

Navy Seals Take the Beach...from the Press

Making Somalia Safe for Imperialism

In the early morning hours of December 9, U.S. amphibious assault forces of "Operation Restore Hope" hit the beaches of Mogadishu. But the only "hostile" forces they encountered were mobs of reporters, who followed them around the beach taking interviews and shooting television footage. The top brass had seen the opportunity for a colossal public relations ploy—"combat" scenes without the unseemly sight of dead bodies—and timed the "attack" to be televised live at prime time in the eastern U.S. The "objectives" of the mock attack were the airport and the port area, both of which have been in the hands of Pakistani UN troops since October. But the commandos who carried out the "attack" weren't given the script, and they went berserk as they stealthily waded ashore into a media circus.

It was supposed to be a textbook operation, beginning with Navy SEALs (frogmen) in wetsuits, followed by Marine reconnaissance teams paddling ashore in rubber dinghies, followed by an "assault" force of attack helicopters, hovercraft and amphibious landing craft. But the commandos, wearing fancy night-vision goggles, were blinded as they emerged from the surf and stumbled

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Robert/Syigma

Pentagon's orchestrated "photo op" backfires as phalanx of reporters besieges Navy commandos, blinding them with TV lights.

"Collective Guilt" Deportations, Death Squad Murders

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Christmas is killing season in the "Holy Land." On December 19, Israeli troops fired into a crowd of protesters in the Gaza town of Khan Yunis, murdering an eight-year-old girl and five others, raising to some 40 the total number of Palestinians gunned down in the Occupied Territories in the past two months alone. On December 8, the fifth anniversary of the Palestinian *Intifada* (uprising), the Zionist state completely sealed off the Gaza Strip, imposing a starvation regime on the Palestinian population as revenge for the drive-by shooting of three Israeli soldiers by militants from the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas group.

A week later, as collective punishment for the kidnapping and execution of an Israeli border guard, the Rabin "Labor" government rounded up 1,600 Palestinians supposedly associated with Hamas and another fundamentalist group, Islamic Jihad. On December 17, more than 400 of them were thrown blindfolded into military buses and helicopters to be deported to Lebanon. They were dumped in the border area in a driving rain. With

the Lebanese government massing tanks to block the deportations, the Palestinians are penned in on a strip of freezing wasteland, with no shelter other than tents from the Red Cross, while facing mortar fire from the Israelis' puppet "South Lebanese Army."



Reuters

More than 400 Palestinians rounded up and dumped in freezing wasteland on Lebanese border.

Concerned at upsetting the year-old sham "peace" talks, through which they hope to establish a Pax Americana in the Near East, the U.S. imperialists have criticized the mass deportations. Only six months ago, Yitzhak Rabin was grotesquely touted by the American media as the "peace" candidate in the Israeli elections. Rabin is a Zionist pig par excel-

lence, whose bloody career dates back to the mass expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians during and after the 1948 war. He is the architect of the notorious "iron fist" policy of murderous terror aimed at suppressing the *Intifada*. His decree of "force, might, beatings" ordered Israeli troops to systematically break the legs of young protesters.

The Israeli border guard, Nissim Toledano, was seized by Hamas in an attempt to ransom their imprisoned 57-year-old leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin. After rejecting the appeals of Toledano's family to release Yassin, the government cynically fueled anti-Arab hysteria with live radio broadcasts of the family wailing when

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MacKinnon Clique Seizes Women's Art

Feminist Anti-Porn Prof and Her Junior Jesse Helms

A clique of aspiring sex witchhunters at the University of Michigan law school, home of notorious anti-porn crusader Catharine MacKinnon, recently put their mentor's precepts into practice by seizing and removing part of an artist's exhibit there.

Artist Carol Jacobsen's multimedia exhibit, titled "Porn'im'age'ry: Picturing Prostitutes," had shown for several weeks in October without incident in the U-M union. But when MacKinnon allies

in the crusade against "the demon porn" hit town for a symposium on prostitution, away went one of the "offending" videotapes. One segment, a self-portrait by performance artist Veronica Vera, included not only clips of her in commercial adult movies, but also tape of Vera's testimony to the Senate judiciary committee against anti-pornography legislation drafted by MacKinnon and others.

The student paper, *The Michigan Daily* (6 November 1992), stated in its

Dworkin (left) and MacKinnon: anti-sex censors.



Petita Onne

editorial, "Freedom from Speech": "This was a reprehensible act of censorship." What we have here are rabidly anti-sex feminists doing the work of Reagan reactionaries like Senator Jesse Helms, the racist bigot who has tried to censor what he calls "obscene art."

Eager to please the anti-porn heavy hitters, a clique of law students snatched the video because speakers at the symposium on "Prostitution: From Academia to Activism" didn't like it. Law student Ann Kraemer, defending the censorship, claimed, "Pornography is linked to violence against women, and some of our guests and speakers...thought it would direct violence towards them" (*Ann Arbor News*, 3 November 1992).

The *News* noted: "Some law students also worried that they'd lose the support of the major symposium speakers, which included prominent feminist writers Andrea Dworkin and John Stoltenberg, director of the Council for Prostitution Alternatives Susan Kay Hunter, and U-M law professor Catharine MacKinnon." The only "safety" these would-be thought police were interested in was safety from opposing viewpoints.

Jacobsen only found out by accident that one of her videos was missing when she visited the show on a Saturday morning. The outraged artist confronted the students: "I told them they couldn't just pick out a selected artwork and remove it from the exhibit, but they didn't seem to get it.... I said if they wished to censor any part they would have to censor the whole thing. They came back and said, 'Take it down.' And that's what happened" (*New York Times*, 13 November 1992).

Jacobsen wrote to the "Issues Forum" of the *Michigan Daily*: "I was then prohibited from speaking about it to the audience, out of fear that I might 'ruin Andrea Dworkin's speech.'" *Times* reporter Tamar Lewin noted that "Jacobson...has been an outspoken critic of Ms. MacKinnon's anti-pornography efforts."

MacKinnon furiously berated the *New York Times* for the "disproportionate visibility" of its lengthy article on the incident. She tries to deny the blatant censorship by delicately referring to "the videotape, while interrupted at one point." Moreover, she complained, "The article falsely implies I was responsible and belittles the students as my lackeys" (*New York Times*, 12 December 1992).

Coming from a person whose entire public career is devoted to the proposition that the blame, or "responsibility," for violent criminal acts can be pinned on books, videotapes or pictures the perpetrators happen to have looked at, this is pretty thick. MacKinnon, along with Dworkin and other right-wing feminists, is notorious for her assaults on "First Amendment fundamentalists." "The bottom line of the First Amendment is that porn stays. Our bottom line is that porn goes," is MacKinnon's line (quoted in "Woman on the Verge of a Legal Breakdown," *Playboy*, January 1993).

There is no known link between violent crime and pornography—despite the expensive efforts of government "guardians of morality," such as the notorious Edwin Meese Commission on Pornography, to endlessly and in great detail probe into this question. Holding hear-

ings across the country, the sleazy Meese police tried to establish that pornography causes marital infidelity, divorce, child molestation, rape, incest, serial murders, hairy palms and zits.

The false equation of whatever you want to call sexually explicit fantasies—one woman's art is another's pornography—with the very real brutality of the world around us is dangerous. Introducing an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee in defense of Indiana booksellers accused of selling "obscene products," we argued against those feminists "who've allied themselves with the Meese sex police in an anti-porn frenzy, the real purpose of which is not to protect women or children, but to instill fear and social conformity. Indeed, anti-obscenity laws have historically been used against women's rights, especially in censoring birth control information" (*Women and Revolution* No. 35, Summer 1988).

The first victims of official legal crackdowns are all too likely to be those fighting for their own freedom from racist or sexist stereotypes. The Canadian Supreme Court last year upheld obscenity laws in agreement with the MacKinnon argument that porn harms women by leading to violence—and the very first charges brought were against a lesbian magazine.

The furor over this blatant censorship hopefully will help deflate the anti-sex feminist censors who flourished under "Reagan reaction." But it's not only Republican reactionaries who are the problem. Because organized religion and the institution of the family are necessary social props for capitalism, the Democrats too find it necessary to launch periodic "family values" crusades against anything perceived to challenge these institutions, especially anything smacking of sex outside authorized marriage.

Last time we faced a Democrat in the White House, we noted in a piece defending porn star Harry Reems (*The Devil in Miss Jones*) and *Screw* publisher Al Goldstein against obscenity charges: "the forces of law, order and cleanliness...are doubtless encouraged by the prospect of religious fundamentalist peanutboss Jimmy Carter as the next president" ("God-Fearing Hypocrites Revile Sin and Smut," *Women and Revolution* No. 12, Summer 1976). Update that to Southern Baptists Bill Clinton and Al (and rock 'n roll censor Tipper) Gore.

As we concluded then: "It is, of course, true that many films, magazines and books perpetuate the image of women as simply sexual objects and are genuinely offensive in this regard. But state censorship of sexual fantasies and of personal relationships between consenting adults is not the solution to women's oppression. Abolishing women's oppression requires uprooting the oppressive and deeply corrupt bourgeois state through socialist revolution." ■

NOTICE
The closing date for news in this issue is December 22.



TROTSKY

U.S. Imperialism: Enemy of the World's Oppressed

With its "humanitarian" invasion of Somalia, the United States is masquerading as the friend of the starving black masses of Africa. In fact, the American occupation is aimed at pursuing its strategic interests in the Horn of Africa. The "benevolent" mask of U.S. imperialism was ripped off by American Communist John Reed, speaking to the 1920 Congress of the Peoples of the East sponsored by the young Soviet republic in



LENIN

Baku. As American capitalists offered millions in "aid" to famine-wracked Armenia, Reed warned that their aim was to enslave the Armenian nation and prevent the spread of socialist revolution.

I represent here the revolutionary workers of one of the great imperialist powers, the United States of America, which exploits and oppresses the peoples of the colonies.

You, the peoples of the East, the peoples of Asia, have not yet experienced for yourselves the rule of America. You know and hate the British, French and Italian imperialists, and probably you think that "free America" will govern better, will liberate the peoples of the colonies, will feed and defend them.

No. The workers and peasants of the Philippines, the peoples of Central America and the islands of the Caribbean, they know what it means to live under the rule of "free America"....

In North America itself there are ten million Negroes who possess neither political or civil rights, despite the fact that by law they are equal citizens. With the purpose of distracting the attention of the American workers from the capitalists, their exploiters, the latter stir up hatred against the Negroes, provoking war between the white and black races. The Negroes, whom they lawlessly burn alive, are beginning to see that their only hope lies in armed resistance to the white bandits.

At the present time the American capitalists are addressing friendly words to the peoples of the East, with a promise of aid and food. This applies especially to Armenia. Millions of dollars have been collected by the American millionaires in order to send bread to the starving Armenians. And many Armenians are now looking for help to Uncle Sam....

Promising food to starving peoples and at the same time organizing a blockade of the Soviet Republics—that is the policy of the United States....

Uncle Sam is not one ever to give anybody something for nothing. He comes along with a sack stuffed with straw in one hand and a whip in the other. Whoever takes Uncle Sam's promises at their face value will find himself obliged to pay for them with blood and sweat. The American workers are demanding an ever larger share of the product of their labour; with a view to preventing revolution at home, the American capitalists are forced to seek out colonial peoples to exploit, peoples who will furnish sufficient profit to keep the American workers in obedience and so make them participants in the exploitation of the Armenians. I represent thousands of revolutionary American workers who know this, and who understand that, acting together with the Armenian workers and peasants, with the toiling masses of the whole world, they will overthrow capitalism. World capitalism will be destroyed, and all the peoples will be free.

