

U.S. Troops Out!



Contra in chief Ronald Reagan...

UPI



Gentile/Newsweek

Panama:

...and his drug-running mercenaries in Nicaragua.

CIA-Contra Drug Connection

There was a time when imperial Washington could replace its tinpot dictators in Latin America simply by calling a meeting at the U.S. ambassador's residence, or in the worst case waving the "Big Stick" of sending in the Marines. But for the last nine months or so the sleazy strongman of Panama, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, has refused to follow the well-worn script. In the latest episodes of this ongoing drama, Panama's puppet president Eric Delvalle fired Noriega (at the State Department's suggestion) only to be fired himself. Now the U.S. has turned to economic warfare, trying to cut the flow of dollars in its blatant attempt to overthrow the Panamanian regime. They already invaded the country years ago, with 10,000 U.S. troops now stationed at 17 bases in the former Panama Canal Zone. But the Reagan gang hesitates to finish the job militarily, fearing havoc in the canal and violent reaction throughout Latin America.

The American Empire just ain't what it used to be—and that's a good thing. The paralysis in Washington was expressed last week when the U.S. Congress narrowly voted down the Democrats' package of "humanitarian" aid to Reagan's contra terrorists. This follows the defeat of the administration's contra aid package a month earlier. But even the handful of liberals who voted against contra aid made it clear their only objection is that the CIA's merce-

naries are losers. As Ohio Democrat James Traficant put it, "In seven years, the record is clear. The contras have not overthrown an outhouse; they don't control a crossroads; to the best of my knowledge, they haven't even overwhelmed a bordello in Central America." The reason for this failure is simple: despite the contra war, economic strangulation and internal destabilization by the U.S., the Nicaraguan masses are determined to defend their revolution.

Frustrated in Nicaragua and made a laughingstock in the Iran/contra fiasco, the Reaganauts want to "score" in Panama. Furthermore, here they can count on full backing from Congress. As Senator John Kerry targets Noriega in drug-trafficking hearings, his fellow Massachusetts Democrat Ted Kennedy joins with arch-reactionary Jesse Helms to demand a total trade embargo against Panama. Meanwhile, U.S. Attorney for Miami Leon Kellner declares with supreme imperial arrogance that his drug indictments against the Panamanian leader "make it clear that no one is above our laws." But as Vice President Bush petulantly declares "I want to see Noriega out," bandying the threat of the "long outreach" of American law (i.e., kidnapping), the would-be Rough Riders in Washington seem to be talking loudly while carrying a small stick.

U.S. rulers have always claimed it's their Manifest Destiny to impose the

American Way of Life on the Western Hemisphere with dollar diplomacy or gunboat diplomacy. Now they've taken the Monroe Doctrine global, as the Reagan Doctrine proclaims a U.S. "right" to attack Soviet "surrogates" and put the Russians up against the wall anywhere. The Reaganauts blow up ships and oil tanks in Nicaraguan harbors, send warships into sensitive Soviet waters, skyjack Egyptian airliners over the Mediterranean, try to assassinate Libyan leader Qaddafi by bombing Tripoli. The masters of U.S. imperialism want to claim a "super-sovereignty" over the entire world, and as the economic base of the American empire erodes, they've entered a particularly desperate and vicious phase.

It's gone beyond sending in the Marines when the Wall Street bankers don't get paid. Now they send DEA agents and the U.S. Army into South American jungles to order peasants to stop growing coca. They cut off UN aid to force family planning clinics around the world to ban abortion. And when a long-time CIA "asset" like General Noriega says no to U.S. invasion plans against Sandinista Nicaragua, they try to bump off their former Panamanian capo amid a barrage of hypocritical anti-drug propaganda. Reagan's "anti-drug" crusade, like Carter's "human rights" crusade, is a cover for U.S. imperialism's crusade against Communism—the anti-Soviet war drive. We oppose every effort by Yankee imperialism to impose the dictator of its choice. *U.S. troops out of Panama!*

Washington's Anti-Noriega Coup

The U.S. campaign to oust Noriega began last June when Congress voted to cut off all military and economic aid to Panama, and loans from the World Bank were suspended. The middle-class "opposition" led by Panamanian businessmen got the cue and immediately organized demonstrations of bank tellers and shopkeepers against Noriega. But the *rabiblanco*s ("white tails"), whose bastion is the business district known as Little Manhattan, soon tired of blowing their horns from the com-

fort of their air-conditioned cars. While taunting the pockmarked Noriega as "pineapple face," they didn't have the stomach for going up against his rabid riot cops, popularly known as Dobermans. When the confrontations died down, U.S. diplomats sent out the usual invitations to the military for a coup against their former crony, while privately suggesting to him that he should step down. But it didn't work.

Now the U.S. has "discovered" that the Panamanian dictator has been up to his neck in the drug trade at least since 1981. One is reminded of the cynical, corrupt Vichy French police captain in the movie *Casablanca* who, seeking an excuse to close down Rick's cafe, announces he is "shocked" to find gambling going on in the place—just as the waiter hands him his winnings. U.S. Attorney Kellner, who declares Noriega isn't "above our laws," is the same one who blocked the prosecution of Oliver North's Contragate drugs-and-arms traffickers on orders from Ed Meese. But the indictments only made Noriega dig in further.

So the classic coup was prepared. Hours before the drug indictments were made public, U.S. ambassador Arthur Davis met privately with the Panamanian figurehead president, Eric Arturo Delvalle. Suddenly, the former nobody and Noriega flunkie became the hero of the "democratic" opposition for imperialism. His backer had been hoping for a "Duvalier solution," in which the U.S. helps one of its used-up dictators slip out of the country in order to slip another into power, but Noriega wasn't cooperating.

Next U.S. stooge Delvalle announced the ouster of Noriega as military *jefe*. But Noriega must read Graham Greene novels too, and he outfoxed the U.S. at its own dirty game: he summoned a meeting of the National Assembly in the middle of the night, bringing in 37 legislators by helicopter, and after a dubious vote (a quorum was achieved by ignoring a couple dozen "illegible" names) the assembly ousted Delvalle from the presidency. They put in Manuel Solis, whose political career

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"Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe

Hungary: "Goulash Communism" Goes Bust

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter Finally Wins Fight for Freedom

The last round of the racist frame-up that stole 20 years of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter's life is finally over. On January 11 the Supreme Court refused to hear the New Jersey prosecutor's appeal from a lower court decision in November 1985 granting Carter's writ of habeas corpus. The vindictive Passaic County prosecutor's office took six weeks to decide not to seek a third trial, finally giving up its efforts to lock Rubin away for life. On February 29 Carter, now 50 years old, held a press conference at the Plaza Hotel to celebrate his freedom.

A well-known middleweight boxer, Rubin Carter was the target of cop and FBI harassment because he publicly advocated the right of black self-defense against cop terror following the 1964

Harlem police rampage. In 1967 Carter and his friend John Artis were framed up, accused of a triple murder on the lying testimony of two petty crooks, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley. As a result of investigations by *New York Times* reporter Selwyn Raab, Bello and Bradley revealed in 1974 that the D.A.'s office bought their testimony for \$10,500 and promises of leniency on a string of pending criminal charges. In their 1976 retrial, Carter and Artis were again convicted on Bello's testimony, bolstered with the prosecution's "racial revenge" argument—bought by the carefully selected jury of ten whites and two elderly blacks—that because Carter and Artis were black they killed three whites in a Paterson bar in 1966.

The Partisan Defense Committee and

Spartacist League have closely followed the Carter/Artis case for the past 12 years. The PDC contributed to the defense and regularly attended the 1976 trial. In contrast to the liberals who fled after Carter and Artis were again railroaded to prison in 1977, *Workers Vanguard* continued to expose the vindictive frame-up.

Rubin entered the February 29 press conference to the strains of Bob Dylan's "Hurricane." Meeting the press for the first time since his release two years ago, Carter told how the Paterson prosecution sought the death penalty, but he was instead sentenced to "a life of living death." Carter told of the horrors of prison, and noted the obscenity that those who viciously stole his adult life are immune from any legal action. "Prison destroys everything that is valuable in a human being. It destroys families—it destroyed mine. It destroys one's dignity and self-respect in ways too many to even begin mentioning now. It got to me. And I knew that I was innocent. I was far from the first and I won't be the last innocent man, innocent person, that the state seeks to execute. It has happened before, and it will happen again."

Carter was slated to fight for the middleweight championship when he was arrested on 16 June 1966. "Little did I know that the events of that night would sound the bell ending my career as a professional boxer, and mark the beginning of quite a different kind of fight." Unbroken by the racist vendetta of the cops, courts and prison authorities, the Hurricane is still fighting. "If this society is serious about eliminating crime—and I have to tell you I see little evidence of that being the case—then it should concentrate its energies upon eradicating the causes of crime, the roots of crime, the drugs, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and racism."

Rubin told one questioner, "I would not go back to Paterson under any circumstances, and for any reason, at any time, for any purpose." Paterson has long been notorious for its brutality against those who challenge the racist capitalist status quo. In 1913, 25,000 silk workers, led by the IWW, went on strike for an eight-hour day and \$12 a week minimum wage. The courageous strikers, mostly immigrants, were smashed after five months of terror from the bosses' hired thugs and cops. During the strike 4,800 strikers were arrested and about 1,300 sent to jail.

Today, Paterson cops and courts continue their racist vendetta against John Artis. Last year Artis pleaded guilty to possession of a small amount of cocaine, which he had begun to use in attempting to arrest the spread of Buerger's disease, an untreatable circulatory disease which has already led to amputation of seven fingers and toes. But as punishment for finally beating the frame-up which had already kept him jailed for 15 years, the racist court ordered Artis



WV Photo
Rubin Carter at February 29 press conference.

locked up for six more, possibly to die in prison. Artis' appeal from the vicious sentence is scheduled for March 30. This outrage must be protested.

The PDC received a personal invitation to the February 29 press conference. At its close a PDC representative congratulated Carter, who said warmly, "I would like to thank you people for all your support." Rubin recalled that after his release in 1985, we sent a small holiday gift which he returned because, "from what I've seen since my release from prison, these funds should be better used for the benefit of someone less fortunate than I—like the homeless, the hungry, or those poor people who still remain in prison." Following the Supreme Court's decision we sent Rubin our congratulations: "The fact that even Reagan's Supreme Court refused to reinstate the conviction testifies to the magnitude of the frame-up and total absence of any case against you. In this period of rising racist terror fueled from the White House and City Halls across the country your victory is one to be shared by all fighters against racist oppression as their own."

* * *

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has thrown down the gauntlet to the thousands who demand an end to the racist FBI COINTELPRO frame-up of Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner. Confronted with overwhelming proof of Pratt's innocence, including FBI wiretaps showing Pratt was 400 miles away at the time of the killing for which he was framed, the Court of Appeals has announced its

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TROTSKY

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

March 8, International Women's Day, originated as a celebration of the militant class struggles of working women, a tradition since obscured by bourgeois feminism. The early Communist International stood for a proletarian struggle for women's liberation. Its Third Congress (1921) adopted theses on the woman question which opposed both the social democrats, for their refusal to struggle

against the special oppression of women, and the bourgeois feminists, who sought to limit women's struggles within the bounds of capitalist reformism. The revolutionary Comintern called for special work among women under the leadership of the Communist vanguard, uniting proletarian men and women in struggle against capitalism.

What Communism offers to the women, the bourgeois women's movement will never afford her. So long as the power of capitalism and private property continue to exist, the emancipation of woman from subservience to her husband cannot proceed further than her right to dispose of her property and earnings, as she sees fit, and also to decide on equal terms with her husband, the destiny of their children.

The most definite aim of the feminists—to grant the vote to the women—under the regime of bourgeois parliamentarism, does not solve the question of the actual equalization of women, especially of those of the dispossessed classes.... The dependence of the proletarian woman upon the capitalist and upon her husband as the economic mainstay of the family remains just the same. The absence of adequate laws to safeguard motherhood and infancy and the lack of proper social education render entirely impossible the equalization of woman's position in matrimonial relations. As a matter of fact, nothing that can be done under the capitalist order will furnish the key to the solution of the problem of the relationship of the sexes.

Only under Communism, not merely the formal, but the actual equalization of women will be achieved. Then woman will be the rightful owner, on a par with all the members of the working class, of the means of production and distribution. She will participate in the management of industry and she will assume an equal responsibility for the well-being of society.

