical to the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalities, because small groups of individuals cannot replace the masses. Thus the Russian Marxists of Lenin's time ruthlessly criticised the Narodniks (populists) for their petty-bourgeois strategy of individual terrorism and assassination. However, out of solidarity with those who fought against the tsarist oppressor, albeit in a misguided way, the Marxists defended against state persecution those who carried out such terrorist acts. Similarly, the IRA policy of blowing away a Lord Mounthatten or an Airey Neave is not our policy. But when the IRA strikes a blow against the imperialist oppressor or the Loyalist fascist thugs, we defend the perpetrators against capitalist retribution.

However, it is different with indiscriminate terror such as the Enniskillen, Teebane, Warrington and puh bombings, as well as the recent Shankill bombing. The rationale behind the latter mass bombings is ultimately genocidal nationalism, and they are simply crimes from the standpoint of the working class. Those ostensible Marxists who do not make this distinction render themselves apologists either for the nationalists or for the imperialists.

The context of the IRA's Shankill bombing was the murderous onslaught by the UDA and Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) on Catholics in the preceding period. The IRA was under great pressure from the embattled Catholics to do something to stop the Loyalist killers. The UFF/UDA have close ties to hardcore British fascists like the Hitler-lovers of "Combat 18," and are the equivalent of the race-terrorist Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) in South Africa or the fascist Zionist followers of the late unlamented Meir Kahane.

The IRA's plan was to leave the bomb in the tish shop on a Saturday morning when passing working-class shoppers were bound to be killed, even had the bomb not gone off prematurely. Their excuses about issuing a warning so that innocent passers-by could be cleared away are not plausible, even leaving aside the criminal reliance this places on the hated RUC/British Army. Nine working-class shoppers died, while the UDA tops had left well before. At bottom, this bombing cannot be divorced from the IRA's nationalist politics. Dead British and Protestant workers are a matter of indifference to them.

Two weeks before the Shankill bomb over 1,000 mainly Protestant workers



Thousands of Irish women protest Dublin's reactionary anti-abortion law, February 1992.

Honecker...

(continued from page 7)

Wall," but added, "In Berlin, where the division of the world has become petrified...precisely there the demand arises that true coexistence cannot simply be equated with the maintenance of the status quo" (from Peter Brandt and Herbert Ammon, eds., *Die Linke und die nationale Frage* [Rowohlt, 1981]). In addition to the decades-long espionage activities for the CIA carried out by the SPD's Ost-Büro (whose files are still closed while the witchhunters rummage through the Stasi's leftovers), the social democrats sought to use "peaceful coexistence" to undermine the status quo. Honecker described the Helsinki "human rights" accord as "a codex of peaceful coexistence for our continent." Yet the imperialists used the DDR's signature of the Helsinki agreement's supposed right to freedom of travel as a spearhead of their ideological assault on the Wall.

And as we repeatedly warned, the SPD was the Trojan horse of counterrevolution in the final destruction of the DDR. The 1989 events were begun by the opening of the Hungarian border to Austria, which attracted thousands from the DDR during their summer vacations. This development was the result of a visit by the foreign minister of the new social-democratic-oriented Hungarian regime, who in the spring of 1989 visited SPD leaders in Bonn, who passed him on to officials of the Kohl regime. And after the deed was done, Kohl presented the Hungarian prime minister with West Germany's highest military award for services rendered to counterrevolution, plus generous credits of 500 million D-marks!

We Spartacists of the International Communist League, while opposing capitalist reunification, stood for the revolutionary reunification of Germany, through anti-bureaucratic proletarian political revolution in the DDR and socialist revolution in the capitalist West. This was hardly an impossible perspective,

for example during the mid-1970s in the aftermath of the 1968 European-wide upheavals and U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat in Vietnam. The much-persecuted DDR left-wing oppositionist Robert Havemann, who refused pressures by the regime to emigrate to the West, captured something of this perspective in a response he wrote in 1975 on the question of the Wall and German unity:

"In Germany as well the border fortifications will fall. The question is, which side will tear them down. Of all the possibilities to be considered, the most favorable would be if it was the builders themselves who then dismantled it. That would be possible if the economic and political conditions in Germany had developed to the benefit of the DDR to such an extent that there was no more one-sided stream of people out of the DDR into the federal republic. Already today the DDR exercises a growing attraction on many in West Germany, while as a result of the intensifying capitalist crisis the attractive power of the federal republic on the citizens of the DDR is diminishing.

"Let's assume for a moment that in the DDR and also in other socialist states, and also in the Soviet Union, a great political change had taken place. Instead of bureaucratic centralism genuine socialist democracy had come about. What is already today decreed

in the constitutions of these states, the freedom of opinions, information and organization, would be practically realized. All limitations on travel would be lifted. A wonderful blooming of art and science would have begun, unfolding freely without the narrow-minded tutoring by half-educated official philistines. In a word, let's assume that socialism had broken out in the socialist states! Yes, then we would not have needed the Wall anymore, and the road to a peaceful reunification would not be far off."