—John Reed, Speech to the Baku Congress (September 1920)

WORKERS VANGUARD



Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 566

1 January 1993

Down with Solidarność Reaction! Workers to Power!

Coal Strikers Shake Walesa's Poland

WARSAW, December 21—For the second time this year, mass working-class struggle threatens to topple President Lech Walesa's widely hated "shock therapy" regime and the shaky coalition government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, Poland's would-be Margaret Thatcher. Beginning with a wave of rolling strikes last Monday, every pit in the Silesian coal fields has now been shut down, as the country's more than 300,000 coal miners strike against a government "restructuring" plan which would lay off more than half the workforce. The coal strike has also sparked walkouts in rail, stopping all freight trains in Silesia, which accounts for 70 percent of the country's total freight traffic. Now steel workers are about to vote on whether to strike as well.

Like last summer's wave of strikes by copper miners and metal workers, the current upsurge has thrown the weak Polish capitalist government into crisis. The strike forced the government to postpone debate in the Sejm (parliament) on a draconian abortion ban being pushed by the Catholic hierarchy and the Suchocka government, a coalition of reactionary Solidarność offshoots. The anti-abortion bill is widely unpopular. Then on Saturday, the Sejm voted against the government's "restructuring" scheme to privatize the mining industry.

The refusal of the Sejm to approve the government's economic program has placed the collapse of the Suchocka coalition on the agenda. Suchocka is furiously negotiating with Solidarność union leader Krzaklewski, who has agreed to mediate a deal with the miners, and appeared on TV side by side with the prime minister over the weekend. And in an open letter to the miners, Walesa pleaded: "You can win a lot but lose as much...you can even bring down the government, but will you gain anything, will Poland gain anything?" Labor Minister Jacek Kuron lashed out at the miners, saying that their demands amounted to calling for a new social system. Indeed, the strike wave poses the question: who will rule Poland, the Solidarność front men for the IMF and the Vatican, or the powerful working class?

The miners strike issued out of a two-hour general protest strike last Monday called by the Solidarność trade-union



Polish miners, demonstrating above for higher wages in 1990, have thrown Walesa's "shock therapy" government into crisis with militant strike action in Silesian coal fields.

federation. During last summer's strike wave, the Solidarność unions acted as strikebreakers for the Walesa government. They have signed a pact with the government on the privatization of state enterprises which would tear up existing contracts in exchange for 10 percent of the shares in privatized enterprises. But with unemployment climbing to 14 percent this year and inflation running at 40 percent, they have felt the need to take some action or lose what influence they have to the much larger ex-Stalinist OPZZ union federation or the militant-sounding right-wing nationalist Solidarność 80, whose leadership issued out of a rightist split from the mainstream clerical-nationalists. Last August Solidarność 80 closed down a militant strike at the Fiat plant in Tychy after appealing to the Catholic bishops to intervene as arbiters.

The top leaders of the OPZZ initially supported this sellout pact, though it was opposed by a majority of the federation and has been denounced by key divisions like the Lodz textile workers. But in the face of mass unrest, the OPZZ today withdrew its support. The ex-Stalinist Social Democrats (SdRP) fear the independent mobilization of the working

class more than the catastrophic consequences of the counterrevolution. While the ex-OPZZ Federation of Miners Unions (FZZG) has joined the current strike, they have allowed the virulent clerical-nationalists and anti-Semites of the various Solidarność factions to take control and use it for their maneuverings with the government.

Faced with the ravages of capitalist restoration, the miners are demanding that wages keep up with inflation and credit guarantees to assure salaries are paid on time, as well as preservation of the health care system in the mines. While nationalized industries under a capitalist state are subordinated to the dictates of capital and the market, the government's privatization package for the mines would mean massive layoffs and a sharp attack on workers' livelihoods. But with the mines running losses of 7.5 billion zlotys (just over \$500,000) in the first ten months of this year alone, the miners' leaders are engaged in a futile attempt to keep the industry afloat in the framework of ramshackle Polish capitalism with subsidies and bailouts.

As the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP) warns in the current issue of its

newspaper being sold to strikers in the Silesian coal fields:

"Workers can't defend their living standards in the framework of this bankrupt state which seeks to introduce capitalism without capital.... What is needed is a struggle to smash Walesa/IMF's 'shock treatment' and sweep away the fledgling capitalist state through workers revolution."

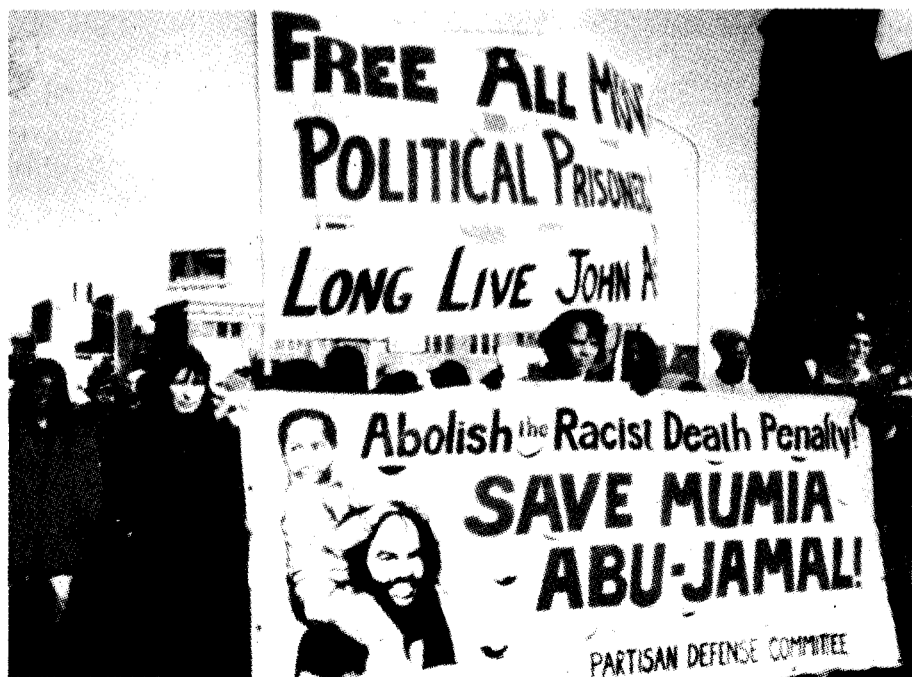
—"Down With the Walesa/IMF Regime!"
Platforma Spartakusowców
(Autumn 1992)

Ironically, the coal miners struck just as the imperialists were touting Poland as a "success" story for brutal austerity policies, contrasting it to the "backpedaling" in Moscow as a new prime minister associated with the managers of state industry is put into the Yeltsin regime. Thus the *New York Times* (17 December 1992) carries a glowing front-page headline, "21 Months of 'Shock Therapy' Resuscitates Polish Economy," and quotes the execrable Harvard shock therapist Jeffrey Sachs crowing, "I think they've made it.... The panic is over. The reforms are secure."

Solidarność wants to put the seal on its clerical-nationalist counterrevolution by replacing the relatively liberal abortion law of 1956 with one of the most reactionary laws in Europe. With more than 70 percent of the population opposing a ban on abortion, this is an explosive question. A petition calling for a referendum to oppose criminalization garnered a half million signatures as soon as it hit the streets. The working class must be mobilized in defense of women's right to abortion as part of the fight for free quality health care for all. For the strict separation of church and state! Priests out of the bedroom, out of the operating room and out of the classroom!

The shock waves from the present strike can spread far beyond Poland's borders, notably to the beleaguered workers of the former Soviet Union. The miners strike shows the evident capacity of the Polish proletariat to overturn capitalist counterrevolution and take power. But for that it needs a revolutionary leadership which seeks to mobilize the working class in struggle against Solidarność reaction down the line. Nationalism has been the driving force for counterrevolution. It is crucial for the proletarian vanguard to combat anti-Roma (Gypsy) racism and anti-Semitism. The SGP fights to forge the internationalist, Leninist-Trotskyist party which is urgently necessary to lead the combative Polish proletariat to power. ■

Philly March Demands: Save Mumia!



On December 9, over 300 people marched down Philadelphia's Broad Street in support of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal, former Philadelphia Black Panther and radical journalist, is known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his crusading radio reporting. The march and rally at City Hall was initiated by the Ad Hoc Coalition to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and Equal Justice. The Partisan Defense Committee joined the protest, raising our banner, "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

It will take an international campaign of protest to stop the state's murder machine. Join the campaign to free Jamal and stop "legal lynching"! Contact the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Barbara R. Lee

Scandal in Vienna

"Workers Power" Rallies with Serbian Chetnik Fascists

The following is adapted from Workers Hammer No. 132 (November/December 1992), published by the Spartacist League/Britain.

"For the following political horror trip there is no precedent in the history of the Austrian left. At least I cannot remember having seen such a bizarre 'bloc constellation' during the last 30 years."

—Die Linke, 4 September 1992

Not "just another scandal" from the right-centrist Workers Power (WP) and its misnamed League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) but a mind-boggling whopper has emerged from Austria. In late July the LRCI's Austrian group ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt (ASt) carried out a united-front action with Greater Serbian monarchists and fascists—an event so disgusting that even the Austrian supporters of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) were repelled. Recall that the USec saluted the Estonian Nazi "Forest Brothers" as well as the sinister Croatian HDP in the

Zur Anti-Interventiondemo am 18. Juli
Die LINKE
4 September 1992

Hand in Hand mit den Tschetniks

Am 18. Juli hatte die Gruppe „ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt“ gemeinsam mit der „Serbischen Nationalen Wiedergeburt“, der Wien-Filiale des serbischen Monarchisten Vuk Draskovic, dem Parlament ein gemeinsames

Austrian left press reports spectacular blow-up of Workers Power's scandalous bloc with Serbian monarchist-fascists.

AST/LRCI im offenen Bündnis mit serbischem Nationalismus

Klassenkampf
Sept./Oct. 1992

ten abgedruckte Offene Brief an RCI ("Gruppe ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt" der "League for a Revolutionary Communist International") wurde geschrieben, um die Gen. des ASt am 18. Juli 92 in der

Nicht, daß man die führenden ASt Gen. (am Abend bei einer von Redinnen-Besprechung) ihre "Pöbelstimmung" Politik in Frage gestellt hätten. Warum denn! Die Linke wäre schuld gewesen, die drei ASt nicht wie im Circus geschickt hätte, ja vielleicht hätte man die Kräfteverhältnisse etwas klärlich angesprochen...

and then a march to the U.S. embassy.... "A kind of nationalist masquerade developed that was frightening. In front of the parliament some 250 Serbs had gathered, so the ten representatives of the 'ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt' already quantitatively had to play the role of extras. The rally therefore was marked with the portraits of the former Serbian royal house and of the pretender to the crown, Alexander, with Chetnik symbols and cheers to the Serbian army. A speaker of

namely when the Serb leader on the platform ordered applause from the masses with a hand signal.... "Then they marched, and at the final rally the ASt's 'united-front politics' definitively came to an end. When, there near the U.S. Embassy, an ASt cadre finally tried to criticise Chetnik nationalism...he was dragged down from the truck by Chetnik fascists. Soon the ASt found themselves running away from the place, chased by a group of Chetniks, whom



Anti-communist Serbian monarchist Vuk Draskovic (far left). Fascist Serbian militia who call themselves Chetniks (left).

service of Cold War "anti-Stalinism," and that French USec honcho Alain Krivine recently signed an appeal to the imperialist Common Market "Europe of Twelve" to "act collectively" in Yugoslavia. It takes a lot to disgust the USec.