—Communist International, "Theses on Work Among Women" (July 1921)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jon Lawrence

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

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: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 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. 448

11 March 1988

Gus at UMass Amherst: You Read It Here First

1-23-88

In a recent issue of the *WV* (1-15-88) you're accusing the *PDW* [*People's Daily World*] of not wishing to print the Gus Hall speech at Amherst and the trouble with some rightwingers, yet there was the story! In the *PDW* of 1-7-88! (page 19-A).

You should—no?—be a bit more careful in your accusations.

Detroit *WV* Reader

WV replies: Normally it is not our policy to print or respond to anonymous let-

ters, but here we seem to have a simple case of mistaken dates which bears clarification. True enough, an article titled "Score One for Free Speech and the Students at Amherst" ran in the Communist Party's *People's Daily World* on 7 January. However, *Workers Vanguard* scooped the CP a week before with our article "Communist Party Attacked at UMass Amherst—Campus Contreras Assault Gus Hall Meeting" in *WV* No. 443 dated 1 January—not 15 January as alleged by the Detroit reader. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Rogues' Gallery of Labor Traitors

For any worker who has had his strike knifed, been thrown on the scrap heap after his plant closed or had givebacks rammed down his throat by gutless "labor statesmen," a recent piece by William Serrin in the *Village Voice* will strike a chord. "Labor As Usual" (*Voice*, 23 February) captures the fat cat cynicism of the parasites who currently "lead" the American labor movement.

After several years on the "labor beat" for the *New York Times*, William Serrin quit. "You are proworker, an editor once said to me, and this was not a compliment. I knew, finally, that what I did was not valued. So I left." At the labor-hating *Times*, sympathy for working people isn't "fit to print." Serrin also "couldn't stand one more week with the labor guys in Florida.... Years of orchestrated debates, private deals, windy speeches in support of bland resolutions that always pass have turned the brains of most labor delegates to yesterday morning's oatmeal.... That's how it is with most labor people: [AFL-CIO chief] Lane [Kirkland] could pee on their leg and they'd say it was raining."

Serrin covered the October 1987 AFL-CIO convention in Miami Beach, where there was a supposed "fight" waged against the federation's support to Reagan's contra terrorists in Nicaragua. If you read the reformist "left" press accounts, you'd think the AFL-CIO was about to strike in solidarity with the workers and peasants of Central America. But Serrin's article neatly debunks the loyal "opposition" of a handful of "liberal" labor fakers, like Jack Sheinkman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers and a prominent member of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), who bowed and scraped before Kirkland.


The final resolution, passed by both the DSA types and the Cold War Russia-haters of the Social Democrats USA (SDUSA) who braintrust the AFL-CIO, backed the Democrats' Arias plan, called for a halt to Soviet and Cuban aid to the Sandinistas and to U.S. support to the loser contras, backed Star Wars, and praised the Israeli state as a "beacon of civility and democratic rule"! Serrin: "And the liberals, well, they said they were pleased with the compromise, happy to get anything, given the federation's track record on foreign affairs. They take the crumbs AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland throws them and call it a meal." No

William Serrin on AFL-CIO Tops


LABOR AS USUAL

At the AFL-CIO Convention, the Mikes Are Covered


VOICE




AFL-CIO president
Lane Kirkland



AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer
Thomas H. Brinkley



David Hollander, president of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees



Joseph Pines, president of the Laborers' International Union of North America

Don't cross Lane. That's one of the rules of the club. And that's why, while the AFL-CIO convention appears to be having a debate on Nicaragua, there is in fact no debate. Just words. Neutral words. Thus, at this big, October convention—like the current executive council meeting (see sidebar) and virtually all AFL-CIO gatherings—no one would be offended, and the membership would appear united, labor in solidarity. The fix was in.

The deal had been cooked in quiet, back-room discussions over several days. The right-wingers had conceded to the liberals two language changes in two Nicaraguan resolutions: five words or so were dropped, three or so added. Current officials, not just former officials, of the Reagan administration had agreed to "circumvent the law and lie to Congress" while funding the contra. And American aid to the contra should be withdrawn as well as, not just simultaneously with, Soviet aid to the Sandinistas. The changes left room for the interpretation that the convention was opposing aid to the contra, which is the way some of the press played it—although to say the AFL-CIO opposes contra aid, or opposes the Reagan administration's foreign policy in any significant way, is untrue.

Actually, both sides opposed the resolutions: if the hawks had their way, they would expand aid to the contra and have the Sandinista government crushed, maybe carpet-bombed; the liberals would not only end American aid to the contra, but provide it to the Sandinistas. Yet both sides spoke in favor of the deal. This was because of another rule of the club: solidarity. As a friend of mine in labor once said, if there's one thing Lane hates worse than communism, it's conflict.


Such resolutions mean almost nothing in terms of how the AFL-CIO spends its foreign policy money, or how its operatives conduct themselves overseas. Still, the hawks were taking no chances. In the hall outside the arena, Albert Shanker bumped into William C. Doherty Jr., executive director of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which carries out federation policies in Caribbean and Latin American nations.

"How do we look for the afternoon?" Shanker asked.


"We're all set," Doherty said. "There may be some hotbeds," meaning some moderates might speak. "But the mikes are covered." And the liberals, well, they said they were pleased with the compromise, happy to get anything, given the federation's track record on foreign affairs. They take the crumbs AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland throws them and call it a meal.

The delegates were unaware, for the most part, that the fix was in. But this didn't matter, because to most delegates at labor conventions, resolutions are so much garbage anyway. Years of orchestrated debates, private deals, windy speeches in support of bland resolutions that always pass have turned the brains of most labor delegates to yesterday morning's oatmeal. They listen halfheartedly.


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William W. Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists



William H. Wynn, president of the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union



Robert S. George, president of the U.S. Office of Labor-Management Cooperation



Jack Sheinkman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers

BY WILLIAM SERRIN

Former NY Times labor reporter Serrin skewers labor lieutenants of capital in 23 February *Village Voice*.

surprise, coming from the crew that gave apartheid South African front man Chief Buthelezi the George Meany Human Rights Award!

For decades the AFL-CIO International Affairs department has been the CIA's arm in the labor movement, from Chile to Poland to South Africa. The activities of its American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) have earned the federation the name "AFL-CIA" throughout Latin America. They spend \$33 million (90 percent coming from the government) a year, almost as much as the rest of the AFL-

CIO budget combined. Kirkland and teachers union chief Albert Shanker both sit on the virulently anti-Soviet, first-strike Committee on the Present Danger. (In his movie *Sleeper*, Woody Allen wakes up in the future to a world devastated by nuclear war. He is told that "some nut named Al Shanker got the bomb.") Shanker is the guy who proudly announced to a California teachers' convention, "If I were a Nicaraguan, I would be a contra." Sign up anyway, Al, you'd fit right in with contra scum like Comandante Hitler.

Serrin points out how the Shankerite SDUSA runs the show. But he also nails the "progressive" fakers in the DSA:

"Wimpy is here somewhere. William W. Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists. Wimpy was tough once. Spoke out against George Meany, then AFL-CIO president, and the Vietnam war. But Wimpy has lost it and won't speak out against much of anything anymore, certainly not Lane.

"Bill is William H. Wynn, president of the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union. Bill has white hair that shines as if it has Brilliantine in it, is often profane, and wears numerous rings, a big shiny bracelet, and a honey of a big watch.... It was Bill who suppressed the P-9 strikers at the Austin, Minnesota, Hormel plant and broke the strike. They had little support, Bill said. But what about the many demonstrations for the strikers, a reporter asked. 'Demonstrations are like masturbation,' Bill said. 'They give you a certain amount of relief, but they don't accomplish very much.' A class guy." Bill obviously leans more to sadism.

Serrin accurately captures the position of the backstabbing labor traitors in the Reagan years—prone: "Perhaps what is most frightening is how often labor lacks what it says it values most: solidarity. Labor did nothing to support the air controllers, whose firing did much to establish the current antiunion atmosphere, and—incredibly—joined to suppress the Hormel strike. Dozens of other strikes have been lost, including Brown and Sharpe, Phelps Dodge, Greyhound, A.T. Massey, NBC, the National Football League. Yet labor continues to function as though nothing has changed, as though the defeats, the losses in membership, and the loss of power mean nothing."

Serrin also sees the connection between the fanatical anti-communism abroad and the knifing of workers' struggles at home. "If one is not judged sufficiently anticommunist on, say, Nicaragua, one may be regarded as untrustworthy on issues like imports, a strike, plant closings." But he sees this as an aberration. On the contrary, the misleaders of American labor are worse than sellouts, they're *company cops*, policing the working class internationally for imperialism. They are truly, in the words of Daniel De Leon, the labor lieutenants of capital.

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On the Sellout of the S.F. Tug Strike

We print below a letter from a would-be labor traitor in the San Francisco Bay Area, attempting to cover his tracks in the defeat of last year's West Coast tug strike. A reply by Workers Vanguard draws the lessons for workers fighting against the bosses and their labor cops.

16 December 1987
Oakland, CA

Jan Norden
Editor
Workers Vanguard
New York, N.Y.

Dear Editor:

Your coverage of the Inlandboatmen's Union (IBU) strike (*WV* #440, 13 November) was a shameless web of lies, distortions, omissions and ludicrous assertions woven to cover the Spartacist League's sectarian abstention from class struggle. One of your most asinine points asserted that on October 15, the day the strike was

quashed, "IBU Regional Director Rick (sic) Estrada succeeded in pushing through the surrender at an IBU meeting and it was all over. Heyman... dashed to the Local 10 meeting—not to fight for a port shutdown, but to thank the local leadership for their efforts...."

First you disappear the fact that I was one of those at the IBU meeting who led the fight against surrender. Then you turn fact into fiction. Some seven hours after the defeat at the IBU meeting I addressed the longshore membership, lashing out at the cowardly International leadership. If, as *WV* states, "it was all over" at the IBU meeting, why then should I later at the Local 10 meeting call for a port shutdown?

I did thank the rank and file for their support, especially in joining us in the strike's most dynamic action, the Redwood City march, organized by IBU and ILWU militants. *Against the orders* of local union officials (Joe Lucas, Tommy Clark and Rich Estrada), we militants led several hundred strikers

down the dock and ran off the scabs. It so electrified the Bay Area labor movement that in its wake the shipyard workers downed their tools and struck. Of course, you failed to mention that the SL was absent during the Redwood City action—not even a *WV* salesman.

One of your most egregious misstatements was: "Between the Executive Board meeting and the Local 10 meeting on October 15, the motion for a port shutdown was suppressed by all those who had advanced it and voted for it." Not true. In fact, unreported by *WV* was the October 12 IBU meeting at ILWU Local 34 at which IBU militants raised the motion for a port shutdown by longshoremen and a march down the Embarcadero with the IBU and the rest of maritime labor to Pier 9, Crowley's waterfront headquarters. The motion was stridently opposed from the podium by ILWU President Jim Herman, IBU President Don Liddle and Regional Director Rich Estrada.

Firstly, the contract with 50% con-

cessions was decisively rejected (only Herman favored ratifying it). Then, a fight ensued over what to do in response to Crowley's threat to permanently replace strikers with scabs. The union tops offered no solution except to return to work, defeated and without a signed contract. (Ironically, earlier in a conversation with Pete Woolston, ILWU Local 6 warehouseman and one of the few remaining SL supporters in the union, he argued that sometimes strikers, when confronted with a strike-breaking ultimatum like Crowley's, have to go back to work to defend the union's jurisdiction.) Determined to fight to the bitter end, class struggle unionists had to first defeat the labor fakers. The motion for a port shutdown and march carried overwhelmingly.

Then, we had to organize for it in short order. The target date was moved to October 14, giving us another day. Despite mustering support within ILWU Locals 10 and 34 and the shipyard workers unions, IBU militants were stabbed in the back by a treacherous cabal of Herman, Liddle and San Francisco Labor Council President

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Labor Traitors...

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It wasn't the old AFL craft union tops, but the "progressive" social democrats like Walter Reuther of the UAW who were in the forefront of purging the reds and militants from the industrial unions of the CIO. Leonard Woodcock didn't miss a beat as he went from selling out auto workers to become ambassador to China. He was replaced by another DSA favorite, Doug Fraser, who made his name by organizing a 1,000 man goon squad to crush the wildcat over safety by Detroit Chrysler workers in 1973. Fraser presided over the decimation of labor/black Detroit, wiping out tens of thousands of UAW jobs and conceding billions in give-

backs. This open cop for the bosses formalized his class collaboration in joining the Chrysler board. These traitors paved the way for the PATCOs and Hormels.

