

Sandinista "Third Way" Paved Way for Reaction

Nicaragua: Dollar "Democracy" Brings Back Contras

Defend Cuba! For Workers Revolution!

MARCH 5—The chiefs of U.S. imperialism are jubilantly proclaiming that they have won in the polls what their contra mercenaries were unable to win on the battlefield: defeat of the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. The arrogant Yankee imperialists trumpet yet another "victory over Communism," as their bought-and-paid-for contra candidate, MIT graduate Violeta Chamorro, vowed to carry through a "democratic" counterrevolution. Chamorro proclaimed she will immediately return land confiscated by the Sandinistas and distributed to small peasants, or compensate the former big landowners, and will sell off large state enterprises to private capitalists.

In Washington, Democrats vie with Republicans to take credit for Chamorro's upset victory over Sandinista president Daniel Ortega in the February 25 elections. But the Sandinistas' own program—which, far from pushing "communism," conciliated domestic and foreign capitalist reaction, demoralized their own plebeian base and deepened the mass hunger and unemployment brought on by

years of imperialist aggression and blockade—helped pave the way for the electoral victory of an open U.S. puppet ten years after Sandinista guerrillas swept into Managua in triumph over the butcher dictator Anastasio Somoza. In the words of the French bourgeois revolutionary Louis de Saint-Just (1767-1794), "He who makes a revolution half-way digs his own grave."

So a scant two months after the U.S. rape of Panama, and in the midst of Gorbachev's wholesale capitulations to imperialism from Afghanistan to Berlin, Washington thinks it can buy, bully and invade its way back to being the unchallenged boss policeman of the Western Hemisphere. Drunk with triumphalism, the U.S. imperialists now set their cross hairs on Cuba. Bipartisan Congressional task forces have just been set up with the objective of getting rid of Fidel Castro within 12 months. It is the urgent duty of the world working class to *defend Cuba against U.S. imperialism!*

Meanwhile, Salvadoran leftist insurgents, whose stunning military offensive

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Contra candidate Violeta Chamorro with her godfather George Bush—his boys in the White House subbasement ran the contra war.



Cambio 16



East German Elections

No to Capitalist Reunification!

The Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), will present candidates in the March 18 East German elections for the Volkskammer (parliament). The central slogan of the Trotskyists' campaign is "No to Capitalist Reunification—For a Germany of Workers Councils!" The election manifesto issued on February 24 urges the working people of East Germany to resist the campaign of destabilization being massively orchestrated by imperialism with the aim of stampeding the DDR toward capitalist reunification. "These elections," the manifesto notes, "have become a distorted plebiscite on the future existence of the DDR."

The party has announced that it will

Manifesto and Program of Struggle of the Spartakist Workers Party

present candidates in East Berlin, Rostock, Leipzig and Halle. Protests have been filed against bureaucratic obstacles placed in the way of our running additional candidates in other districts. A SpAD press release (1 March) noted that "the Spartakist Workers Party is the only one raising its voice on behalf of the great number of DDR citizens who, without ifs, ands or buts, say 'No' to capitalist reunification. Other parties also assert that they want to defend the social

gains of the DDR, but they either take capitalist reunification for granted as something inevitable, or they propose phony compromises like 'market socialism' which just pave the way for it." Only the genuine communism of Lenin and Trotsky, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, can finish once and for all with the now-discredited Stalinist bureaucratic system which has left the DDR prostrate before the designs of revanchist imperialism. Only a revolutionary-egalitarian regime

of workers councils can defend the existing social gains of the DDR and fight to solve the country's problems on an internationalist basis.

We publish below the SpAD's election manifesto, translated from *Arbeiterpressekorespondenz*, 24 February.

We appeal to all who want to fight against the sellout of the German Democratic Republic. Vote Spartakist Workers Party in the Volkskammer elections on March 18th! Give a powerful "No" to capitalist reunification! **Fight along with us for a communist future!**

The existence of the DDR is at stake. Today the question is revolution or counterrevolution. We, the working people,

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For a Germany of Workers Councils!

German Trotskyists Call For Protest in East Berlin



“Against Privatization— No to Capitalist Reunification!”

As the East German Volkskammer (parliament) prepares to debate a proposed law on “privatization” of the economy, the Spartakist Workers Party has called for an emergency united-front protest, to be held in front of the Volkskammer at 5 p.m. on March 6. We reprint below a call for the demonstration, published in Arbeiter-pressekorrespondenz No. 26, 6 March.

The Frankfurt bankers and Bonn politicians want to buy up the DDR, and the Modrow/Luft government wants to sell it off, piece by piece, at fire sale prices and then close it down. Against the

East Berlin Workers: Now Is the Hour to Fight!

campaign of intimidation, we workers must defend our VEBs [nationalized companies] and our workers state. That’s the only way to stop threatened mass layoffs and the elimination of the social achievements.

On March 6 and 7, the Volkskammer will consider a draft law on privatization that represents a giant step toward reintroducing capitalist exploitation in our country.

Big Western companies will be allowed to establish “joint ventures,” firms expropriated in 1972 will be returned to their former owners and heirs, Kombinate [large integrated companies] are to be broken up, market prices are to be introduced.

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany calls on Berlin workers to mobilize in the factories to march on the Volkskammer to stop this sellout! We urge all political tendencies and union and factory organizations who claim to defend the interests of the working people to join in a powerful class protest.

For starters, last Thursday the government issued an order transforming all VEBs into stock companies owned by shareholders. Despite all the blather about the possibility of letting the people buy shares—in plants that have already belonged to the working people for a long time—in reality they are paving the way for the capitalist takeover. But who gave Modrow/Luft the right to sell off what we built with our sweat and toil?

Deputy prime minister Luft said on the radio that they want to administer the economy and then “shut down.” They want to shut down the DDR. And that means gutting our plants. Brown-Boveri is currently setting up a “joint venture” to take over Bergmann-Borsig; Ostram bosses are negotiating a “partnership” with Narva bureaucrats that will eliminate jobs in both parts of Berlin.

The FDGB [union federation] is demanding that a new trade-union law be passed before the elections so workers will have a “right to have a say” with capital in “joint ventures.” But as the mass layoffs after the defeat of the Rheinhausen steel strike [in West Germany] show, this “co-determination” serves only to veil the dictatorship of capital and to chain the workers to their own exploitation. What we must win is the right to decide, through workers councils that directly exercise power.

Already, government spokesmen are talking of as many as half a million unemployed by the end of the year. Layoffs have already begun, initially affecting our foreign coworkers and women on maternity leave. Now they’re shutting down nurseries in Erfurt, and the government is raising the price of children’s clothes and trying to eliminate school lunches. They literally want to grab

food from the mouths of children to feed profit-hungry capitalists.

Meanwhile, the Western media has mounted a scare campaign over the Greifswald atomic power plant. This has nothing at all to do with safety concerns, which are best dealt with by workers’ safety committees with qualified technical personnel, and everything to do with an attempt to steamroller the country into *Anschluss* with West Germany. They want to turn out the lights in the DDR and shut Greifswald down.

With their plans for a monetary union with West Germany they want to declare: “D-Mark über Alles.” Now former apartment owners are sending in their lawyers to throw the residents out.

This is how they want to make the DDR “attractive” for investors. This is what “social market economy” means—total destruction of what the workers have built. For 40 years the Volkskammer acted as a puppet for the Stalinist bureaucracy; now it’s a puppet for the capitalists. But it’s our lives that are being ripped up.

It’s not just the DDR: following the logic of Gorbachev’s market-oriented perestroika “reforms,” the Hungarian government is shutting down the Icarus bus factory.

And this is all linked to the precipitate March 18 elections, moved up from May 6 as part of the campaign to incorporate the DDR into West Germany. The government is rushing to establish the legal framework for capitalist reunification even before people have cast their votes.

Social Democrats and Christian Democrats are flooding the DDR with DM—the capitalists want to buy the elections just like they’re out to buy the country. Kohl and Brandt are campaigning in the South as if *Anschluss* had already taken place. The fascists attacked leftist demonstrators in Karl-Marx-Stadt with billy clubs after Kohl spoke from the podium. And now there are reports that Ronald Reagan is coming to Berlin.

But the working people of the DDR can and must fight, now. We demonstrated our power on January 3, when over a quarter million turned out in a united-front action at the Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park to stop the fascists. At this decisive hour, we must mobilize our strength to do battle.

The Spartakist Workers Party urgently calls: All out on March 6 and 7 to stop the elimination of socially justified subsidies, to stop the buyout of our plants, to stop capitalist reunification.

We call on all organizations opposed to the destruction of the social achievements and of socialized property of the DDR to join with us in building a broad-based united-front protest in front of the Volkskammer on Tuesday, March 6 at 5 p.m. demanding “Against privatization! No to capitalist reunification!” All participants are encouraged to bring their own propaganda, banners and placards. ■

Spartakist



TROTSKY

Civil War and Social Revolution

For ten years the Nicaraguan Revolution has confronted the awesome power of U.S. imperialism. The CIA-organized contras terrorized large parts of the countryside, while Washington’s economic warfare immiserated the population. Yet the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista regime, in the name of “pluralism” and a “mixed economy,” opposed a thoroughgoing social revolution which alone could fully mobilize the workers and peasants against imperialism and its

local agents. The masses became increasingly demoralized, thus paving the way for the victory of contra-candidate Chamorro in the recent elections.

During the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s, the Popular Front likewise prepared the way for the victory of Franco’s counterrevolutionary forces by defending the bourgeois order. As Trotsky wrote while the outcome of the civil war still hung in the balance:

In civil war, incomparably more than in ordinary war, politics dominates strategy.... In our three years of civil war the superiority of military art and military technique was often enough on the side of the enemy, but at the very end it was the Bolshevik program that conquered. The worker knew very well what he was fighting for. The peasant hesitated for a long time, but comparing the two regimes by experience, he finally supported the Bolshevik side.

In Spain the Stalinists, who lead the chorus from on high, have advanced the formula to which [the social-democrat] Caballero, president of the cabinet, also adheres: First military victory, and then social reform. I consider this formula fatal for the Spanish revolution. Not seeing the radical differences between the two programs in reality, the toiling masses, above all the peasants, fall into indifference. In these conditions, fascism will inevitably win, because the purely military advantage is on its side. Audacious social reforms represent the strongest weapon in the civil war and the fundamental condition for the victory over fascism.

—Leon Trotsky, “Interview with Havas” (February 1937)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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

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

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

No. 497

9 March 1990

Sellout of DDR Threatens Gains for Women

Threatened with looming counter-revolution through forced reunification with capitalist West Germany (BRD), the women of the German Democratic Republic (DDR) stand to be among the first to lose hard-won social programs and gains. That they have gained so much—despite the bureaucratic stranglehold of Stalinism—is a testament to the power of the planned, socialized economy of the workers state. Highly educated, highly skilled, enjoying the best maternity and childcare benefits in the world, and over 90 percent employed, women are a key component of the East German working class. But if the Bonn politicians of the CDU (Christian Democrats) and SPD (Social Democrats) get their way, women workers will be driven from the workforce as unemployment and social austerity measures soar in pursuit of capitalist profits.

A comrade from the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) graphically described the situation of women textile workers around Karl-Marx-Stadt, who face layoffs as capitalist entrepreneurs modernize the plants:

"There are rumors being spread by the SPD and some of our other political opponents, who openly say: so look, canteen food in the factories is done for. Children's meals in schools are done for.... A single woman who has to fulfill her quota and works from morning to night wants her kid to get a meal in school.... Not everyone has a grandma or somebody at home to take care of their kid.... So the woman has to stop, has to work shortened hours. That's exactly what they want: to get rid of childcare centers and some other things."

—"Women Textile Workers Under the Gun," *Arprekorr* No. 25, 27 February 1990

As a harbinger of the dangers in store, Deputy Education Minister Volker Abend spoke out against state-funded school meals and day care: "This self-evident expectation, that the state should make such a social offer to everybody, as is still the case here, goes together with the socialist—and, I would like to say, the dictatorial—conception of the state" (*Neues Deutschland*, 13 February). This statement could have come straight from the mouth of the most rabid anti-Communist Senator on Capitol Hill! But despite protests, Abend has not resigned his post.

Already several demonstrations and new groups have been organized in the DDR to protest austerity measures and defend the rights of women. On February 13, 800 protesters, primarily women and children, demonstrated in East Berlin under the slogan "Against social dismantling—for all children and every

On the occasion of International Women's Day, 8 March 1990, we take up with particular urgency the need to defend the gains of East German women, now threatened in the stampede toward capitalist reunification.

woman." Striking West Berlin teachers joined the protest. Speakers reported a rise in abortions due to women's insecurity about the future. Others protested the closing, without any parental notification, of the kindergarten (which provides day care for children three months to six

has joined with other right-wing forces to legalize abortion there, seeking to "make Christian morality the basis of the social order" (*International Viewpoint*, 12 June 1989). In 1956 Poland made abortion legal and free in the state health service, although shortages in care drove

been exploring the parameters and contradictions of women's liberation, long considered subversive areas in the Ulbricht/Honecker era. In the DDR, women are truck drivers, crane operators, surgeons, judges. But they still come home at night to hours of household drudgery (the "second shift") made all the worse by desperate shortages of housing and consumer goods. Childcare facilities in state-run crèches and kindergartens are plentiful, inexpensive, well staffed by highly trained personnel—but many close by 6:30 or 7:00 p.m., making it difficult for women to have a life outside



Schmidtke/Neues Deutschland



Der Spiegel

Women protest in East Berlin on February 13 "Against Social Dismantling" (left). Over 90 percent of women in the DDR are in the workforce.

years old) at the Berlin Chemie Kombinat. A demonstration in Dresden protested the closing of six day-care centers there—now, some women are unable to come to work.

Defend Women's Gains!

The bourgeois press has gloated in lurid detail over the horrors faced by women in Romania under the Stalinist monster Ceausescu: draconian anti-abortion laws backed up by secret police terror meant thousands of arrests of women and doctors; a "quota" of five children per woman by law; special taxes for childless women, forced gynecological exams, and one of the highest maternal and infant mortality rates in Europe. But we haven't heard any screams about what Polish women face under pro-capitalist Solidarność: the Catholic church

many to expensive private abortions. But in February 1989 a bill was put before the Sejm to give "legal protection to the unborn child" which would impose three years imprisonment for women and their doctors for abortions, without any exceptions, even for rape. The bill would also legalize treating a woman's illness if the treatment could harm her fetus!

In great contrast to Poland or Romania, an advanced industrial economy has enabled the DDR to institute broad social measures to qualitatively improve women's lives. The powerful German workers movement has a long tradition in defense of women's rights, and the DDR was founded on the premise of the equality of women.

Thus the status of women throws glaring light on social and political contradictions in the DDR: from the beginning the SED subscribed to the Stalinist dogma that the institution of the family, the main social institution oppressing women, can be turned into a "fighting unit for socialism"; the virtual absence of women in the high ranks of the party elite is a testament to continuing inequality. Yet at the same time, the substantial material gains and benefits available to women from the state, and the support networks, such as workplace organizations, in this deeply collectivist society, have had a profound effect on social structures and attitudes. The socialization of household functions such as free, readily available childcare, have helped to release women from the confines of the family. Divorce is easy and relatively cheap; because of available state benefits, women have little economic compulsion to stay married, and the number of single mothers has soared.

Since the political revolution which burst the walls of Stalinist repression last November, East German women have

of work. Full 24-hour childcare is a fundamental demand of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, as part of our program for the genuine liberation of women in all aspects of social, political and economic life.