—from *Die Linke und die nationale Frage*

Instead, Stalinism's dead hand strangled every attempt to break out of the bureaucratic grip, from the quickly suppressed workers political revolution of 17 June 1953 to the systematically purged, jailed and exiled socialist oppositionists inside and outside the SED. So when the regime collapsed under the relentless imperialist pressure, as Soviet leader Gorbachev withdrew his support for Honecker in October 1989 and then in January 1990 gave the green light for capitalist reunification, it was the right-wing and openly counterrevolutionary forces that exploited the opening. Even many of those pro-socialist intellectuals who issued the appeal "For Our Country" seeking a "democratic social-

ist" DDR had an elitist petty-bourgeois program that, no less than the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy, relied on the Wall—once it was breached they had no perspective and quickly faded from the scene except as drumbeaters for the anti-Communist witchhunt.

Like Ulbricht in 1961, Honecker also was able, after the fact, to empirically register the ultimate dead end of the DDR, even in the framework of the Soviet bloc. In his 1992 booklet *Zu dramatischen Ereignissen* (On Dramatic Events), he noted:

"The DDR with its achievements as with its limitations was closely bound up with the Comecon [the Soviet bloc "common market"] and its possibilities. Comecon's potential was not sufficient to keep up with international development. For example, the entire socialist camp only belatedly recognized the challenge presented by the scientific-technical revolution growing out of the development of high technology in a few advanced capitalist countries."

But why the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states couldn't keep pace with advanced capitalism remains a book with seven seals for the Stalinist reformists. They, and most of the leftist dissidents as well, could not conceive of socialist revolution in the West. Particularly since Ulbricht and Honecker themselves came to power not through working-class revolution but as a consequence of the Soviet victory over Hitler fascism, this is hardly surprising.

In fact, the Stalinist bureaucracy strangled every attempt to spread workers revolution to the West, notably in 1945-47, when millions of workers, East and West, were calling for a socialist Germany; and in June 1953, when insurgent East German workers called on their Western brothers to "clean house" in Bonn as well. It would take a fundamental reckoning going to the roots of the Stalinist perversion of Leninism, as Trotsky did and we Spartacists seek to continue, to overcome the bureaucracy's greatest crime of all, the destruction of working-class revolutionary consciousness. It is to that necessary Marxist rearming of a proletarian vanguard that the ICL dedicates its efforts today. ■



After collapse of Soviet Union, Honecker was brought back to Berlin for show trial in July 1992. Spartacists at Tegel Airport in Berlin demand "Fourth Reich Hands Off Erich Honecker!"

walked out of Shorts in Belfast in protest at the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) murder of a Catholic worker in their factory. This was an opening which communists would seek to exploit in order to transcend the sectarian spiral. The IRA's Shankill bomb blasted that opening to hell, as the same Protestant workers went into the streets cursing the IRA and Catholics in general. There is a burning necessity for programmatically-based anti-sectarian, anti-imperialist workers militias to combat Orange and Green terror and imperialist rampage. Not Orange against Green but class against class!

Fake Left Capitulates to Imperialism

The fake left either capitulates to British imperialism or Green nationalism, or in some cases both. *Socialist Organiser* (SO), social-democratic lackeys of the British bourgeoisie, can now applaud Sinn Féin too. Demanding that "Britain and Dublin accept the Hume-Adams proposals as the basis for negotiations," *Socialist Organiser* (11 November) baldly states that "'imperialism' is no longer the central issue in Northern Ireland."

SO explicitly attacks the call for the immediate withdrawal of troops, arguing that this would *necessarily* precipitate a communal bloodbath. This argument assumes that the working people are incapable of transcending sectarianism and that, in particular, the Protestants are wedded to Loyalism. In all likelihood, a definite resolution of the character of the Ulster Protestant community will be reached with the withdrawal of the British Army and will depend on the circumstances surrounding this. In the context of massive class mobilisations, directed as well against imperialism, opportuni-

ties would undoubtedly arise for a class determination of the question.

The Clifflite Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whining that "Major Slams Door on Peace," effectively endorses the idea of an imperialist-brokered solution, saying "The one thing Major could do is immediately meet representatives of all sides" (*Socialist Worker*, 6 November). This is nothing new for these birds, who welcomed the British Army sent to Northern Ireland by the Labour government in 1969 on the grounds that it would provide a "breathing space" for Catholics.

For years, the Militant group has refused to call for British troops out of the North. Now, in response to the chauvinist hysteria whipped up by the imperialists, the SWP and its Irish affiliate, the Socialist Workers Movement (SWM), once again bury this demand. As with their appeals to the British government to act against the fascist BNP (British National Party), the reformists of the SWP and Militant present the capitalist state as a neutral arbiter or even potential ally of the working class. Claiming to be for workers unity, they uncritically enthuse over the "peace" rallies organised by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) bureaucrats.