Serrin locates the labor movement's decline in the "rugged individualism" of American workers, supposedly uninterested in joining collectively to defend themselves from capitalist exploitation. But this is belied by the whole history of working-class struggle in the U.S.: from the struggle for the eight-hour day and the Haymarket martyrs commemorated on May 1 by the international proletariat, to the audacious Wobbly militants, to 1934 general strikes in San Francisco and Minneapolis, and the CIO's pioneering of sit-down strikes that challenged capitalist property.

The present state of labor (and the slimy character of those who rise to the top) didn't start with the Reagan years.

It is the product of subordination of the unions to the Democratic Party and the capitalist state. It goes back to FDR and the "corporate unionism" that developed during and after World War II, which saw labor, business, and government working together." They worked together, all right, *against the workers*. This class-collaborationist alliance was expressed in the World War II no-strike pledge, supported by the Stalinists, and was sealed in the post-WWII purge of reds and militants, who built the mass industrial unions. This decades-long decline of the labor movement is shown in detail in a recent book by Michael Goldfield, *The Decline of Organized Labor in the United States*, University of Chicago Press (1987). Union membership in the U.S. was down to 17 percent of the full-time workforce last year (*New York Times*, 23 January), compared to more than double that in Canada and over 50 per-

cent in Britain.

The current condition of the official labor movement is bleak indeed. But the will to struggle is there at the base: the key is class-struggle leadership with a program to *win*. Writing on the eve of World War II, Leon Trotsky set forth the task of the revolutionary party in the fight against the "labor lieutenants of capital":

"Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy, who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class....

"Impossible are the independent or semi-independent reformist trade unions. Wholly possible are revolutionary trade unions which not only are not stockholders of imperialist policy but which set as their task the direct overthrow of the rule of capitalism." ■

Tug Strike...

(continued from page 3)

Walter Johnson, which worked desperately and, unfortunately, successfully along with local longshore union officials to abort the action. At an International Executive Board meeting in Seattle on October 13, Liddle told Local 10 President Lucas not to pull the port.

That the port shutdown and march never happened was not due to any lack of resolve on the part of strike militants. Sneering at our attempt, *WV* castigated us and called it a "cynical charade." If the SL were not so sectarian, it would have rolled up its sleeves and pitched in to help organize for the port shutdown. Where was the SL during this critical time frame? You did nothing. You said nothing.

WV's baseless attack on me and other strike militants, vilifying us as "phony" and a "left cover" for the union tops is the flip side of the Communist Party's sycophantic reporting in the *People's Daily World* on the role of these same labor lieutenants of capital. (The Stalinists excoriated me for being overly critical of Herman & Co.)

Both the CP and the SL have placed blame on the IBU militants for the strike's failure. Yet, neither credit us for leading the bold Redwood City action and spreading the strike to Los Angeles. But such behavior is not surprising from these two groups, for opportunism and sectarianism go hand-in-hand. During the 1984 San Francisco longshore anti-apartheid strike, the SL and the CP acted in a similar fashion when, on the eleventh day of the solidarity action, police arrived to enforce a strikebreaking injunction. SL supporters stood by passively on the sidelines refusing to participate in the picket, while CP supporters aided police in clearing the Pier 80 gate of some two hundred anti-apartheid pickets. Plus ça change.

This hack journalism is of a piece with your shrill slanders against former SL members, racist-baiting, cop-baiting,



20 March 1987: ILWU shuts down Bay Area ports, runs scabs off Redwood City docks in defense of IBU tug strike.

Nazi-baiting and, of late, body searches at public forums. As far as my credibility and integrity is concerned, I refer you to a *WV* interview with me (*WV* #250, 22 February 1980) in which you lauded me for my part in saving the life of a fellow worker in a shipyard explosion and fire. At the time, SL National Chairman Jim Robertson called me a working class hero and suggested that *WV* do the interview.

Unless the SL breaks out of its self-imposed isolation and participates in supportable and necessary class struggle actions like the boatmen's strike and the longshore anti-apartheid action, it will doom itself to irrelevance, notwithstanding the faultless leadership of "big fish" like Jim Robertson.

Forward to the
Coming American Revolution,
Jack Heyman

WV replies: Opportunists don't like being called by their right name.

The eight-month IBU strike, which began in February last year, was isolated and beaten by an alliance of

Crowley and the maritime union tops, who ensured that the tug strikers fought alone. As head of the IBU's SF Strike Committee, Jack Heyman with his hot air posturing served to cover for the hatchet job that IBU chief Don Liddle, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union president Jimmy Herman and his local henchmen did on the tugboat strikers. As a would-be labor faker on the make, Heyman is wailing, I could have been a contender. (His letter was written one day after he lost his bid for IBU president.) But *WV* told the truth about his role in this strike where he posed as a "militant" while carefully staying within the bounds established by the treacherous labor tops.

Small-time union hustlers like Heyman are a bit like magicians: you always have to watch that other hand. For starters, his dishonest letter falsifies the events of March 20 last year by completely omitting the fact that the *ILWU longshoremen and clerks shut down every port in the San Francisco Bay that day*. Instead he turns this solidarity strike into a "Redwood City march" led by "we militants." So what about the over 1,000 dockers that *ILWU* Locals 10 and 34 called out, who rushed down to Redwood City where they broke through the gates of Crowley's strike-breaking operation and drove the scabs off the pier? It was that exercise of union power that "electrified the Bay Area labor movement," not some mythical "march" led by the likes of Jack Heyman.

In fact, in his election brochure and a leaflet at the end of the strike (titled "Shut Down Port") Heyman keeps pushing his lying version of March 20 which disappears the Bay Area-wide port shutdown (although he mentions the 1978 Seattle ferry strike and port shutdown and the 1983 Levin Terminal shutdown in the Bay Area). Why such a blatant rewriting of a key event which every Bay Area *ILWU* and *IBU* mem-

ber is well aware of? This goes beyond egocentrism. You see, the March 20 longshore action had been declared "illegal" by an arbitrator, and as an aspiring "labor leader" Heyman abides by the legal cretinism of the labor bureaucracy and their sleazy lawyers. For the labor fakers, if a union action isn't okay by the contract, you can't say it happened. For example, in 1984 when San Francisco longshoremen boycotted a ship containing South African cargo, Heyman and his friends in the Bolshevik Tendency called the SL "finks" for supposedly giving "evidence" to the company of an "illegal" work stoppage when we discussed the longshore boycott as an important example of union action. Since the contract doesn't permit political strikes, Heyman wants us to lie by denying what happened. This is called playing by the bosses' rules, which leads to defeated strikes, and worse.

If Heyman can so shamelessly disappear a major class confrontation like the port shutdown, even long after the fact, merely to abide by bureaucratic rules of contractual legality, then he clearly is not interested in class struggle in the first place. In fact he used the *IBU* strike and his role on the strike committee as a vehicle for his election campaign for union president.

Take a second pivotal event in the tug strike, the unloading of three scab barges which were left stranded in Redwood City. The maritime bosses and their labor flunkies wanted this symbol of the power of labor solidarity removed before the pending expiration of the longshore contract. So using a phony story of removing a container of military cargo, Herman and Liddle agreed to allow one of the barges to be moved to Oakland and ordered longshoremen to work it. Instead of forcing the issue by throwing up pickets, which the unhappy longshoremen would gladly have honored, Heyman dropped by for ten minutes to watch them work the cargo. We nailed him for this at the time:

"And the 'militant' head of the *IBU* strike committee, Jack Heyman, was there to 'observe,' bowing to the rotten deal to unload the 'military cargo' from struck barges! The very next day Heyman cynically lectured the shipyard workers to 'defy injunctions'."

—"For a Bay Area Waterfront Strike," *WV* No. 426, 17 April 1987

Interesting that he doesn't include this in his purported "web of lies."

Soon all three barges had been moved out of the Bay. When we heard Crowley was going to move the containers still left on the pier in Redwood City, on June 3 our reporter called Jack Heyman. When we asked if he knew what was going on, Heyman sarcastically replied: "What am I supposed to do, shut down the port for 33 containers?"

On June 4, we sent a *WV* reporting team down to Redwood City, where they saw no pickets and the containers being driven away by non-union (scab) drivers. Later, in his election brochure,

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NYPD: Dial 911 for Murder

More than 1,200 angry demonstrators marched through Brooklyn on February 20 to protest the racist murder of Juan Rodríguez, who was savagely beaten to death in his own bed on January 30 by four New York City cops. The police say that the 40-year-old Dominican "stopped breathing" in the ambulance on the way to the hospital and died of cardiac arrest. On the advice of their "union," the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, the cops gave no further details. But the report of the NYC medical examiner's office, held up for three weeks pending release of the NYPD report, found that Rodríguez' death was due to "severe injuries in the head, the body and the extremities, received during a confrontation with the police while his hands were handcuffed behind his back," said Ellen Borakove, spokesman for the coroner's office (*El Diario/La Prensa*, 21 February).

The march, which took place the day after the report confirmed that Rodríguez died of the brutal beating, began with about 600 people, doubling in size as it wound for two and a half hours through the predominantly Hispanic areas of Bushwick and Williamsburg (Los Sures). Cheering onlookers lined the streets and applauded from windows and rooftops. The marchers were silent as they passed the building where Rodríguez had lived with his wife and three children. When the demonstration reached the approaches to the Williamsburg Bridge leading to Manhattan, the way was blocked by riot cops and 25 police cars with sirens wailing as an NYPD helicopter circled overhead.

Pointing to the cops, many in the crowd began shouting "Asesinos!"

It all began when a neighbor dialed "911" to say that Rodríguez was banging on doors of his apartment building. He was distraught over the recent death of his mother. By the time the cops came, he was back in his own apart-



El Diario/La Prensa

Juan Rodríguez (above, in Santo Domingo). Brooklyn, February 20, over 1,200 protest NY cop killing of Rodríguez.

ment, where the neighbors last saw him praying. The next time they saw him, he was being carried out, covered with blood, and looked like he was already dead. Blood spattered the walls of his room, but most of the blood was on his bed. It would have been another racist execution duly declared "within police guidelines," but the Rodríguez family

arranged for a private autopsy, including a videotape which even the *New York Post* (17 February)—hardly a foe of the police—said showed Rodríguez' body "riddled with bruises and wounds from head to toe." The NYPD gives no quarter, especially if you're black or Hispanic.



Dietrich/Newsday

Koch took out a full page ad in the *New York Times* (29 February) demanding cutoff of foreign aid to all "drug source" countries. But Koch's killer cops are among the biggest drug pushers in the city. The handful of cops from Brooklyn's 77th Precinct charged with taking payoffs, robbing pushers and reselling their drugs, are just the tip

of the iceberg. Last month four cops from the 106th Precinct (Ozone Park), including the "integrity officer," were found guilty of beating black 34-year-old Everton Evelyn and torturing him with a 40,000-volt "stun gun." This wasn't just another case of police brutality. The cops thought Evelyn was a dealer, and they demanded his take.

Meanwhile, the police stomp through the ghettos and barrios like an occupying army. No wonder many black and Hispanic New Yorkers cheered on March 3 when a Bronx jury (of seven blacks, three Hispanics, one Asian and one white) acquitted Larry Davis of all charges in the killing of four alleged drug dealers in 1986. Attorney William Kunstler argued that Davis, who was about to blow the whistle on the cops' drug trade, was set up to justify the massive police raid three weeks later, from which Davis emerged unharmed after plugging six cops in self-defense. After he evaded a police manhunt for 17 days, Davis became known as the "dude that elude."

Taking their cue from Koch and the cops, white racist mobs are increasingly emboldened. On March 3 in the Bronx, three white men carrying a baseball bat and tree limb approached a black woman on the street, demanding sex. When she refused, they beat her with the bat. Then these racists attacked a group of people waiting at a nearby bus stop, clubbing them, robbing one black man, breaking both arms of a black woman and splitting the head of a Hispanic man. Racist killers, in and out of uniform, are on the loose in NYC. Who can stop them? The situation cries out for a massive mobilization of labor and minorities in this city to stop this racist terror now! The working class must neither forgive nor forget the killers of Juan Rodríguez. ■

Heyman would complain that IBU president Liddle & Co. made "back door deals" like "releasing scab containers." But at the time, when the back door deals were being implemented, Heyman was part of those deals and acted as a cover for the bureaucrats' treachery.