At the birth of a child, women get a full year off work, with pay, at no risk of losing their jobs (the "baby year"). As an SL spokesman described it in an eyewitness forum held by the Spartakist League in New York in January, "There are very few single mothers who have emigrated from the DDR. And the ones who have moved West are genuinely shocked. There are absolutely no provisions for them, and they simply cannot afford to live. In the DDR a single mother with two children has the right to a two-bedroom apartment for 30 marks, or \$5 a month at the current exchange rate. This is threatened now with the new 'market economy' where it is expected rents will triple."

Defend Women's Right to Abortion!

With imperial arrogance Helmut Kohl's CDU has been campaigning throughout the DDR for the March 18 elections—and one of the components of its platform is for "protection of the unborn." The CDU seeks to export to the DDR the vicious witchhunt against abortion rights faced today by women in the BRD, where church bells are rung for victims of the "infant holocaust." In 1988 under the slogan "Abortion Is Death" the Bavarian state, in traditionally Catholic southern Germany, tried and convicted Dr. Horst Theissen, a Memmingen gynecologist, for performing "illegal" outpatient abortions. Over 500 of his patients—many of them poor and immigrant women—and their families were interrogated and

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Spartacist Forums

**Gorbachev Caves In to a Fourth Reich—
No to Capitalist Reunification in Germany!**

East Germany Eyewitness

Spartakist Campaign in DDR Elections

NEW YORK

Speaker: Alison Spencer
Friday, March 16, 7:30 p.m.
Room N402, Borough of
Manhattan Community College
199 Chambers St.
For more information: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Speaker: Diana Coleman
Saturday, March 17, 7:30 p.m.
First Unitarian Church
1187 Franklin (at Geary)
For more information: (415) 863-6963 or
(415) 839-0851

The McMartin Day Care Witchhunt

Fifteen million dollars sure could have bought a lot of badly needed day care for working women and their children. That's the insane amount spent instead in a hysterical witchhunt that lasted *six years*—the trial itself was the longest in U.S. history. This has resulted only in scarring and ruining the lives of dozens, if not hundreds, of people. The nationally infamous McMartin Preschool trial concluded on January 18, as jurors declared former teacher Ray Buckey and his mother, Peggy McMartin Buckey, former director of the McMartin school in Manhattan Beach, California, not guilty on 52 counts of child abuse. Now, outrageously, the prosecution has said it will retry Ray Buckey (who already spent *five years* in jail before being able to make \$1.5 million in bail) on 13 counts the jury deadlocked on.

It all began in the poisonous atmosphere of the Reagan years, amid a loathsome miasma of state-sponsored fear and hysteria over sex. The Meese police invaded America's bedrooms and tried to censor VCRs to root out "porn," AIDS patients were thrown out of hospitals by panicked staff, and an "incest epidemic" was declared. Meanwhile, religious reactionaries were unleashed in an anti-abortion frenzy to terrorize women and blockade clinics. In this supercharged atmosphere reminiscent of the Salem witch trials, it took only the word of one apparently emotionally disturbed woman to crystallize a monstrous witchhunt. She complained to cops that her two-year-old son had been molested at the school (she also claimed that an AWOL marine sodomized her dog and that her kid was molested by an L.A. school board member and three witches).

The major media, out to make a buck while pandering as usual to whatever the current requirements of the powers that be may be, exploded the story. Sensational tales of children raped and sodomized, blood drinking, mutilated corpses, bunny rabbits and ponies killed, even the sacrifice of a live baby in a church, were retailed over the airwaves and in the *Los Angeles Times*. The hysteria was spread by such major programs as *Nightline* and *20/20*. L.A.'s KABC-TV ran full-page ads in 1984 showing a battered teddy bear, while their reporter announced that children said they were "made to appear in pornographic films while in the preschool's care—and of having been forced to witness the mutilation and killing of animals." No evidence for *any* of this was ever found.

The Manhattan Beach cops immediately sent a frightening letter to 200 parents of children who had attended the McMartin school, saying they suspected "possible criminal acts" of child abuse. Predictably the cop letter and media



Meyer/L.A. Times



AP

Ray Buckey and Peggy McMartin Buckey: targets of six-year government sex-hysteria persecution.

barrage set off a mass panic. Parents were told by the prosecutor's office to send their kids to a special institute, where the children were videotaped and intensively pressured to tell "yucky secrets" by therapists who claimed other kids had already "confessed." Children are highly susceptible to suggestion; indeed, even adults under pressure have been known to tell their interrogators what they want to hear.

Many jurors (most were parents) said they didn't like what they saw on the tapes, which the prosecution used in court. One of the interviewers defended her techniques, while admitting that, in fact, "Neither in tapes on the witness stand [sic] do children just say what happened. Some children said they never went to the McMartin School, even though they did" (*New York Times*, 24 January).

The trauma those children were exposed to by ambitious prosecutors is part of the incalculable toll in human misery the state took. And what can possibly pay for the ruined reputations of five other McMartin employees who were initially charged, their names and photographs published, or for the wrecked lives of Ray Buckey and his mother? The sex witchhunt, like the drug witchhunt, is today's version of the now discredited "red scare." The hysterical atmosphere surrounding this case made anything even approaching a fair trial impossible. As we wrote in *Women and Revolution* ("The Uses of Abuse," *W&R* No. 29, Spring 1985):

"In this witchhunt atmosphere, where political crime categories are created out of social issues, not only are the innocent often destroyed, but in the general hysteria the guilty may well escape to continue their violent crimes—and that too is a terrible outrage."

The Devil, Drugs and Day Care—The Uses of Abuse

The government- and media-fueled hysteria over "child abuse" has little to

do with protecting children, and a lot to do with a campaign against day-care centers as somehow subversive, dangerous institutions. Seven other preschool centers in upper-middle-class Manhattan Beach were forced to close in the midst of the panic. Across the country, a wave of bizarre charges of satanic and ritualistic child abuse surfaced, as dozens of prosecutions ripped up hundreds of lives from Jordan, Minnesota to Memphis. All this forced the closing of yet

ish abortion rights, which would force women to bear more children against their will.

Terrorizing the public through periodic witchhunts—in the '50s it was the "Commie menace" and fluoridation, recently it's been sex and drugs—is a standard tactic of this nation's rulers to enforce social obedience. And on basic rights for women such as day care and abortion, they seek to force people back into the rigid confines of a strong, preferably religious, family, in order to ensure discipline, obedience and the inculcation of reactionary values.

Today Bush continues the same vicious cycle of cutbacks. "Concern for children" is mind-boggling hypocrisy in this deeply racist society, where the infant mortality rate for black Americans is twice that for whites. Lack of decent prenatal care, which poor people can't afford, accounts for most of these deaths, while AIDS and a host of other diseases continue to wrack America's cities. Yet instead of instituting the massive funding for free quality health care programs we desperately need, this state encourages instead a new hysterical campaign against "fetus abuse" by pregnant women!



David Walberg

McMartin case aimed to scare women by equating day care with "child abuse" as part of Reaganite assault on working women.

more day-care centers, part of the program of the "Reagan revolution." This reactionary agenda was designed to enrich the rich (while beefing up the Pentagon) through impoverishing the American population and enforcing vicious cuts in social programs, including funds for childcare and child abuse programs.

A special edition of *Newsweek* (Winter/Spring 1990) on the American family played on the "guilt" good parents are supposed to feel about using day care, editorializing ominously on the "disturbing question that lurks in the back of every working parent's mind: *what is this doing to my kids?*" The same piece notes the utterly haphazard state of day care in the U.S., including the fact that the typical full-time day-care employee receives a wage well *under* the minimum poverty level; no wonder therefore almost half of all childcare workers quit each year!

The main problem with day care in this country is that there isn't enough of it. You can't even support yourself, not to mention a spouse and kids, on just one income these days. Women make up 45 percent of the workforce today, while 52 percent of mothers with children under the age of one were working in 1987. We urgently need safe, decent, free 24-hour childcare facilities! But this capitalist government refuses to provide this, while Bush simultaneously seeks to abol-

Bush's drug witchhunt today is a continuation of the sex witchhunts of the Reagan-Meese years, seeking to terrorize the American population through hysteria over the devil, drugs, day care—and abortion rights too—into blind obedience to the designs of this ruling class. This government has consciously condemned an entire generation of minority poor and working-class kids as it seeks to restore the capitalists' decaying profit system at our expense. The biggest child abusers in America reside in the Fortune 500's capitalist enclaves and the White House. ■

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Bitter Fruits of Anti-Communist Nationalism

Polish Solidarność Faces a Fourth Reich

"We will be slaves, vassals of a united Germany."

—Solidarność deputy in the Polish parliament

Polish Solidarność are staunch anti-Communist and anti-Soviet nationalists. The capitalist reunification of Germany is a supreme goal of the Cold War against the Soviet Union. But ironically, today Solidarność-led Poland has emerged as the European government most loudly protesting German reunification. Two-thirds of the Polish population are against it, rightly fearing that a Fourth Reich would move to retake German territories—Silesia and East Prussia—ceded to Poland after World War II. Warsaw is now demanding that Bonn declare the permanence of Poland's western border—the Oder-Neisse line—as a precondition for reunification. In line with the historically suicidal romanticism of Polish nationalism, Solidarność leader Bronislaw Gemerek even warns: "The only way to change the border is war, and Germany knows it."

Less suicidally and romantically, Solidarność prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated that the Warsaw Pact is "important for the security of our borders" and that Soviet troops should remain in Poland until the "German problem" is resolved. The weaselly Gorbachev regime—which has shamelessly capitulated to world imperialism, withdrawing Soviet troops from Afghanistan and giving the green light to German reunification—is now putting itself forward as the big-power protector of Poland's national interests. Soviet foreign minister



West German chancellor Helmut Kohl (left) with Solidarność prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Diplomatic toasts can't disguise German revanchism against Poland.

border question will be settled definitely by a freely elected all-German government and a freely elected all-German parliament."

It is testimony to the now-intoxicated condition of the West German ruling class that it is willfully defying the pressure of its American and European NATO allies over the Polish border question. After all, Bonn could easily play the game of diplomatic hypocrisy. Only a fool would believe that a declaration by Kohl or a treaty would secure Poland's border against the power of a reunified

ma, where the imperial president killed a few thousand dark-skinned Latins just to show he could do it.

The West German rulers are acting as if reunification were an accomplished fact. But the front line of resistance to a Fourth Reich does not now lie on the Oder-Neisse line. It lies in East Germany—the German Democratic Republic (DDR)—a bureaucratically deformed workers state created through the destruction of Nazi Germany by the Soviet Red Army. The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the

nationalists served as the shock troops of anti-Soviet nationalism in East Europe. And for decades Polish nationalists have denounced the 1945 Yalta agreement, dividing Europe into Anglo-American and Soviet spheres of influence, as a virtual pact with the devil. But now these very same people are proclaiming that the state boundaries determined at Yalta and the follow-up conference at Potsdam must be permanent and sacrosanct! (The Trotskyists condemned Yalta because Stalin agreed to preserve capitalism in West Europe, thus enormously strengthening the global power of U.S. imperialism and its danger to the Soviet Union.)

Consider the prominent intellectual Leszek Kolakowski, who personifies the political trajectory of the Polish intelligentsia in the postwar era. In the late 1940s the young philosopher was a fanatical Stalinist who participated in the hate campaign against Wladyslaw Gomulka, seen as a liberal-national Communist. In 1956 Gomulka came to power to head off an incipient proletarian political revolution against the fractured Stalinist regime. In the liberal climate of the late '50s, Kolakowski raised the banner of Marxist humanism and sought to identify himself with the internationalist tradition of Rosa Luxemburg. In the late '60s the Polish Stalinists, fearing a "Prague Spring" in Warsaw, cracked down on dissident intellectuals amid a vicious anti-Semitic campaign. Kolakowski emigrated to England where he moved sharply rightward, becoming a militant anti-Communist in the Reagan/Thatcher stamp.

In a recent article on Yalta, Kolakowski restates the standard Polish nationalist line that "the agreement provided Stalin's insatiable hunger for territories with an ambiguous legitimacy.... In this sense it was not wrong for the Poles to use 'Yalta' as a symbolic word for 'betrayed by the West'" (*International Herald Tribune*, 5 February). Yet in this same article Kolakowski argues the Polish state borders decided by this "betrayal" must not be altered: "Any territorial claims readjustments might bring about a misery that will make us yearn for the Stalin-imposed order of Yalta." Polish nationalists want the favors of Western imperialism while keeping the fruits of the Red Army victory over Nazi Germany. As Polish Jews of old would have said, that is really chutzpah!

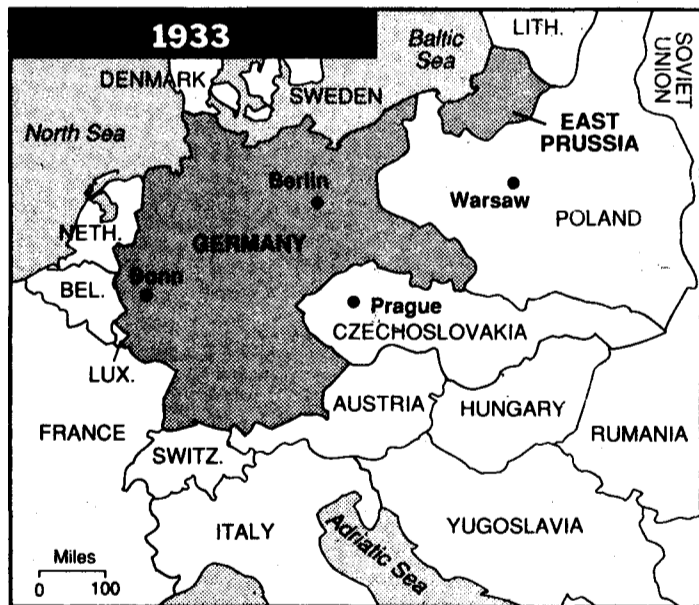
It took no great political foresight to understand that the rise of anti-Soviet nationalism in East Europe and the fracturing of the Warsaw Pact would create the conditions for a Fourth Reich. Immediately after General Jaruzelski suppressed Solidarność' bid for power in December 1981, the American liberal publicist Ronald Steel pointed this out:

"Had Solidarity achieved its most sweeping demands, broken the Communist Party's monopoly of power, and taken Poland out of the Warsaw Pact, Soviet control over the rest of Eastern Europe would have been threatened.... "East Germany would be isolated. Bonn might then look east, tempted by visions of reunification.... The threatening spectre of a unified Reich would loom on the horizon, bringing a new element of danger into European politics."
—*New York Times*,
3 January 1982

And so it came to pass. Just a few months after Solidarność took over the government ministries in Warsaw, the spectre of a Fourth Reich looms very large on the European horizon.

And if that spectre becomes a reality the Oder-Neisse line will be a trip wire for World War III. Since the late Middle Ages, Silesia—with its mixed population—has been a battleground between the German Reich and Poland. In the mid-18th century the region was conquered by Frederick the Great's Prussia, and during the next century and a half underwent substantial Germanization. Under Junker rule the large Polish population—mainly workers, farm laborers and poor peasants—was hideously exploited and oppressed. In the decades before World War I, Rosa Luxemburg

continued on page 6



Boundaries of Nazi Third Reich included large areas of present-day Poland. Now Poles are fearful that a unified German imperialism will move to retake "lost" territories.

Eduard Shevardnadze endorsed Warsaw's demand for participation in the Big Four conference on the international conditions of German reunification.