While many workers attend these pacifist rallies out of a genuine disgust for sectarianism, the bureaucrats have openly appealed to the "business community," and have ingratiated themselves with the capitalists by denouncing "all violence," drawing no distinctions between the Republicans and the fascist Loyalist gangs. SWM leader and Derry Trades Council chairman Eamonn McCann joined ICTU tops and assorted church leaders at a rally in Derry. McCann's only criticism of the ICTU is

that they want to organise a 15-minute protest rather than a half-day stoppage against "violence" (*Derry Journal*, 12 November).

The Militant calls for factory and community-based "anti-sectarian committees...to provide defence against attack." However, in the absence of a call for immediate withdrawal of the British Army and with its effective equation of the IRA and the fascist Loyalist thugs, such "workers militias" as envisioned by Militant would simply become an armed adjunct to the British state.

The Irish Workers Group (IWG), connected to Workers Power in Britain, attacks the SWM for capitulating to the ICTU's "peace chorus." But a 12 November IWG statement is uncritical of the IRA's Green nationalism and refuses to even mention the Shankill bombing atrocity. The IWG's assertion that workers unity has and will be "fundamentally limited to episodes in the economic struggle as long as the sectarian state [is] not smashed" is profoundly despairing of any prospects of breaking Protestants from the Loyalist stranglehold and is effectively calling for a two-stage "revolution": first, forcible reunification of Ireland, and later socialism. On the other side, the IWG—like the SWM and Militant—supported Dick Spring's viciously anti-Republican Irish Labour Party in the last elections!

The struggles of the proletariat throughout the British Isles are necessarily intertwined. The strong possibility remains that the solution to the seemingly intractable communal divisions in Northern Ireland may very well come from the outside, for example, on the bayonets of a victorious Red Army of the proletariat of the British Isles—proletarians from Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool and

containing large numbers of Irish Catholics, Bengalis, Sikhs, Pakistanis, West Indian blacks and other national and ethnic minorities. But a revolutionary perspective requires a relentless struggle to purge from the British workers movement all traces of chauvinism. A century ago Karl Marx emphasised that the British proletariat would never be free as long as Ireland remained in thrall. What is necessary today is the forging of a revolutionary workers party by splitting the Labour Party. The British social democracy is the strategic obstacle to socialist revolution throughout the British Isles.

The southern Catholic proletariat, which in recent years has shown a greater measure of class consciousness, can be an important lever in breaking down the sectarian divide in the North. Key is intransigent struggle against the clerical state, which is deeply oppressive of women, as well as opposition to Irish Labourism, which bows to both imperialism and the capitalist bosses at home.

In the situation of interpenetrated peoples and fratricidal nationalism of the North, there can be no solution short of workers revolution. In the context of an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles, the Protestants may yet be incorporated in a common Irish nation, which they would at present vehemently reject; they may develop a more distinct national identity; or they may find a democratic accommodation with the Catholics outside the framework of strictly national solutions under the rule of the working class. The decisive factor in the overall outcome of the struggle will be the presence or absence of a revolutionary party, rooted in the proletariat of all the peoples of these isles. ■

Miners...

(continued from page 16)

scabs into the mine. Arch has been operating with scabs in Illinois, using thugs from Southeastern Security and Investigations in Ohio who patrol the coal fields in black uniforms and using night scopes.

On July 22, a three-car convoy of company goons and scabs was exiting the Ruffner mine at Slab Fork Hollow Road when a shot struck a scab contractor in the back of the head—from the direction of where the company thugs were. But state troopers swept in, deputizing some of the Elite Security goons in their search for "evidence."

The company immediately used another weapon in the capitalists' frame-up arsenal—the "racketeering" charge. Arch, which is owned in part by the wealthy Texas Hunt family, filed RICO charges against the union, seeking to chill any effort at solidarity with the miners. Scandalously, Trumka issued a statement that violence "has no place in the coal fields" and pledging "whatever support and assistance we can give in that investigation"—an investigation by the bosses' cops that was clearly an effort to frame the union and the strikers.

For weeks the state of West Virginia came up with nothing, until early this month the U.S. attorney announced the sweeping frame-up against the miners. After decades of coal company violence aimed at the unions, the indictment by Charles Miller, Clinton's newly appointed U.S. attorney, proclaims that violence "has no place in a labor dispute"! The "conspiracy" indictment is based on charges by the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, architects of the bloody siege and massacre

of some 86 men, women and children of the Branch Davidian religious group outside Waco, Texas. It was also the BATF that persecuted Ravenswood, West Virginia Steelworkers' striker Bob Buck, who is imprisoned for 33 months because he refused to wear a wire and spy on his union brothers for the feds.

The indictment claims the miners "gathered together devices designed and intended to damage and disable motor vehicles, commonly known as rocks, jack rocks, jack plates and molotov cocktails" and "hurled rocks at said vehicles." The feds cite union-run "strike training" held last spring to show the miners had been instructed not to stop scabs. This "training" was nothing but Trumka and the UMWA tops acting as open enforcers for the coal bosses and using the union as a tool for overseeing the workers on behalf of the capitalist state.