Heyman says he was "determined to fight to the bitter end." In fact, the closer it got to the end of the isolated and demoralized IBU strike, the more he was driven to deceive the people who had put their trust in him. His flimflam over what happened during the strike's last gasp proves it. Heyman was there when the ILWU Local 10 executive board met on October 6. He knew from the start that the motion for a "port shutdown" was simply a piece of paper—to be referred to an October 15 local meeting, after Crowley's return-to-work-or-be-fired ultimatum expired. How can you say the motion was "suppressed," he squeals, since I raised it at the October 12 IBU meeting? Yet it wasn't the tug strikers who could shut down the port, but the ILWU. And Heyman's quote from *WV* drops the key next sentence: "Neither longshoremen nor clerks knew anything about it." His own "Shut Down Port" leaflet was nowhere to be seen—at the longshore pay lines, at the dispatch hall or on the SF docks.

It's interesting that Heyman's letter to *WV* claims his efforts to organize a port shutdown were definitively smashed on October 13 when IBU head Liddle told the ILWU Local 10 president "not to pull the port" in defense of the IBU. His election brochure makes the same claim. Yet Heyman's own "Shut Down Port" leaflet had datelined October 8 the story of a telegram from Liddle to Lucas conveying this instruction. Why the five-day sleight of hand, except to hide the fact that Heyman knew, at the time he got his motion for a port shutdown passed at the IBU meeting, that the bureaucrats were agreed and nothing was supposed to happen?

Heyman's talk of "mustering support" meant a few conversations "at the

top" with the bureaucrats about joining a march and rally. Word of the motion was suppressed because all the "insiders" like Heyman knew it was only a face-saving device that was never meant to be implemented. His call for a "port shutdown" at the IBU meeting was just a ploy, cynically raising the hopes of the desperate strikers. Heyman admits he didn't fight at the ILWU Local 10 meeting on October 15. But it was more than that: at the meeting he alibied the Local 10 tops for their refusal to do what was needed to win the tug strike from the beginning—bring out the power of the ILWU, shutting down the Bay Area waterfront until Crowley and the fest of the maritime bosses cried uncle.

The key to Heyman's deceitful behavior is political. Choosing to operate within the framework established by the union bureaucrats and to play by the bosses' rules means he has come to share key elements of their political program. Sure, he complains about them and calls them "cowards" and "dictatorial" and "liars," but he never opposes the American labor bureaucracy politically as legalistic, racist, anti-Soviet Cold War fanatics whose flag-waving defense of the system of capitalist exploitation is codified in their allegiance to the Democratic Party, through which they shackle the workers to the class enemy. Thus he conceals the urgent necessity of a political struggle against the union tops, and poses merely the replacement of the "cowardly" with the "bold."

Despite some left-sounding rhetoric, Heyman's carefully crafted election brochure is closer in spirit to the Democratic Socialists of America of Jimmy Herman. As in his denunciation, which could have been lifted from a Jesse Jackson speech, of "places like South Korea, Chile and South Africa which are low-wage havens for the international conglomerates." "Low-wage havens"? Where Marxists call for working-class struggle against capitalist superexploitation and racist apartheid in South Africa, Heyman takes up the code word of the Japan-bashing Democrats and

AFL-CIO tops for their poisonous protectionism to "save American jobs." As we have repeatedly emphasized, protectionism is a prelude to imperialist war and means lining up with one's "own" bourgeoisie and their right to exploit.

Curiously Heyman seems to want the Spartacist League to attest to his "credibility and integrity" for saving the life of a fellow worker eight years ago. But when he cites this same act in his election brochure it isn't *Workers Vanguard* he quotes, but the U.S. Coast Guard, for "exemplify[ing] the highest traditions of the United States maritime profession." Is that the National Anthem we hear playing in the background?

For someone who clearly doesn't want the Spartacist League around, he complains a lot about our supposed

"sectarian abstention." What he really means is the SL won't act like some social-democratic "support group" to give credibility to his fraudulent schemes. His idea of the role of a revolutionary party is not as a programmatic force inside the labor movement fighting for leadership of the proletarian vanguard, but rather as some kind of external substitute for the labor movement, for example, organizing fake demonstrations of "community groups" and students to "stop" longshoremen from handling South African cargo, to avoid going up against the union bureaucrats in a fight for union action.

But mainly Heyman wants to keep up his anti-Spartacist credentials to stay in the good graces of the anti-Soviet social-democratic popular-front swamp that is his normal habitat. ■

San Francisco: "Scabs Out!"



WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO, March 7—Five thousand angry Bay Area union construction workers demonstrated at SF's Moscone Center where the scabberding Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC) were holding their national convention. Union bureaucrats did their best to quash militancy, shouting, "Let the buses through!" But the ABC buses—and some of the participating union-busters themselves—received a richly deserved pelting with eggs and tomatoes. As some of the demonstrators' signs read, "San Francisco is a union town!" We say: Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

Hungary: "Goulash Communism" Goes Bust

This is the second in a three-part series on "market socialism" in East Europe. The first part (WV No. 444, 15 January) dealt with the bankruptcy of the Yugoslav model of "self-management."

PART TWO OF THREE

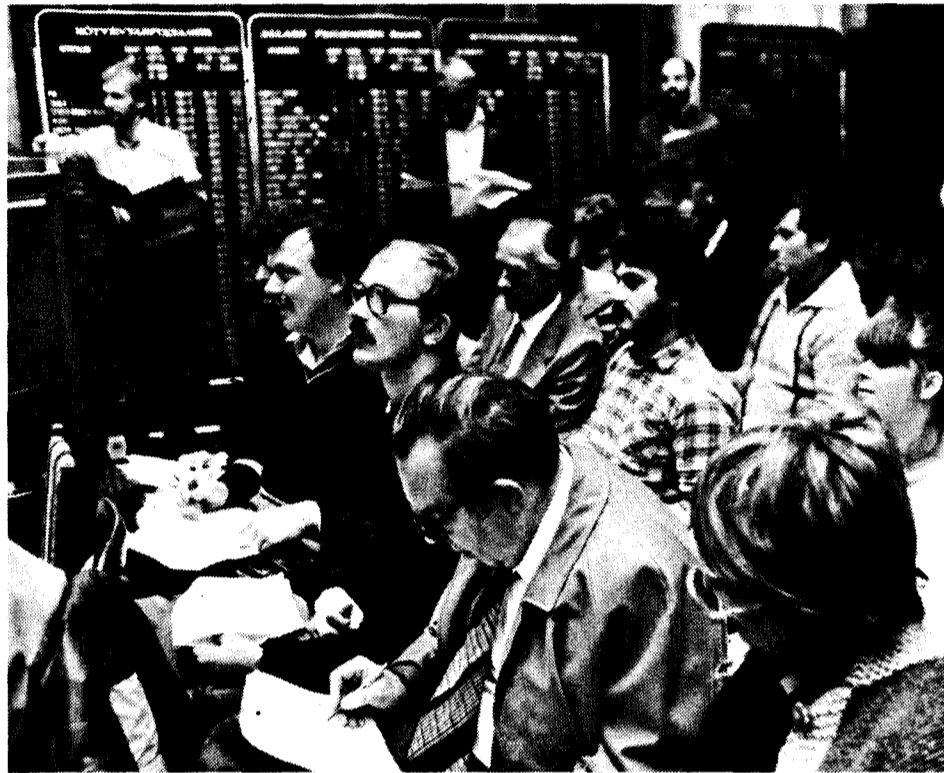
Burdened by massive debts to Western banks, much of East Europe is now racked by economic crises. In Romania buildings are kept so cold, due to shortages of electricity, that musicians perform concerts with gloves on. Last November thousands of workers from the Red Star truck factory in Brasov marched through the industrial city protesting a 50 percent wage cut and shortages of just about everything. They stormed the mayor's office, tore down portraits of Romanian Stalinist despot Nicolae Ceausescu and burned official papers in the town square. In Poland new economic "reforms" introduced by the Jaruzelski regime will increase the cost of living by 200 percent over the next few years. Even Hungary, not long ago held up as the economic showcase of East Europe, is facing ever more austere austerity.

Visiting Budapest last spring, the number two man in the Kremlin, Yegor Ligachev, stated that the Soviet leadership "highly respected" Hungary's economic policies and declared: "We are facing similar economic problems and are progressing down a similar path...." Five years ago Alec Nove, a leading Western expert on the Soviet-bloc economies, wrote: "Hungary's experience shows clearly both the advantages and the difficulties which follow from an attempt to introduce what can be called 'market socialism.' On balance the positive features seem to predominate...."

The alleged advantages of "market socialism" certainly do not predominate today. Hungary has been economically stagnant for a decade and is now saddled with the *highest* per capita foreign debt in East Europe. Under pressure from Western bankers, the Budapest Stalinists have been imposing increasingly severe hardships on the working people. Last summer the prices of bread, fuel oil, electricity and other necessities were raised 20 percent, and on New Year's Day Hungarian citizens were greeted with a consumption (value-added) tax and an income tax, the first ever in the Soviet bloc. Most Hungarians already work at two or more jobs just to make ends meet. Now, a top official of the finance ministry projects that 200,000 workers will be laid off under a new bankruptcy law designed to shut down unprofitable enterprises.

The austerity programs have hit hardest at the working class, while a new class of petty entrepreneurs has been enriching itself through the increasing privatization of the economy. Reportedly handbills spread in Budapest and the industrial center of Szombathely last year warn, "If you raise the prices, we'll burn down the factories!" Hungary's new prime minister, Karoly Grosz, admits:

"The public mood is deteriorating as the living standards of a considerable strata



Petty capitalism undermines Hungary's socialized economy: speculators trade bonds of state-owned enterprises (above). Liberal Stalinist Janos Kadar (below) tells Hungarian workers austerity lies ahead.



of society have stagnated over the last years and even decreased for a not negligible section of society. "Confidence in the leadership has dwindled and sometimes the viability of socialism is put in doubt."

—*New York Times*,
17 September 1987

The era of "goulash communism" associated with the long reign of Janos Kadar, installed after the suppression of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, has been played out. Conditions are rapidly building toward a major social crisis, pitting the working class and its allies against the growing milieu of petty entrepreneurs, pro-Western intellectuals and elements of the ruling bureaucracy.

From Horthy to the 1956 Hungarian Revolution

The contemporary Hungarian state was born out of the disintegration of the ramshackle Habsburg Empire with its defeat in World War I. Following the bloody suppression of the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic in early

1919, the country came under the fascist dictatorship of Admiral Horthy for the next quarter century. In the 1930s the Horthy regime aligned itself with Nazi Germany, and the Hungarian Arrow Cross fought alongside the Waffen SS when Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa against Russia in 1941.

The Third Reich was destroyed four years later as the Soviet red flag and hammer and sickle was raised over the Reichstag in Berlin while Hitler committed suicide in his bunker. In 1945 the Soviet Red Army also liberated Hungary from the nightmare of fascism. A few years later, reacting to the Cold War pressure of U.S. imperialism, the Stalinists carried out in East Europe a *deformed social revolution from above*.

The deformations were especially marked in Hungary. The regime of arch-Stalinist Matyas Rakosi was exceptionally bloody, including toward fellow Communists, even by the standards of what was later euphemistically called "the era of the cult of personal-

ity." Economically, the Rakosites pursued an extreme version of Stalinist autarky, vowing to make Hungary "a country of iron and steel." Massive, unbalanced investment in heavy industry—90 percent of all investment—drove down the living conditions of both workers and peasants.

The post-Stalin "thaw" in the Soviet Union cracked the totalitarian police-state apparatus which protected Rakosi and his cohorts. In October 1956 a popular uprising broke out against this universally hated regime. This was a bona fide proletarian political revolution. The main force in the revolution was workers councils, usually led by anti-Rakosi Communists. To be sure, the insurgent workers and radical intellectuals were by no means free of liberal and especially nationalist prejudices and illusions. But the clericalist-Horthyite counterrevolutionary forces around Cardinal Mindszenty were relatively small and widely despised.

The workers were fighting for a democratic, socialist Hungary. Likewise, the Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian Intellectuals declared: "Factories and land are to remain the people's property and nothing is to be given back either to capitalists or big landowners." The Kremlin leaders sent the Russian army in to crush the Hungarian workers' uprising not only to restore bureaucratic rule in that country but also to prevent political revolution from spreading to the rest of East Europe and into the Soviet Union itself, where the political order had just been shaken by Khrushchev's "secret speech" denouncing Stalin's crimes. (For a Trotskyist analysis of Hungary 1956, see "Political Revolution in Hungary—Ten Years After," *Spartacist* No. 8, November-December 1966.)