For the past decade American imperialism has made a substantial political and financial investment in Solidarność. But just as these "free world" darlings displace the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy in Warsaw, the U.S. now sees Poland reaffirming its military/diplomatic ties to the Soviet Union. Thus, when West German chancellor Helmut Kohl visited Washington a few weeks ago, Bush's first order of business was to persuade him to renounce any territorial claim on Poland. The American president did not succeed. With "Deutschland über Alles" arrogance Kohl proclaimed that "the

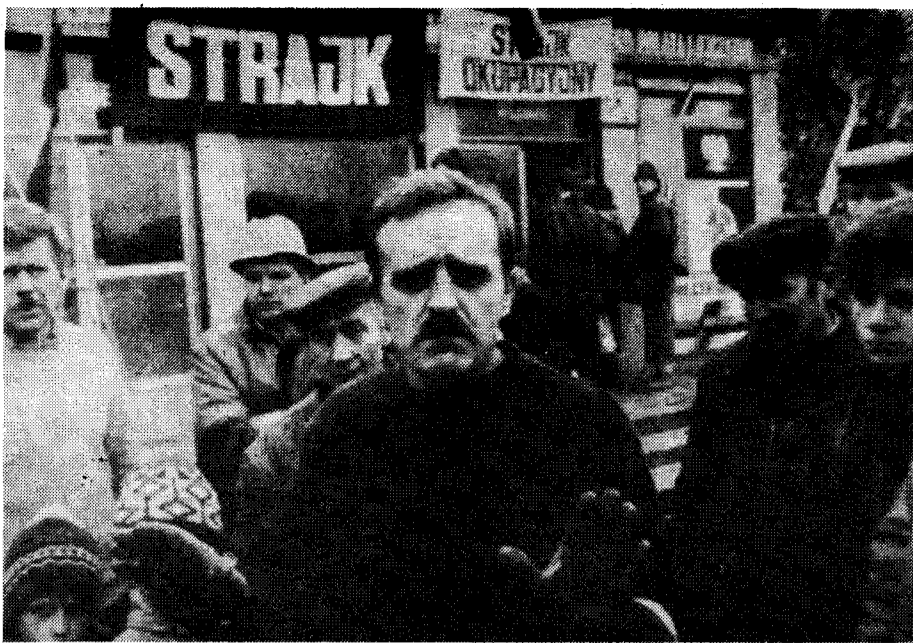
German Reich. Kohl is now styling himself "chancellor of our German fatherland." The last person to use that title—Adolf Hitler—once boasted he would sign a treaty today and rip it up tomorrow if it served the interests of the German Volk.

Kohl & Co. are not less deceitful than the Nazis, only more arrogant. The German bourgeoisie believes it is about to become a new superpower dictating to the rest of Europe, especially to the *Untermenschen* of the East. A top Kohl adviser salivates: "Perhaps in time the United States will take care of places like Central America, and we will handle Eastern Europe" (*Newsweek*, 26 February). The German rulers intend to treat Poland like Bush recently treated Pana-

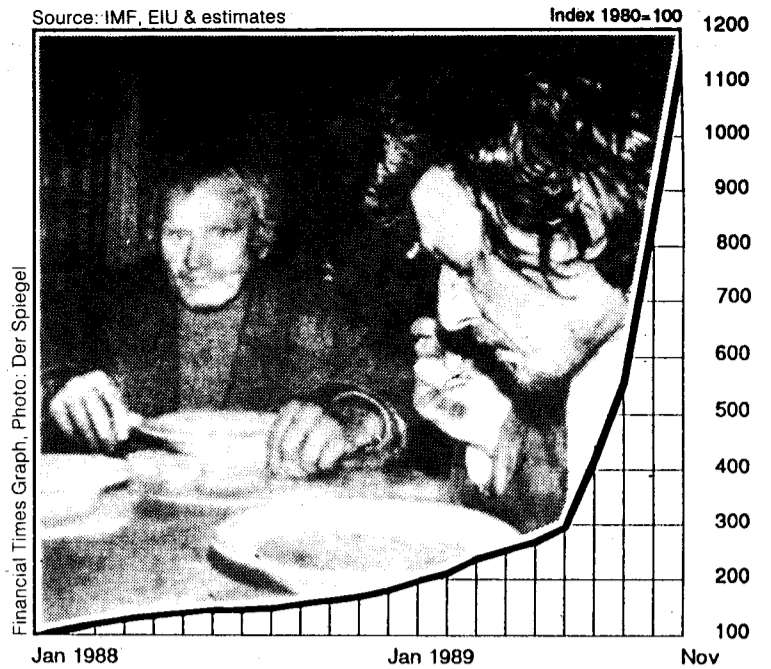
International Communist League, is seeking to mobilize the East German working class and its allies (collective farmers, pensioners, single mothers, left-wing intellectuals) against imperialist reunification. At stake in this struggle is the fate not only of the DDR and Poland but of all humanity. For this time around, a Fourth Reich will command nuclear weapons.

Solidarność Sows Polish Nationalism, Reaps German Imperialism

If the stakes on the Oder-Neisse were not so grave, we communists might enjoy witnessing the angst which has overtaken Solidarność in its moment of triumph. For the past ten years these clerical-



Silesian miners strike in January against economic "shock treatment" dictated by world bankers. After pro-capitalist Solidarność took over last summer, cost of living skyrocketed and soup kitchens spread.



Poland...

(continued from page 5)

agitated among the Polish proletariat of Silesia, calling upon them to unite with their German class brothers in revolutionary struggle against the Kaiser's Reich.

After the war Silesia was partitioned—amid bloody communalist violence—between Weimar Germany and the newly reconstituted Polish state of Marshal Pilsudski. Twenty-five years later, when the Red Army destroyed Nazi Germany, the Polish state was shifted bodily westward. Large areas of eastern Poland—mainly inhabited by Ukrainians and Byelorussians—were incorporated into the USSR. In turn, all of Silesia and a large part of East Prussia were ceded to

rial disputes among capitalist states (or, for that matter, workers states) should be resolved through a plebiscite of the inhabitants of the contested region. Since the overwhelming majority of Silesia is now Polish, a democratic plebiscite would doubtless affirm the status quo. At the same time, we would scrupulously defend the national rights (e.g., over language) of the German minority.

However, what is involved here is not simply or primarily a border dispute. Breaching the Oder-Neisse line is part of German imperialism's renewed *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the east) whose ultimate aim is dismembering and destroying the Soviet Union, land of the October Revolution. The Soviet people—who lost 20 million in defeating Hitler's Operation Barbarossa—look with horror on the prospect of a new Fourth Reich.

ated that 10 million of the country's 37 million population were earning less than enough to live on. The London *Guardian* (18 December 1989) reported: "Emergency soup kitchens are already patronised by a wide social range." In the month of January alone the average living standard was *cut by almost 40 percent* as the price of milk was raised by 65 percent, bread by 120 percent and sausage by 170 percent! "My wife and I just do not know how we will get through the winter," exclaimed an old-age pensioner. "By the time we have paid our rent, electricity and heating bills we will have 40,000 zlotys a month left—just enough for a couple of pounds of butter."

Whatever their ideological confusions and illusions about the capitalist West, Polish workers are combative in defending their immediate economic interests. In January over 40,000 coal miners—the core of Poland's industrial proletariat—went on strike against government-imposed wage controls. These strikes showed growing hostility to Solidarność at the base of the working class. In Lower Silesia, 4,000 striking miners prevented a Solidarność representative from speaking to their rally. At the Czerwone Zagliebie mine, sit-down strikers threw out Solidarność agents who urged them to go back to work.

Many Polish workers believe that Walesa, Kuron & Co. have now betrayed them, abandoning their former principles and ideals. Certainly, the initial massive support for Solidarność in 1980-81 reflected workers' just grievances against the corrupt and incompetent Stalinist regime. But the central leadership around Lech Walesa were *from the outset* hardened anti-Communist nationalists, who took their guidance from Pope John Paul Wojtyla's Vatican and Ronald Reagan's White House. At its first national congress in September 1981, Solidarność consolidated around an openly counterrevolutionary program couched in the language of "free world" imperialism. At this point we branded Solidarność "a company union for the CIA and bankers."

In the early 1980s the slogan "Solidarity with Solidarność" became a battle cry of Cold War II against the Soviet Union, uniting Reagan and Thatcher with West European Social Democrats and many self-styled leftists. For example, in 1983 pseudo-Trotskyist theoretician Ernest Mandel hailed the Solidarność leadership as "the best socialists in the world"! Today, the Mandelite journal *International Viewpoint* (12 February) runs a lengthy article on the economic shock treatment in Poland ("The Timebomb"). Readers of this article will learn many facts and figures. But they will not learn that the editors and sponsors of *International Viewpoint* were for years fervent supporters of Polish Solidarność.

The main organizational resistance in Poland to the IMF-dictated shock treatment has come from the old, official Stalinist union federation (the OPZZ), which has now broken with the Warsaw government. Reading the Western press, one would never know that the OPZZ

actually has *more members* than Solidarność, including among the strategically important coal miners. The OPZZ has supported all the recent strikes and is seeking to organize hunger marches. The federation's leader, Alfred Miodowicz, an old-line Stalinist and former member of Jaruzelski's Politburo, is now claiming to stand for the workers' interests against the avowedly pro-capitalist Solidarność. While Polish workers may fight under the OPZZ's organizational structure, Stalinism as an ideology is dead, buried and unmourned in Poland.

The only salvation for the Polish working class is to recover the tradition of *proletarian internationalism* personified by Poland's greatest revolutionary figure, Rosa Luxemburg. A Jew from Lublin educated in Warsaw, Luxemburg dedicated her life to forging the unity in struggle of the Polish, Russian and German working classes. She fought every expression of nationalism, chauvinism, reformism and bureaucratic complacency. Thus she campaigned tirelessly against



Rosa Luxemburg fought for revolutionary unity of Polish, German and Russian workers.

the influence of clerical-nationalist ideology among the Polish working people of Silesia, then part of the German Reich: "Working to oppose the development of such a Polish-clerical movement that apes democracy, and which could challenge the influence we have already won among the masses, is currently our task in Upper Silesia" ("The Elections in Upper Silesia" [1898]). At the same time, she sharply criticized the leadership of the German Social Democracy for not doing enough to organize the Silesian Polish workers around a revolutionary socialist program of united struggle against the Prussian Junkers and factory and mine owners.

Today, the Polish working class faces capitalist restoration from within, being carried out by Solidarność, and German imperialist domination from without, prepared for by Solidarność. Only the Trotskyists have a program to combat capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist war, by returning to the authentic communism of Luxemburg and Lenin. Forward to a Trotskyist party in Poland, section of a reborn Fourth International. ■



Ethnic Germans in Silesia greet Kohl's visit to Poland last November with banners saying, "Helmut, you are our Chancellor too."

Poland. These territories make up one-third of present-day Poland, contain one-third of its population and account for 85 percent of the country's sea coast.

In 1945-46 over three million ethnic Germans were driven from their homeland in Silesia and East Prussia. Ever since, this embittered mass of émigrés and their families has been a potent force on the West German right. The Bund der Vertriebenen (League of the Expelled) claims a current membership of over two million. Even if this figure is exaggerated, the Bund unquestionably wields great influence in Bonn politics. Apologists for Kohl say that if he openly renounces all territorial claims against Poland, the Silesian émigrés will be driven into the arms of the neo-Nazi parties.

At the same time, the resurgence of reactionary nationalism throughout East Europe has, unsurprisingly, also affected the ethnic Germans—an estimated 800,000—still living in Poland. When Kohl visited Silesia last fall, he was greeted by demonstrators with banners saying: "Helmut, you are our Chancellor too" (*Financial Times* [London], 13 November 1989). In the time-tested hypocrisy of imperialism, German revanchism toward Poland will no doubt be legitimized as defending the national rights of the German minority in the border region. Remember the Sudetenland?

As communists and genuine defenders of national rights, we do not regard existing state borders as sacrosanct. Territo-

And even many Polish supporters of Solidarność are now realizing that a Communist East Germany is better than a reunified capitalist Germany. An authentic communist leadership must be forged to unite the Polish, Soviet and East German working classes in struggle against the decomposing Stalinist bureaucracies, reactionary nationalist forces and the common imperialist enemy.

Return to the Tradition of Luxemburg and Lenin!

For ten years much of the Polish working class, reacting against the politically and economically bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, supported the clerical-nationalists of Solidarność. Now that Solidarność has taken over the reins of government in Warsaw, what has it gotten them? They face becoming vassals of German imperialism and are already being bled white by the bankers of Frankfurt and Wall Street. In late December the new "free market" government agreed with the world bankers cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to impose an economic "shock treatment" of the kind usually carried out by Latin American juntas. Poland's finance minister Leszek Balcerowicz called the program a "deep surgical operation," to which Warsaw wits replied: "The operation was a success, but the patient died."

Even *before* the IMF-dictated "shock treatment," government officials esti-

Young Spartacus

Anti-Klan Protest in Peoria

Bradley University

On February 8 several hundred Bradley University students turned out for an integrated protest of outrage against the emergence of Ku Klux Klan racism on their Peoria, Illinois campus. During the previous week a Bradley student and junior fascist named Matt Hale, son of an East Peoria cop, announced the formation of an "American White Supremacist Party" at the school. Simultaneously, black students began receiving vile KKK death threats in the mail. Black and anti-racist groups were also targeted with bomb threats. Black students, who make up a tiny 3 percent of this liberal arts college's 5,000 students, have long been on the receiving end of insults, harassment, intimidation and violence. The remedy is long overdue: drive the racist rats off campus!

The university administration scrambled to co-opt the anti-racist militancy with empty promises and meaningless

gestures. On February 10 a representative of Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH emerged from a meeting with the Bradley president to announce at a press conference that a committee would "investigate" the problem. A few days later the administration put scumbag Hale on "disciplinary probation"—a punishment so light that even Hale announced he was "quite pleased"! No reliance on the racist, capitalist university tops!

At the press conference, one misguided liberal student—himself a target of the KKK threats—welcomed the opportunity to "debate" the KKKillers. Spartacus Youth Club activist Mark Davis pointed out that you can't debate with lynch mobs! Pointing to the concentration of integrated union power in Peoria's factories, which produce agricultural implements and other industrial products, he called on the students to ally themselves with labor. Mass labor/black/student mobilizations can drive these race-hating rodents back into their sewers!



Bradley students at February 7 protest against white-supremacists. Racists must be stopped with labor/black power. UPI

Drop All Charges Against the Students!

D.C. Cops Attack Howard U. Band

"It is a crying shame to see innocent black college students, females included, beaten like animals, having shotguns pulled on them, helicopters swirling above them. What is this, a police state?"

—Howard Hilltop, 2 March

It is cold, racist truth that in this country if you are young and you are black you are always under suspicion. And if there are too many of you in one place, you're in danger. But the events at Howard University on February 25 strain belief even for those who know that in this society formal democratic rights meet brutal state terror at the color line.

Hundreds of students looking for nothing other than a good time at the last school basketball game of the season were met with a full-scale riot by Washington, D.C. cops. It was an overflow crowd at Howard's Burr Gymnasium, but before students and alumni could even get into the gym the authorities panicked about too many black people being in one place. Hours before the game, the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police were called in for "assistance"—which came in the form of calculated intimidation, provocation and violence. As students peacefully waited on line to get into the game, a helicopter with a glaring spotlight chopped overhead. Shouting obscenities, cops brandished billy clubs, pulled out revolvers and pumped shotguns.

Even the school band was attacked. "They were pushing me around as if I were trying to fight back—which is pretty hard when you've got a big drum

strapped to you," said bass drum player Paul Woodruff. Other students were tackled and had their faces ground into the dirt as they were handcuffed. A woman who began to take pictures was slammed against a police car and beaten over the head with clubs. One student, Bethel Harris, had to be hospitalized after a cop hit him over the head with a pair of handcuffs. Harris was placed in a holding cell with handcuffs on his hands and feet for more than ten hours before receiving treatment for his head injuries. Twelve students were arrested. We demand: *Drop all charges against these victims of cop brutality!*

Although this brutal assault has provoked deep anger at Howard, to date there has been no organized protest against this outrage. Not a peep from "NIA FORCE," the black nationalist organizers of last year's protest against Republican Party chairman Lee Atwater. Many students perceive this orchestrated police terror as the state's retribution for their defiant and successful actions which embarrassed and forced Atwater out as a Howard trustee. Some students do not want to further embarrass the embattled Marion Barry with a protest against his D.C. cops. Others are disoriented by the fact that the violence against black students was committed mainly by black cops.