The story: according to ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt's own account, it had participated at "a public forum on the imperialist aggression in the Balkans" with the leader of the monarchist Serb National Rebirth, as did the Sozialistische Alternative (Austrian USec), another pseudo-Trotskyist group (the RKL) and the CP. The Austrian Workers Power group, in their own words, were "warned by all possible sides not to go into a united front with 'such reactionary Serb nationalists'" (*ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt*, September 1992). The ASt goes on to recount that "it should not in any case be prettified that Milatovic [leader of Serb National Rebirth] proved to be at this forum a Greater Serbian chauvinist, an anti-communist and a proponent of the free market economy, as well as an admirer of the interwar Serbian monarchy. Without any doubt a reactionary Serbian nationalist."

The ASt's conclusion was...to organise a joint rally with Milatovic & Co.! We print below excerpts from the report of the Austrian USec's *Die Linke*:

"On July 18 the group 'ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt' together with 'Serb National Rebirth,' the Vienna branch of the Serbian monarchist Vuk Draskovic, had called for a rally in front of parliament

the 'Serb National Rebirth' lambasted his listeners with a barrage of chauvinism.... "Grotesque indeed was the speech of the representative of the ASt that followed. He carefully tried to avoid confronting his 'bloc partner' in the fight against military intervention, and barely addressed a single concrete question of the war in former Yugoslavia. There was not a single mention of Croats, Albanians and Kosovo. The very general-sounding rhetoric against nationalism was interrupted by the audience with shouts of 'Long live Serbia.'

"There can be no justification for the ASt running amok politically. Already at a forum called by the ASt held prior to the rally, this same speaker of the 'Serb National Rebirth' had appeared and demanded: 'May God not forgive the Croats, because they know what they do.'

"Attempts, at the beginning of the rally, when it was already clear that the comrades would be only the fifth wheel on the cart of the Chetnik supporters, to convince the ASt that it was necessary to leave the rally were brusquely dismissed."

At least as hair-raising is the account provided by the Austrian RKL's *Klassenkampf*:

"On a truck which was the speakers platform, the leader of the 'Serb Rebirth' and then that of the 'Trotskyist' ASt blared out their speeches in front of pictures of Serbian kings and the Greater Serbian emblem on the rostrum. The former more than half an hour on God, King and Serbian fatherland, the ASt speaker finally against Austria and imperialism and against imperialism and Austria. Applause of the roughly 1,000 mainly Serbian people was assured,

they escaped from in the end only by hiding in a pastry shop...."

Saved by the strudel.

This "political horror trip" is not denied by Workers Power, it is not repudiated—quite the opposite! In its amusingly titled article "Yugoslavia: Bringing the War to Austria" (*Trotskyist International*, September/December 1992), Workers Power complains that "the whole left" refused to participate in this circus of reaction! "Why? The wretched pretext they offered was that the demonstration was supported by Draskovic-

ite 'Serb National Rebirth,' a nationalist grouping.... Without their participation, of course, few or no Serbs would have marched with us." And a damn sight fewer Chetniks might have been out on the streets chasing unprincipled and criminally idiotic leftists into pastry shops as well. Workers Power's article admits that "a group of Chetnik fascists physically attacked a Serbian ASt comrade," and goes on:

"In that situation the 'moderate' nationalists of the Serbian Rebirth failed to actively join in our defence or kick the Chetnik scum off the demonstration. Indeed, they even gave the microphone to a Chetnik speaker to placate them, thus turning the demonstration into a reactionary nationalist event." (our emphasis)

A "reactionary nationalist event" indeed—an event initiated by the ASt jointly with monarchists and pursued until the monarchists' Chetnik buddies dragged them off! And Workers Power is quite clear that it is not interested in what it calls "nonsense about 'principle'": "Unfortunately, there are no Serbian workers' organisations or leaders in Vienna, independent of one or another type of nationalist. If there were, we would happily organise a demonstration with them." As for Draskovic's "anti-imperialism," he has come out as a more extreme anti-communist than Milosevic and offered his links with the Chetniks to promote "peace," i.e., to secure the Balkans for imperialist exploitation.

Fresh from organising its "reactionary nationalist event," WP has made a *positive programme* out of the complete absence of principle which led to the Vienna scandal. The *Trotskyist International* article concludes with a grotesque parody of Leon Trotsky, who urged the crushing of the fascist scum: "For our part, we take those lessons into the struggles and organisations of the working class as they now exist, learning from them how to advance the cause of communism. We do this not simply despite having to make temporary alliances with 'the Devil and his grandmother but, indeed, through such alliances'" (our emphasis). In the LRCI's French publication, they add for good measure: "The Austrian example illustrates well our method" (*Pouvoir Ouvrier*, Autumn 1992). That it does!

WP's third-campist methodology has in fact placed them squarely in the camp of capitalist counterrevolution, on the barricades with the Yeltsinite lowlifes and racketeers in Moscow in August 1991. It was a decisive act of its rightist degeneration and, from sponsoring the infamous tour in Britain of Yuri Butchenko, supported by the Russian fascist NTS and the British scab miners "union" UDM, to pimping for the "rights" of Ustashi-loving Croat nationalists against the then-Yugoslav deformed workers state, to its Viennese waltz with Chetnik fascists—whatever cause Workers Power is advancing with its "temporary alliances," it certainly isn't communism.

Nationalism has been the spearhead of capitalist counterrevolution which has



Chetniks murder Communist Partisan in 1942.

Ekonomiska Politika-Borba, Belgrade

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Pittsburgh Press Fight Sold Out

At the end of July, Teamster newspaper drivers in Pittsburgh declared, "this was where a stand had to be taken." The *Pittsburgh Press* had been struck since May 17, as the newspaper bosses vow to wipe out almost all drivers' jobs. When the *Press* tried to run a scab paper in the early morning hours of July 27, Teamsters, press workers and supporters massed, 5,000 strong, in the streets in front of the *Press* building and stopped the scabs cold. Pittsburgh workers showed all labor a crucial lesson: mass picket lines backed down the cops and stopped the scabs. The scabs never returned, but negotiations between the Newspaper Unions Unity Council and the *Press* dragged on for months.

Now the Teamsters and the other press unions are handing in hundreds of jobs in a deal for Blade Communications to buy the *Press* from E.W. Scripps Co. in order to close it down. The *Press* agreement allows Blade, the owner of the *Post-Gazette* (the other Pittsburgh daily sharing facilities with the *Press* under a joint operating agreement), to purchase the *Press* and fold the two papers into one. The *Press* will disappear, at least 260 out of 627 Teamster jobs will be eliminated, and the jobs of hundreds of pressmen, printers, mailers, typesetters and other unionists will be destroyed. Blade's guarantees of lifetime health insurance benefits for retirees are as believable as a snowball in July.

After militant pickets stopped the scabs in July, *Workers Vanguard* warned: "The company claims the scabs are leaving town. But Press Co. is still demanding the elimination of hundreds of jobs. They're trying to get back from the federal mediator at the bargaining table what they lost in the streets. *Press* workers: Don't be suckered! You've won a big round, now keep the bosses and their scabs on the run! Occupy the plant and ring it with pickets—Stop the *Press*!" But instead of playing hardball, the union tops played ball with the company, with disastrous results.

The *AFL-CIO News* (7 December 1992) claims "victory" in Pittsburgh, giving kudos to the AFL-CIO's "Strategic Approaches Committee," brought in to "help" with the negotiations. They also credit the SAC for the NY *Daily News* strike. But it was the determination of the drivers and pressmen, not the bureaucrats' lousy boycotts, that beat back the Tribune Co.'s attempt to crush the unions at the *Daily News* (while the demise of the new owner, swashbuckling pension fund looter "Cap'n Bob" Maxwell, put the *News* back on the auction block).

The *Pittsburgh Press* settlement, however, was a real stab in the back. Pittsburgh labor didn't pour out into the streets last July for more givebacks. The *Press* strike could have been the one to send a message around the country that *scabherding can be stopped*. No BS about waiting for Congress to pass a "replacement worker" bill—raw union power did the job. But with their faith

Strikers burn copies of scab rag in July, as 5,000-strong mass picket stopped the Pittsburgh Press.



in federal mediation and reliance on a boycott of capitalist advertisers, the unions' Newspaper Unity Council snatched defeat from the jaws of victory. /

This year's Pittsburgh Labor Day rally was a big red, white and blue pep rally to get out the vote for Clinton. Thousands of unionists marched in downtown Pittsburgh, but instead of marching into the *Press* building and occupying it, the workers were subjected to hot air about the need for a new administration in Washington. So now a new administration is coming in, and the workers still get screwed. Democrats and Republicans are two wings of the capitalists' property party—we need a fighting workers party.

Hands Off the Newspaper Drivers Union!

The bosses and their state have revived an old weapon in their anti-labor arsenal—declare the unions criminal enterprises and seize control of them. In recent years this tactic has been used against the Teamsters and Longshoremen. Now the latest victims of this union-busting tactic are newspaper drivers in New York City. On November 23, the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union (NMDU) was hit with a string of criminal indictments by the Manhattan district attorney claiming that the union itself is an organized crime racket.

Just like labor-hater, redbaiter Robert Kennedy went after Jimmy Hoffa, Democratic D.A. Robert Morgenthau (and his pals in the *New York Times* executive suite) are out to get the drivers union because it represents union power. Kennedy nailed the Teamsters leader after Hoffa won the first-ever national Master Freight Agreement. Similarly, the drivers have the muscle to shut down the Big Apple's dailies, and the paper bosses are still seething over the NMDU's militancy during the bitter *Daily News* strike last year.

Morgenthau is using the New York State Organized Crime Act to put the NMDU in receivership and appoint a government overseer to run the union. This is the way feds took over the Teamsters after a five-decade vendetta against the union, with plenty of help from fake-leftists and union "dissidents" like the Teamsters for a Democratic Union. TDU dragged the union into the bosses' courts and provided the feds with a "democratic" cover for their campaign to hamstring the unions.

When the federal government filed suit against the Teamsters, a member of the NY State Organized Crime Task Force crowed that the real reason behind the government's move was that the Teamsters "could still tie the nation up in knots if they wanted to." So now Governor Cuomo and his junior G-men in Albany are going after the NY newspaper drivers for the same reason.

At the bitter end of the *Daily News* strike, we wrote: "New York press unions have been fighting a decades-long defensive battle over technology and jobs—if this deal goes down, the labor-hating *New York Times* bosses, with a \$450-million ultra-modern printing facility at Edison, NJ ready to roll, are ready to sock it to the unions."

Now the government, the *Times* and another publishing pirate, Mortimer Zuckerman, who is bidding for the *Daily News*, want to make sure the press unions can never shut down a New York paper again. Allied Printing Trades Council president George McDonald knifed the Guild, announcing that the Council is "100 percent supportive" of Zuckerman, who has demanded that one-third of the 540 Guild workers at the *News* be cut while the rest reapply for their own jobs!

As Morgenthau pursues the bosses' vendetta against the NMDU, all of the unions in the Allied as well as the rest of city labor must rally to the defense of the drivers against the government's attempt to blackjack the union. The working class must clean its own house! Feds hands off the drivers union! ■

perforce plunged the former multinational Yugoslav workers state into a fratricidal bloodbath. That state, bureaucratically deformed as it was from its inception, was built after Tito's Partisans defeated not only the Nazis and their Croatian Ustashi allies but also the Serbian monarchists, the Chetniks. Tito shot Chetniks and Ustasha. In the genocidal slaughter of World War II, workers and peasants came to know that they were safe when the Partisans with the red stars on their caps arrived in town.