Now the Clinton administration is trying to bankrupt the union, filing alongside the state of Virginia in a Supreme Court case that will impose the largest civil penalties ever in the U.S. The union has appealed the decision in Virginia courts that recently reinstated fines of \$52 million against the union in the long 1989 Pittston strike, when thousands of miners were arrested in mass civil disobedience. The judges were particularly outraged at the strikers' occupation of Pittston's Moss No. 3 coal processing plant—an act which could have sparked a real class battle against the coal bosses. But Trumka, bowing to his Democratic Party friends, shut down the occupation and the strike ended in defeat.

For a Class-Struggle Fight to Save the Union!

The UMWA is fighting for its life, but from the beginning of the miners walk-

out in February, the UMWA tops have sabotaged militant struggle in the coal fields. Less than a third of the 50,000 miners at BCOA companies have been called out. Spitting on the miners' traditions, Trumka has turned picket lines into sieves, as the bosses mine coal using foremen and scabs. The UMWA tops in Washington have refused to throw up picket lines at the railroads or power plants, although miners have been heartened to see that some scab coal trains have fallen off the tracks.

Workers Vanguard warned at the time that Trumka's 1988 contract "is a knife at the throat of the UMWA" which "accepts the massive layoffs of union miners and sanctions the explosive growth of non-union mines." That is exactly what has happened. Today the UMWA covers only 30 percent of the coal mined in the U.S. But Trumka brags that he has "increased productivity 200 percent, cut costs and made the coal companies hundreds of millions in profits" (letter to the *New York Times*, 21 October).

Parroting the "workplace of the future" rhetoric of his friend Clinton, Trumka lectures the miners that "it's not just business that must change. Unions must change too. Both must leave behind the adversarial, 'us vs. them' mentality of the past." But it's Trumka's "selective strike" that has ripped the union to shreds, beginning with its first use in the disastrous A.T. Massey strike in 1984-85.

Four miners from that strike—Donnie and David Thornsby, Arnold Heightland and James Smith—remain in prison on sentences of 35-45 years because they defended their union. As in the Logan County case today, the UMWA tops refused to lift a finger in their defense.

Vanita Thornsby, the wife of local union president Donnie Thornsby,

spoke to *Workers Vanguard* of how the prosecution was an attempt to intimidate the entire labor movement:

"The whole bunch of them tried to make an example of Donnie and them, to show if you were even thinking about having any kind of strike you're looking at 40 years."

Two years after the courts sentenced the A.T. Massey miners, eight miners in Milburn, West Virginia were jailed on another frame-up, and abandoned by the union; seven of those miners are still in jail.

The Partisan Defense Committee has demanded that the charges against the Logan County miners be dropped. The Mine Workers union must mobilize its strength to defend these victimized union men. But that will take a sharp fight inside the UMWA against a leadership that has sold out union conditions, sold out union militants and presided over the decimation of a union that was once proud to be the shock troops of American labor.

From West Virginia to Illinois, the coal miners are seeing the price that workers and minorities pay for being chained to the Democratic Party. The union tops hustled votes for open shop Clinton, but workers know they got jobbed as the yuppie bubba flaunts his hatred of the unions, blacks and Hispanics, immigrants and the poor. As capitalists trumpet the "death of communism," they intensify their exploitation of workers from Mexico to the coal fields of West Virginia.

There must be an outpouring of powerful labor support for the Logan County miners and their union. To put an end to the capitalist frame-up system once and for all, we must build a workers party that will fight for socialist revolution. ■

Trade War...

(continued from page 1)

jobs." In fact, what "free trade" poses is the rape of the Mexican economy by the far more powerful U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie. Meanwhile, Clinton played the racist "yellow peril" card to sell NAFTA, arguing that the alternative would be the Japanese using Mexico as a low-wage production platform to flood the U.S. with cheap products. In fact, U.S. rulers want to use Mexico as a low-wage production platform to flood Japan, Europe and the rest of the world (including the U.S.) with cheap products. It is vitally necessary to forge an internationalist proletarian leadership—in North America, Europe and around the world—capable of uniting the working masses across national borders in joint class struggle against the capitalists' reactionary offensive.

NAFTA and Imperialist Trade War

The capitalist world is coalescing into three rival imperialist trade blocs, with the German Fourth Reich and Japan Inc.

seeking, just as Wall Street has done with the NAFTA agreement, to consolidate their own hinterlands as an exclusive market, source of raw materials and supply of cheap labor. As the *New York Times* (23 August 1992) put it: "With the end of the cold war and the stagnation of negotiations aimed at simultaneously lowering trade barriers globally, these regional pacts are emerging as the trade side of what has been widely called the New World Order." In Southeast Asia, Japan is moving toward the formation of a modern-day version of its 1930s East Asian "Co-Prosperity Sphere." The Frankfurt bankers, who already dominate West Europe, are now gobbling up East Europe—what Hitler was unable to hold with the Wehrmacht the Fourth Reich is annexing with the D-mark.