Let there be no illusions! Black cops may not have Confederate flags in their squad cars, or be as wantonly violent toward blacks as white cops, but they are also the brutal hired thugs of their capitalist masters. The Howard Hilltop (2 March) editorializes, "Students, secu-

arity, university officials and the police all need to come together to make sure events like this do not continue to occur on our campus." This is a ridiculous call for the victims to unite with their assailants! We say: *Cops off campus!* A campus-wide student/worker/faculty strike would do a whole lot more to stop the attacks on Howard students than any appeals to the university ad-

ministration and police, who are enforcers of the racist status quo—and that includes keeping even relatively privileged black youth like the Howard students in their place. Students who want to end racist cop terror once and for all should unite with the integrated working class which has the power and the interest to bring down this whole racist, capitalist system. ■

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Noriega Wasn't Supposed to Survive the Invasion

Bush's Man in Panama

The legal railroading of Manuel Antonio Noriega is on—maybe. On January 4, Noriega demanded before a startled federal judge in Miami to be treated as a prisoner of war and transferred to a neutral country, according to the Geneva Convention. His attorney, Frank Rubino, argued:

"There can be absolutely no question, whatsoever, that the invasion of Panama by the United States military totally and completely fulfills the definition of armed conflict...."

"Noriega, in his capacity as chief of state and commander in chief of the Panamanian Defense Forces was recognized as the leader of the Republic of Panama by the United Nations, the Organization of American States and independent governments in this hemisphere and throughout the world."

Following George Bush's script, Judge William Hoelveler rejected this argument and ordered Noriega to be held without bail in the Miami Correctional Center, claiming he is an "extreme danger to the community." But the judge also had to postpone the trial date till March 5, to give the prosecution time to pull its case together. Citing reasons of "national security" the case is now bogged down in the maze known as the "Classified Information Procedures Act." Why all the secrecy and delay? Because the government never expected to bring Noriega to trial. He wasn't supposed to live that long.

When the U.S. invaded Panama last December 20, they sent in 26,000 troops, destroyed whole neighborhoods like the predominantly black and mestizo El Chorrillo in Panama City, and slaughtered over 3,000 defenseless citizens—just to get Noriega. The international legal experts had to go back 2,000 years to the Roman Empire to find a legal precedent for when a country was invaded just to get one man. It was a battle even the Pentagon couldn't lose, but they almost blew Objective Number One. In Stage One of the invasion the main question wasn't defeating the Panamanian Defense Force, but whether the "commanders of the PDF, starting with Noriega, could be killed or captured...." (*Washington Post*, 7 January).

To ensure Noriega's capture, the Pentagon placed a \$1 million bounty on his head. He was supposed to be shot in the back "while trying to escape" or "terminated with extreme prejudice," as they say in the spy trade. Instead, Noriega managed to elude his pursuers and make it to the Papal Nunciature in Panama City, where he demanded sanctuary. Finally he was extradited to Miami. And now George Bush, the CIA's man in the White House, has a problem. Because when the case goes to open court, Noriega may spill the beans on his very "special relationship" with the American "intelligence community" which lasted over 30 years for the benefit of seven administrations.

Just what was this relationship? While much has been known before, several recent studies unravel this tangle, among them "The Noriega Connection" (*Frontline*, Public Television), "Made for Each Other—The Secret History of George Bush and Manuel Noriega" (Murray Waas, *Village Voice*, 6 February), and "The VP's Office: Cover for Iran/Contra" (Jane Hunter, *CovertAction*, Winter 1990). Like a passage out of a Graham Greene novel, Manuel Noriega's involvement with the CIA starts around 1964 in the far-off province of Chiriquí near the Panamanian/Costa Rican border. Here, the United Fruit Company was feeling the heat of a militant labor movement,



U.S. Department of Justice
Drug Enforcement Administration
Office of the Administrator
Washington, D.C. 20537

DEC 14 1978

Teniente Coronel Manuel Antonio Noriega
Comandante De G-2 Del Estado
Mayor de la Guardia Nacional de La
Republica de Panama

Dear Colonel Noriega:

As the New Year approaches, I want you to know that the Drug Enforcement Administration very much appreciates all of the support and cooperation which you have extended to our agency during the last year.

The professionalism of your agency is well respected by us, as is your leadership.

14 December 1978

The professionalism of your agency is well respected by us, as is your leadership.

Please know my colleagues join me in wishing you well and thanking you for the excellent efforts which have contributed substantially to the ongoing battle against drugs which the international law enforcement community is embarked upon.

U.S. Department of Justice
Drug Enforcement Administration
Washington, D.C. 20537

MAY 8 1986

General Manuel Antonio Noriega
Commander in Chief
Panama Defense Forces
Panama, Republic of Panama

Dear General Noriega:

In accordance with our conversation on April 23 of this year at the IDEC Conference in Buenos Aires, I am pleased to send you a copy of the statement made recently before the United States Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs by Mr. Raymond J. McKinnon of the Drug Enforcement Administration.

8 May 1986

I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate my deep appreciation for the vigorous anti-drug trafficking policy that you have adopted, which is reflected in the numerous expulsions from Panama of accused traffickers, the large seizures of cocaine and precursor chemicals that have occurred in Panama and the eradication of marijuana cultivations in Panamanian territory

U.S. Department of Justice
Drug Enforcement Administration
Washington, D.C. 20537

FEB 13 1987

General Manuel Antonio Noriega
Commander in Chief
Panamanian Defense Forces
Panama, Republic of Panama

Dear General Noriega:

I am writing to express my gratitude and appreciation for the recent actions taken by the Panamanian Defense Forces under your command.

13 February 1987

Your long-standing support of the Drug Enforcement Administration is greatly appreciated. International police cooperation and vigorous pursuit of drug traffickers are our common goal. I look forward to meeting with you at the upcoming International Drug Enforcement Conference (IDEC V), March 25-27, 1987, at Sao Paulo, Brazil.

George Bush, CIA's man in the White House, meets with then "asset" Noriega in 1983. For a decade, while Noriega was useful to "the Company," DEA narcs praised him for his "vigorous" "leadership."

and Noriega, an army lieutenant, was well placed to provide intelligence on "communist" infiltration. The American company found his information valuable and by 1967 he was officially put on the U.S. payroll. He had counterinsurgency training at Fort Gullick in Panama, and Fort Bragg in the U.S.

By 1969, Noriega was military commander of Chiriquí Province. Then he got his big break, when at the prompting of the CIA he aided the deposed dictator, General Omar Torrijos, to return to Panama through the remote province from his exile in Mexico. Torrijos rewarded Noriega by promoting him to head of G-2, military intelligence. Henceforth, Noriega became the tough face of the dictatorship until Torrijos' death (in a mysterious plane crash) and remained on the "Company" payroll. In 1976, George Bush inherited Noriega as an "intelligence asset" when he was confirmed as director of the CIA.

As one of the CIA's key assets in Central America, Noriega was well placed for drug trafficking and any number of other illicit activities. Federal drug agents had gathered hard information sufficient to indict Noriega on drug-dealing as far back as the fall of 1971, according to John Ingersoll, the former director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. But the indictment was stopped by the Justice Department and the CIA. Instead, Bush kept Noriega on the payroll at over \$100,000 a year, and even gave him a VIP tour of Company facilities in Langley, Virginia.

Now the CIA, Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) and George Bush are all scrambling to cover up that a good part of Noriega's drug running and money laundering was done on their behalf. But as the above letters show, from at least 1978 through mid-1987, Noriega was publicly the DEA's golden boy. In one letter, the DEA congratulates Noriega for "the excellent efforts which have contributed substantially to the ongoing battle against drugs...." In another, the drug agency tells Noriega that "international police cooperation and vigorous pursuit of drug traffickers are our common goal." In 1987, the DEA congratulated Noriega for his part in "Operation Pisces" which was "enormously successful...many millions of dollars and many thousands of pounds of drugs have been taken from the drug traffickers and international money launderers." At this point, according to the same DEA, between 1970 and 1987, Noriega's name appeared in 80 different files.

As the *Village Voice* points out, for years the Reagan administration knew Noriega was a business partner of the infamous Medellín cartel. Cartel kingpins Jorge Ochoa and Pablo Escobar on the lam from Colombia where they had killed hundreds of policemen, judges and journalists found a safe haven in Panama, provided with palatial homes and the protection of the Panamanian Defense Forces—for a price. By 1985, Noriega was becoming an open embarrassment to the CIA, particularly after the hideous

torture-murder of opposition politician Hugo Spadafora, who had threatened to blow the lid on Noriega's drug connection. Some at the State Department thought it was time to seek Noriega's ouster. But they were overruled by Elliott Abrams, Reagan's point man for Central America. "Abrams said doing something about Noriega had to be put on the back burner until the contras had solidified power," one State Department official told the *Voice*.

It was Noriega's usefulness to the gang in the White House subbasement which kept him afloat. In 1984, after the passage of the Boland Amendment, cutting off legal aid to the contras, CIA director William Casey and Oliver North arrived in Panama City to line up Noriega for the contra war. Noriega agreed that Panamanian military bases would be used to train contra forces and offered to carry out paramilitary and terrorist actions against Nicaragua. Noriega's network in Managua provided intelligence and demolition experts to carry out the sabotage bombings of the Sandinista military headquarters complex in March 1985. He even offered to murder the Sandinista leadership. In exchange Noriega asked and got additional economic assistance, which had climbed from a few million a year to \$74 million in 1985. In September of 1985, Oliver North and Noriega planned to extend their Nicaraguan sabotage to include an oil refinery, an airport and the Puerto Sandino off-load facility. Two months later, Iranian arms sales

continued on page 14

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

recently dealt powerful blows to Washington's death squad junta, find themselves under the gun more than ever with Chamorro's victory in Managua. We say: No negotiated sellout in El Salvador! Military victory to leftist insurgents!

Nicaraguan Toilers Must Resist Chamorro-Contra Takeover

The electoral triumph of the "democratic" counterrevolution now threatens a revenge bloodbath against Sandinista activists and working-class militants. Right after the election results were announced, a Sandinista activist was murdered by a right-wing lynch mob. Tens of thousands of workers, peasants, victims of contra terror, and rank-and-file supporters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) want to resist the bloody reaction posed by 10,000 contras still under arms, and the takeover of their country by Chamorro and her CIA paymasters. They want to hold on to that part of the land that has been confiscated, to defend their children's right to an education and some semblance of medical care, to fight for the ideals and desperately needed social transformations they bled and sweated for through the long years of war and privation. What is posed is the organization of workers militias and the securing of arms by the working people to defend themselves.

But the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas, whose stated electoral program differed little from that of Chamorro, and which had never committed itself to a clear class program to consolidate and extend the gains of the popular revolution, have politically disarmed the working masses, demoralized them and delivered them to their enemies. The chimerical program of "political pluralism," a "mixed economy," and a "third way" ("neither capitalist nor communist," as Ortega put it) has come home with a vengeance. As Allende's Socialists found out in Chile: it is dangerous to enrage one's capitalist enemies without breaking their power as a class.

A big question remains: who has the arms? The 65,000-strong Sandinista People's Army was created through the destruction of Somoza's praetorian guard in July 1979. After the elections, Ortega had his picture taken embracing Chamorro as they told each other "I love you." To his enraged and frightened supporters Ortega claimed, "This is not a defeat," and "today we are in better condition to fight" than ever, while his wife blathered that "in reality this is a victory and a challenge" for the Sandinistas (*El Día*, Mexico City, 1 March). But seasoned fighters who whipped the contras in the field know their lives are now on the line, and are far from eager to hand over their Soviet-provided AK-47s. The highly unstable, explosive mix of a Chamorro government and a Sandinista army, with the fate of the contra mercenaries up in the air, and Chamorro's National Opposition Union (UNO) far from united, could easily lead to a new round of civil war.

Daniel Ortega campaigns for president (right). Sandinistas defeated contras on the battlefield—what happens now to the Sandinista army?



Robles/J.B. Pictures

CAFOTO



"Brigades for the Defense of the Revolution" have handed out leaflets in Managua demanding, "Don't turn over the people's arms to the Somocista Guard and the assassins of the people" (*La Jornada*, Mexico City, 1 March), while women trade unionists in Managua vowed to "smash counterrevolutionaries," "no matter what it takes." However, FSLN comandante Victor Tirado told them to defend the gains of the revolution through "a civilized, constructive and legal opposition," (*La Jornada*, 2 March)—a kind of parliamentary cretinism taken to suicidal extremes. Other comandantes warned against actions that might provoke a U.S. intervention. In fact, the FSLN has acceded to a situation which would give the U.S. more cover than ever to intervene militarily, for example, at the "request" of its "democratically elected" stooges.

The Sandinista leaders are clearly under enormous pressure and are responding in contradictory ways. The initial conciliatory statements to Chamorro have given way to a harder posture, asserting that they will not give up control of the armed forces. Lenin Cerna, head of the state security police, vowed "I will never obey the orders of Violeta." At the same time, Chamorro has announced her intention to replace Humberto Ortega as defense minister. So much for the "peaceful transition."

While the international fake-leftists cheered the Sandinistas' every capitulation to imperialist pressure as a "bril-

liant" tactical move to trick the enemy, the Spartacists have consistently warned that conciliating reaction paves the road ultimately to a bloody defeat. We pointed out since the FSLN took Managua in July 1979 that the petty-bourgeois utopia of a "third way" was historically unviable. Against the Sandinistas' "social pact" with the bourgeoisie, we stressed that the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution required that it be completed through expropriation of the capitalist fifth column. Against Sandinista nationalism, we called for the extension of the revolution throughout the region, to Mexico's powerful proletariat and onwards toward "the belly of the beast," the United States itself.

With the onset of the contra war in the early '80s, we asked if the Sandinistas would go the way of the Cuban *fidelistas*, consolidating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, or go down to defeat through guarding capitalist property, like the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War. The Spanish Popular Front government—consisting of social democrats, Stalinists and a handful of bourgeois liberals—suppressed in the name of "anti-fascist unity" the workers' striving toward political power. It sabotaged workers management of factories, gutted and disarmed the workers militias, and assassinated and terrorized leftist leaders and militants. With its eyes on the good will of the "democratic" capitalist powers, the Republican government shrank from proclaiming independence for Spain's

foreign colonies—a genuinely democratic measure which would have deprived Franco of the loyalty of his Moroccan troops. In these ways, the Popular Front demoralized the toiling masses and paved the way for Franco's victory, which crushed the working class along with its reformist leaders.

The heroic Nicaraguan working people deserve better than the leadership they have gotten. Today, physical survival demands revolutionary class struggle throughout Central America, under the leadership of an internationalist vanguard party, against the contra bourgeoisie and its Yankee puppeteers. This would require forging Leninist-Trotskyist parties fighting to put power in the hands of workers' and peasants' soviet governments throughout the Americas.

Dollar "Democracy"

Violeta Chamorro, like Alfonso Robelo, an "ex"-contra chief now prominent in UNO, once represented the so-called "patriotic bourgeoisie" in the first Sandinista cabinet in 1979. This scioness of one of Nicaragua's traditional oligarchic families tried to cultivate an image as a "simple housewife" as Washington groomed her to be the "Nicaraguan Cory Aquino," to head up a neocolonial regime "made in U.S.A." Overtly, CIA fronts like the Agency for International Development and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED—the same outfit that funded Polish Solidarność for years) pumped more than \$3 million directly into UNO's coffers. The Democratic Party got into the act through its own "arm" of NED, the National Democratic Institute. And only Langley's spymasters know for sure how many covert millions they slipped Mme. Contra under the table.