Introduction of the New Economic Mechanism

Following the suppression of the revolution, the Kremlin installed in power the liberal Stalinist Janos Kadar, who had been imprisoned and tortured under Rakosi. After an initial period of repression, Kadar set out to gain popular acceptance or at least tolerance for his regime. In the early 1960s he cautiously liberalized political and intellectual life. But the main thrust of Kadar's program was to redirect investment so as to rapidly raise consumption levels. Khrushchev himself welcomed Kadar's "goulash communism" for restoring social stability in Hungary.

By the mid-'60s it was becoming harder for the Hungarian bureaucracy to come up with ever more goulash. The economy was running into a labor shortage (as the Soviet Union would a decade later), thus blocking the traditional Stalinist path of extensive growth. To keep living standards rising, it was necessary to significantly increase labor productivity. The only way to do this in short order was to import from the West capital equipment embodying advanced technology. But to import more from the West, Hungary had to export more to the West.

Unlike the Soviet Union and Poland,

Hungary's exports to the West were not raw materials dug out of the ground like oil and coal. Nor did it produce an agricultural surplus capable of financing its imports. In the 1960s (as well as today) about 80 percent of Hungary's exports consisted of machinery, manufactured consumer goods and semi-processed goods. That is, Hungary had to *compete* with Western and Japanese manufacturers in Western markets. It was shackled in this competition by poor quality goods, limited assortment, and inflexibility in changing output and prices to meet shifting demands.

The New Economic Mechanism (NEM), introduced in 1968, was designed primarily to better mesh Hungarian industry with the demands of the West European Common Market. Centralized planning and management was effectively scrapped. Enterprise managers were free to determine output and set prices. Profitability became the main criteria for managerial success, advancement and income. Workers' incomes were also tied to their enterprise's profits.

This profit sharing was, of course, rather unequal. The workers' attitude toward the New Economic Mechanism was captured in a joke making the rounds of Hungarian factories in the early '70s. Kadar visits a factory and asks the manager: "Have you had a bonus under the economic reform, and what have you done with it?" Reply: "I bought a country cottage, and the rest of the money I put in the savings bank." He asks the chief engineer the same question. Reply: "I bought a car, and the rest of the money I put into the savings bank." Finally Kadar asks a worker. Reply: "I bought a pair of shoes." Kadar: "And the rest of the money?" Worker: "The rest of the money I had to borrow from my mother-in-law."

Working-class discontent was not limited to retailing jokes in the factory cafeteria. Opposition to the New Economic Mechanism made itself felt even through the rigidly bureaucratized trade unions, and this limited the scope of the "reforms." Higher taxes were imposed on more profitable enterprises, thus narrowing the income differences between workers in different enterprises. All workers were guaranteed a minimum wage, to be paid for if necessary out of the central government budget. Enterprises making losses were not allowed to go bankrupt but either merged with profitable ones or were subsidized by the state treasury. Thus, working-class pressure forced the Kadar regime to retain critical *elements of economic centralization*, much to the dissatisfaction of the advocates of "market socialism."

While working-class pressure limited income differentiation in socialized industry, the New Economic Mechanism spawned a new class of petty entrepreneurs out of which have emerged Hungary's *nouveaux riches*. Practically the entire service sector is now privatized along with much of the construction industry. According to official figures, in the mid-'80s there were almost 200,000 petty capitalists in Hungary (not including cooperative farmers). Close to half had annual incomes between twice and six times that of the average worker. These official figures grossly understate the actual extent of private wealth, since there is a huge volume of illegal (untaxed) transactions.

The Boom-Bust Cycle, Hungarian Style

In its first years the New Economic Mechanism seemed to be wildly successful. A top official of the National Bank of Hungary, Janos Fekete, later wrote: "The performance of the Hungarian economy improved spectacularly after 1968. We had six golden years..." (*Back to the Realities* [1982]). As events would soon show, the first golden years had little to do with the virtues of "market socialism."



Icarus bus factory in Budapest. Western bankers are now demanding massive contraction of Hungary's state-owned industry.

The Kadar regime stepped up its industrial exports to the Common Market at a time when the West European economy was experiencing an inflationary boom. At the same time, the Hungarian economy was being *subsidized by the Soviet Union* through cheap oil and other raw materials which East Europe got at well below world market prices. Two American experts on the subject, Michael Marrese and Jan Vanous, calculated that Soviet trade subsidies to Hungary between 1968 and 1974 amounted to almost \$2 billion. This happy state of affairs would not last long.

As in the case of Yugoslavia, Hungary's current economic crisis has its origin in the 1974-75 world capitalist depression precipitated by the quadrupling of oil prices engineered by the Seven Sisters/OPEC cartel. World trade in machinery and consumer goods declined, industrial and agricultural protectionism increased in the West, and the world market price of manufactures fell sharply relative to raw materials.

At the same time, the Kremlin tops, faced with a slowdown in the Soviet

imports and free up more goods for export. But none of these things happened. Investment continued to expand, living standards continued to rise.

How was Hungary able to achieve this? Increasingly, both enterprise investment and wage increases were financed by the state treasury. The higher cost of fuel and raw material imports was offset by price subsidies. By the mid-1980s enterprise and price subsidies took up *one-quarter* of the total government budget. But where did the Kadar regime get these funds? It borrowed them from the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt *Börse*. Hungary's foreign hard-currency debt increased *ninefold*, from \$1 billion in 1970 to \$9 billion in 1980. Doubtless, the Budapest regime was hoping for a return to the favorable international economic conditions of the late '60s-early '70s.

But the second oil-price shock in 1979 finally convinced Kadar & Co. they were living on a costly illusion. Their answer was austerity. Under siege by Western financiers, Hungary negotiated a settlement in 1982 through the world bankers' cartel, the International

financial crash when speculators dumped the bonds of state-owned enterprises in order to hoard consumer goods, anticipating a sharp price rise. And now they're talking about selling shares in state-owned enterprises to the public.

More than any other East European country, Kadar's Hungary has geared its economy to the Western market and so has imported the boom-bust cycle inherent in capitalism. The present austerity is the direct outcome of 20 years' increasing commercial and financial dependence on the West. And the imperialist economic penetration of Hungary has now acquired a political dimension.

Before the Storm

Hungary's *nouveaux riches* entrepreneurs and their Western imperialist godfathers have found political and ideological support among the bureaucracy and intelligentsia. Leszek Balcerowicz, a leading "theorist" at the official State School of Planning (!), openly calls for the restoration of capitalism:

"The dream of an economic system better than capitalism is dead. There is no third way, no model between Stalinism and capitalism that works well. The only reasons to stop short of returning to capitalism are pragmatic—and political."

—*Washington Post*, 6 April 1987

By "pragmatic and political" reasons for not returning to capitalism Balcerowicz means fear of the Soviet army.

The Western imperialists are beginning to see in Hungary the preconditions for counterrevolution—a Stalinist regime bankrupt politically as well as financially, popular disillusionment and discontent with "official socialism," a large class of petty capitalists, aggressively and openly pro-Western intellectuals. Looking at Hungary's economic crisis, the *New York Times* (4 January) writes: "Mr. Gorbachev's nightmare is the kind of crisis that rocked Poland in 1981, when the political troubles surrounding the independent Solidarity trade union were aggravated by a severe



Der Spiegel



AP

1956 Hungarian uprising topples hated Stalinist regime. Workers councils vowed to defend collectivized property.

economy, decided they could no longer afford to sell oil to their East European allies at little more than a third of what they could get on the world market. In 1975-76 the Soviets raised oil prices to East Europe about 70 percent, and also cut back their oil and natural gas shipments to East Europe, thus forcing Hungary to buy some of its fuel from the Seven Sisters/OPEC bandits. Overall during the 1970s, lower export prices and higher import prices cost Hungary the equivalent of *one year's total output*.

Had Hungary been a capitalist market economy, it would have experienced an acute economic crisis in the late '70s. Wages would have been cut to make exports more competitive; unprofitable enterprises would have been shut, producing large-scale unemployment; prices would have risen to reduce

Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF's terms: scrap enterprise and price subsidies; shut down unprofitable firms and operations; impose heavy taxes on consumption; increase the role of private capital in the economy.

The most ominous development in recent years is the degree to which petty capitalism has undermined the socialized economy. Factory managers routinely contract out maintenance, repair and small-scale construction to private outfits. Even socialized medicine is becoming *unsocialized* as doctors demand under-the-table cash payments for decent treatment. "We have set up a 'free' health service, but to have a baby in comfort it can cost a month's wages," a Budapest lawyer complained (*London Guardian*, 30 December 1986). Last November Hungary experienced a mini

shortage of foreign exchange that rendered the country, for all practical purposes, bankrupt."

There is, indeed, a certain parallelism between developments in Hungary and Poland. In 1956 Poland stood on the brink of a proletarian political revolution, and in 1970 a workers' revolt in the Baltic ports toppled the Gomulka regime. To assuage working-class unrest the liberal Stalinist regime of Eduard Gierek, like Kadar in Hungary, promised and initially delivered a rapid rise in consumption levels. When international economic conditions turned sour in the mid-1970s, Gierek and Kadar mortgaged their respective countries to Wall Street and the Frankfurt *Börse*. Then came the day of reckoning when the imperialist loan sharks demanded

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"Goulash Communism" ...

(continued from page 7)

their pound of flesh.

There is, however, a fundamental difference between Hungary and Poland in the consciousness of the working class and the lines of social polarization. In Poland the powerful Catholic church (which in Hungary is fairly weak) was socially based on the smallholding peasantry. In the mid-'70s pro-Western, social-democratic intellectuals like Jacek Kuron subordinated themselves to the church hierarchy and became agents of Cardinal Wyszynski and Pope John Paul Wojtyla within the working class. Thus, Solidarność was born in 1980 with a clerical-nationalist ideology and a year later demanded "Western-style democracy," i.e., capitalist counterrevolution. Fortunately, Solidarność' bid for power was stopped by General Jaruzelski's counter-coup in December 1981. Since then the Solidarność leadership has openly called for restoring capitalism (see "Solidarność Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland," *WV* No. 406, 20 June 1986).

Kadar's Hungary, however, has polarized along very different lines. The workers have been hostile to the New

East German Stalinist chief Erich Honecker (left) with West German chancellor Helmut Kohl. Bonn's Ostpolitik aims to subvert East German deformed workers state.



of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a social stratum balancing between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In Hungary today the Stalinists' balancing act is tottering and could well crash. The situation is becoming ripe for a proletarian political revolution. What is lacking is a Trotskyist vanguard party which can channel the workers' instinctive opposition to "market socialism" into a struggle for soviet power and socialist planning.

In one sense the absence of proletarian leadership is more striking today than in 1956. Then the workers councils were typically led by dissident Communists, many of whom were groping toward an authentic Marxist program. Today a working-class revolt in Hungary would be anarchic and spontaneous. But the workers cannot take power through a spontaneous uprising. They must be led by a party which knows where it is going—toward an international socialist order. For Hungary cannot exist as an island of workers power and socialism amid a Europe divided between imperialist capitalism and the Stalinist bureaucracy. For communist unity against imperialism, through political revolution from Budapest to Moscow and Peking, and socialist revolution in the capitalist West!

The East German Key

The natural bridge between political revolution in Stalinist East Europe and socialist revolution in imperialist West Europe is East Germany, a deformed expression of proletarian power in the divided industrial heartland of Europe. There is another reason that East Germany (officially the German Democratic Republic [DDR]) stands out in present-day East Europe. It has far and away the most successful economy in the Soviet bloc, especially in the 1980s, and is the only major country that hasn't tried to reform away centralized planning and management.

East Germany has become the tenth leading industrial country in the world with a per capita national income higher than Britain or Italy. Nor has its

economic growth been the one-sided expansion of heavy industry characteristic of the Stalin era. In 1960 only 3 percent of East German families had automobiles and less than 10 percent had refrigerators or washing machines. Today about half of all East German households have cars and practically everyone has refrigerators, washing machines and televisions. The DDR's impressive industrialization and growth in living standards was achieved *without* recourse to the much-vaunted market-oriented "reforms" touted by bourgeois ideologues, social democrats and liberal Stalinists.

In the mid-1960s the East Berlin Stalinists did introduce a program of

come levels. In fact, in 1980 the DDR's foreign debt per capita was *higher* than Poland's.