"Everything is in place—after 500 years—to build a true 'new world' in the Western Hemisphere." That is the triumphalist evaluation of NAFTA by former Chase Manhattan Bank chairman David Rockefeller, summing up the U.S. bourgeoisie's belief in its "Manifest Destiny" to lord it over two continents. The wholesale takeover of the Mexican economy

by Wall Street means superprofits for the corporate fat cats at the expense of the workers of the U.S., Canada and Mexico. And after Mexico, Washington intends to progressively tear down protective tariffs and huy up industry throughout its Latin American sphere of influence. The other countries of the Western Hemisphere have all—except for Cuba—signed agreements to join the trade pact. And the Cuban deformed workers state is in the cross hairs of Yankee imperialism. Class-conscious workers around the world must defend Cuba!

Despite the cynical ballyhoo about "free trade," NAFTA is a profoundly protectionist measure aimed at freezing out imperialist rivals. The myriad so-called "rules of national origin" in the NAFTA agreement would put up stiff protectionist barriers against goods not made primarily in North America. Imagine how Wall Street would be screaming about trade restraints if Tokyo decided to require 62.5 percent "Japanese content" for all cars sold in their country.

The mounting trade warfare between the imperialist powers is reflected in their bitter conflicts in the so-called Uruguay Round negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which must be concluded by a U.S.-imposed December 15 deadline. Clinton turned last month's Seattle meeting of the heretofore obscure Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum into a sounding board for his proposal for a Pacific Rim "free trade zone." The *New York Times* (19 November) reported that "part of the Administration's strategy is to use the specter of an Asian trading agreement as a spur—some say a threat—to the European Community, particularly France, to make the agricultural concessions needed to conclude the GATT negotiations." Germany has decided to call its French junior partner to order, as *Le Monde* (26 November) made clear with its headline, "Germany: It Must Be Signed!"

In the meantime, under pressure from Washington, Japan has now agreed to open its rice market to foreign imports.

But what provoked the change was a record low rice harvest, not a shift away from Japan's historic policy of self-sufficiency ("food security") as protection against an embargo by its imperialist rivals. The U.S., harkening back to the 1920s and '30s, is seeking to use its military muscle to edge out its imperialist competitors. But this time around, Japan is not about to accept the "5:5:3" ratio in naval strength agreed to in the 1922 Washington conference, which gave it only 60 percent as many warships as the U.S. or Britain.

In the period following World War II when the U.S. was the uncontested hegemonic imperialist power, the American bourgeoisie sang the praises of "free trade" and cynically contrasted the U.S.'s supposedly "democratic" spirit to its capitalist rivals who had colonial empires and formal spheres of influence. The U.S. imperialists could present themselves as opponents of barriers to "free trade" since their economic strength assured them the advantage over their capitalist competitors. But behind the "free trade" rhetoric was the same vicious exploitation and immiseration of the Third World as the classic colonial powers.

The present policy of the Clinton White House goes back to the previous Democratic administration under Jimmy Carter, which was taken with the grand design of "trilateralism." The Trilateral Commission was set up by David Rockefeller in the 1970s, bringing together leaders from the U.S., Europe and Japan. But while the trilateralists purported to solve the world's problems through imperialist cooperation, piously intoning that "a minimum of social justice and reform will be necessary for stability" (Trilateral Commission, *Towards a Renowned International System* [1977]), the Carter administration was propping up grisly dictators like Nicaragua's Somoza, staging "human rights" coups in Bolivia and El Salvador, and its National Security Council was headed by the strident Cold Warrior (and Trilateral Commission Executive Director) Zbigniew Brzezinski. Today under Trilateralist

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Airlines...

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were fighting mad by strike time. A "flashlight vigil" at O'Hare Airport in Chicago on the night of November 17 turned into a militant rally of 600 angry flight attendants. The next day 20 percent of all air travel in the U.S. was grounded.

From the beginning, APFA announced they would strike for just 11 days, rashly trusting that government regulations on training new attendants would prevent the hiring of scabs. Crandall responded by announcing that 4,000 of their jobs were "history." The need for immediate solidarity strike action was as clear as day. And there was plenty of sentiment for it. The flight attendants strike was hugely popular. At New York's LaGuardia Airport, picketing flight attendants were joined by 200 members of the overwhelmingly black and Hispanic Local 1199 hospital workers union. In Los Angeles, unions from the Pipefitters to the Screen Actors Guild were planning a solidarity rally for November 24.

With the heavily unionized airline workers facing job losses and pay cuts across the board, there was widespread sentiment for joining the American flight attendants in strike action, particularly at United, where the pilots and Machinists unions began an ineffective "work to rule" the day after American went back to work. Facing a corporate giant with a \$2 billion war chest, workers knew a victory for Crandall would intensify United's campaign to wrench multi-billion dollar givebacks from its unions, under the threat to set up non-union spin-off operations.

