

Bush and the Democrats Agree

A Good Deal for the Rich, War for the Workers

A government by the rich and for the rich, a government that hates blacks and women, a government that wants to send the youth of America to fight and die in a war for Big Oil. That's the way much of the American population perceives this administration. They're right. But while spouting "soak the rich" rhetoric to TV cameras, the Democratic leaders of the millionaires' club known as Congress bargain behind closed doors with their Republican cronies over how much more working people will pay for smokes, booze and gas. And they're no less enthusiastic in waving the Big Stick over the Persian Gulf, only pleading with Bush to let them "advise and consent" on when the shooting starts.

The American people are not prepared to see their kids die in the sands of Saudi Arabia for the sake of Exxon profits and so that Washington can be cops of the world. And they deeply distrust this government which steals medical benefits from the elderly while promoting tax breaks for multimillionaires and getting rake-offs from the savings and loan scam. There has been much talk of right-wingers capitalizing on populist "throw the bums out" sentiment. But the widespread popularity of the *Daily News* strike in New York shows that the working people of this country are fed up and ripe for social struggle. Workers, blacks and Hispanics can seize this moment to pay back the capitalist rulers for all the takebacks, the arrogant greed, the racist terror of the last decade and more.

Crowing over victory in the Cold War, U.S. rulers are trying to re-create the "American century." But they still haven't overcome the "Vietnam syndrome"—not by a long shot. Meanwhile, the stock market is going down, down, down. The dollar is falling. Property values are plummeting. Cleaning up the S&L mess may cost a cool trillion. Leading banks are on the edge. Insurance companies are wobbly. We're already into a recession/depression. The budget deficit ballooned from \$150 billion to \$240 billion in a few months. And now



Spartacist contingent marches in October 20 New York City demonstration against U.S. invasion of Persian Gulf. WV Photo

Bush and the Democrats have locked the U.S. into a war that could set off the Near East tinderbox and tear this country apart. The American Empire is, as George Bush would put it, in "deep doo-doo."

On October 20, thousands across the country marched in opposition to Washington's invasion of the Persian Gulf. While the liberal and reformist organizers of the protests appealed to non-existent Democratic "doves" to save the country from sinking in a Near East quagmire, hundreds marched behind Spartacist League banners proclaiming: "Break the Blockade of Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism!" A generation ago, the imperialist warmongers slaughtered more than two million Vietnamese, and over 50,000 black and working-class American soldiers came home in body bags. Labor political strikes against Bush's Gulf invasion would throw a giant wrench into

the bourgeoisie's mass murder plans. It will take a *revolutionary* opposition to stop this system of war and racism.

Persian Gulf Quagmire: "Easier to Get In Than Out"

Three months into the U.S. invasion of the Gulf, a "senior" White House aide moans, "It was a lot easier to see how to get into this thing than it is to see how to get out of it" (*New York Times*, 21 October). In order to keep momentum going while public attention is "distracted" by the budget fiasco in Washington and the Israeli massacre of Palestinians in Jerusalem, the White House keeps escalating the war of words while the Pentagon sends in more troops and tanks. The latest move is to bring in another 100,000 soldiers from Europe, made possible by Gorbachev's virtual surrender to NATO. Washington's none-too-enthusiastic

partners in the anti-Iraq "coalition" are having doubts. The Soviets and French are putting out feelers to Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein. And now even the U.S. expeditionary forces' Saudi hosts are getting cold feet. Last week Saudi war minister Prince Sultan, brother of King Fahd, floated the possibility of a "brotherly" Arab resolution to the conflict with Iraq. This triggered an outraged American reaction, causing the embarrassed Saudi monarch to decree no more loose talk.