Even given our fundamental differences with the Yugoslav Stalinists, whose later "market socialism" policies paved the way for the triumph of counterrevolution, we Trotskyists stand with the tradition of Tito's Partisans against those like the LRCI who have grossly defended in turn Ustashi-loving Croatian nationalists and Chetnik-loving Serbs. Now they are calling for "the establishment of military control of all and any areas within Bosnia-Herzegovina by Muslim forces" and demanding "unconditional military aid to the Bosnian Muslims" (*Workers Power*, December 1992)!



World Jewish Congress

Former Austrian president Kurt Waldheim (second from left). Workers Power alibis this Nazi war criminal, responsible for massacre of Jews and Communists in Yugoslavia during World War II.

In short, WP echoes the imperialists' saber rattling for full-scale military intervention in Yugoslavia. For our part, we demand: *Down with the imperialist embargo of Serbia! NATO/UN—Out of the Balkans!* Amid the horror of nationalist slaughter, we look to the cohering of a new generation of internationalist proletarian militants to defeat the all-

sided counterrevolutionary drive.

The AST should have been something of an embarrassment ever since it alibied the Nazi war criminal Kurt Waldheim, calling two years after his exposure to "unconditionally subordinate all his decisions to parliament" and to pay him "the average wage of a skilled worker." But with its soft-core support to German

unification under capitalism, its goading of the "one fatherland" mobs of skinheads and social democrats to "hunt down" the Stalinists, its calls on the government of Margaret Thatcher to aid the Nazi-infested Lithuanian Sajudis, the Butchenko scandal and, not least, openly siding with Yeltsin/Bush counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, Workers Power has more than moved far to the right—it has become *unhinged*.

While the pages of *Workers Power* in Britain have contained not a word on its Greater Serbian "united front," it has become infamous throughout the European left.

In Russia, the political platform which the AST shared with the monarchists/Chetniks in Vienna is called the "red-brown bloc." Workers Power's LRCI now bears the "distinction" of singularly translating the "red-brown bloc" to the murderous competing nationalisms of the Balkan cockpit that have savagely torn apart the Yugoslav deformed workers state. Now all the "old crap" is coming back and Workers Power are up to their necks in it. We think you should be told. ■

Capitalist Reunification Leads to Economic Crisis



Ali Paczensky

Half a year after reunification, east German workers protest (above) under banner, "Yesterday Unity, Today Bankrupt?" Chancellor Helmut Kohl (below) pelted with eggs in industrial city of Halle, May 1991.



Der Spiegel

Germany Disorganizes Europe

The image of Nazi skinheads fire-bombing Turkish families and shouting "Heil Hitler!" has evoked horror, fear and outrage around the world. The resurgence of fascist terror underscores the continuity between the Fourth Reich (empire) of German imperialism and the Third. When in 1990 the disintegrating Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy under Gor-

PART ONE OF TWO

bachev abandoned the German Democratic Republic (DDR—East Germany), the German bourgeoisie recouped its defeat at the hands of the Red Army in World War II. The masters of the Fourth Reich believed they would now achieve through economic means what Hitler tried and failed to achieve by military means. They envisioned an empire of the D-mark stretching from Iberia to Siberia.

Where the Nazi regime crushed and terrorized the German working class through a totalitarian police state, the rulers of the capitalist successor state to Hitler's Reich promised to maintain and extend the postwar "German model" of class collaboration, dubbed the "social market economy." No one would be worse off as a result of reunification, Helmut Kohl proclaimed as he assumed Hitler's old title of "chancellor of the German people." There would be no higher taxes in western Germany, while citizens of the former DDR were told they would attain western living standards in five years. But barely a year after the Fourth Reich won the March 1990 DDR elections, tens of thousands of East Germans were in the streets of Leipzig furiously protesting the "chancellor of lies."

In reality, capitalist *Anschluss* (annexation) led to the dismantling of the East German industrial economy as half the labor force was put on the dole. Kohl spoke of "creative destruction," citing

the architect of the postwar German "economic miracle" Ludwig Erhard (who borrowed the phrase from economist Josef Schumpeter). But this is destruction pure and simple. The illusions of East German working people that they would instantly achieve the "good life" of the West were quickly and brutally shattered. In the spring of 1991 Kohl was pelted with vegetables by angry protesters as he tried to speak in the eastern German industrial center of Halle. To prevent far more serious social unrest, Bonn had to transfer vast sums of money to eastern Germany for unemployment insurance, pensions for early retirement and make-work jobs.

Hoping to avoid a confrontation with the powerful west German labor movement, the Kohl regime resorted to massive deficit spending rather than raise taxes or cut social programs. Between 1989 and 1991 the combined budget deficits of the federal, *Länder* (state) and local governments multiplied more than tenfold, from \$8 billion to \$83 billion!

This scale of borrowing cannot long continue.

Both the ruling Christian Democrats and Social Democratic (SPD) "opposition" have been demanding that the west German populace bear the cost of reunification in the name of the "solidarity" of the German nation. Real sacrifice, not just belt-tightening, is needed, declares east German Social Democrat Wolfgang Thierse. Even IG Metall union president Franz Steinkühler joined the chorus for a "solidarity pact." But the west German working class—which includes two million Turkish, Yugoslav and other immigrant workers who were euphemistically known as *Gastarbeiter* ("guest workers")—is in no mood to sacrifice to restore the financial order of the Fourth Reich.

This was dramatically demonstrated by the public and transport workers (ÖTV) strike this past spring, the biggest strike in western Germany in four decades. For eleven days, from Bavaria to the North Sea ports, garbage piled up, trains did not run and mail was not deliv-

ered. The strike ended in a political humiliation for Kohl, who had provoked it, and a setback for the German ruling class as a whole.

The failure to extract a greater surplus from their own proletariat has upset the plans of Frankfurt bankers and Ruhr industrialists to transform East Europe into a German neocolonial empire. Kohl & Co. promised generous subsidies to the new right-wing regimes from Tudjman's Croatia to Yeltsin's Russia. By early last year Bonn had pledged over 60 percent of all Western financial aid to the former Soviet republics. But since then the paymaster of the East European counterrevolution has been pleading shortage of funds.

"Until now, Germany has done much more than its allies—indeed too much—for eastern Europe," Bonn defense minister Volker Rühe complained to an Anglo-German conference last April (London *Guardian*, 2 April 1992). The following month Kohl told reporters at the UN, "we Germans have reached the limit of our capacity to help" East Europe. Without massive financial "help" from their Western imperialist godfathers, the fledgling bourgeois states from the Balkans to the former Soviet republics remain weak and fragile, trying to build capitalism without capital. The result is total economic collapse, political chaos and fratricidal nationalism.

The economic dislocations of the Fourth Reich are wreaking havoc in West Europe as well. The grandiose proclamation of a new era of "European unity" made at Maastricht a year ago is in tatters. By jacking up interest rates, the Bundesbank detonated the spectacular collapse of the European Monetary System last fall. France—its farmers running wild in the streets—is denouncing Bonn for capitulating to the U.S. attack on the European Community's agricultural protectionism. And the so-called "poor four"—Spain, Portugal, Ireland



Schmidt/Reuters

Rostock, August 1992: Fascist firebomber heaves Molotov cocktail at immigrants' hostel. Escalating Nazi terror is direct consequence of capitalist reunification.



Spartakasi

East German women protesting impending loss of day care, March 1990. Sign reads: "Nursery out? Cooking pot in? Doesn't make sense."



Der Spiegel

and Greece—are threatening to hold up all Community decisions unless they get more “cohesion” money from the richer countries, meaning mainly Germany. Fat chance these days!

The eastern German *Länder* of the former DDR remain a devastated region economically, while western Germany is in the first stages of what could be a long and deep recession. Germany used to be called the locomotive pulling forward the European capitalist economy. Today, the German locomotive is pulling the rest of West Europe on a fast track downhill. It's said nowadays that reunified Germany is economically weaker than was West Germany. It is not so much weaker in absolute terms as enormously overextended. And that overextension is generating increasing national conflict, social turmoil and class struggle throughout Europe, not least in Germany itself.

The “German Model” Becomes Too Expensive

“In the past, we’ve been too generous with wage increases,” stated Achim Diekmann, managing director of the motor industry association, on the eve of the 1991 ÖTV strike. Reunification has intensified a growing structural weakness of German capitalism, namely, that labor costs have become far higher than its main international competitors’. Taking sick leave and pension benefits into account, employee compensation in west German industry is over 50 percent higher than in the United States and the other major West European countries, and over a third higher than in Japan. At the same time, the average work year in western Germany is 1,700 hours a year, compared to 1,750 hours in France and Britain, 1,900 hours in the U.S. and 2,150 hours in Japan.

Before reunification, West Germany was held up as a model of prosperity and labor-capital amity by SPD union bureaucrats, Frankfurt bankers and Ruhr industrialists alike. The postwar “German model” rested on three main elements: 1) a highly competitive, export-driven economy based on superior productivity and advanced technology; 2) a strong trade-union movement led by social-democratic bureaucrats committed to preserving class peace and profitability, and to *politically subverting the East German deformed workers state in the*

interests of German imperialism; and 3) relatively low political/military overhead costs as long as West Germany functioned as a junior partner of American imperialism.

The Cold War division of Europe between the U.S.-dominated alliance and the Soviet bloc, running along the Elbe through the heart of Germany, circumscribed the global role of German imperialism. This was codified in the constitutional ban on deploying the Bundeswehr outside the West European region of NATO. (A similar prohibition was written into Japan’s postwar constitution, which was dictated by the American consul Douglas MacArthur.) As

to expand the superexploitation of workers in their East Asian neocolonies, from South Korea to Indonesia.

At a time when Reagan’s America and Thatcher’s Britain were breaking strikes and gutting the labor movement, West German unions were still able to make significant economic gains. The 1984 auto strike, organized by IG Metall, cracked the traditional 40-hour work-week long prevalent in Western capitalist countries. Why were Frankfurt bankers and Ruhr industrialists prepared to maintain the institutionalized class collaboration symbolized by the system of union-management “co-determination”? The answer lies in German imperialism’s

strengthened popular opposition to Western capitalism in the DDR. The seductive lies of Brandt, Schmidt & Co. about the virtues of the “social market economy” would have had little effect east of the Elbe. Today, even Social Democratic union bureaucrats can see the connection between the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the bosses’ harder line on the labor front at home. Last May Day IG Metall chief Steinkühler asked rhetorically “whether the social provocateurs will succeed in drastically weakening the trade unions after the rival system has fallen away.”

Before reunification German capitalism had a compelling *political* reason to buy off the Social Democratic-led unions, and sufficient resources to do so. The political motive has now disappeared and the resources are fast dwindling. One out of every three jobs in western Germany depends on exports. These exports depend on high productivity, superior quality and meticulous after-sale servicing. Mercedes, Porsche and BMW are the automobiles of choice for yuppies around the globe. However, Germany’s competitive advantage lies not so much in luxury consumer durables as in producer goods. “For most of our textile machines, we have no competition,” boasts the son of the founder of Karl Mayer Textilmaschinenfabrik. “Many products can only be made on our machines” (quoted in Philip Glouchevitch, *Juggernaut*, Simon & Schuster, 1992). But fewer and fewer German firms can claim “we have no competition.”