A United Airlines shop steward in San Francisco told WV that Denver UA Machinists had staged a solidarity "sick-out" on the first day of the strike. A Northwest Machinist in the Bay Area told us there was tremendous sentiment at his union meeting to link up with the AA strikers. In Boston, members of Teamsters Local 25 clogged the Callahan Tunnel leading to Logan to protest huge wage cuts at an airport fuel supplier. USAir flight attendants were preparing to picket the shuttle over big cuts imposed by owner Citibank. In NYC, USAir wiped out the jobs of ground service workers just short of retirement,

Clinton, behind the Seattle "vision statement" about a "brave new era for trade" what is developing is a three-cornered trade war.

Trade Wars Lead to Shooting Wars

Not surprisingly, the crystallization of imperialist trading blocs has been accompanied by military moves as the imperialist powers gear up to defend their spheres of influence. Germany and Japan, which have a long way to go to bring their military force into line with their economic strength, both recently used UN "humanitarian" missions (the former to Somalia, the latter to Cambodia) to break constitutional bans on sending troops abroad. In the face of longstanding pacifist sentiment among the Japanese population, which recalls the horrors of the American A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, senior Japanese leaders have recently begun openly talking of developing nuclear weapons capacity, supposedly to deal with the "threat" from North Korea. At July's Group of Seven summit in Tokyo, Japan quietly resisted a statement in favor of indefinitely extending the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, which presently runs out in 1995.

And amid all the manufactured alarm over North Korea (which has one small operating nuclear reactor), the Japanese government recently imported several tons of plutonium. The plutonium will be used to fuel the next generation of

American Airlines Mugs AIDS Patient

Not only does American Airlines management want their flight attendants to look like ever-smiling Barbie dolls, they also treat people with AIDS like criminals. On November 14, Chicago cops boarded a San Francisco-bound plane at O'Hare Airport and dragged Timothy Holless off the flight, charging him with disorderly conduct. His crime? Holless had "refused to cover sores on his skin and cease giving himself intravenous treatment," reported the *San Francisco Chronicle* (18 November). Fellow passengers, who were outraged by the airline's vicious bigotry, said Holless "was dragged by two police officers down the aisle on his stomach, screaming in pain."

At first American tried to alibi the affair by claiming they were only trying to ensure other passengers were "not exposed" to a communicable disease,

but they quickly dropped this line. AIDS is not communicated by sitting on a seat and breathing air. Their second story was that Holless was not pulled off the flight because he had AIDS, but because the crew wanted to ensure he was healthy enough to make the flight. Clearly, the airline was not trying to help the passenger but to victimize him. Only after the incident was widely publicized on national TV did American's management issue a public "apology."

What breathtaking hypocrisy! The airline industry routinely and willfully exposes people to infectious diseases like tuberculosis, which is communicable through the air, in order to cut fuel costs. Since the mid-'80s, the airlines have stopped pumping fresh air through the passenger cabin, substituting a mixture of 50 percent fresh air and 50 percent recirculated air

and reducing the rate of circulation by half. Federal health officials report 23 Continental Airlines crew members were infected with tuberculosis, after exposure on several long international flights.

The airline unions have been pushing to correct this. Chris Witkowski, director of air safety and health of the Association of Flight Attendants said, "Aircraft ventilation systems need to be designed assuming that TB is present." The Centers for Disease Control, the Transportation Secretary and Congress are still "investigating." For that matter, a major reason the airlines have banned smoking is not concern about the passengers' or crew members' health, which they obviously could care less about, but in order to get away with their drastically reduced air flow. Public health is part of labor's fight against capitalism.

including the heroic unionists who saved the lives of scores of passengers when a USAir jet skidded off the runway at LaGuardia last year.

But leaders of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), representing thousands of grounds crew workers at American, criminally hid behind a no-strike clause and ordered their members to continue working. Picket lines mean don't cross! Yet APFA leaders actually encouraged American pilots to keep flying, and also pushed ugly anti-immigrant racism when they called the FBI and Immigration cops to check the citizenship status of some scabs on a Miami-L.A. flight.

When Clinton intervened to stop the strike, APFA leaders led pickets in Dallas in chanting, "Thank you Bill!" But a harbinger of what the flight attendants can expect from this open shop Democrat was given when Clinton's FAA gave Crandall the go-ahead to slash the training time for flight attendants from six weeks to ten days to speed up the hiring of scab replacements. Under arbitration, Crandall—whose draconian contract remains in effect for the time

being—will get many of the economic and work rule concessions he demanded.