During the 1980s, however, East Germany has *reduced* its Western debt *without* an austerity program driving down living standards. The economy has continued to grow soundly, real wages have continued to improve and social programs, such as old-age pensions and maternity benefits, have continued to expand. In the face of a world capitalist depression, in the early 1980s the DDR increased its exports, predominantly manufactures, to Western markets by *60 percent!* At the same time, it *reduced* its fuel and other raw-material imports. In Western parlance this would certainly be termed an "economic miracle." How did they do it? By *concentrating investment* in new technology designed to save energy and raw material costs. Between 1980 and '83 national income increased by 12 percent as consumption of fuels and other raw materials decreased by 9 percent.

Here we encounter the striking superiority of centralized planning and management, even when bureaucratically deformed, over "market socialism." In the Hungarian and Yugoslav systems the investment funds available to a given enterprise or branch of the economy are determined primarily by its profits. Enterprises with high profits are, as a rule, those with new, up-to-date equipment. It is enterprises with old, obsolete equipment which urgently need to be retooled, and it is here that one gets the greatest improvement in productivity per forint or dinar invested. But in Hungary and Yugoslavia such unprofitable enterprises are starved for investment

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Hungarian bureaucrats appeal to the Western capitalists for joint ventures.

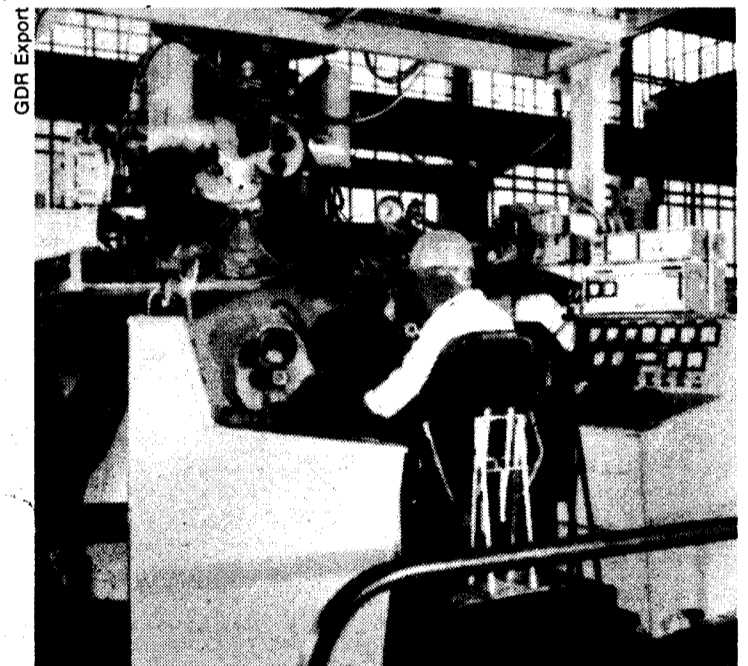
Economic Mechanism from its inception. They despise the pro-Western intellectuals, like Tibor Liska, who are the most ardent advocates of "market socialism." And they hate the wheeler-dealers who are growing rich off the NEM. Hungarian workers are not only hostile to the petty capitalists in their own country but also to the imperialist financiers whom they rightly see as the main architects of the economic crisis. The *Wall Street Journal* (5 November 1986) observed:

"Their workers, who have gained the least from liberal reforms, stand to lose most from an industrial shakeout.... "If the government charges ahead, it could face trouble from its workers. If it doesn't, the trouble may come from another quarter: the capitalist banks to whom Hungary owes billions of dollars."

This mouthpiece for Wall Street here accurately conveys the *bonapartist* role



17 June 1953—East German workers rise up against the Stalinist regime, call upon West German workers to "sweep out your crap in Bonn."



Electron-beam multi-chamber furnace produced by LEW Kombinat. East German industry is the most technologically advanced in the Soviet bloc.

marketed-oriented "reforms" called the New Economic System. The results were not to their liking. The partial decentralization of investment, geared to enterprise profitability, produced imbalances and bottlenecks throughout the economy. Manufacturing output increased twice as fast as the generation of electrical power, leading to numerous power cuts and brownouts. So in 1970 the New Economic System was scrapped and the economy was recentralized. The role of enterprise profitability was *de-emphasized*, especially in determining the distribution of investment funds.

Seeking to overcome the bureaucratic rigidity of traditional Stalinist planning, during the 1970s the East German economy was divided into *Kombinate*, huge, vertically integrated groups of enterprises. These amount to relatively self-sufficient industrial empires. In the late '70s the DDR faced the same adverse international economic conditions as did Hungary and Poland. Demand contracted in the West for its manufactured exports and their relative price fell. At the same time, the price of fuel and other raw-material imports soared. Like its counterparts in Budapest and Warsaw, the Honecker regime in East Berlin borrowed heavily from the Western bankers to maintain in-

funds! Under "market socialism," investment is directed into areas that are *least productive* to the economy as a whole.

While the East German economy has certainly been more successful than Hungary, Poland or Yugoslavia, the *Kombinat* system has produced its own distortions, imbalances and a tendency toward building bureaucratic fiefdoms. Ultimately, the East Berlin Stalinists cannot build socialism in half a country. Despite the DDR's impressive economic growth, its productivity and living standards remain well below those of West Germany, which therefore exercises a powerful counterrevolutionary pressure upon the deformed workers state east of the Elbe. The road to socialism lies neither in the bureaucratic commandism of old-line Stalinism or the market-oriented "reforms" of liberal Stalinism. That road lies through a democratically administered, centrally planned, egalitarian and *international* organized economy.

For the Revolutionary Reunification of Germany!

With few exceptions Western bourgeois economists deny any connection between East Germany's superior economic performance and its centralized

For Mass Labor/Immigrant Mobilizations to Smash the Fascists!

Anti-Nazi Protests in West Germany

BERLIN/HAMBURG—On February 13, an 800-strong anti-Nazi protest marched to the site of a planned fascist rally in West Berlin. The demonstration was called by the Free University student government, the Alternative List, the Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime (VVN—founded by Communist survivors of Hitler's concentration camps), and the anarchist *Autonomen*. Among the participants were the SEW (West Berlin affiliate of the East German Communist party), the Kommunistischer Bund (KB) and a contingent of the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands.

The protest was directed against a rally called by the sinister brown-shirt Republikaner, an ultraright split from Franz Josef Strauss' Bavarian Christian Social Union, together with remnants of the Nazi NPD (Ger-

man National-Democratic Party). The emergence of this not-so-neo Nazi group comes in the context of armed fascist attacks on camps set up by the Kohl government for refugees seeking asylum, and racist firebomb attacks on immigrant neighborhoods.

Protest leaflets called to "stop the Nazi rally," and SEW placards proclaimed, "Nazis Out of West Berlin." However, the rally was carefully planned to end two hours before the fascist rally. Moreover, a VVN banner called for placing the Republikaner on the banned organizations list. In West Berlin this appeal to a bourgeois government is directed at the Allied imperialist occupation forces, who have in the past outlawed the Communists.

The Trotskyist contingent marched under its own banners in a united front



TLD marches in West Berlin anti-fascist protest, February 13.

with the VVN and the SEW, with an organized defense squad. TLD placards called for "Mass Mobilizations by Labor/Immigrants—Smash the Nazis!" "Afghanistan: Red Army Must Win!" "Red Army Smashed Nazi Regime!" "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!" and "Stop the Racist Terror Against Refugees!" The TLD chanted, "Bury Schönhuber at Bitburg!"—directed at the Republi-

kaner's führer who gloats about his history as an SS officer in the Third Reich.

A week later, on February 20, 400 people turned out in the Hamburg neighborhood of Wandsbek to protect a dormitory housing Third World political refugees and immigrants from an announced fascist attack. The rightist Springer press in Hamburg has tried to link this run-down building, a virtual concentration camp for those awaiting deportation, to drug trafficking. In response, skinheads and a neo-Nazi group had called for fascists from all over North Germany to attack this dormitory.

The anti-fascist countermobilization was called by a coalition similar to that in West Berlin, including the Green Alternative List, VVN and the DKP (West German Communist Party). The TLD's sign saying "Red Army Must Win in Afghanistan!" caused consternation among mullah-loving Greens, and from the platform a KB speaker incited an attack on that placard by *Autonomen* in the crowd. However, these anti-communist hooligans only managed to rip TLD signs calling for defense of immigrants! These thugs were clearly at the wrong demonstration. After this attack, a number of interested Turkish workers came over to the TLD contingent and bought copies of *Spartakist*.

planning. Instead they point to the DDR's special economic relationship with West Germany (officially the Federal Republic of Germany). East German exports to the Federal Republic are exempt from the Common Market tariffs which are levied on other East European countries, the Bonn regime has guaranteed bank loans to the DDR, etc.

But these factors *cannot* account for East Germany's economic achievements. Its remarkably successful export drive in the early 1980s was mainly directed at Western markets *other* than the Federal Republic, where the DDR enjoys no special tariff advantage. Access to Western loans cannot explain East Germany's ability to radically reduce its energy and raw-material costs per unit of production. Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia had no problems borrowing billions of deutschmarks from Frankfurt bankers, and the only result was to deepen and ultimately intensify their economic crises.

To be sure, the Federal Republic does subsidize the DDR. Through the "swing" credit, West German manufacturers and middlemen have gotten the equivalent of half a billion dollars a year subsidy from the Bundesbank in Bonn to help cover their exports to East Germany. This is in part an export subsidy for West German capitalists (i.e., a disguised form of trade protectionism). However, Bonn's special economic relationship with the DDR is not primarily a means for Ruhr industrialists to sell more machine tools or construction equipment. Its main purpose is far more sinister.

The masters of the Fourth Reich aim to subvert and undermine the socialized economy of East Germany and beyond the Oder-Neisse line (the post-WWII border with Poland), reconquering what Hitler lost when he launched Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union. (To this day West German publications frequently refer to the DDR as "Middle Germany"!)

The ultimate aim of Bonn's *Ostpolitik* and deutschmark diplomacy is clearly perceived by the French bourgeoisie, for whom the prospect of a reunified Germany—whether capitalist or socialist—is a historic nightmare. After Honecker's triumphant visit to West Germany last fall, former French foreign minister and rabid Gaullist Michel

Jobert exclaimed:

"Germany intends to go its own way in Mitteleuropa. It is a people that thinks it can make a deal with the Soviets, relying on the economic strength of the Federal Republic to buy back its unity—in whatever form."

—*Newsweek*, 14 September 1987

Meanwhile, West Germany is using that economic strength as a lever to promote and protect pro-imperialist forces within the DDR. Thus, Alfred Dregger,



Red Army liberated Europe from nightmare of Nazi occupation. Soviet soldiers hoist red flag from Reichstag, Berlin, for May Day 1945.

right-wing Christian Democratic leader in the Bundestag, stated that Bonn's economic and diplomatic concessions to Honecker were "the price for getting him to give a little more freedom to his own people" (*London Independent*, 9 September 1987). What the likes of Dregger are concerned with is freedom for the pro-Western "human rights" dissidents and "peace" movement grouped around the Lutheran church.

The Lutheran church is the only institution in the DDR that is allowed to exist to some degree independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy. But East Germany is not Poland. (Indeed, East Germans despised the clerical-nationalist

Solidarność.) The DDR is a secularized society at its base with a socialist-minded proletariat and intelligentsia. This is not to say that East Germany is immune from the powerful pressures emanating from Western imperialism. The East German "peace" movement, several of whose members were recently arrested by the Stasi secret police and then expelled from the DDR, is in fact a channel for the introduction of social-

tral, demilitarized and reunified Germany—independent of both Washington and Moscow—is a thinly disguised call for "democratic" counterrevolution in East Germany.

In the Frankfurt banking houses, Bonn chancelleries and SPD headquarters they are planning how to regain Prussia and Saxony for "free world" capitalism. However, as the Scottish poet Robert Burns observed, "the best laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft a-gley." Polls show huge majorities in both German states favor reunification. Reunification is a two-edged sword. It also has a *proletarian edge* which can sweep away the masters of the Fourth Reich and their Social Democratic lackeys. When youth in East Berlin protested last June, their cry "The Wall must go!" was accompanied by "We want Gorbachev!" and singing the *Internationale* (see "Divided Germany and Gorbachev's Glasnost," *WV* No. 438, 16 October 1987).

The sense of identity between workers on both sides of the Elbe, the widespread fear that the madmen in Washington will trigger a nuclear war beginning on German soil, can be the basis for the revolutionary reunification of Germany—socialist revolution in the West, political revolution against the Stalinists in the East. The potential for revolutionary reunification was historically demonstrated in the June 1953 East German workers' uprising. A mass meeting of metal workers in East Berlin raised the slogan of a metal workers government based on strike committees. And in the Halle train station strikers greeted travelers from the West with a banner reading, "Now sweep out your crap in Bonn—in Pankow [East Berlin] we're cleaning house."