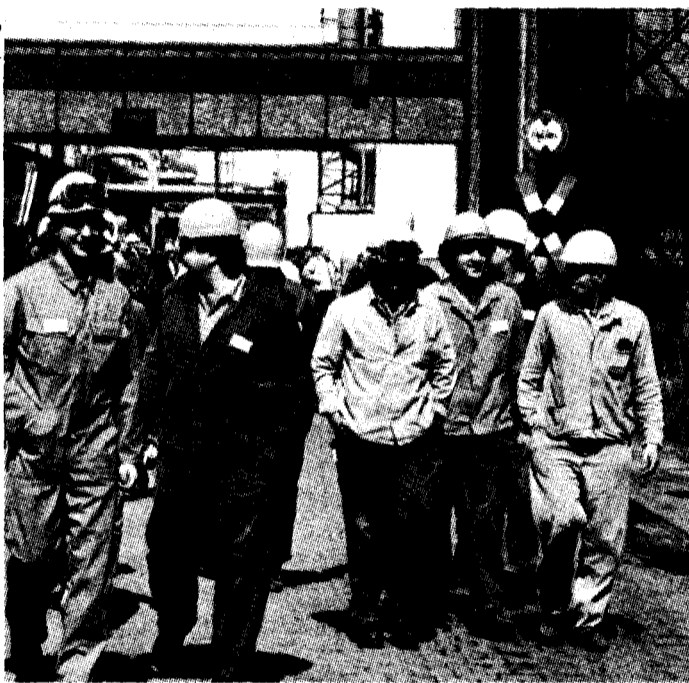
Consider the machine tool industry, key to an industrial economy. This is the terrain of the German *Mittelstand*—the middle bourgeoisie, whose medium-size companies are run, in the words of a British journalist, by autocratic bosses who know their business to the last millimeter and pfennig. There are 450 tool-makers in western Germany, which taken together employ more people than the auto industry. Almost all are highly specialized and often design machines to the requirements of a specific customer.

For most of the postwar era Germany dominated the world market for machine tools, accounting for 31 percent of global exports in 1970, compared to 12 percent for the U.S. and a mere 3 percent for Japan. But then Japan and its East Asian neocolonies began making major inroads into the machine tool market, beginning with standard items like lathes and upgrading to more complex models. Japanese firms now enjoy economies of scale not available to the smaller-sized German companies. By 1990 the German share of world exports of machine tools had fallen to 24 percent and the U.S. was reduced to a minuscule 3 percent, while Japan took 18 percent of the international market.

Since then the west German machine tool industry has been in the doldrums. The American recession and the collapse of the Soviet bloc economies drastically cut demand in two of Germany’s major foreign markets while sky-high interest rates discouraged industrial construction and retooling in Germany itself. Orders for German toolmakers fell by 20 percent in 1991 and an additional estimated 25 percent last year.

Now with the collapse of the artificial *continued on page 8*

Treuhand bosses have been shutting down east German industry wholesale. Right: workers at Wolfen film factory, now devastated by layoffs.



Der Spiegel

a consequence, in the late 1980s the West German military budget amounted to 3 percent of its huge gross national product compared to 4 percent for France, almost 5 percent for Britain and 6.5 percent for the U.S.

On the other hand, while Japanese capitalism has even lower military overhead costs than Germany, Toyota and Nippon Steel—their workers imprisoned in docile, company unions—provide nowhere near the wage levels of Volkswagen and Krupp, although they certainly have the financial resources to do so. Rather, the Japanese *zaibatsu* (cartels) used the surplus value extracted from their factories in Tokyo and Osaka

revanchist appetite toward the DDR, which claimed to be a German socialist state of the working class.

Despite its lower level of productivity and bureaucratic deformations, the DDR provided its workers with attractive and substantial benefits, like free, enterprise-based childcare, which allowed over 90 percent of East German women to participate in the labor force. Not only was it the tenth largest industrial power in the world, individual incomes were as high as Italy or Britain and 50 percent higher than Spain. The mass of workers and intellectuals in the DDR desired a decent socialist society and had no sympathy for the Deutsche Bank and its Christian Democratic political agents. However, as we wrote in the early 1980s:

“Social Democratic sympathies persist in the DDR, where many see the SPD as a ‘democratic’ alternative to their own Stalinist regime. This was shown by the ecstatic welcome Willy Brandt received when he visited Erfurt in 1970....

“Brandt’s *Ostpolitik* of the early 1970s appeared to represent acceptance of the permanent division of the German nation. In reality it was a more subtle form of Bonn’s revanchist ambitions toward the East. In place of Adenauer’s shrill Dulles-era bellicosity (‘the policy of strength’), the Social Democrats have sought to economically undermine and politically subvert the East European Stalinist-ruled states.”

—“Europacism and German Nationalism,” *WV* No. 299, 19 February 1982

During the 1980s, had the Kohl regime followed the Reagan/Thatcher line of breaking strikes, imprisoning union militants, driving down wages and slashing social programs, this would have greatly

Also mal ehrlich, Erich...äh Egon.... den real existierenden Spätkapitalismus hätten wir uns wesentlich dekadenter vorgestellt.

Fiat Panda. Die tolle Kiste.

Der Spiegel

Kohl and German imperialists rammed through capitalist reunification with offers of a “quick D-mark.” With 1:1 bribe money, East Germans junked their Trabis and bought a new Fiat (ad at left) or VW, or a used Opel. Now they can’t afford the gas.

Germany...

(continued from page 7)

boom in consumer goods consumption induced by the terms of reunification, the slump has spread to German industry as a whole. Auto and steel bosses as well as tool makers are screaming they can no longer afford the wage increases of yesteryear. Denouncing their workers in the Ruhr and Nordrhein-Westfalen as overpaid lazybones who always take their sick leave on Fridays, German capitalists are threatening to transfer operations abroad, and have begun to do so. In 1991, German firms spent \$20 billion to buy or expand productive facilities in other countries, while foreign multinationals invested less than \$2 billion in Germany. This is clear proof that the rate of profit in Germany is now unsatisfactory from the standpoint of capital.

"The exodus of German industry is getting under way," proclaimed BMW boss Eberhard von Künheim (*Business Week*, 25 May 1992). Daimler-Benz is planning to open a new factory in Mexico. Volkswagen is expanding its already extensive Mexican operations and will produce autos in China's "free trade zones." German manufacturers are also increasing investments in the U.S., which from their standpoint has become a low-wage country. Thus BMW, whose only foreign assembly plant is in South Africa, is planning a second one in South Carolina. But it will not be easy to degrade the conditions of workers in western Germany to those of the non-union, rural American South.

The Destruction of East Germany's Industrial Economy

While threatening to degrade the workers of western Germany, the rulers of the Fourth Reich have already subjected the working people of the former DDR to immiseration and dependence on the dole. A liberal American economist, Robert Isaak, observed: "In a visit to the Eastern state of Thüringen in the summer of 1991, the only people who could afford to buy more than a coffee or a beer in the restaurants were the tourists" ("Germany: Economic Powerhouse or Stalemate," *Challenge*, September-October 1992).

A year earlier the socialized economy of the DDR was dissolved when the deutschmark became the medium of exchange in East Germany and the nationalized enterprises were taken over by the West German Treuhandanstalt (Trusteeship Agency). "The collapse in industrial production which followed went beyond almost anything that hith-



Workers protest plant closures, Leipzig, April 1991. Spartakist banner reads, "Sweep Away the Treuhand/Kohl Regime! Factories to the Workers!"

erto has been observed anywhere in the world," wrote the conservative bourgeois economist Lutz Hoffmann (in Paul J.J. Welfens, ed., *Economic Aspects of German Reunification*, Springer-Verlag, 1991). Industrial output has plummeted 75 percent since 1989. A year after the establishment of the currency union, almost 5 million workers out of a labor force of 9.5 million were either unemployed outright, on "short-time work" or forced out of the labor market.

The economic collapse has been especially devastating for the women of eastern Germany, who comprise 65 percent of those officially registered as unemployed. The elimination of free day care made it difficult, if not impossible, for many women to work. Part-time jobs, largely held by women, were among the first to be done away with in the Treuhand's "cost-cutting" drives. And men thrown out of the factories began competing for jobs in which women had predominated, such as bank clerks, mail carriers and public transit workers.

Crassly blaming the victims, German bourgeois economists like Hoffmann claim that the exchange of deutschmarks for DDR marks at a one-to-one ratio with the July 1990 currency union priced east German workers—contemptuously described as "a labor force not used to working efficiently"—out of the world market. Yet factory wages in Dresden and Leipzig are still only half the level of Munich and the Ruhr.

But in deciding where to invest, German firms are comparing labor costs in Prussia and Saxony to those in Mexico and Brazil. In fact, Daimler-Benz recently canceled plans to build a truck factory at Ludwigsfelde, south of Berlin, while going ahead with its Mexican proj-

ect. At the same time, Krupp backed off from a proposal to take over EKO Stahl at Eisenhüttenstadt, eastern Germany's largest steelworks, citing the "general misery" prevailing in the European steel market.

Even where west German companies have taken over the former enterprises of the DDR, they've slashed the workforce on average by two-thirds. For example, Opel (General Motors' German subsidiary) bought and retooled the automotive plant in Eisenach which used to produce the Wartburg. The old Wartburg plant employed 14,000 people; the new Opel operation employs 2,000.

This graphically illustrates the differences between a collectivized economy, even where deformed by Stalinist bureaucratic mismanagement, and a capitalist economy. The overriding economic goal in the DDR was maintaining full employment while maximizing total output for the country as a whole. Workers in enterprises where production per head was relatively low were not laid off for that reason. At the same time, they could voluntarily transfer to better-paying jobs in other enterprises, which usually corresponded to higher productivity.

The overriding goal of a capitalist firm is to maximize the rate of profit, i.e., the return per unit of money invested. This means simultaneously minimizing the number of workers employed while maximizing output per worker. In eastern Germany today, mass unemployment coexists with speedup and overwork for those lucky enough to have jobs. "We have people who are working day and night, and those who have no work at all," the deputy mayor of Bautzen, the regional center of eastern Saxony, told the London *Financial Times* (11 August

1992). The threat of unemployment is being used to condition east German workers to the discipline imposed by their new capitalist bosses.

This points to the fact that the dismantling of the DDR's industrial economy was not based simply on calculations of profitability. It was also designed to atomize and terrorize the traditionally socialist proletariat of the DDR, thus preventing popular resistance to the new order of the Fourth Reich. Contributing to the economic devastation was the Treuhand's firing of 1,400 enterprise managers ostensibly due to incompetence. In reality, this purging of the east German industrial cadre is part of a broader anti-Communist witchhunt (symbolized by the show trial of Erich Honecker) intended to portray the DDR as a criminal state and to wreak vengeance for Germany's defeat at the hands of the Red Army in World War II.

By 1991 the output of eastern Germany had fallen 45 percent to \$120 billion. This supplied roughly half of consumer demand. The other half was covered by government transfer payments in the form of unemployment insurance, pensions and social programs. What the Kohl regime called funds for the "reconstruction" of eastern Germany was in effect a massive internal export subsidy for west German manufacturers of consumer goods. The only productive investment was concentrated in communications and transportation in order to facilitate the marketing of commodities made in western Germany. Philip J. Bryson, an American specialist on the economy of the DDR, pointed out:

"there is no compelling case for West-German-based firms to invest to gain access to the East German market, which is now just a part of their own. It is simple enough to exploit production capacities in western firms and merely transport the appropriate share of larger outputs to the East for sale."



—"The Economics of German Reunification," *Journal of Comparative Economics* (March 1992)

In 1990-91, western Germany experienced a mini-boom, concentrated in consumer goods, generated by subsidized exports to the new eastern Länder. For example, over three-quarters of the 4,000 DDR marks per person which could be exchanged at a rate of one to one was spent on purchases of new and used cars from the West. But once the initial spending spree was over, the financing of the reunification deficit soon depressed the entire European capitalist economy, and has now rebounded back against Germany itself.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Somalia...