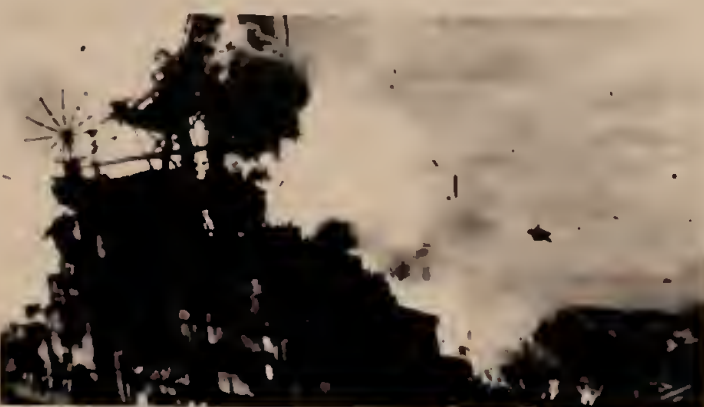
More significantly, Clinton stepped into the fray in order to head off widening labor unrest in the airline industry. Republican or Democratic, the government belongs to the bosses and is backing their drive for a higher rate of exploitation by "restructuring" the airline industry on the backs of the workers. Notably, the White House called every major U.S. airline for approval of Clinton's arbitration plan before he went public with it. Here we see in action the *bourgeois state*—the executive committee for the entire capitalist class.

The Democrats' "friend of labor" veneer has worn pretty damn thin. It was Democrat Jimmy Carter's White House that cooked up the blueprint which Republican Reagan later used to smash the PATCO air traffic controllers union—with the help of Machinists chief Winpisinger and the rest of the AFL-CIO tops who kept the airplanes flying. Now Clinton's labor secretary Robert Reich threatens: "The jury is still out on whether the traditional union is

necessary for the new workplace."

With "friends" like that, labor doesn't need enemies. What labor *does* need is a workers party, not a toothless electoral machine for labor reformism, but a leadership for militant working-class struggle fighting for a workers government. This means ousting the pro-capitalist union leaders who shackle labor to the Democrats and liquidate any struggle that goes beyond the bounds of capitalist "law and order."

Class-struggle leadership is urgently needed in the airline industry, where the bosses' divide-and-rule tactics are constantly pitting worker against worker and union against union. What's necessary today is a drive to organize the unorganized and to forge a single industrial union of all airline workers to stand against the bosses. Many workers today accept a key lesson of the PATCO strike—that solidarity in action to shut down the airports could have stopped Reagan's union-busting cold, saving a lot of jobs and livelihoods in the 1980s. Today, as Clinton carries on Reagan's dirty work, we must act on that lesson. ■



To placate U.S. and British imperialism, under the 5:5:3 ratio of naval tonnage decreed by the 1922 Washington conference the Japanese Navy was forced to destroy Battleship Tosa and other warships.

Japanese atomic reactors, but it can also be used to build nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, for years South Korea has been crawling with nuclear weapons and American troops targeted at the North Korean deformed workers state. Imperialist hands off North Korea!

But the most clear and present danger to humanity remains the U.S., the most powerful imperialist power and the only one to ever use atomic weapons on human beings. With the destruction of the Soviet Union, U.S. leaders are intent on maintaining their hegemonic military position. A 1991 document supervised by the Pentagon's Director of Net Assess-

ment declared that the main risk to the U.S. was "Germany and/or Japan disconnecting from multilateral security and economic arrangements and pursuing an independent course" (*International Security*, Spring 1993).

The various schemes being mooted about for international cooperation are a cover for a growing drive toward war. The idea of inter-imperialist cooperation has a long pedigree, from the founding of the United Nations to its predecessor, the League of Nations. Opportunist "socialists" have often given credence to such utopias. During World War I, the social-pacifist Kautsky called for

"peace" under what he called "ultra-imperialism." Lenin's book *Imperialism* (1916) was an extended polemic against this illusion. Elsewhere Lenin, the leader of the 1917 October Revolution, wrote:

"There is no doubt that the trend of development is towards a single world trust absorbing all enterprises without exception and all states without exception. But this development proceeds in such circumstances, at such a pace, through such contradictions, conflicts and upheavals—not only economic but political, national, etc.—that inevitably imperialism will burst and capitalism will be transformed into its opposite long before one world trust materialises, before the 'ultra-imperialist', worldwide amalgamation of national finance capitals takes place."

—"Preface to N. Bukharin's Pamphlet, *Imperialism and the World Economy*" (December 1915)

Only under an international socialist system can there be a harmonious development of productive forces. Under capitalism, rivalries among imperialist powers are ultimately settled by war, for the international extension of production is in contradiction with the outmoded nation-state. As mounting trade war and inter-imperialist rivalry point toward war, it is desperately necessary for the world proletariat—above all in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast—to overthrow the capitalist system. This is the task of a Trotskyist world party of socialist revolution, forged in the internationalist tradition of Lenin's Bolsheviks and the early Communist International. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Binding Arbitration: Trap for Labor

Flight Attendants Clip American's Wings

CHICAGO—A solid five-day strike by 21,000 flight attendants beginning November 18 caught American Airlines bosses with their pants down. Arrogant American Airlines CEO Robert Crandall thought he could bully the largely female Association of Professional Flight Attendants (APFA) into submission, threatening to replace the strikers with scabs if they didn't surrender unconditionally. But, in their first strike ever, the American flight attendants held their ground and gave Crandall a well-deserved lesson.