The future of divided Germany cannot and will not be determined solely within Germany. Germany is the leader of Europe—for socialism or for barbarism. Under the Nazis, German imperialism brought to Europe the unspeakable barbarism of Auschwitz and Dachau. But if the social power of the industrial proletariat of the two Germanys is united as an axis for socialist revolution in Europe, it will find allies in the working classes from Portugal to Russia. A Soviet Germany will take its rightful place as the industrial core of a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

Dallas Protest...

(continued from page 12)

Thousands of uniformed cops, including contingents from all over the country, did attend.

Dallas is a seething cauldron of racial tension and the cops are stoking the flames, a law unto themselves. Police wives organized a parade in support of the local cops and 3,000 bumper stickers bearing the slogan, "Back the Blue—Stop Crime," were passed out. For several days after the cop was killed, motorists tied black ribbons to their radio antennas and turned on their headlights. An organization called "Back the Blue" was founded. The mayor, who was for a time critical of the police chief, posed for a cozy photo op with top cop Prince and affixed a "Back the Blue" bumper sticker to her car.

Headquarters of the John Birch Society and chosen site for the Republican Party's 1988 convention, Dallas lies on the edge of East Texas, historically part of the Deep South. The defining feature of the region's history is not the oil discovered there at the turn of the century, but its Confederate past of vast cotton plantations worked by black slaves. Dallas was born as a cotton trade center. Popularized by the TV soap of the same name as a city for filthy rich, white oil tycoons, Dallas is a hungry, ugly place for black people, the unemployed and those lucky enough to find work since the oil boom went bust years ago.



Loyal Garner Jr.—cops beat him to death in Texas jail for asking to make a phone call.

The faction of the KKK that tried to strut through Dallas two weeks ago (reportedly invited by the local cops) is David White's "Invisible Empire," headquartered up North in Shelton, Connecticut. But the Klan is much at home in Texas, East Texas in particular. In the early 1980s, a faction of the Klan centered in Pasadena, a suburb of Houston, routinely attacked Vietnamese shrimpers and fishermen who had moved to the Texas coast. And more recently, Klansmen have attacked Mexican workers, joining forces with the racist *la migra* to patrol the Rio Grande border.

Last Christmas Day, 250 miles across

East Texas from Dallas, a young black county worker named Loyal Garner was beaten to death by the Hemphill, Texas chief of police and two sheriff's deputies. Loyal Garner thought he had rights. He refused to take a breathalyzer test when stopped on the road by white redneck cops. When they threw him in the slammer, he asked for his right to a phone call, to call his wife. But in capitalist America, no "right" is higher than that of the police, the armed fist of the ruling class, to keep working people and minorities down. Loyal Garner is dead—and the most a local grand jury was willing to indict the cops for was violations of a civil rights statute! Finally, on March 5, in the wake of national publicity and protest, murder charges were brought against the police.

As we wrote in "Cop Terror Stalks Black America" (*WV* No. 444, 15 January):

"But behind the hooded racist terrorists, and frequently wearing blue uniforms under their white sheets, stand the badge-toting racists who are licensed to kill. The Kluxers and Hitler-lovers are only the auxiliaries—the capitalist state is the overwhelming source of violence against black people."

The quick and decisive response by hundreds of decent people in Dallas put the lynchers on the run. The strategy of mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations has kept the fascists off the streets from San Francisco to Washington, D.C. What's needed is a revolutionary workers party fighting for proletarian power, to sweep away the racists in white sheets and blue uniforms and their capitalist masters once and for all. ■

Panama...

(continued from page 1)

began in a fascist party and who is "now known in political circles as *Lengua Negra*, or black tongue, on account of the zeal with which he is said to lick military officers' boots" (*London Independent*, 1 March).

Delvalle then called for a "general strike," certainly unusual for a Latin American president. But when the bosses' work stoppage fizzled, this champion of the "democratic" opposition called on the Yankees to put the economic stranglehold on Panama. And here they are succeeding. After Washington moved to block the Noriega regime's access to \$50 million held in U.S. banks, there was a run on banks in Panama City, forcing them to shut down. Normally such a cash squeeze would be solved by cranking up the government printing presses to churn out more paper money. But the Panamanian currency, called the balboa, turns out to be the almighty greenback, adorned not with the face of the Spanish conquistador but that of Jorge Washington. That in itself is symbolic of the artificial origins of the state of Panama, created by the U.S. at the turn of the century.

The Narco-Contras

Predictably, the kept U.S. media has been pumping out "the sordid story of how Panama's outlaw dictator sold his country to the highest bidders" (*Newsweek*, 15 February). This is just sour grapes—the U.S. never minded buying presidents and governments as long as it wasn't outbid. "We can't compete with the kind of money the Colombian dealers are offering," moaned one senior administration official to the *New York Times* (12 February). The U.S. didn't give a damn about Noriega's illegal activities so long as he was "our S.O.B.," as FDR affectionately referred to Nicaraguan dictator Somoza.

Even the *New York Times* (6 February) delicately noted the hypocrisy: "Officials in both the Reagan and Carter Administrations largely overlooked General Noriega's illegal activities because of his cooperation with American intelligence and his willingness to let the American military conduct extensive operations on his soil." But as Noriega now reveals, the White House was piqued by his refusal to go along with a December 1985 proposal made to him by then-National Security Advisor Admiral Poindexter to cooperate in an invasion of Nicaragua. Rebuffed, the admiral warned, says Noriega, of "consequences, which began in 1987."

The real story here is of the White House/gusano/contra connection, systematically covered up at every level. In 1986 two journalists, Tony Avirgan and his wife Martha Honey, filed a suit detailing the myriad activities of drug profiteers, hitmen and gunrunners, of

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

plan to lock Pratt up for the rest of his life, using the legal technicality that his notice of appeal was filed a few days too late. The three-judge panel of Nixon and Reagan appointees now invokes this technicality more than two years after a district court judge waived the late filing.

The federal court is giving its stamp of approval to the deadly COINTELPRO conspiracy which has left 48 Panthers

dead and stolen years from the lives of many like Pratt, put behind bars because they dared to stand up for the rights of black people. Meese's cronies in black robes want to bury his grotesque crimes against black militants by relegating the frame-up and now 18-year-long imprisonment of Pratt to the court archives. COINTELPRO is alive and well. Hundreds of groups, including Maryknoll nuns and the UAW, have been the subject of FBI investigations and disruptions for opposing the U.S.' dirty war in Central America. The message must be brought home that Pratt's fight for freedom and

to defeat COINTELPRO is labor's fight. Freedom now for Pratt would be a blow against Reagan reaction and must be the cause of all opponents of racist capitalist injustice.

* * *

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S.F. Racist Cops...

(continued from page 12)

accidentally made over police radio blew the lid off a high-level cover-up, but the killers are still on the force and on the streets.

The police painted a lurid picture of "5 foot 8, 190 pound" Grohse, who after "numerous" warnings "suddenly" turned, "brought the gun up in both hands" and aimed it at them "with a wild, terrifying shriek." Furious neighbors of the grieving family exposed the cops' lies. Nurse's aide Jacqueline Black saw the whole thing from her balcony. "He didn't point his gun at them. He

didn't point nothing. He just turned toward them. The police shot him when he turned," she told the *Chronicle* (19 February). "They just shouted at him once.... The whole thing was over within seconds." Another lying cover-up is well under way. Down with the whitewash—*Jail the killers of Grohse and Lumpkin!*

The mayor and Board of Supervisors are now busy framing laws to ban the sale of "realistic toy guns." What disgusting crap! In this country, it's always been part of growing up for kids to play with toy guns. Since when has that been considered "probable cause" to blow kids' brains out? Aside from blaming the victim, the ominous implication is that cops have the right to shoot anyone who has a gun. Two days before Tony Grohse was murdered, actor Michael Benbrook was "fooling around" on a balcony with a water pistol shaped like a Beretta submachine gun; the SWAT team was called out and almost blew him away. The liberal establishment in San Francisco has always been pro-gun control; they want to assert the capitalist state's monopoly of armed force. But *gun control kills blacks*. It's the racist, murdering cops who should be disarmed!

A generation of black youth has been written off by this country's racist, capitalist rulers. With no jobs, no schools worth a damn, no money and no future, kids without hope deal in crack, fight gang wars and make life in the ghetto even more miserable. Capitalism can't begin to attack the root of the problem—the vicious circle of joblessness,

drug addiction and crime condemning a generation to a life of despair. Instead they send in their armed thugs to terrorize the inhabitants.

Rising cop terror and impending austerity intersect a growing racial polarization in the city. The fire department has become notorious for harboring a nest of KKK-style racists, condoned and coddled by the city administration. Organized labor—powerful, integrated unions like longshore and transit—is the counterforce that could spike racist cop/fascist terror. Yet that militant class struggle has been the missing factor in San Francisco—thanks to union bureaucrats who have successfully squashed every attempt of the workers to fight the bosses in the past year, from the shipyard strike to Jimmy Herman's sellout longshore contract. In exchange, they help get Democratic "friends of labor" elected, like Herman's good buddy Art Agnos, who immediately embraces racist murderers and launches a crushing austerity drive.

Unionized black workers are the key link between the ghetto and the working class. The working class has the social power not only to stop the racist killers in blue, but to take this country and run it in the interests of working people—beginning with a massive investment of jobs, education and money to break the material chains of black oppression. To mobilize that power requires ousting the labor traitors and forging a revolutionary party. The road to black liberation from this capitalist hellhole lies through socialist revolution. ■



Guardian [London]

Panama kingpin, General Noriega.

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Salvador Workers Strike Against Death Squad Regime

On March 1, a death squad gunned down phone workers union member José Herbert Guardado as he was riding a bus in San Salvador. Guardado was the third member of ASTTEL (Salvadoran Telecommunications Workers Association) to be assassinated in the last three months. On March 4, Guardado's coworkers protested the murder in front of the central offices of the government telephone company. That same day 50,000 government workers held a work stoppage demanding an emergency pay increase and rehiring of fired union leaders.

The phone workers accuse phone company president Colonel Mauricio Vides Casanova, brother of the army chief of staff, of being responsible for the killing as part of a campaign of threats and terror against the union. On March 7 ASTTEL rallied and stopped work at a San Salvador phone exchange to protest the latest killing.

Since the signing of the phony Arias "peace" plan in August nearly 100 unionists, peasants and students have been assassinated or "disappeared" by government hit squads. Special targets have been members of unions which have fought militant class battles. A partial list of those recently killed includes:

- Two STISSS nurses, Lidia Esther Herrera and Victoria Canenguez, who were machine-gunned to death in an ambulance in Zacatecoluca in mid-

December.

- Argelio Pérez, an ANDES teachers union member found shot to death December 12 in a middle-class suburb.

- Medardo Serafin Ayala, an ASTTEL member gunned down near his home on December 19.

- Victor Manuel Vásquez, an ASTTEL member murdered January 13 in front of his home in the working-class



May Day 1987: Thousands of Salvadoran workers demand Duarte's ouster, oppose U.S.-imposed austerity and war.

suburb of Mejicanos.

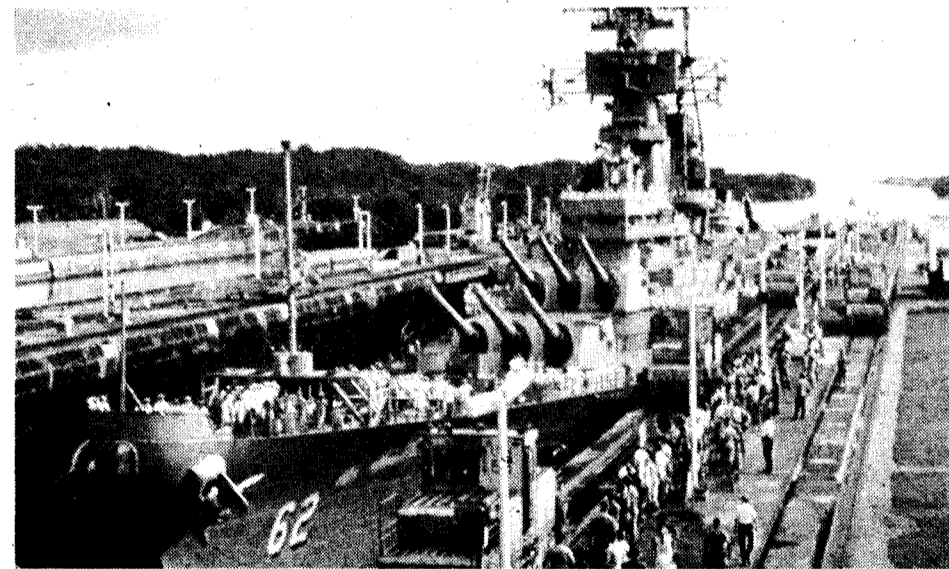
Threatened by the guerrilla successes and the increasing organization and strength of the union movement, the

U.S. puppet government of José Napoleón Duarte has unleashed its hired guns for "free-lance" killings. In scenes reminiscent of Duarte's first term as president in the early '80s, the mutilated bodies of death squad victims have begun to turn up at the infamous Devil's Gate, a deep ravine south of the capital. On February 1 the bodies of two men and a boy were found here with their

civilians in an effort to drown in blood every struggle for social liberation and justice. As ASTTEL general secretary Humberto Centeno said in his greetings to a Partisan Defense Committee benefit last December, "the death squads are there in the military barracks." He cited the case of university workers union leader Salvador Ubau, kidnapped and held in the dungeons of the Treasury Police since last September despite the fraudulent "amnesty" which has freed pathological death squad assassins.