(continued from page 1)

into the television spotlights and photo flashes. The SEALs, surrounded by dozens of journalists illuminating their every step, threatened to shoot the reporters if they didn't go away. At the port, helicopters fired tracer bullets over the heads of reporters as Marines arrived. The London *Independent* (10 December 1992) described the scene as "a farcical blend of the Normandy landings and opening night at La Scala." Later at a Pentagon press conference, a reporter taunted the brass, asking how it felt to take a beach that had already been "liberated" by the press.

But behind the bumbling shenanigans, the ugly racist reality of U.S. imperialist intervention came across only too clearly. Marines stormed the airport, yelling at the Somali guards employed by the UN to lie down, kicking them to the ground when they didn't react fast enough (they didn't speak English) and binding their hands with plastic strips, the handcuffs of choice used on blacks in South-Central Los Angeles. At the port, Somali workers were separated from the reporters and were pushed to the ground and tied up. When it was over, the smug Marine sergeant, in a scene reminiscent of the movie *Apocalypse Now*, confided to reporters, "I enjoy a bit of adrenalin early in the morning."

The U.S. military quickly staked out its turf in Mogadishu, acting, as one news account put it, like the "biggest

warlord on the block" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 14 December 1992). When Cobra helicopters buzzing the city spotted a battle between rival clans, they blew three vehicles to smithereens with anti-tank rockets, killing nine people. However, when a frenzied mob dragged a Somali woman from a French jeep and, accusing her of "prostitution," kicked her, beat her with sticks and ripped off her clothes, French and U.S. soldiers calmly stood by and watched. Meanwhile, U.S. forces piously declared a war on *khat* (a plant whose leaves contain a mild amphetamine), which is chewed socially by Somalis much the way Americans slug down beer. As the London *Independent* (11 December 1992) observed: "Washington is in Crusader mode here, and will not permit what it sees as drug trafficking."

We have repeatedly pointed out that the U.S. imperialists are not intervening in Somalia out of "humanitarian" considerations. Only after eleven days, during which food distribution got much worse, did convoys deliver supplies to famine-struck Baidoa. Meanwhile, you don't see media coverage of elsewhere in sub-Saharan East Africa, which is suffering from the worst drought in a century. Rather, Washington is seeking military bases, strategically situated on the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden, in competition with their imperialist rivals. In this, Bush has the enthusiastic support of president-elect Bill Clinton. After initially pretending that the intervention in Somalia was only a short-term affair, administration officials are now admit-

ting that U.S. troops will still be in Somalia a year from now.

The U.S. military presence is opening the floodgates to intervention by other imperialist powers and their Third World lackeys, who are pouring massive numbers of troops into Somalia. More than 30 countries are expected to contribute some 20,000 additional troops in the next several weeks, from the French (with 2,000 troops) who seek to extend their control out from their unstable port-colony in Djibouti, to the Italians (2,400) who dream of returning in force to their former Somali colony. German chancellor Helmut Kohl, announcing that he intended to send 1,500 soldiers to Somalia early this year in defiance of the constitutional ban on deploying troops outside the NATO region, declared: "This is extremely important for Germany's world reputation" (*New York Times*, 18 December 1992).

Reformists, such as the Socialist Workers Party and the Marcyite Workers World Party, pretend that the rapacious imperialists in Washington can be pressured to provide "real humanitarian aid." In a classic case of appealing for "butter instead of guns," the SWP's *Militant* (18 December 1992) counsels: "Rather than send troops to Somalia, Washington should send massive quantities of food aid and medical supplies to treat the sick." But it is imperialist exploitation which causes famine in Africa and elsewhere. The solution is revolutionary struggle against capitalism-imperialism.

Rather than pathetic and impotent appeals to the imperialists, we are

inspired by the revolutionary spirit expressed by the American Communist John Reed (see page 2 of this issue), speaking at the Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku in 1920, at a time when U.S. imperialism was pushing its counterrevolutionary aims under the guise of famine relief. Reed noted:

"The American capitalists promise bread to Armenia. This is an old trick. They promise bread but they never give it. Did Hungary get bread after the fall of the Soviet Government? No...."

"We appreciate the need for solidarity between all the oppressed and toiling peoples, for unity of the revolutionary workers of all the countries of Europe and America under the leadership of the Russian Bolsheviks, in the Communist International. And we say to you, peoples of the East: Do not believe the promises of the American capitalists!"

Despite the truly hellish situation in Somalia, illusions in the U.S.' "humanitarian" relief effort are notably thin, particularly among U.S. blacks. Our last issue, headlined "U.S. Global Cops Out of Somalia!", sold well and was greeted with comments like, "The U.S. doesn't give a damn about starving black Africans." Class struggle, not philanthropy, is the solution to the starvation generated by imperialist exploitation. The real enemy is not clan chieftains in Somalia, but the capitalist system which drives its colonial slaves into unbearable poverty. The International Communist League fights to mobilize the working class for international socialist revolution that will bring down the imperialist system and institute economic planning on a world scale. ■

Israel...

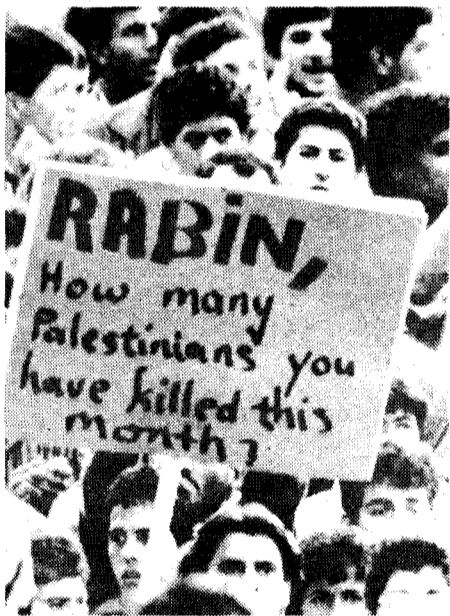
(continued from page 1)

they were told his body had been discovered. In Toledano's hometown of Lod, pogromist mobs rampaged through the streets screaming "Death to the Arabs!" As Rabin vowed to "strike unmercifully" against opponents of the Zionist occupation, his "leftist" Meretz coalition partners echoed this with demands for an "iron-fisted war" on Hamas. Meretz parliamentary spokesman Yossi Sarid, idol of the liberal "Peace Now" movement, ranted that the Palestinian group "should be crushed with an open fist." So much for Peace Now's nominal opposition to the Israeli occupation!

Whatever their differences in nuance and rhetoric, the bourgeois Labor Party (with its leftist satellites tagging behind) and the rightist Likud Party of former prime minister (and erstwhile fascist terrorist) Yitzhak Shamir are united in their determination to create a "Greater Israel" through the bloody repression of the Palestinian people. In the five years since the *Intifada* began, the Zionist butchers have murdered some 1,200 Palestinians, while tens of thousands more have been arrested and/or tortured. Pursuing the Nazi policy of "collective guilt," the Israeli army has razed entire villages to avenge stone throwing by handfuls of youth. Army death squads dressed in Arab garb maraud the Occupied Territories, wantonly killing some 100 "terrorist suspects" in cold blood. One of the more recent victims of this Israeli state terror was 12-year-old Anjad Jabal, gunned down by an undercover team as he was walking to school one morning.

Meanwhile rabidly nationalist and fundamentalist Jewish "settlers," whose ranks include significant numbers of "born-again" American yuppie racists, carry out their own terrorist atrocities in the Occupied Territories. Two months ago, followers of the late Brooklyn-born Zionist fascist Meir Kahane threw a grenade into a crowded Arab marketplace in East Jerusalem, killing one and wounding a dozen others.

The petty-bourgeois nationalist Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) of Yasir Arafat seized on the heroic actions of tens of thousands of unarmed Palestinian youth in the *Intifada* to pressure Washington into pressuring its Israeli cli-



Israeli Arabs protesting in January 1988 (left) against then war minister Yitzhak Rabin's "iron fist" repression against Palestinian *Intifada*.

ents to the conference table. The beginning of the "peace" talks in Madrid last year was hailed as a victory by the PLO, which offers the Palestinian people nothing more than appeals to innumerable pious-sounding United Nations resolutions and endless hot-air "negotiations" with the Zionist killers. When the PLO threatened to suspend the talks in protest against the deportations, an Israeli official arrogantly taunted: "They will surely come back to the table because they know that this is their last chance."

But the Palestinian masses know that their lives have grown only more desperate while the phony negotiations go nowhere. One young West Bank militant

complained bitterly: "We are angry with our leadership...they decided to stop our military activities, but have allowed the Israelis to continue with theirs. Why should we give up our arms so we just become victims?" Fundamentalists like Hamas, which were initially nurtured by the Zionist state as a counterweight to the secularist PLO, moved in to capitalize on the frustration of Palestinian youth by posing as more militant opponents of the Zionist occupation forces. Today Hamas has become the predominant organization in the Gaza Strip and is increasingly influential in the West Bank.

Meanwhile, left nationalists such as Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front

and George Habash's Popular Front ally with the fundamentalists in a new "rejection front" opposed to the negotiations, while retaining their places inside the PLO. Now the PLO's "Unified Leadership" of the uprising has itself issued a joint statement with Hamas for the first time, denouncing the deportations and calling "to escalate the jihad (holy war)" against the Zionist occupation.

The frustration of militant Palestinian youth with the PLO's dead-end strategy has been reflected in a sharp rise in guerrillaist activity. In the past year, a dozen Israeli soldiers have been blown away by Palestinian fighters, more than in the previous four years combined. But however courageous such actions may be, they are no match for the deadly firepower of the Zionist garrison-state. And the growth of groups like Hamas, whose thugs regularly assault Palestinian women who go out in public unveiled, threatens to submerge the cosmopolitan and educated Palestinian people in a swamp of religious obscurantism.

The Zionist state must be exploded from within. The answer lies not in "holy war" but in class war, seeking to unite the Palestinian workers with their class brothers and sisters throughout the region—including the Hebrew-speaking proletariat—in revolutionary struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East which guarantees the national rights of all the myriad peoples of the area. *Defend the Palestinians—Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!* ■

Free Mordechai Vanunu!

The Zionist terror machine targets not only Palestinians but all who stand in its way. For the past six years, Mordechai Vanunu, a nuclear technician of Sephardic Jewish origin who demonstrated for Palestinian rights, has been held in solitary confinement in an Israeli dungeon. His Zionist jailers torment this courageous man for exposing the extent of Israel's nuclear arsenal—more than 200 atomic warheads. Vanunu was sentenced to 18 years and is imprisoned in a six-by-ten-foot cell.

An article by Yael Gvirtz in the Israeli daily *Yediot Aharonot* (27 September 1992), translated by Israel Sha-

hak, reports: "Vanunu's isolation is total. Three permanent guards are in charge of bringing food to his cell.... For two hours a day he is taken out, alone, for what is called a 'walk' in an enclosed yard on the roof. Before he is taken there all the passages are cleared. None of the prisoners ever see him going there. He sees no one except the guards who accompany him there.... Sometimes months pass without his having spoken to a living soul."

We honor Mordechai Vanunu and demand his immediate freedom. The crimes of the crazed Zionist theocracy will be avenged by workers revolution.