Meanwhile, hordes of foreign "observers," from U.S. ex-president Carter to representatives of the Organization of American States (dubbed the "Yankee Ministry of Colonies" by Che Guevara), descended on Nicaragua to take over the election process and set themselves up as outright proconsuls with the FSLN's blessings. Even Vietnam war criminals Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy put their oar in through the pronouncements of "Inter-American Dialogue"—the imperialist think tank held up as a guardian of "non-intervention" by the liberal left. This intervention had nothing to do with "preventing fraud" and everything to do with asserting U.S. imperialism's "right" to pick and choose governments in other people's countries. As one Mexican commentator succinctly put it, "Life is so paradoxical. Carter lost Nicaragua for the empire, and now he's in charge of getting it back" (*El Día*, 28 February).

And Chamorro never hid her contra links—she reveled in them. UNO broadcast from radio stations in Honduras, where the contra army is based, and UNO's leading councils are filled with prominent "ex"-contra commanders. Even the bourgeois press is noting that the power behind Chamorro's throne is "former" contra leader Alfredo Cesar. Chamorro's "democracy" is pasted together from CIA dollars and with blood spilt by the sadistic contras, who shoot schoolteachers and slit peasants' throats for the sheer fun of it.

War and Economic Devastation

As Daniel Ortega told NBC News (1 March), "The people had to vote with a pistol to their heads." The message from Washington was loud and clear: if you want the contra war and the economic blockade to end, vote UNO. Republicans and Democrats poured hundreds of millions into the dirty contra war, organizing, outfitting and paying the ragtag remnants of Somoza's psychopathic killers, the National Guard, into a mercenary army of "freedom fighters" who ran from Sandinista troops but specialized in blowing up rural schools and

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Freeland/NY Times



Barricada

As U.S. embargo strangled Nicaragua, the Managua poor searched for food in garbage dumps (left). 1982 protest against Chamorro's *La Prensa*, mouthpiece for CIA.

Nicaragua...

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hospitals. Washington didn't oust the FSLN by military force, but it did succeed in bleeding the country white, killing more than 30,000 Nicaraguans—the equivalent of two million people in U.S. population terms—and inflicting more than \$12 billion in war damage, plus incalculable economic losses caused by its trade embargo. Contra attacks continued throughout the pre-election period. Natural disasters brought further devastation. One of Chamorro's principal vote-catching devices was the manipulation of widespread war-weariness, promising to abolish the draft.

In this respect the Nicaragua elections resembled the elections held during the American Civil War in 1864. After three and a half years of a *bloody but inconclusive* struggle, a mood of war-weariness prevailed among the Northern masses. The Democratic presidential candidate, former Union general George McClellan, ran on a "peace" platform, i.e., surrender to the slaveowning Confederacy. Had the Union Army not won some major victories in the last months of the campaign (e.g., Sherman's taking Atlanta), it is likely that Lincoln would have lost the election.

But instead of fighting the contras, the Sandinistas arranged a cease-fire with them. In Washington, the Democratic Party helped set puppet Central American presidents in motion to roll back the Nicaraguan Revolution through a series of "peace" plans and accords, from Contadora through the Arias Plan, extracting an escalating series of Sandinista concessions, both to the internal capitalist fifth column, whose mouthpiece was Chamorro's own CIA-funded *La Prensa*, and to Washington and the contra commanders themselves.

The most recent accord brought the spectacle of Ortega, together with the other Central American presidents, fulsomely supporting El Salvador's murderous president Cristiani in condemning the Salvadoran leftist insurgents. This accord with Cristiani helped grease the skids for Bush's invasion of Panama, which in turn helped put the pistol to Nicaragua's head. Ortega promised Washington he'd never arm the Salvadoran guerrillas again, if only they'd take the heat off. Meanwhile, Gorbachev's regime in the Soviet Union recently cut off military supplies and has turned the supply of oil on and off (reminiscent of Stalin's behavior in the Spanish Civil War) to play up to Washington, helping pressure the FSLN to move ever rightward.

War-weariness, the ravages of U.S. aggression, the general economic crisis of Latin America, and the obscene U.S. financing of the "opposition" took a very heavy toll indeed, and make up *part* of the explanation why Chamorro beat Ortega at the polls by a landslide 15 points, whereas in the 1984 elections, Ortega won with 67 percent of the vote. But it is impossible to understand the current situation in Nicaragua without looking at how the Sandinistas' *own program* helped pave the way for reaction.

Professional tour guides in the fantasy world of opportunism, Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" proclaims, in the words of one of its myriad U.S. sympathizing groups, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, that "the FSLN has led a proletarian revolution establishing the political rule of the country's working masses" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, December 1989). The reality is that the Sandinista regime was a *petty-bourgeois government* that sought to balance above the conflicting social classes in bonapartist fashion, and has in recent years put the burden of economic devastation more and more on the shoulders of the working people.

Justifying his "market-oriented" policy, Ortega boasted that the FSLN has practiced a "mixed economy" form of perestroika long before Gorbachev came on

the scene. More to the point, for years now the Sandinistas have proclaimed that their model was not the USSR (even under Gorbachev, let alone Lenin) nor Castro's Cuba, but rather that they admired the "Mexican model" of the nationalist regime that talks "independent" while bolstering capitalist property and coexisting with Washington on the backs of the working people.

Sixty percent of Nicaragua's farmland stayed in private (not state or cooperative) hands, and capitalists continued to own roughly two-thirds of industry. In 1987, the FSLN decreed a brutal economic shock treatment, dubbed "open-heart surgery without anesthetic," laying off tens of thousands of state employees, ending almost all food subsidies, abolishing free hospital care and distribution of medicines. At the same time, 65 percent of available government funds went to



Mike Goldwater

Nicaraguan workers march on May Day. Toilers must resist Chamorro-contra takeover!

subsidize the private "agro-export sector." Chamorro's campaign manager, Antonio Lacayo, was one of the beneficiaries of "mixed enterprise" partnership with the Sandinista regime, which set up a "joint venture" with him to produce African palm oil on the San Juan river (*El Día*, 24 February).

Inflation was reduced from 1988's 25,000 percent to a "mere" 1,800 percent by ruthlessly cutting demand. Overall private consumption fell by 70 percent. Workers' buying power plummeted to an incredible *six percent* of what it had been in 1980, according to the pro-Sandinista journal *Envío* (Managua, March 1989). One doctor told the *Village Voice* (25 July 1989): "Our salaries are like menstrual periods. They come once a month and last only a few days." Unemployment hit at least one-quarter of the active urban workforce. The result was widespread hunger. Infant mortality rose shamefully to top even El Salvador's and Guatemala's level. Yet the Sandinistas sought to quell working-class protest, including through outright repression, labeling all strikes "counterrevolutionary." "It hurts me to say it, but I no longer think this is the revolution we fought for," said one Sandinista supporter, speaking for many, just before the revolution's tenth anniversary (*Village Voice*, 25 July 1989).

Under these conditions of mass immiseration, the modest economic privileges of the Sandinista leaders were held against them. One FSLN army officer told the *New York Times* (1 March): "All the top people got themselves a house, a car, shopping privileges in the dollar store, and free electricity and water. The people knew that, and they resented it because they were suffering and have nothing." Post-election interviews of "men in the street" by the bourgeois press have highlighted remarks about "voting with the stomach." With Chamorro holding out the carrot of U.S. dollars while Bush waves the big stick of the embargo, many hungry people thought an

UNO victory would mean that "now we'll eat meat."

These expectations are socially explosive. As Sandinista union leader Berenicia Sanders declared, "We workers will demand salary readjustments, and if they do not respond, we will paralyze production" (*New York Times*, 4 March). The rule of the Yankee dollar means hunger and repression for the poor, while the rich will use whatever "aid" comes from Washington to make themselves richer. Meanwhile, the U.S. Congress is showing little eagerness to pour dollars into Nicaragua, arguing "other priorities" (East Europe, Panama, the "war on drugs").

To the dismay and rage of thousands of FSLN supporters, the Sandinistas gave the contras more and more "freedom" to intervene directly in Nicaraguan politics, letting Chamorro reopen "La Prensa" with U.S. funds and legitimizing "ex"-

contras' open campaigning for UNO as the "democratic" workings of "pluralism" and "national reconciliation." Right before the elections Ortega acceded to demands from "contra Cardinal" Miguel Obando to follow up previous amnesties by releasing *all* of the contras and Somocista National Guardsmen still in jail, including the murderers of FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca and the torturers of Tomás Borge. Today these sadists stalk the streets of Managua with a taste of victory in their mouths and their hands itching to kill and maim.

The Left and Nicaragua

Within Nicaragua, the "Communists" and "Socialists" are part of Chamorro's 14-party coalition, together with the contras in a smorgasbord of Christian and other pro-Yankee outfits. Moscow, while it provided—until recently—AK-47s, tanks, and other invaluable weaponry (but never MIGs and ground-to-air missiles), applauded the "wisdom" of Sandinista concessions and pushed continuously for "more flexibility" as part of its effort to "resolve regional differences" to appease U.S. imperialism. Fidel Castro, after urging Nicaragua *not* to become another Cuba, is today witnessing the bitter fruits of Stalinist "socialism in one country" as Washington vows to move in for the kill in Cuba. The Stalinist viewpoint was put in a nutshell by Cuban vice president Carlos Raphael Rodríguez (once a CP minister in one of Batista's cabinets): Nicaragua "did not succumb to the temptation of a premature socialist revolution" (*Barricada International*, 8 July 1989). This has been the outlook of the bulk of the international left, from the self-styled Marxists to the rad-lib "sandalistas" to the Socialist International (which the FSLN has declared it wants to join).

The majority of Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) supported and raised funds for the petty-bourgeois FSLN's election campaign. Yet, as is so often the case in

this most disunited of secretariats, the fact that the USec has one line doesn't stop some of its hangers-on from publicly pushing a counterposed one. The largest pro-Mandel group in the U.S., Socialist Action, fulsomely came out for ex-Sandinista Moises Hassan's presidential bid on the ticket of the Movement for Revolutionary Unity (MUR). In fact Hassan acted as a left cover for the "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution. After the elections, with the contras thirsting for vengeance, Hassan likened top Sandinista leaders to Nicolai Ceausescu and stated that "If we were to go strictly according to justice, they should be tried in the courts on charges of corruption, abuse of power and other major crimes" (*El Día*, 2 March).

The Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT)—Revolutionary Workers Party—affiliated to the late Argentine fake-Trotskyist Nahuel Moreno's International Workers League, ran in the elections, saying it fights for a "government of the workers and poor peasants" and calling for repudiation of all pro-imperialist pacts signed by the Sandinista government. However, in the midst of escalating intervention in Nicaraguan politics by the contras and their civilian front men, the PRT calls not for *proletarian* democracy but for the "total application of all democratic liberties" (including for "La Prensa"?) and for a "free and sovereign constituent assembly" to represent "all social, trade-union and political organizations." And its main campaign slogan was "Neither contras nor Sandinistas—let socialist workers rule!" This equates the CIA's terrorists with the radical nationalist regime under massive assault by U.S. imperialism. Trotskyists give not the slightest *political* support or confidence to the FSLN, but we *take a side* and *militarily defend* the Sandinistas against U.S. imperialism's contra killers.

A third leftist party that ran against the FSLN is the eclectic Stalinoid Marxist-Leninist Party of Nicaragua (formerly called MAP-ML). We have not been able to learn enough about their election program and their recent concrete activities to form a judgment as to whether this organization might have merited critical support in the election campaign.

Smash Yankee Imperialism in Central America!

The Nicaraguan workers and peasants have fought with enormous heroism, at a terrible cost, to free their country from U.S. overlordship, from the Somoza dictatorship and its National Guard, from the coffee, cattle and cotton barons, from poverty, illiteracy and hunger. Their fight inspired millions around the world and brought thousands of "internacionalistas," (including many of our own young comrades) to Nicaragua to take a stand against U.S. imperialism.

While militantly defending Nicaragua against the U.S. assault, including through our "Nicabucks" campaign of material aid in 1985, we took seriously Trotsky's injunction in the *Transitional Program* to "face reality squarely" and "tell the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be." Thus we told the truth about the dangers represented by the Sandinista program while most other left groups were falling all over themselves to evade or prettify the hard reality, and thus bear a share of responsibility for the present crisis in Nicaragua. It is more urgently necessary than ever that honest militants around the world draw the hard lessons of Nicaragua and take their place in the fight to build the world party of socialist revolution. This political rearming is the key to *real* solidarity with the embattled toilers of Nicaragua.

We feel the deepest bitterness that the workers and peasants have endured so much only to have their hopes apparently go down to defeat. To avenge this crime of U.S. imperialism, which now trumpets its success in bludgeoning and starving the Nicaraguan people into submission, is not the least of the reasons why we are communists. ■

East German Elections...

(continued from page 1)

built the collectivized economy from the rubble of Hitler's Third Reich. Stalinism has wretchedly demonstrated its bankruptcy. But no one has the right to hand over to capital what millions have created! We must defend our social gains and our workers state. We have much to lose and everything to win!

Today our country is the target of an unparalleled imperialist campaign of destabilization. With the SPD as the Trojan horse, *Anschluss* with the BRD [West Germany] is to be forced upon us. Kohl & Co. are bombarding Germany East and West with monstrous panic-mongering. Stalinist bureaucratic rule is disintegrating, but now the DDR economy itself is also supposed to be talked into collapsing. We are all supposed to be intimidated and demoralized as German nationalist reunification frenzy gets whipped up. Hothouse conditions nurture the growth of new fascist bands—the stormtroopers of a Fourth Reich.

Workers and soldiers! Collective farmers! All working people! Look around you! There are many just like you who are ready to fight for our gains: working men and women, foreign workers and women, youth, pensioners. Our future is at stake.

Millions of DDR citizens hate the NATO imperialist crusade against the Soviet Union. A capitalist Greater Germany would be a nightmare for all of us. The behemoth, armed to the teeth by the Daimler-Benz-MBB armorers, would threaten all neighboring peoples and the whole of mankind with a new military adventure against the East.

The capitalist monopolists can hardly wait to transform the factories owned by the people into gold mines for their own profit. And the Social Democrats are busy shoving it down our throats. But we don't want mass unemployment, we don't want women to be sent home to the kitchen, we don't want collective farmers to be reduced to the condition of impoverished migrant workers in the countryside by the return of the Junker capitalists. We also don't want the draconian dismantling of social services, the drastic reduction of the masses' standard of living in the DDR that this would necessarily entail.

Yet, together with Kohl, his SPD lackeys and the worst nationalist filth, [present DDR head of state Hans] Modrow shouted "Deutschland One Fatherland" as soon as Gorbachev gave a green light. The Modrow government, as well as the former SED, the bloc parties, the "Round Table"—all are groveling in the face of the furious howls of intimidation coming from the capitalists and their SPD lieutenants.

The Volkskammer elections on March 18 are supposed to be part of the sellout of the DDR. It is not possible for them to reflect the true will of the working people. *But these elections have become a distorted plebiscite on the future existence of the DDR.* The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany is fighting in this election campaign against capitalist counterrevolution and for a **proletarian political revolution** against Stalinism that goes all the way.



Der Spiegel

Workers in VEB Robotron, producer of computers and industrial robots. Stop the sellout of DDR industry to the capitalists!