To root out the bloody Salvadoran regime and bring justice to this war-ravaged land, we fight for military victory for the leftist insurgents of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and for workers revolution throughout Central America. In the United States, the ruling class debates the wisdom of supporting the loser contras in Nicaragua, but are united in their support for the death squad "democracy" in El Salvador. Still the "solidarity movement" focuses its campaign on pressuring liberal Democrats, who have voted over \$3 billion to keep their Salvadoran puppet regime above water. The American workers must be mobilized to smash the U.S. war on the embattled working masses of Central America.

The victorious worker and peasant masses will avenge the victims of Duarte's death squad terror! ■



U.S. battleship *New Jersey* in Panama Canal. American military still controls former Canal Zone (home of Pentagon's Southern Command), linchpin of U.S. imperialist domination of Latin America.

top CIA operatives and generals, a cabal whose intertwined histories go back to Vietnam and the "secret war" in Laos in the '60s. These turned out to be the Secret Team operated by Oliver North out of the White House basement, arming the contras despite a supposed Congressional ban. (See "The Contra Connection," *WV* No. 411, 12 September 1986, and "Contragate Murder Plots," *WV* No. 420, 23 January 1987.)

Around the Contragate affair, a mountain of new evidence has accumulated, spelled out in a new book by CBS investigative reporter Leslie Cockburn, *Out of Control* (1987). Cockburn reports how in December 1985 one Michael Tolliver, a freelance pilot who had long worked with CIAers Shackley and Cline and was referred to by Contragate General Secord as "my man," flew a DC-6 loaded with 28,000 pounds of guns and ammunition for the contras from Miami airport to the CIA-controlled Aguacate air base in Honduras, then returned with 25,360 pounds of marijuana, offloaded it at Homestead Air Force Base in Florida, and was paid 75 grand!

Cockburn tells how Ramón Millán-Rodríguez, a Cuban gusano who was invited to the 1981 Reagan inauguration because of his large campaign contribution, "laundered a \$10 million contribution from the Colombian co-

caine cartel to the 'freedom fighters,' at the behest of a CIA veteran and key figure in the White House contra supply network." All this was known to the Congressional Contragate investigators. But when Millán-Rodríguez appeared before Democratic Senator Kerry's hearings last month, "the subcommittee did not pursue Mr. Rodríguez's statements about financing the contras with drug money with the help of American intelligence" (*New York Times*, 12 February). The Democrats have covered up for Reagan.

Reagan's Panama Canal Obsession

How could Noriega *not* be involved in all these shady dealings? Illicit drug trade, in fact illicit anything, has been practically synonymous with Panama for years. It's an open secret that the country's main business, after the canal (or perhaps rivaling it), is setting up dummy corporations, providing flags of convenience for shady shipping companies, laundering money in fly-by-night banks, and so on. Just ask Colonel North, whose Contragate "enterprise" with General Secord et al. had three dummy corporations set up in Panama to funnel their dollars.

Noriega has repeatedly claimed that "The attacks on Panama are owed to the

fact that there is a Southern Command, a canal, and a strategic position that the United States must abandon in the year 2000" (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 February). This was simply dismissed by the imperialist press as demagogic rantings. But then the *New York Times* (7 March) printed an obviously "inspired" article alleging "Negligence Is Seen in Parts of Canal Ceded to Panama," and claiming this "raises grave doubts about its ability and willingness to run the strategic waterway impartially and efficiently and to abide by the terms of the Panama Canal Treaties." The article is blatantly preparing the grounds for a U.S. military intervention to "defend the canal." As we go to press, Panama has protested new American military exercises just announced by Southcom.

During his failed 1976 presidential primary campaign, Reagan opposed any accord with Panama. "We bought it, we paid for it, we built it, and we intend to keep it," he proclaimed. Or as the Reaganite then-Senator from Cali-

fornia, S.I. Hayakawa, put it, a bit more honestly, "We stole it, fair and square." However, the next year Democratic president Jimmy Carter signed a treaty with Panama's nationalist strongman, General Omar Torrijos, providing for a gradual transfer of the canal to Panama. The U.S. Canal Zone formally ceased to exist in 1979, but the scores of American military and intelligence installations remained. This includes the headquarters of the Southern Command, the linchpin for U.S. military operations in the Latin American "theater."

Noriega is nothing but an imperialist puppet who has slipped the reins of his puppet-masters. The Panamanian workers must sweep out the corrupt military upstarts and the traditional oligarchy, both of which are instruments of imperialist domination. As for the vital international waterway which bisects the country, the Panama Canal must be wrested from the imperialists through international working-class struggle—For a Socialist United States of Latin America! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Cops Attack Anti-Klan Demonstrators

Dallas: Integrated Protest Routs KKK

DALLAS, Texas—The racist killers in white sheets thought they could get away with marching through the streets in support of their brothers in blue uniforms who've been getting away with murder of black people in this Southern city. But on February 27, up to 600 black, white and Hispanic anti-racist protesters, some with placards reading "Police and Klan Go Hand in Hand," routed the Kluxers who intended to hold a rally in support of the local police chief who has publicly denounced an affirmative action plan imposed on his gang of racist thugs. Fred Bell, a member of the Citizens Committee for Justice, told *Workers Vanguard*, "What happened was, the Klan came down here and got their behinds kicked. The skinheads got their behinds kicked, too. They're probably not used to it."

As the *Dallas Times Herald* (28 February) reported, "The crowd was tense but peaceful until about a dozen Klan members appeared, ringed by police officers wearing helmets and holding riot batons." Young white-supremacist skinheads wearing black pants and combat boots "marched in lockstep and shouted 'Sieg Heil' and 'White Power.'" But when they went beyond the police lines into the anti-fascist protesters, the crowd reacted, pummeling the skinhead creeps. The KKK bullhorn was overpowered and demonstrators charged the hooded Kluxers. AP reported that "Klansmen seeking to escape members of the hostile crowd of 200 squeezed into cars and tried to leave the scene."

The Dallas TAC squad waded in with mounted police and police dogs, clubbing demonstrators so that the Klan and the Hitler-loving skinheads could escape. The police arrested eight, includ-

"Skinhead" punks who attacked Dallas anti-Klan protest run out by militant demonstrators, February 27.



ing two anti-Klan protesters. As Fred Bell put it, "They barely got the Klan out of there in one piece." The anti-Klan demonstration was organized by word of mouth on just 48 hours notice. The determination of the protesters was clear even before the fascists poked their snouts out of the sewers. At a press conference preceding the demonstration, the anti-racists tore up and burned the emblems of race-terror, the Confederate flag of slavery and the Nazi swastika flag. We demand: *Drop all charges against the anti-racist protesters!*

Blue Uniforms and White Sheets

Even more sharply segregated than most American cities, Dallas has become increasingly polarized along race

lines. In 1986, the Dallas cops ranked *number one* among the police of the eleven largest U.S. cities in the use of deadly force—and the bodies they pump full of lead are black. Etta Mae Collins, a 70-year-old black woman, was gunned down standing in the door of her own home after reporting a burglary; 81-year-old David Horton, also black, was shot by cops at the apartment building where he served as a "crime-watch" volunteer. These hideous murders prompted the city council to pass a package of police "reforms" including what activist Fred Bell described as a "Mickey Mouse civilian review board" and the affirmative action guidelines balked at by police chief Billy Prince. But since the beginning of this year, four more Dallas residents have been killed by the cops.

On January 23, Dallas was brought to the flash point with the shooting death of a city cop by a mentally ill and homeless black man who took the cop's gun and fired, encouraged by a crowd shouting, "Shoot him, shoot him!" Black Dallas County Commissioner John Price and two other black city councilmen became the targets of death threats after the police chief obscenely accused them of being "partly to blame" for this incident because they've had the audacity to speak out against the department's systematic racism. Then the Dallas Police Association brazenly "disinvited" the mayor (a liberal Jewish woman), as well as the Hispanic and black council members, from a memorial service for the slain cop.

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Retarded Boy Gunned Down in Cold Blood

S.F. Racist Cops Target Minorities

SAN FRANCISCO—Two white cops shot and killed a 13-year-old kid here February 17. The "crime" of Silvelio "Tony" Grohse, a retarded Samoan teenager, was to be playing with a toy gun around the Potrero Hill projects where he lived, in a largely black area of San Francisco.

For many months, cops operating out of the Potrero police district have been sweeping the streets, reminiscent of "Operation Zebra" a decade ago, when police unleashed a "stop and search" roundup of young black males. Last year the Potrero station launched a "crackdown on crack." Along with undercover narcs, 150 or more cops prowl the streets, making as many as 1,000 arrests a week (*Chronicle*, 20 February)! In January police recorded *three times* as many arrests as a year before. Patrol cars roll by some corners every 90 seconds. Fed up with this treatment, black youth erupted, confronting

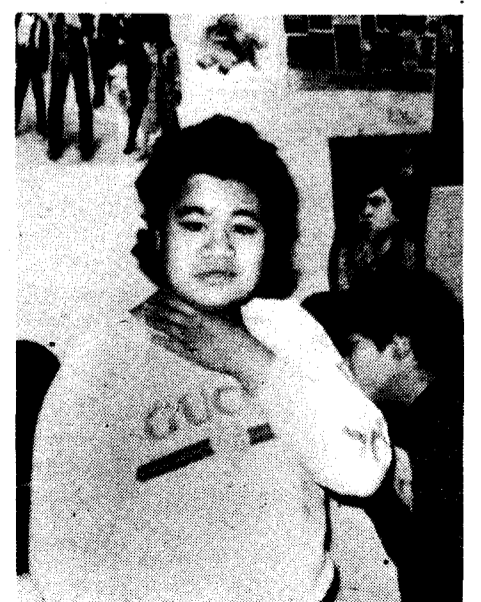
cops and stoning Muni buses. So the cops went looking for blood and shot Grohse right between the eyes, in broad daylight, in front of horrified neighbors.

After cops Janet Campbell and Michael Huddleston blew away Tony Grohse, the entire political establishment of SF rushed to defend the killers. "By all indications, they acted properly," said police spokesman Sgt. Jerry Senkir the day after. "The officers will be dispatched to the homicide division, with full pay, to assist in the investigation into the shooting. It is standard procedure for officers to be transferred temporarily, and it is not a punitive action." The killers have been assigned to investigate themselves! The city's newly elected "liberal" Democratic mayor Art Agnos agreed, saying, "I feel sorry for the family and I feel sorry for the police. I know what they must all be going through" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 February).

The cops say they had to blow Tony's brains out because he was a big kid playing with a "realistic" plastic toy gun. This has become the obscene standard alibi for police murder. Back in 1983, a cop in Orange County blew away black five-year-old Patrick Mason after breaking into the child's home while his mother was at work; little Patrick was playing with a toy pistol. To shut up Patrick's mother Patricia Ridge, the local D.A. then charged her with "child neglect" because she couldn't afford a baby sitter! That killer cop, one Anthony Sperl, was rewarded with retirement at half pay at age 24 and a \$35,000 bounty from workmen's compensation for "psychological stress"!

Here in San Francisco, the cops who murdered Larry Lumpkin in Ingleside last year at first tried to claim the unarmed black youth had a gun as he tried to surrender. A tape of the murder

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Courtesy Steve Diamond

Tony Grohse, 13 years old, was playing with a water pistol when racist S.F. cops gunned him down.