Judge Orders Release of Mexican Doctor

U.S. GloboCop Kidnap Flop

It was supposed to be a bravura show trial for the "New World Order," the latest application of Washington's doctrine of "supersovereignty." A Supreme Court ruling last June in the trial of Mexican gynecologist Humberto Alvarez Machain declared the U.S.' "right" to kidnap any foreign citizen "suspected" of violating American laws. In April, the government scored a victory in the test case of General Manuel Noriega, when a Miami court convicted the Panamanian strongman seized in the December 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama. But after almost a year of legal machinations, Judge Edward Rafeedie in Los Angeles acquitted Dr. Alvarez and rebuked the feds for presenting a case with no evidence. "This is whole cloth, the wildest speculation," said Rafeedie, who earlier ruled that the defendant's kidnapping was illegal.

This was the latest chapter in the feds' vendetta to nail someone for the 1985 torture/murder of Enrique Camarena, an agent of the sinister U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency. Dr. Alvarez was seized at gunpoint in his Guadalajara office in 1990 by out-of-uniform Mexican cops in the pay of the DEA, flown to El Paso and handed over in return for \$20,000 and refuge in the U.S. for the bounty hunters and their families. The govern-

ment has paid at least \$2.7 million to various shady characters to testify in this case, including \$3,000 a month to René López Romero, who they admit was involved in the killing of four Jehovah's Witnesses and a number of Mexicans near Guadalajara in 1984. The last straw was when the prosecution told the judge that last September a Mexican policeman informed them that they had seized the wrong doctor.

Even after Alvarez Machain was found innocent, the INS vindictively announced that they would hold him for "questioning," arguing that he was an "illegal immigrant"! Finally, on December 16, Alvarez was allowed to fly home. As the case continues against codefendant Rubén Zuño Arce (brother-in-law of former Mexican president Luis Echeverría), U.S. attorney John Carlton is now alleging a vast conspiracy with high-level Mexican government officials involved in planning the murder. "Witness" López Romero placed two members of the Mexican federal cabinet, then interior minister Manuel Bartlett Díaz (recently elected governor of the state of Puebla) and the ex-secretary of defense General Juan Arévalo Gardoquí, at the site where DEA narc Camarena was tortured and killed.

The Mexican government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari indignantly rejected these allegations. But despite impotent talk of extraditing the DEA agents who organized the kidnapping of Dr. Alvarez, the submissive Salinas regime isn't about to jeopardize its cozy relationship with its godfathers in Washington. Three days after Alvarez was acquitted, Salinas and Bush signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), paving the way for wholesale U.S. takeover of the Mexican economy. Another by-product of the Camarena case was a 1990 Supreme Court ruling that the Fourth Amendment ban on unreasonable search and seizure doesn't apply to U.S. agents searching homes on foreign territory. It's all under the pretext of the "war on drugs"—in reality a war on the masses of Latin America and black and Hispanic minorities in the U.S.

But the U.S.' brazen trampling on Mexico's threadbare sovereignty—bribing Mexican police to kidnap a Mexican national for a crime supposedly committed in Mexico!—touched off protest even from normally docile Latin American bourgeois leaders and U.S. liberals. The *Washington Post* noted that "the Court of Appeals of the Republic of South Africa ruled that the prosecution of a defendant kidnapped by agents of that government in another country must be dismissed," and the *Los Angeles*

Times worried, "What will the United States do if a government like Iran's or Libya's decides to 'snatch' a U.S. citizen wanted for some crime against those radical regimes?"

Of course, you know exactly what Washington would do in retaliation: bomb Tripoli again or shoot down another Iranian airliner. Now that the Soviet Union isn't there to check their ambitions, the hubris of the American imperialists, who consider themselves masters of the universe, is boundless. Just three days before Alvarez' acquittal, Manuel Noriega was officially declared a "prisoner of war"—not that this will make any difference in his situation. Such may be the fate of small-time dictators who don't jump high enough to please their U.S. paymasters. But the working class and peasantry of Latin America and the world have fared far worse at the hands of Yankee imperialism. Only world socialist revolution can bring these mass murderers to justice for their crimes against the people of Grenada, Panama and Iraq (to name just a few of their most recent victims).

In more than 140 incursions and invasions over the last 180 years, the U.S. has stolen huge chunks of land from Mexico. While no territorial injustice can be equitably undone the more time passes, a victorious socialist revolution in the U.S. would return the fertile lower Rio Grande (Río Bravo) valley with its heavily Mexican population as a token of good faith, and we'll offer San Antonio and the Alamo as well. ■

LAPD Siege...

(continued from page 12)

explosions, the bourgeoisie financed some cosmetic "anti-poverty" projects and cultivated a thin layer of black middle class to act as a buffer for their racist rule. But with Bush-Clinton's New World Order based on a capitalist system in deep decay, U.S. rulers see a whole generation of black youth as "surplus population" to be warehoused in prison or eliminated by racist killer cops.

U.S. imperialism sees itself ever more literally as cops of the world, and now it has taken its LAPD-style racist terror to the Horn of Africa. Camp Pendleton Marines, who were used to terrorize L.A. blacks and Latinos during the April upheaval, led the invasion force in Somalia. Marine colonel Fred Peck, spokesman for the Joint Military Task Force, said: "In South-Central, we didn't know the players. But here we know all the players, all the warring parties" (*Los Angeles Times*, 7 December 1992). They've even got an LAPD-style alibi ready for any atrocities they commit: the Somali gunmen are supposedly hopped up on khat, so "you never know what they might do."

After the April explosion, the only debate among L.A.'s mayoral hopefuls, from billionaire power broker Richard Riordan to "liberal" councilman Mike Woo, has been over who will hire more

cops and crack down harder "next time." Former police chief and racist sociopath Daryl Gates was finally removed because he *didn't do enough* to crack down after the King verdict. His successor, black police chief Willie Williams, was brought in because he could enforce racist law and order and smash the city's poor and minorities more effectively.

Under Williams the LAPD has specifically targeted activists like Greg Hightower, a black former gang member who was instrumental in organizing the gang truce that began during the L.A. upheaval. Hightower was brutally beaten by the cops and charged with assault on a police officer on October 19. The cops attacked him on the street shortly after he testified at a public hearing against city plans to implement the "weed and seed" program, a federal cop-terror initiative for the ghetto that blackmails social agencies into finking to the cops and mandates a special "fast-track" prosecution for minority youth.

Williams' LAPD has also waged war on the Latino drywall construction strikers, who faced beatings, mass arrests and INS deportations. During the recent invasion of South-Central the cops specifically targeted organizers and others who were attempting to maintain calm, as "talkers" and "rabble-rousers."

Defenders of the four black youth who beat Reginald Denny range from black nationalists to fake-socialists like the RCP. They hail the near-fatal beating of the white trucker as a heroic "act of



Iversen/SF Chronicle

During L.A. revolt last spring, U.S. troops took up position in South-Central. Now they're dispatched to occupy Somalia in the name of "humanitarianism."

rebellion," or at best apologize for it, claiming it's "understandable." In tailing this vicious lumpen violence they serve the bourgeoisie's racist order by pushing the lie that white people are the enemy. These demagogues can't tell the difference between a Simi Valley cop and a white unionist. And they don't want to, because the real intent of those who hail the thugs who beat Denny is to obscure the fact that to smash black oppression it's going to take integrated *class struggle* against the real enemy, the capitalist class.

With the ongoing trial of Denny's alleged assailants and the upcoming federal trial of the cops who beat Rodney King, L.A.'s ruling class fears another social explosion. One LAPD official said of this most recent provocation, "I think last night was a good test of what we're doing and what we're preparing for early next year" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 December 1992). The cops are further emboldened by the city's recent victory in a court case brought against it by the ACLU. The use of "emergency power" to round up thousands in mass arrests last spring, many of whom were then handed over to the INS for deportation, was ruled legal.

In the wake of the December 14 siege, Chief Williams has ominously suggested

that the LAPD's special force of strike-breakers and labor spies, the Labor Relations Section, be given a broader role in suppressing future demonstrations. The combative L.A. teachers union is poised to strike in February, and the city has already issued not-so-veiled threats, suggesting that a strike could lead to "civil disorder." They fear that militant strikes like the recent drywallers' and janitors' struggles, or a teachers strike, could link the organized social power of L.A.'s integrated labor movement to the minorities and poor of this city, who are looking for a way to fight. And they're right!

When the cops and troops invaded L.A.'s ghettos and barrios in April, the Spartacist League called on the powerful Los Angeles-area unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers to organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations in defense of the black and Latino communities under siege. As we wrote in our statement, distributed to tens of thousands in L.A. and across the country: "The situation cries out for revolutionary leadership, to organize the social power of labor and unite behind it all the oppressed in a struggle for state power that gets rid of the whole rotten racist capitalist system and opens the road for genuine emancipation for all." ■

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Purple Ribbons and Purple Prose

Canadian Protectionism at Auto Jobs Protest

We print below a report from an auto worker and supporter of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste of Canada about a protest called by the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) at the General Motors plant in St. Catharines, Ontario.

ST. CATHARINES, December 12—About 1,500 workers demonstrated at GM Plant No. 4 on Ontario Street. Most, but not all, were from the CAW. Others came from nearby Ironworkers and Steelworkers locals hard hit by layoffs. A small army of Auto Workers bureaucrats was also in attendance because the CAW national conference was held in Toronto that week. The turnout probably would have been higher if a big winter storm hadn't effectively paralyzed southern Ontario two days before. As it was, the day was gray, cold and slushy.

The rally was supposed to kick off a "purple ribbon campaign" to keep open the two threatened GM plants—Rear Axle and Foundry. (All other shades of ribbon are already spoken for this season.) The slogan of the campaign is "Fighting for a Working Future." The

demo was a sea of purple—purple ribbons on every breast, purple balloons on every signpost, purple placards in every hand, purple rhetoric on every bureaucrat's lips.

The speeches. Well, the mayor and the chairman of the Niagara Regional Council pledged their deathless solidarity. Peter Kormos, the "bad boy" of the provincial New Democratic Party caucus, was cheered—largely, I suspect, because it is well known that Bob Rae [NDP Ontario premier who has gone after the public employee unions with a vengeance] hates his guts. Not surprisingly, Kormos was the only provincial NDPer who showed his face, although the plant local chairman reported that the premier had personally assured him that GM workers had the premier's "full support." Scattered applause.

Another local union official gave the poisonous trade-war speech calling for strict quotas on Japanese imports. He concluded with the fighting slogan: "Let's violate the Free Trade Agreement! Let's violate GATT!"

The chauvinist cant went down rather too well. Federal NDP member of par-

liament Dan Heap, the whilom darling of the Central America solidarity milieu, got applause every time he uttered the phrase "Canadian jobs," which he did more times than one would have thought grammatically possible. This Canadian nationalist crap may or may not run deep in the workforce, but its breadth underscores the place of the CAW bureaucracy as the heart and soul of Canadian social democracy's trade-union "base."

The "class struggle" speech of the afternoon was given by none other than Victor Reuther (!), who hearkened back to the sitdown strikes of 1936-37. "I thought we'd taught GM a lesson then," Reuther said, to wild applause. "It looks like your generation will have to teach them again." Of course the New Directions outfit he braintrusts on the other side of the border wouldn't be caught within a hundred miles of a sitdown. All of this was by way of introducing "one of the greatest labor leaders...your very good friend and my very good friend, fighting Bob White!" Stormy applause.

Canadian Labor Congress chief White gave the liberal social-democratic trade-

war speech: Why should we let Mexican workers work for \$5.00 an hour? (Read: Why should we let Mexican workers work?) And vote out the Tories next chance you get. White knew when to jump ship, all right. His successor, the terminally vulgar Buzz Hargrove, is already inking the giveback contracts that White swore the CAW would never sign.