Because: The factories belong to those who create the social wealth in the DDR—they should decide what to do with them. Today the working people of the DDR must tear political power away from the venal bureaucrats and take it into their own hands! The heirs of Stalin and Ulbricht must not hand over our workers state to the Frankfurt bankers! Not a parliament, but only the mobilization of the working people in their own interests will enforce their will! That is why the Spartakist Workers Party is putting forward not an empty electoral program but a **program of struggle**.

Many "opposition" parties, and even the PDS, say they want to fight with the capitalists come. But in practice most of them capitulate to the sellout. In the Volkskammer elections every citizen must demand of these parties an answer to one question: Do you clearly and consistently say **No** to capitalist reunification? Examine them closely!

The Spartakists give a consistent answer to this question. Stalin gave the planned economy a bad name. We are the only ones to fight for a planned economy not ruled by the arbitrary dictates of a bureaucracy but on the basis of a broad and deep-going workers democracy. The workers must take into their own hands control of the factories and institutions by building soviets [workers councils] in which all currents of the working class are represented, and free and open debates take place on all problems facing them. Thus soviets directly represent the interests of all working people, with delegates being recallable at any time. This form of government is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois parliamentarism can ever be. Thousands upon thousands in the DDR have stuck to the ideals of social justice—workers, collective farmers, soldiers, even many in the bureaucracy. These goals were not wrong: it was Stalinism that betrayed your goals and deformed your communist ideals! The doctrine of "socialism in one country," that lying invention of Stalin and Bukharin, was the first great betrayal of the October Revolution itself and led to horrible excesses.

The Stalinist bankrupts are falling on their knees one after the other because they are programmatically devoid of any

alternative. Now many of them are trying to save their own skins: they are offering not only their services to capital, but our entire country, our factories, our lives. We must not give up the gains of the Russian Revolution despite the fact that the Stalinists are capitulating and now disintegrating.

The Spartakists' program of struggle shows a way into the future because it is based on the historic interests of the working people. It is the program of Lenin and Trotsky: we are the party of the Russian Revolution. Is communism dead, as the bourgeoisie so loudly trumpets? No, but the Bolshevik Party was destroyed by Stalin and his henchmen. We accuse criminals like Ulbricht of

the Greater Germany *Anschluss*. However, major workers' struggles are now on the agenda in the BRD. Our fellow workers there also know what a Fourth Reich of fascism and imperialist war would mean. Today a resolute struggle by workers in the DDR can be the spark for BRD workers to beat back the attacks of the bosses and open the way to real class struggle, for power: *social revolution* in the West.

The "Fourth Reich" is casting its shadow before it: desecration of Jewish cemeteries and Soviet monuments. There is no place for that in the workers state! On January 3rd, 250,000 anti-fascists stood in Treptow against fascism and for the Red Army. Our party is proud to have initiated that united-front mobilization. We again repeat: the heavy battalions of the working class must sweep away the fascists with workers united-front actions!

It was the Red Army that smashed the Nazi regime. They carried the gains of the Red October on their bayonets as far as the Elbe. Since 1945 it has been Soviet soldiers who have stood guard on the Elbe against Western imperialism. Our citizens have long lived with this border, the front line of the Cold War. The fact that internationalism has always been alive in our country is due not least to this. FDJers [members of the SED's former youth group] went to Nicaragua; children of SWAPO fighters were treated in our hospitals; tens of millions of marks flowed into solidarity funds. That is why we were and are deeply outraged over the misuse of these funds.

Seventy years ago, at the founding conference of the KPD, Karl Liebknecht greeted the new Russian Soviet Republic and declared his solidarity with the Russian proletariat under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. It is just as true today: the fate of the Russian Revolution



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murdering hundreds and thousands of Communists. Today it is necessary to construct a new Leninist-egalitarian party. For communist ideals—No privileges! Since the 1848 Revolution, which grew out of the industrial revolution, the working class was forced to go beyond bourgeois liberalism and nationalism. A world market was established which is controlled and viciously manipulated by the imperialists. For this reason the workers' struggles must be internationalist.

In the DDR, the new Leninist party must fight for full citizenship rights for foreign workers and unite German and immigrant workers in its ranks. The unity of the working class must be forged in struggle, but this unity will not be complete as long as our foreign coworkers and their families are singled out, discriminated against and disadvantaged. We must not rest in this fight until the revolutionary German soviet power puts *all* workers on an equal basis and grants them full citizenship rights, just as the young Soviet state did.

For the victory of communism in all Germany a Leninist party must today be fighting together with our class brothers and sisters in the West. The capitalists want to squeeze even more out of the workers in the BRD in order to pay for

is inextricably linked to that of the German Revolution. And that also means the future of Poland as well as that of all Europe. Now the revanchists are already looking beyond the Oder-Neisse line. A capitalist Greater Germany would unleash dark forces that are even now practicing their demagoguery in beer halls. And it would be a springboard for the imperialist coalition to mobilize against the Soviet Union.

A revolutionary link-up of German with Soviet workers and soldiers would not only be a bulwark against the plans of the NATO revanchists, but also a powerful basis for an international planned economy.

The working people of the DDR—and that includes office workers, collective farmers, artisans, academics and artists—have all the abilities to run a highly developed economy and produce to world market standards. But incompetent, nationalist bureaucracies and imperialist hegemonic practices hindered full development of the productive forces—not just in our country.

"Proletarians of the World, Unite!" For us that is not just a slogan, but an action program for a rationally planned international division of labor, controlled

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Reuters

Neo-Nazi Republikaner skinheads demonstrate in Leipzig.

East German Elections...

(continued from page 11)

by workers organized in soviets. This program of proletarian internationalism is the banner of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

The Spartakists' Program of Struggle

- For strikes and factory occupations—Stop the capitalist takeover of our factories! We need workers defense organizations to defend these combative actions! Against the imperialist destabilization campaign: build workers and soldiers soviets to defend our collectivized economy!

- Fight the D-mark Anschluss! For the right to a job for all! Defend our low-cost housing! Don't be taken in by the capitalist swindle of a "social market economy" or the lie of a "socialist market economy"! Market competition between independent, self-financing factories necessarily—and to an increasing extent—means inequality, factory closures and unemployment, monopolistic distortions and abuse.

- For a centralized planned economy under the rule of workers councils, the instruments of proletarian political power! That means political power belongs in the hands of freely elected councils of workers, soldiers and their allies! BRD-style "factory councils" are instruments to chain a powerful workers movement to the interests of capital. The highest soviet body should determine the overall

direction of industrial production, the construction plans for housing, schools, hospitals and other installations of the social infrastructure. Consumer goods and services should be adjusted according to the changing conditions of demand and supply of the market within the framework of centralized planning. Factory committees should oversee production. Cooperatives should control the quality and prices of consumer goods.

- For proletarian internationalism! We need collaboration on an equal footing between the DDR and the USSR!

- For workers united-front actions to stop the fascists! Down with racism, anti-Semitism, hostility toward homosexuals and hatred of foreigners!

- No anti-Communist witchhunt against current or former SED members! Functionaries who are charged with crimes should be judged by people's tribunals.

- Full citizenship rights for all foreign working people and their families!

- Complete equality for women! Women must be able to fully participate in political and social life. The precondition for this is the socialization of housework; comprehensive 24-hour care for our children; defense of the right to abortion; maintenance of socially justified subsidies.

- Preserve a humane future for youth! Defend the right to unlimited, free education for all.

- Benefits for pensioners!

- For environmental protection based on planning! The market economy cannot prevent ecological catastrophe—on the contrary. Factory committees are the most suited to guard against accidents and environmental damage. For humanity



Rostock, East Germany, January 19—Spartacist public meeting commemorates Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg and calls for a Leninist-egalitarian party.

to survive on the planet, we need international cooperation and planning!

- Only through workers revolution can peace be secured! NATO is a weapons-laden alliance for war against the Soviet Union. The BRD accepts a "neutral" DDR just like Hitler accepted a "neutral Rhineland." Gorbachev's dream of "peaceful coexistence" with a Fourth Reich is as illusory and dangerous as

Stalin's pact with Hitler. Imagine if Hitler had had atomic bombs! Defense of the Soviet Union begins on the Elbe!

- For proletarian political revolution! For a real socialism and a consistent break with the Stalinist-bureaucratic system! Citizens of the German Democratic Republic: There is much in the DDR you can be proud of. Don't throw the good out with the bad!

Vote for the "Three L's": Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg!

Vote for the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany!

You will be voting for a pan-German party of revolutionary workers in the internationalist tradition of Lenin and Trotsky.

We fight for the defense of the DDR, leading to a red Germany of workers councils in a socialist Europe!

DDR Women...

(continued from page 3)

harassed; some were also put on trial. On 5 May 1989 Dr. Theissen was sentenced to two and a half years imprisonment and was disbarred from practicing medicine for three years, convicted on 38 counts of violating Paragraph 218a and 219 of the German penal code. The case is currently on appeal.

West Germany's abortion law, known as Paragraph 218, was introduced into the penal code in 1871 when Bismarck founded his Reich. Under Hitler it was changed—to make abortion punishable by death! When the DDR was founded in 1949—born from the destruction of Hitler's Reich by the Soviet Red Army and built by the victims of the Nazi regime—Paragraph 218 was struck from the books by the next year. The 1950 Law for the Protection of Mother and Child and the Rights of the Woman provided for abortion when there were medical, social or ethical indications. While this law qualitatively improved women's access to abortion, it proved much too restrictive, as women had to justify their need before a committee. Many women



West German protest in 1988 against criminal prosecution of Dr. Horst Theissen for performing abortions.

continued to turn to illegal abortion.

In 1972 the DDR passed the Law on the Interruption of Pregnancy, which allows abortion on demand, fully paid for by the state, during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy. There are only two restrictions: a woman can have no more than one abortion in any six-month period and

she will be refused an abortion if it is a threat to her health. The woman receives full sick pay for any time off work she takes. Free contraceptives are available in the DDR to any woman 16 or over; in 1974 eleven million packets of birth control pills were distributed. As a result of these measures and others to ensure quality medical treatment of women and the rest of the population, the DDR has one of the lowest maternal death rates in the world: in 1977 the DDR maternal death rate was 18 per 100,000, while in West Germany it was 34—almost twice as high. The DDR is also one of the safest places in the world to be born, with an infant mortality rate of 8.1 per 1,000 live births in 1988.

These gains must be defended—and it is not only Helmut Kohl's conservative CDU which is the threat. Where the Catholic governing party has met with resistance, the SPD—arm in arm with the Protestant Church—serves obligingly as the most effective organizer for the moral crusade against women. In the early 1970s a strong movement to strike Paragraph 218 from the books in West Germany was sabotaged by the SPD, which pushed through a "compromise" measure—it is this law which is being used against Theissen and other doctors! The SPD has consistently suppressed the

widespread outrage in their trade-union base over the abortion witchhunt.

For Women's Liberation—For Trotskyism!

When in 1917 in Russia the Bolsheviks led the working class to power, they instituted a number of measures for the emancipation of women. To the extent that they were able in a backward and war-torn country, they sought to replace the social functions of the family with free, 24-hour childcare centers and communal laundries and canteens—measures to enable women to fully participate in social and political life. In *The Revolution Betrayed* Trotsky polemicized against the Kremlin's program to restore the family, which was declared an article of Stalinist faith in 1936 when as part of the Thermidorian reaction Stalin outlawed abortion in the USSR (it has been legal again since 1956):

"The triumphant rehabilitation of the family, taking place simultaneously—what a providential coincidence!—with the rehabilitation of the ruble, is caused by the material and cultural bankruptcy of the state. Instead of openly saying, 'we have proven still too poor and ignorant for the creation of socialist relations among men, our children and grandchildren will realize this aim,' the leaders are forcing people to glue together again the shell of the broken family, and not only that, but to consider it, under threat of extreme penalties, the sacred nucleus of triumphant socialism. It is hard to measure with the eye the scope of this retreat."

Across the DDR millions of working people want to fight to defend the hard-won gains against the threatened onslaught of capitalist reunification. What's necessary is a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the struggle against the imperialist stampede, to strike against privatization of the factories, to protest the closing of childcare centers, the rise in rents. The SpAD calls for the building of workers councils in the factories as organs of workers political power and for a Leninist-egalitarian party to fight for workers political revolution. Working women will be in the first ranks of the struggle to defend the social gains of the DDR against the looming capitalist rollback. ■

Urgent Appeal for the "3-L's" Fund

Internationalist support is urgently needed to continue the key political battle in East Germany against the threat of capitalist reunification! In the face of Kohl's monstrous destabilization campaign seeking to stampede the DDR into the arms of West Germany's bankers and capitalists, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party stand out uniquely as the conscious Leninist vanguard, the one party defending the workers of East Germany against this onslaught. We need to reach millions with our revolutionary program, to become the voice and organizer of the working people who built the DDR. Fielding candidates in the March 18 elections, producing *Arprekorr* and *Spartakist* as well as an election program, posters

and other material pounding home the key political issue in this election, "No to Capitalist Reunification!", as well as seeking to get out key works by Leon Trotsky in German, our comrades in Germany are extending themselves to the utmost.

Our readers have responded generously to our fund appeals, but many more contributions are needed to help us carry forward the work of forging a new communist-egalitarian party in the spirit of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht. The fate of the German political revolution hangs in the balance, and there is little time. Make your donations payable/send to: Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116 (earmark "Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Fund" or "3-L's Fund").

Death Penalty...

(continued from page 16)

J.C. Reynolds, president of the Atlanta transit ATU Local 732, also sent greetings to the rally. Transit workers served as ushers, ensuring an orderly meeting. Other speakers gave moving accounts of their experiences with racist capitalist "justice." Wali Muhammad, former editor of *Muhammad Speaks*, told of his son's encounter with the arbitrary and capricious justice system, which locked him away for seven years. Pat Gilliard, a prominent anti-death-penalty activist in Atlanta, spoke movingly of her work with death row prisoners. She blasted the "big lie" of the death penalty: "It pretends to be justice, but it is really vengeance." Before she spoke, Gilliard handed out cards to those at the rally. On the cards were the names of the 107 men on death row in Georgia, and those already killed by the state.

The rally offered a platform for politically diverse forces, who participated out of a shared hatred for the racism and cruelty of the death penalty. Georgia Representative Tyrone Brooks appealed for those at the rally to lobby state politicians in an effort to stop the bill which would extend capital punishment to the mentally retarded. But Brooks, like many liberal opponents of capital punishment, argued it was necessary for death penalty abolitionists to "offer solutions" (alternative punishments) in place of capital punishment: we need to build as many prisons as necessary, he said, "we need



WV Photo

Atlanta—3,000-strong demonstration met Klan provocation with massive show of labor/black defiance, January 1989.

to begin to preach life without parole."

In the discussion, a supporter of the Spartacist League counterposed a working-class fight to abolish the death penalty:

"We seek to wipe the obscenity of the death penalty off the face of the earth, but not like [New York] Governor Cuomo and the liberals of the Democratic Party by saying life torture with no parole. We do not offer so-called solutions to this system which must be racist and class-biased.

"We have in this country North and South, and internationally, such a liberating army as Frederick Douglass spoke about 130 years ago. And that is the working class, black and white, of this country. One year ago in Atlanta, when 3,000 black and white workers, students

and gays, stood together against the Klan...is the kind of mobilization of social power we must undertake to abolish the death penalty and the system which perpetuates it."

The Atlanta rally took place as the state gears up its killing machine. In California, where 273 prisoners are on death row, the first execution since 1967 is scheduled for April 3. With the gas chamber less than a month away for Robert Alton Harris, there is a chilling lack of protest of this execution which, coming outside the South and in "liberal" California, will further open the floodgates to killing by the state. Attorney John Poulos noted that the resumption of executions "will send a message to the

world that America is in the business of killing people" (*New York Times*, 27 February). Obscenely, San Quentin offers "stress counseling" to the corrections cops who volunteered to make up the "execution team."