At least 80 percent of the company's flights were canceled, piling up losses as high as \$25-50 million a day. Militant, vocal picket lines surrounded American terminals at 40 airports across the country. One of 350 chanting picketers at New York's Kennedy Airport vowed, "I'll walk here as long as I have to, even if I have to die on a picket line." But the flight attendants could not beat back American's union-husting on their own. Airline workers were inspired by the victorious strike of Air France workers last month, when they took over the runways and shut down Paris airports. And that's what was needed here—to shut down the airports through a powerful nationwide airline industry strike which would reverse the tide of defeat begun by the



Striking flight attendants at JFK Airport in New York City, November 18. Solid strike shut down the airline, but union tops folded it into binding arbitration.

disastrous betrayal of the 1981 PATCO air traffic controllers strike.

But from the outset, the APFA leadership was intent on pressuring the anti-labor Clinton administration to impose

an arbitrated settlement. Three days after the strike began, the union unsuccessfully called on Crandall to join it in appealing for binding arbitration. Crandall likes to be known as "Fang" for his

"take no prisoners" tactics. When he finally accepted, after secretly phoning the White House to ask for intervention, it was only because the flight attendants were putting a huge dent in the company's profit margin. After five days, the strike was grounded by intervention from the Clinton White House. While many strikers saw this as a victory over Crandall, we warn that binding arbitration and government intervention are weapons in the companies' hands. The workers can only rely on their own organized strength.

The strike was a battle for survival for flight attendants, who have seen their pay plummet 40 percent under giveback terms imposed ten years ago. Under a two-tier wage system introduced by Crandall, flight attendants make as little as \$14,000 a year after several years on the job. Many single mothers working for American have been forced to apply for food stamps to make ends meet. Fueling the strikers' anger was the company's openly sexist treatment of the 85 percent female union. "Just a bunch of skirts" is how one picket summed up the company's attitude toward the workers, who are forced into getting company-approved haircuts and humiliating "courtesy classes" when they are hired. Crandall believes flight attendants should get out of the job market and into the kitchen after being exploited by American for a few years.

Crandall entered the current contract struggle pleading poverty and determined to wring more profits out of APFA. The company trained its guns on seniority and scheduling rights, demanding that all flight attendant slots over the FAA minimum be staffed by "reserves," who must work on as little as two hours' notice. When a 30-day "cooling off period" expired on October 29, Crandall imposed these contractual terms and canceled all vacations for the next two months, daring APFA to strike.

After American declared third-quarter profits of \$118 million, APFA members

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Clinton's Anti-Labor Vendetta Defend Logan County Miners!

Framed-Up Miners Face 25-50 Years

NOVEMBER 29—In a savage attack by the Clinton administration on all labor, eight striking members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in Logan County, West Virginia have been framed up on federal conspiracy charges. UMWA Local 5958 president Ernie Woods, strike captain Fred Carver, miners Dayton Adkins, Curtis Browning, Jerry May, Larry Ray Perry and Luther Shell face 25 years in prison and half-million dollar fines. Another strike captain and chair of the local's mine safety committee, Jerry Dale Lowe, faces a virtual life sentence: 50 years in jail and a \$1 million fine.

This frame-up flows directly from the coal bosses' all-out effort to shatter the union. The coal fields have been inundated with gun thugs, federal marshals and state troopers during the union's almost ten-month "selective strike" against some companies in the Bituminous Coal Operators Association

(BCOA). All eight union men are being framed up on "conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce," for allegedly throwing rocks at a convoy of scab vehicles in July at Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine in Yoyn in Logan County. Lowe faces additional conspiracy charges in connection with the death of a scab contractor at the same time. The charges are a classic example of the frame-up system long used to terrorize workers and minorities and destroy their will to fight.

Thus far, the UMWA International and president Richard Trumka have refused to lift a finger for the eight unionists, who are slated to go to trial on January 24. Trumka took down picket lines before a strike settlement was reached, turning the disastrous "selective strike" into a rout and giving the coal bosses a clear signal that he was abandoning the indicted miners. There must be an urgent light in the UMWA to mobilize in defense of the Logan County miners!



Coal miners picket Arch Mineral's Ruffner Mine in May. Clinton's FBI/BATF frame-up of West Virginia miners targets all labor.

The entire union and all of labor must come to their aid! An injury to one is an injury to all!

The eight miners are being railroaded because they did their duty on the picket line. At the Ruffner mine, Arch hired

scores of provocative gun thugs from a professional union-husting outfit from North Carolina called Elite Security. Shots have been fired into the union picket shack and Arch's goons escort

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