As a final note, comrades will be interested to learn that the afternoon's entertainment was provided by a band called the "CAW Rank and File," which has a saxophone, a trombone, a trumpet, and a lead singer named George Hewison, head of the Communist Party before it split. George has written a soulful ballad that he modestly presented as a new national anthem, and which he got everyone to help him sing ("Oh Canada, oh promised land/That's the dream of the common man...").

This was one of the biggest trade-union demos in a while (leaving aside the last PSAC government employees strike). There are bound to be more as the bosses continue to savage the Ontario industrial working class.

Peter Stevens

GM...

(continued from page 12)

old, with more than 20 years in the plants! They're called "GM gypsies," bouncing from one closed plant to the next. Now Sacrifice House has come up with an "early retirement" program for perhaps 7,000 workers—by stealing \$450 million from the retraining program. Meanwhile, over 20,000 laid-off GM workers are losing income payments and being dumped into the bankrupt SUB fund. GM has already gutted medical benefits of white-collar workers, and is sure to follow with an assault on health care for retirees and union workers.

The company cops at the top of the UAW enforced the givebacks for the auto bosses, starting with Chrysler in 1979. Their jingoism against Japanese and Mexican workers is designed to steer U.S. workers into the arms of the class enemy. The bureaucrats deserve the title the Wobblies gave to the old AFL—the American Separation of Labor. At Lords-town this fall, the UAW demanded and got agreement from GM that layoffs would be first carried out against auto workers at a sister assembly plant in Ramos Arizpe, Mexico. Popular filmmaker Michael Moore (whose film *Roger and Me* satirized former GM chief Roger Smith) echoed this reactionary protectionism, demanding that GM "build no more factories in Mexico" (*Newsweek*, 9 November 1992).

In Mexico, the class brothers and sisters of Detroit auto workers have waged sharp battles against the Ford and Volkswagen bosses. As the Mexican cap-

italist class grinds down the workers in order to pull in foreign capital under the North American Free Trade Agreement, what's urgently needed is class solidarity in action between Canadian, Mexican and U.S. auto workers. But that requires a fight to oust the present pro-capitalist labor traitors, who have ripped the UAW to shreds and pitted the workers against each other.

Debacle at Caterpillar— Made in Solidarity House

Meanwhile, at Caterpillar, workers who saw their bitter 163-day strike sold out from under them by the UAW misleaders last April now face a threat to their union's very existence. Returning to work under terms unilaterally imposed by the company, strikers have been forced to work alongside scabs who slithered across their picket lines.

After the UAW tops folded, CAT cut off the union's dues checkoff, hoping that misguided workers angered by the strike's miserable outcome would help the company undermine the UAW. Work was sent to non-union plants or to the Joliet factory, where the Machinists union has agreed to cut new-hires' pay *in half!* Now Caterpillar has imposed the rest of their "contract," including a ruinous slash in medical benefits for retirees and a "flex-time" work scheme that will tear up many workers' lives.

Moreover, as part of its union-busting offensive, CAT cut off pay for union committeemen, sending full-time stewards back to the workbench. Company-paid committeemen are hostage to the bosses, just as the dues checkoff gives management a stranglehold over union finances. Class-struggle unionism is counterposed to such institutionalized class collaboration. We fight for elected stewards paid by the union, and dues collection by the union to make officers financially and politically accountable to the ranks, and to prepare the union for combat.

GM Pleads Poverty

After the boardroom coup that installed John Smith, one Wall Street consultant said of GM, "I think we're staring at another Chrysler bailout." But the largest industrial corporation in the world isn't going to be allowed to go belly up. The bourgeoisie, and their loyal labor lieutenants, will undoubtedly plead for yet more givebacks and government tax



Caterpillar strikers last April were knifed in the back by UAW tops.

breaks...for the so-called Big Three, who raked in a cool \$61 billion in profits from 1983-1989 alone.

It took hard class struggle to build the UAW and the Farm Equipment Workers, the UAW's predecessor at CAT, in the 1930s and '40s. The Spartacist League has uniquely fought for class-struggle mobilizations of the proletariat, including nationwide strike action against mass

layoffs, combined with sitdowns to challenge the bosses' property rights (and, like in Flint in '37, keep hold of the machinery before they move it out).

What's needed is to galvanize a political fight to forge a revolutionary workers party that can lead the battle for a workers government to rebuild the industry of this country as part of a socialist planned economy. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

UAW Tops Beg Clinton

GM Declares War on the Workers

"Will work for food," read the sign of a worker outside the Fisher Guide plant in Ewing, New Jersey on December 3. One of 2,050 workers being thrown out of work at the GM parts plant, he is joining 85,000 workers at 23 parts and assembly plants across North America that are scheduled to close in the next two years. Fully *one-quarter* of the GM workforce is being thrown on the scrap heap, as the auto giant declares war on its workers. This wave of layoffs goes far beyond General Motors. Ford Motor Company had announced huge cuts at its plants in Britain. The auto companies were followed by IBM, which announced the slashing of 25,000 jobs, on top of the 100,000 already cut since 1986. The job massacre is capitalism's Christmas gift to tens of thousands of workers and their families around the world.

Workers at plants from Sioux City, Iowa to St. Catharines, Ontario have been waiting, as the bosses on the 14th floor of the General Motors building in Detroit have been sharpening their knives. Pressured by Wall Street to "get tough with the union," the GM board fired chairman Robert Stempel in late October, replacing him with former GM/Europe head John Smith. Smith's mandate: slash 25 percent of GM's capacity. Wall Street, looking with alarm at GM's \$86.2 billion debt, reportedly threatened to downgrade their paper to junk bond levels. (When he was approached about a possible takeover of GM, Chrysler boss Lee Iacocca quipped, "it might be easier to buy Greece.") *Newsweek* (2 November 1992) reported that "in recent weeks a few analysts have even breathed the dreaded words 'Chapter 11'" (bankruptcy) as they complain

that GM is "on the cusp of undoing this country's industrial base."

It is the workers who are being "undone," and UAW president Owen Bieber and the rest of the Solidarity House gang are right in there with the auto bosses doing it to them. After the GM announcement, Bieber begged the bosses to wait for a Democrat to move into the White House: "We look forward to a better economic and political climate when President-elect Clinton takes office." But "Right to Work" Willie is going to stick it to labor, and the labor bureaucrats got a whiff of what Clinton's yuppie technocrats have in store for the working

class at last week's "summit" in Little Rock. The AFL-CIO piccards who flocked to Arkansas to get some crumbs from *their* "friend of labor" were stunned to hear the Clinton gang's hit list of "productivity" and "efficiency" demands.

Clinton never promised anything to workers and minorities. He ostentatiously flew back to Arkansas to execute a severely brain-damaged black man during the campaign, and told California auto workers last June, "You're stuck with me. There's nothing you can do about it."

Clinton is parroted by UAW vice president Steven Yokich, who lectures auto

workers on the "shrinkage" of GM jobs: "You've got to be a realist about it." The Auto Workers tops have repeatedly sold their deadly mix of Democrats, give-backs and racist protectionism, with the result that in just a dozen years 40 percent of the union has been wiped out: over half a million jobs gone, 218,000 at GM alone. Ford brags it is producing the same number of cars as ten years ago—with *half* the workforce.

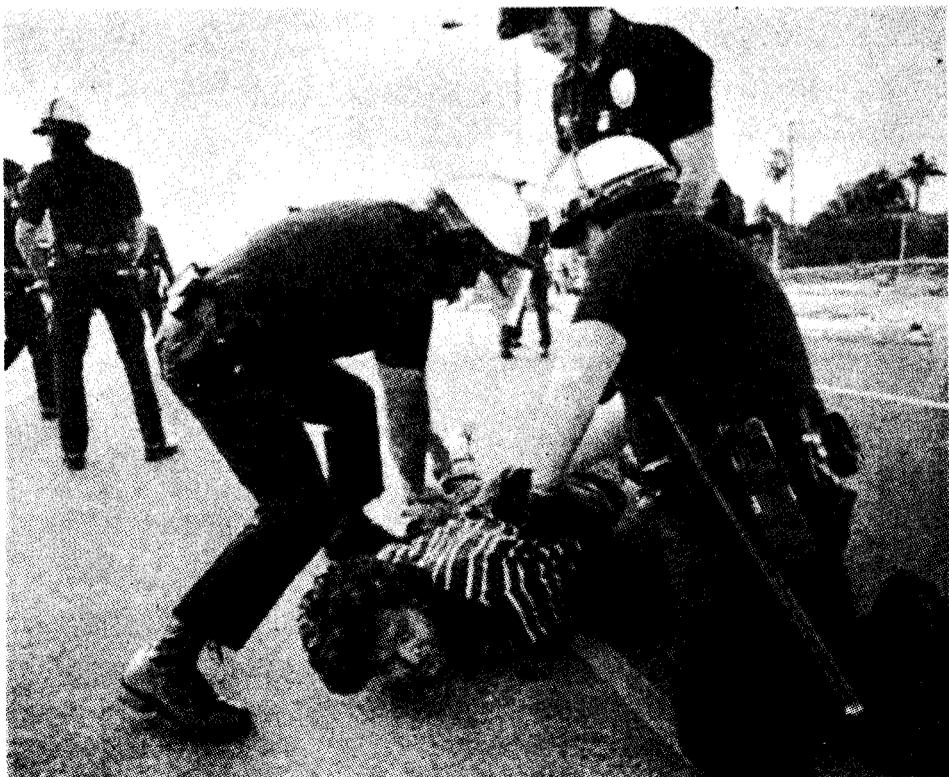
The black working class of Detroit has been decimated. Not a single auto plant is left in Southern California. The average GM worker today is 46 years

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GM workers in Flint, Michigan. Company has announced closure of 23 plants, eliminating jobs of 85,000 auto workers.

LAPD Siege in South-Central



Seib/L.A. Times

December 14—LAPD brutalizing demonstrators at Florence and Normandie, flashpoint of upheaval last spring.

LOS ANGELES—On the afternoon of December 14, the L.A. police carried out a massive invasion of the black neighborhood around the intersection of Florence and Normandie, the flashpoint of last April's upheaval. "It was like Beirut over here," said area resident Annette Brooks of the siege by over 350 cops, who terrorized the neighborhood for some 18 hours. A citywide tactical alert, which kept all police agencies in readiness, was in effect for two days.

The pretext for this LAPD nightriding was a rally in defense of four black youth, on trial for the beating of white trucker Reginald Denny as L.A. burst into flames last April 30, following the racist acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King. The assault on Denny was a vicious crime, and his attackers are criminals who should be behind bars. But the cops' message last week was that any protest by L.A. minorities would be smashed with an iron fist. This was a trial run for their newest weapons and latest techniques.

The cops began their attack on the demonstration by seizing an activist for distributing literature in defense of the

"L.A. Four." When protesters objected, the cops went on a rampage, firing their recently acquired (and potentially lethal) plastic bullets into the crowd. SWAT teams armed with assault rifles sealed off the neighborhood, while riot cops swept up and down the side streets screaming abuse as they beat residents, throwing some into their homes and randomly arresting others. The owner of a chili-dog stand was dragged away along with customers, thrown to the ground and then into a waiting squad car.

At least 55 people were arrested, many while standing on their porches or in their front yards. The police siege continued throughout the night, as helicopters lit the way for unmarked Chevy Suburbans that cruised the streets with cops aiming automatic weapons through their sunroofs. The local capitalist media fell into lockstep, all but blacking out reports of the cop riot, ostensibly so as not to "spark further unrest." Meanwhile, city politicians including black Democrats and liberals hailed the LAPD for "getting it right this time."

In the wake of the 1960s ghetto

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