Mountains of statistics and studies show the racist application of the death penalty, as the activists speaking at the rally explained with passion. Even a federal General Accounting Office study, released last week, concludes that capital punishment in this country is heavily influenced by race—and especially the race of the victim. Now a study by the Washington-based Sentencing Project has made headlines with the chilling statistic that *one in four* black men between the ages of 20 and 29 is in prison, or on probation or parole (the figure for white men is 1 in 16, and 1 in 10 for Hispanics). There are now more young black men in prison than in college. And as the jails are filled, every avenue of hope is closed off—from 1976 to 1986 black college enrollment fell by seven percent. The study's author, Marc Mauer, noted that "We now risk the possibility of writing off an entire generation of black men from leading productive lives" (*Washington Post*, 27 February).

Sixty years ago militant international protest saved the lives of the Scottsboro Boys. Today, it must be mobilized to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal and put a stop to the racist, barbaric death penalty. Even from his prison cell in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Mumia continues to be the "voice of the voiceless," through his newspaper columns written from behind bars. Those of us on the outside must redouble our efforts to stop the state's attempt to silence him forever.

We print below excerpts from some of the speeches at the Atlanta rally.

Gary Alexion

Formerly with the ACLU Death Penalty Project

In this state ten out of the fourteen people who have been executed in Geor-



Butch Miller

Gary Alexion

gia's electric chair have been black people, and that is an evil thing that we should not tolerate. But there is another equally evil aspect to the death penalty in this country and that is that people who kill whites are much more likely to receive the death penalty than people who kill black people. The system places a higher value on the lives of white people than on black people. It's as if black life is just thought to be cheap and something that doesn't deserve respect in the criminal justice system.



Butch Miller

Linda Riggins

Linda Riggins

President of Service Employees International Union Local 679

I bring you greetings from the Service Employees International Union Local 679 and also for Monica Russo of ACTWU, who is unable to be here because she's in North Carolina carrying on the duties of justice for our poor working people.

Just to talk a little bit about organized labor and what we are faced with today, and to show that racism is truly alive and well—that blacks are most likely to be the ones who are deprived of their rights to organize, to have a decent standard of living, and to have adequate pay.

I look around the room for some of my executive board members who started out at \$3.50 an hour about four years ago, who were terminated, mistreated. They had some of the black women working in the bossman houses, they would pay them some of their old meat and give them old shoes to clean up their houses. Now these women can stand strong, making \$6.05 an hour, with dignity, respect, health insurance. I'm proud of this accomplishment.

When you look at the death penalty too and see that racism is alive and well, because blacks don't have the money that it takes to fight the legal system, and even if they did, our lives are not as "important" as a white person's life. And that's unfortunate because one of the biggest commandments is "thou shall not kill."

It's appropriate, because this is black history month, that I close with a freedom song.

Hasan Crockett

Member of Ujamaa Society, Clark Atlanta University

The time has come to abolish the death penalty, America. Over the past decade at least one country a year has abolished the death penalty. The death penalty is the premeditated and cold-blooded killing of a human being by the State.

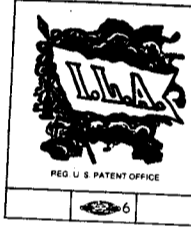
If there is racism, prejudice and class oppression in all the institutions in society, what prevents it from being in the criminal justice system? The answer is nothing. America, history is the final

Savannah ILA local endorses campaign to "save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal."

International Longshoremen's Association
... Association ...
Affiliated with AFL-CIO and Canadian Labour Congress

LOCAL NO. 1414
221 N. E. Lathrop Avenue — Post Office Box 1282
Savannah, Georgia 31402
Telephones 233-2944 - 232-8242 — Fax 236-8081

February 20, 1990

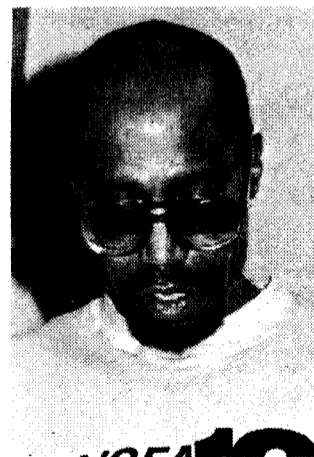


James C. Reid, President
Benjamin Bryan, Secretary

Partisan Defense Committee
Post Office Box 3132
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

SAVE THE LIFE OF MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

It is a part of our American heritage to be able to speak without fear and to have a fair trial by an unbiased jury of our peers. Mr. Abu-Jamal is a victim on two accounts. He is a victim by affiliation in organizations which are unacceptable to some and a victim by...



Butch Miller

Hasan Crockett

judge of all cultures and societies. From the beginning to now you have consistently murdered the red, the black, the poor, to maintain a racist capitalist rule.

Now is the time to abolish the death penalty. Now is the time to free Abu-Jamal. Now is the time to stop racist murders. Now is the time! Now is the time!

Tyrone Brooks

Member, Georgia House of Representatives

Unfortunately, as we meet here today, the Georgia legislature is about to embark on another mission to extend its killing campaign. This coming Monday, the Senate is expected to pass out a bill that would allow for the execution of retarded individuals. Those persons who

unfortunately have been classified as retarded will be legally executed. In spite of the Supreme Court's rulings of years ago, we now have a new ruling that allows states to pass legislation that will allow for the execution of mentally retarded persons.

I happen to serve on one of the committees in the House that has oversight over jails and prisons; we travel, and we walk into jails, we walk into prisons, and often times I will walk down death row at Jackson, and I will just look into those cells, those quarters, and sometimes I will stop and talk to inmates, those persons who have been sentenced to die. I can never find a person on death row, who's been convicted and sentenced to

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Butch Miller

Tyrone Brooks

Death Penalty...

(continued from page 13)

die, whose victim was black. Now that should tell you something as to why people like myself continue to work, struggle against the death penalty.

Wali Muhammad

Former editor of *Muhammad Speaks*; Research Director, *Brandon Institute*

Georgia led the nation in lynchings from 1890 through 1912. To give you an



Wali Muhammad

idea of how the death penalty is carried out in one instance that's close to the Partisan Defense Committee, mainly because they organized against the Klan and the Klan decided that they were going to rally in Atlanta because of a rally that had taken place in Forsyth County.

I'd like to take you back just a few years and tell you about a cold September day in which two individuals were taken from a prison that's no longer standing here in Atlanta. Barefoot, wearing bib overalls, taken to the train station that still exists, put on a train from Atlanta to Buford in the company of 30 to 40 National Guardsmen. They had to walk from Buford to Cumming, a distance of 30 some miles.

The scaffolding in Forsyth County, Cumming, Georgia in 1912 was built in the backyard of a prominent doctor. Built there because it sat in sort of a natural amphitheater-like area in which 5,000 people could gather on those hills to watch the execution. Newspaper reports indicate that there was almost a party-like atmosphere as 5,000 people gathered. And in the midst of this circus, September 1912, two individuals were hanged. And this is the case that began the exodus of blacks from Forsyth County.

Cruel and unusual punishment. My brother Tyrone Brooks said that we are now beginning to see how barbaric we have become. I submit to you that we as Americans have been barbaric for a long time. It's just now that meetings like this are beginning to take the cover off the barbaric acts that we've been seeing all along.



Butch Miller

Pat Gilliard

Pat Gilliard

Executive Director, *Clearinghouse on Georgia Prisons and Jails*

I'm wearing two hats: I represent the Georgia Clearinghouse, but I also repre-

sent the Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty. The Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty is a committee that has been in existence for about 15 years, and their purpose is to fight for the abolition of the death penalty in Georgia, and be in solidarity with groups like the Partisan Defense Committee, who are also about doing the right thing—the abolition of the death penalty.

You need to know that we have 14 people that we have been in correspondence with on death row that are mentally retarded, they've been tested by doctors, psychologists, psychiatrists, and they've been tested with IQs of 60 and below, and they have basically been diagnosed as retarded.

You can't even imagine, until you get involved, how devastating it is, to talk to inmates who have not talked to people in the general population of society as long as they've been on death row. You can't comprehend right now how devastating it is to continue to ask attorneys to represent people who do not have attorneys. And those attorneys are basically dwindling in their funds, but they're still out front. It is also very hard to talk to inmates who have lost their last appeal, as I've had to talk to them, and say to that person, we have lost your last appeal, you must prepare to die. ■

Greyhound Strike...

(continued from page 16)

in Philadelphia and Chicago. ATU pickets in Cleveland, Oakland and Houston were hit by scab buses. The capitalist courts have already handed down injunctions against picketing, and the Interstate Commerce Commission stayed open Saturday to get new bus companies up and running. With the demise of Trailways, Greyhound is the only national bus company.

The Greyhound workers came out to the lines ready to fight, but in city after city, the ATU bureaucrats were nowhere to be found. Scandalously, the ATU tops are allowing outfits like Carolina Coach, with ATU drivers, to fill in on Greyhound routes. In Washington, D.C. a 17-year union driver told the *Washington Post* (3 March): "Greyhound thinks they can send scabs down here and just take our jobs away, but we're not going down without a fight." But to win, union militants must look at the lessons of the 1983 strike.

Then, the ATU struck Greyhound for 47 days. Workers were eager to avenge the stinging defeat of PATCO. Thousands of unionists poured onto picket lines from Boston to San Francisco to fight alongside the angry Greyhound workers. As we said then, "Every ingredient necessary for victory in the Greyhound strike was there except one: a leadership determined to win." The backstabbing union tops demobilized the spontaneous solidarity actions, turning "labor solidarity" into an impotent consumer boycott and appeals to capitalist Democratic Party politicians to "ban" scabbing. The bureaucrats crawled before the anti-picketing injunctions, and in the case of the UAW company cops, actually ordered UAW mechanics, baggage handlers and clerks to cross the lines. Greyhound workers are still paying for the defeat the ATU tops rammed down their throat: hundreds of the best militants fired, wage cuts averaging \$13,000 over three years, a two-tier pay scale.

And Greyhound strikers had better not forget the fake-socialist water boys for the union tops, who greased the skids for the 1983 strike defeat and will do the same again if given the chance. The Workers World Party alibied the bureaucracy's phony "solidarity" in 1983, and never even opposed the sellout contract. Last week, on the eve of the strike, the ATU held a rally at New York's Port Authority station. There was plenty of

"solidarity" speechifying from the union bureaucrats and their hangers-on. Socialist Workers Party supporter Ernie Mailhot, a striking Eastern Machinist, gave another hot air speech. But when it counted, Mailhot and the SWP openly backed the Machinists bureaucrats when they knifed the Eastern strike, sabotaging the labor action that would have made a difference, like shutting down the airports and extending picketing to the railroads. Like the pro-capitalist bureaucrats they serve, these fake-socialists fear hard class struggle like the plague.

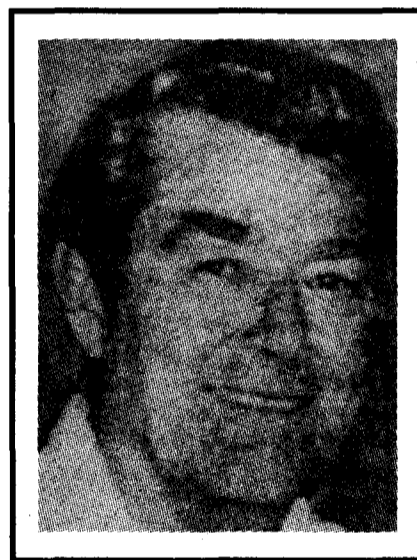
Greyhound workers need a strike leadership that acts on the understanding that in the war between labor and capital, the state—the cops, courts and labor boards—is the enemy of the working class. Greyhound workers must take the strike into their own hands, with an elected strike committee that will place no reliance on the bureaucrats' phony "friend of labor" Democratic Party, but rather appeal to workers and minorities to build mass picket lines that stop the buses. In Chicago, class-struggle militants in transit are fighting in ATU Local 241 for organized union contingents to beef up the picket lines of their Greyhound brothers and sisters. Avenge Robert Waterhouse, remember Ray Phillips! Bust Currey's scabs with picket lines that mean don't cross! Victory to the Greyhound strike! ■

Robert Waterhouse: Labor Martyr ATU Driver Killed by Scab

Despite his nearing retirement after 30 years, Robert Waterhouse knew his place was on the picket line in the strike against Greyhound by the Amalgamated Transit Union. He was brutally killed by a scab bus driver on March 3, in his hometown of Redding, California. His widow told the *Sacramento Bee* (4 March):

"He just received his retirement papers last week. He was looking forward to just doing nothing. It really wasn't even his strike, but he was there in support of his fellow drivers. He kept saying, 'It's a matter of self pride'."

Another picket and eyewitness to the killing, Mike Alexander, said the scab, Theodore Graham, "put the throttle down. There were a lot of people there. He came all the way across the alley at us. We hit the wall." Waterhouse was crushed to death. In *Sacramento*, Greyhound striker Karen Gage said, "It's going to be all hell broke loose now. All these drivers are asking for is a little money and now people are dying."



AP

The Partisan Defense Committee extended its sympathy to Robert Waterhouse's family, honoring this "union martyr in the bosses' war against labor. We salute Robert Waterhouse. He died at his post, on the picket line, defending his union."

Noriega...

(continued from page 8)

profits to the contras made public put an end to these plans.

The infamous "Harari Network," named after Noriega's rent-a-Mossad-agent Mike Harari, has shed additional light on how it all worked. Jane Hunter, in *CovertAction*, outlines how the elaborate Harari Network, dubbed the "Arms Supermarket," supplied by the Medellín Cartel was an elaborate guns-and-drug running operation for the contras, set up by the Reagan administration and the government of Israel in 1982. Richard Brenneke, a player in the network, revealed that "when he asked if the operation was approved by the U.S.," he was told to phone Donald Gregg, *Bush's National Security Adviser*. He did so, on 3 November 1983. Gregg told him he should "by all means cooperate."

A revealing postscript to all this is that, while Noriega had obviously outlived his usefulness to the White House (and thus now sits in a Miami jail cell),

the much better connected Harari "vanished" from Panama on December 20. Three days after the invasion, the State Department announced that Harari had been captured by the U.S. military. But within 24 hours the statement was "withdrawn" and he surfaced safe and sound on Israeli television on January 5, denying everything of course.

U.S. Imperialism— Public Enemy Number One

George Bush claims ignorance of the Iran/Contra affair, repeating poker-faced, "I was out of the loop." When he gets up in court, Manuel Noriega can put him back in. Of course, it is possible that day may never come. U.S. presidents have a way of disappearing dictators who have outlived their usefulness, like Trujillo in the Dominican Republic and Diem in Vietnam, and terminal "accidents" have a way of happening in U.S. jails.

Manuel Noriega is not a nice man, but his godfather George Bush is the real "extreme danger to the community"—everywhere. Bush stands at the head of the most powerful imperialist military

force in the world and gets off on using it. His phony "war on drugs" is an assertion of U.S. imperialism's unbridled ambition to police the whole world, to "roll back Communism" from Cuba all the way to the Soviet Union. He started with Panama, but it looks like increasingly isolated Cuba may be next on his list. Thus on January 31, a U.S. Coast Guard cutter, with authorization from *Washington*, opened fire on a small cargo ship, registered in Panama but sailing under charter to Cuba and with a Cuban crew, because it was "suspected" of carrying drugs. This act of high-seas piracy was a naked war provocation!

The American government is the biggest drug-runner of them all—from the CIA's Laotian opium run during the Vietnam War to its Afghan *mujahedin* and the contra drug trade. And from the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to Bush's December slaughter in Panama City, there are no greater mass murderers in history. To wipe the planet clean of the arrogant Yankee imperialists requires their defeat at home by a victorious workers revolution. ■

"Legal" Lynching in the Death Belt

We print below the excerpted remarks to the Atlanta rally by Bernard Branche of the Partisan Defense Committee.

It is appropriate that we death penalty abolitionists meet here, today, in America's South. Appropriate because the South is where overwhelmingly most of America's legal lynchings take place. Southern death chambers like Florida and Texas account for half of these killings. In the history of the death penalty, of the 455 legal executions for rape, over 400 were black men, and nearly all in the South.

In this country *it all begins with slavery*. Slave codes officially made killing a slave a public offense, but in fact it was extremely rare that a white person was ever convicted, or even tried, for killing a slave. The various state criminal codes reflected this. Every Southern state in the Confederacy defined a substantial number of felonies carrying capital punishment for slaves and much lesser penalties for whites. It was the spirit and sometimes the letter of the law of these slave codes that the KKK restored when it put the torch to radical Reconstruction after the Civil War.

At the heart of Jim Crow was lynch law terror. In the latter part of the 19th and into the 20th century, a black person was more likely to be the victim of a lynch mob than the court's decree. People here should know the name of Ida B. Wells, a black journalist and activist. Ida B. Wells is noted for her vigorous campaigns against lynch law. Understand this: the thrust of Wells' anti-lynching campaign was just to try to get blacks *into court*; never mind equal justice,

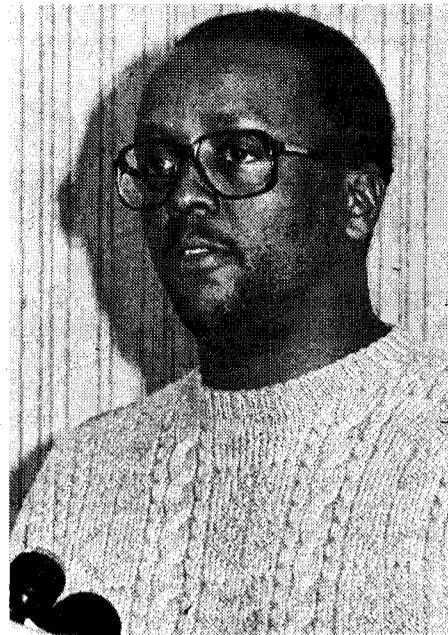
which they weren't liable to receive from racist juries and racist judges. To reiterate: the death penalty is a largely Southern institution, to date; and today we meet in the *death belt*.

In 1972 the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund brought to the Supreme Court a whole list of data that proved that the death penalty was racially biased. Such facts as: between 1930 and 1967, two-thirds of all those executed were black, while blacks make up less than 12 percent of the U.S. population. Today almost 2,200 prisoners languish on death row nationally. Half are black and Hispanic. Most of the blacks on death row were convicted of killing whites, yet only one [white] person has been executed for killing a black person in U.S. death penalty history. Today there is not one white person on death row for killing a minority.

We in the Partisan Defense Committee oppose the death penalty because we do not accord this state the right to say who lives and who dies, especially in this viciously racist capitalist system. The modern death penalty combines residual elements of torture and personal vengeance with a campaign to increase coercion through official terror. This campaign can be seen in the other aspect of the death penalty—summary "justice" carried out by kill-crazy cops.

Today, under the "anti-drug" campaign, the government has sicced its police on minority communities, particularly black neighborhoods. The government is trying to include "drug-related murder" into its rubric of capital offenses. If that were to follow through, at

the present rate we would see an increase to one execution *per day* for ten years. These are the bloodthirsty terms that the government is seeking. This capitalist



Butch Miller
Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Bernard Branche.

government, incapable of creating jobs, brings forth more prisons, and more death. Increasingly, government officials solidarize with the vile statements of scum like former American Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell, who said in the '60s, "Gas—the only cure for black crime."

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is a case which illuminates the politics of racism and the death penalty. He was

sentenced to death clearly on the basis of his once being a Black Panther, and a present supporter of the MOVE group in Philadelphia. I was fortunate to have attended a rally held on Mumia's behalf in Philadelphia last December. That rally joined together all the old supporters of Mumia, who go back to the early '80s, with newly won support in the labor movement. Labor support is key in the fight against the death penalty. That rally was organized by the Partisan Defense Committee as part of our continuous work in support of Mumia and against the death penalty.

As part of the legal and social defense work of the PDC, we also see the emboldened presence of the Klan, the Nazis and the skinheads, that must be mobilized against. The Klan and Nazis want to carry out their own version of the death penalty—called racist genocide. The Klan also makes its presence felt at every execution in Georgia. It brings a hideous "long live death" carnival atmosphere to sites of state executions.

The Partisan Defense Committee is proud to have initiated the January 1989 Labor/Black Mobilization that defiantly challenged the KKK's provocation against the decent working people of Atlanta. The aforementioned is just some of the work of the PDC. We place no confidence in the capitalist state's machinery, its courts or cops, whatsoever. We place all confidence in the power of the masses, organized in labor/black struggle. Down with the racist death penalty! Save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal! Build the work of the Partisan Defense Committee. Thank you. ■

Pennsylvania High Court Denies Appeal of Death Row Political Prisoner Mumia Must Not Die!

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has pushed black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal a step closer to the electric chair. On January 26 the court denied Jamal's petition to re-argue his appeal—the second time in less than a year that court turned down his legal challenge to the racist witchhunt which condemned him to die. No legal barrier today stands between Jamal and the governor's signing a death warrant.

Jamal, framed up on charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman in 1981, was a well-known journalist at the time of his arrest, president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists, and prominent supporter of the MOVE organization. His regular column from death row appears in numerous newspapers around the country.

Jamal wrote last March, "Don't tell me about the 'valley of the shadow of death.' I live there." As a former Black Panther Party spokesman and outspoken MOVE supporter, Jamal has been in the cross hairs of Philadelphia's racist killer cops for over 20 years. At the sentencing hearing in 1982 the prosecutor got the death penalty by arguing that Jamal's membership in the Black Panther Party showed he was a committed cop-killer. The prosecutor cited a 12-year-old interview in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in which Jamal used the Panther slogan, "All power to the people!" The prosecutor told the jury that a death sentence would never be carried out, that Jamal would have

"appeal after appeal after appeal."

His trial, before a jury of one black and eleven white jurors, was riddled with constitutional violations. Jamal wrote in a column from Huntingdon's death row, "I've often studied America's long history of legal lynchings of Africans.... Perhaps I'm naive, maybe I'm just stupid—but I really thought the law would be followed in my case, and the conviction reversed."

Jamal expressed his determination to prove his innocence: "I continue to fight

against this unjust sentence and conviction. Perhaps we can shrug off and shred some of the dangerous myths laid on our minds like a second skin—such as the 'right' to a fair and impartial jury of our peers; the 'right' to represent oneself; the 'right' to a fair trial even. They're *not* rights—they're privileges of the powerful and rich. For the powerless and the poor, they are chimera that vanish once one reaches out to claim them as something real or substantial."

Last October more than 200 people

rallied in Philadelphia to demand: "Abolish the Death Penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" In a statement read to the rally, Pennsylvania State Representative and co-sponsor David Richardson said, "Mumia's trial was a farce.... It was clear, to anyone whose eyes are open to racism, that Mumia had been framed for his political beliefs. We are all here because an innocent man, Mumia Abu-Jamal, has been sentenced to die."

"The death penalties in the U.S. and South Africa are the legacies of centuries of racial subjugation. South Africa just put their murder machine on hold, announcing they would review all death sentences. But the assembly line of death here keeps rolling on," said Linda Thurston of the Partisan Defense Committee. "International protest saved the lives of the Sharpeville 6. That is what's needed now to save the life of this courageous fighter for blacks, Hispanics—all the poor and oppressed." ■

Join the Campaign!

Save Jamal's life! Organize protest! Bring the force of labor, minorities, death penalty abolitionists, human rights organizations into the struggle to save his life. Pass motions in your unions, campus, church and community organizations. Publicize his case in your union or organization's newsletter.

The name of Mumia Abu-Jamal is today the rallying cry in the fight against the racist and barbaric death penalty.

- Contact the PDC for speakers, tapes of Jamal speaking, petitions, posters, bundles of the campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

- Send letters of protest to Pennsylvania Governor Robert Casey, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120.

- We need your help! Pass the hat! Send money to "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal," c/o PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Abolish the Death Penalty! Stop Racist "Legal" Lynchings!

SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

Death Row Political Prisoner
Black Journalist
"Voice of the Voiceless"
Former Black Panther
MOVE Supporter

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL MUST NOT DIE!

Join the campaign to save Jamal's life! Organize protest! Bring the force of labor, minorities, death penalty abolitionists, human rights organizations into the struggle to save his life. Pass motions in your unions, campus, church and community organizations. Publicize his case in your union or organization's newsletter.

We need your help! Pass the hat! Your union or organization.

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Mass Picket Lines! Screw the Injunctions!

Victory to the Greyhound Strike!

MARCH 5—The nationwide strike by the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) against Greyhound was barely 24 hours old when the union-busters killed a striker. Robert Waterhouse, just a few months short of retirement after driving buses for 30 years, was brutally run down by a scab bus driver in Redding, California on March 3. A striker angrily told newsmen that Waterhouse was trying to get out of the way of the bus when the scab "gunned it...he was completely torn to pieces." Across the country, strikers have donned black armbands in memory of their union brother.

The president of Waterhouse's ATU local, 1225 in San Francisco, said that "if they want a war, they got one right now." But Greyhound workers have heard empty promises of "solidarity" in the 1983 strike, while the scab buses rolled and another driver, Ray Phillips, was murdered in Ohio. Not again—all of labor must turn out to guarantee that this scab killing does not go unanswered! For mass picket lines that will ground the hound! Victory to the Greyhound strike!

The 9,000 striking drivers, mechanics and clerical workers walked early on March 2. Workers voted by 92 percent to throw Greyhound's offer back in their face, and no wonder: it gave the company unrestricted rights to subcontract bus routes, eliminate seniority and grievance procedures, and reduce pay, sick leave, vacations, holidays and other benefits.

The Greyhound strikers are up against a vicious union-buster in company chairman Fred Currey, a junk bond king like Texas Air chief Frank Lorenzo and TWA's Carl Icahn. Currey carefully prepared plans for wiping out the union. For two months the company has been offering scabs \$100 just to apply. A striker in San Francisco said that Greyhound will "hire anything as long as you're breathing—blind, crippled or crazy. They'll take you halfway blind to break this union."

When picket lines went up, the cops and courts went into action. In the first hours of the strike, workers were arrested

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New York City, March 1—Greyhound workers rally on eve of strike. WV Photo

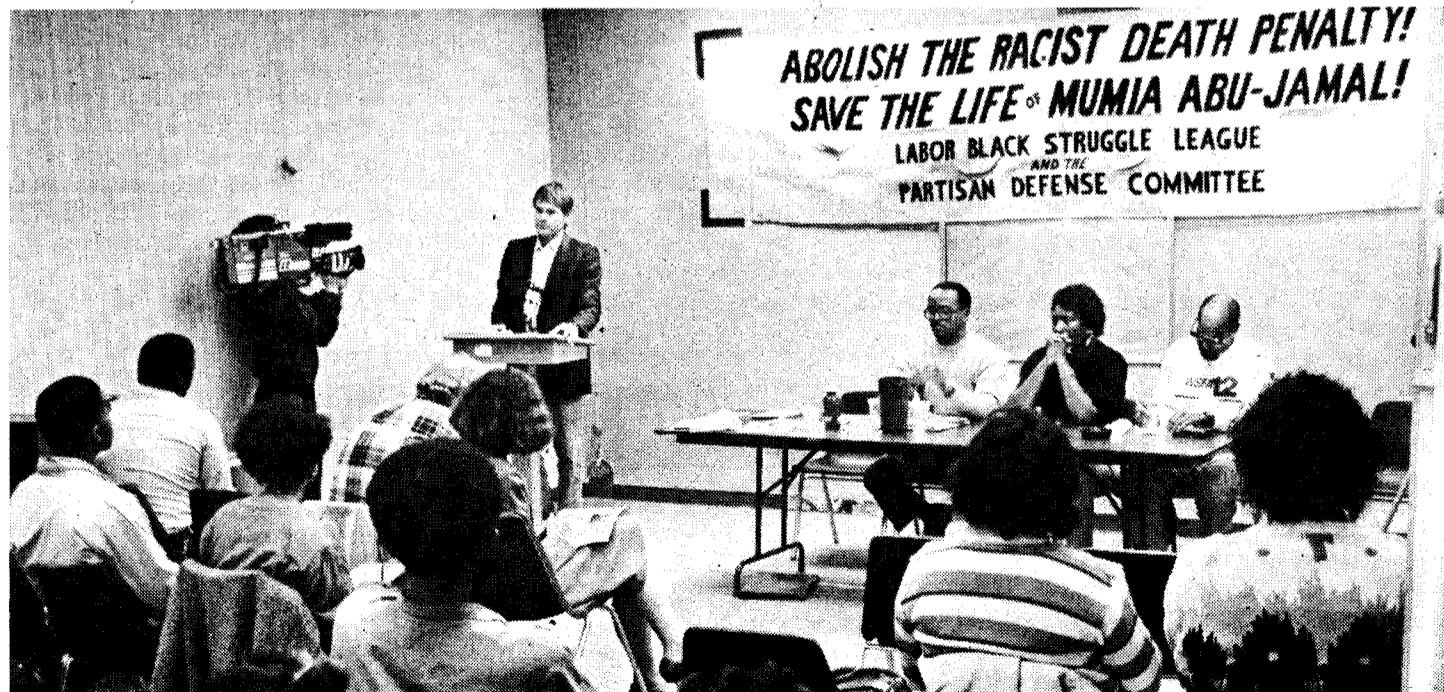
Atlanta Rally Demands:

Down with Racist Death Penalty!

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

ATLANTA—Unionists, students and activist opponents of the death penalty gathered here on February 24 to demand "Stop the Racist Legal Lynchings, Abolish the Death Penalty!" The rally took place in the heart of the "death belt" South. In Georgia, there are 107 men on death row, and the nightriding Ku Klux Klan openly rallies outside the killing chamber at executions. Speakers at the rally described the deeply racist character of "justice" in Georgia, from the extralegal "death penalty" of KKK terror, to the barbaric legal lynchings carried out by the state. In Virginia, death row inmate Joseph Giarratano, widely known for his prisoners' rights work, is appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court. Giarratano describes the attitude of Justices Scalia and Rehnquist in capital punishment cases: "kill 'em." Since the Supreme Court brought back the death penalty in 1976, 122 people have been executed in 13 states. *Ninety percent* have been killed in the South.

Those who came to the rally, which was sponsored by the Partisan Defense



February 24—Death penalty abolitionists at Atlanta rally sponsored by Partisan Defense Committee. On March 5, the Supreme Court announced new grounds for denying federal appeals in many death row cases. Butch Miller

Committee, added their voices to the fight to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the Philadelphia black journalist and Pennsylvania death row political prisoner. Rally chairman Jim Scheckel, an Atlanta transit worker, noted that Mumia's case "embodies everything that is wrong with the death penalty." Scheckel told the rally that with the recent denial of Mumia's appeal by the

Pennsylvania Supreme Court (see box, page 15), no legal barrier stands between this champion of the oppressed and the governor signing a death warrant.

The rally brought together death penalty abolitionists with unionists fighting to defend themselves in the "open shop" South. The entire executive board of Service Employees International Union Local 679, led by President Linda Rig-

gins, came to the rally. Riggins spoke of organizing black women workers in Atlanta, and concluded her remarks with a riveting rendition of a freedom song. James Reid, the president of longshore Local 1414 in Savannah, Georgia, sent greetings to the rally, adding the weight of the ILA to those demanding "Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

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