In fact, the Saudi elite is deeply divided over the prospect of a shooting war on their oil fields. The 19 October London *Independent* reported the "commonly held" Saudi (and Syrian) view "that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was an American conspiracy to create a pretext for the 'occupation' of Saudi Arabia by American soldiers." It quoted an

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at the
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Mapplethorpe, 2 Live Crew

Juries Rap Censorship

The "heartland of America" is fed up with the hypocritical lying cant and witchhunting censorship shoved down their throats by the Reaganites for the past decade. Two recent stunning jury verdicts in Cincinnati, Ohio and Broward County, Florida struck important blows against the state's would-be sex cops and censors.

"You take away one freedom, and pretty soon they're all gone," said one juror in the Broward County case, explaining their unanimous decision on October 20 to acquit the black rap group 2 Live Crew of obscenity charges for a performance of songs from their album "As Nasty As They Wanna Be." The prosecutors brought in an almost inaudible tape of the performance, but thought they had it made—after all, the six-person jury hearing the raunchy lyrics included three over-60 ladies, a singer in a church choir, and only one black person.

It's not surprising that lead singer Luther Campbell was initially nervous about the outcome—earlier, Miami black store owner Charles Freeman had been

convicted for selling their album. But as the jury foreman said, "We were very open." He noted that "As the cross-section of the community that we are, it was just not obscene. People in everyday society use those words." The jurors, who sent the judge a note asking if they could laugh aloud in court, thought the songs were a gas, inspiring them to try out their own rap lyrics while going to and from the courtroom. "I thought it would've been cute if we could have come out with the verdict like we were doing a rap song," said one juror, a 42-year-old assistant middle school principal.

In another stinging rebuke to the arrogant censors of America, an eight-person jury in Cincinnati acquitted the city's Contemporary Arts Center and its director Dennis Barrie of obscenity charges on October 5. In that case, the first ever against a museum, it took the jury less than two hours to decide that the late Robert Mapplethorpe's photographs were works of art. The jury was largely composed of suburban working-class parents, only three of whom had ever been inside

an art museum before. It seemed the prosecution contemptuously considered these people such hicks from the sticks that it didn't even bother to put on a real case.

The prosecutors limited themselves to shaking the photos in outrage, while their only obscenity "expert" was a former songwriter for Captain Kangaroo! But the jurors did the right thing. "We thought the pictures were lewd, grotesque, disgusting," said one. "But like the defense said, art doesn't have to be beautiful or pretty." The prosecution strategy backfired. One juror said, "It's like Picasso. Picasso from what everybody tells me was an artist. It's not my cup of tea. I don't understand it. But if people say it's art, then I have to go along with it."

Juries nixing sex witchhunt prosecutions have become a trend. At the beginning of this year, a Southern California jury finally put an end to the infamous McMartin Preschool case. This signature case of the Reagan years dragged on for six years, as prosecutors sought to whip up a witches' brew of hysteria over the devil, drugs and day care. The Buckeys, owners of the preschool, were found not guilty of some 52 counts of child abuse.

Witchhunting prosecutors are having

increasing trouble getting the population to buy their shoddy frame-up wares, especially among black citizens, who are all too familiar with the vicious tactics of this racist government. The jury in the Washington, D.C. Marion Barry trial refused to be suckers for the feds' attempted frame-up of the black mayor, in the end only convicting him of one misdemeanor of cocaine possession out of 14 charges. Why should they believe anything federal agents tell them, many jurors rightly wondered.

Furious at the jury's refusal to go along with the witchhunt against Barry, Judge Jackson on October 26 sentenced the mayor to six months in prison on the misdemeanor charge. As Barry's lawyer R. Kenneth Mundy noted, the same judge gave Reagan's pal Michael K. Deaver probation after he got convicted of the felony of lying under oath. It's these influence-peddlers, get-rich-quick hotshots and their corrupt politician buddies who are the filthy sleaze of this country.

The tendency toward common sense, decency and tolerance on the part of ordinary citizens is deeply disturbing to our rulers. The jury system occasionally allows a small spark of fairness to break through, to the dismay of the entrenched agents of repression, who feel there's something deeply subversive about the people actually taking the law into their own hands. Meanwhile, it's poetic justice that the man who made Cincinnati into "Censornati," who in the early 1970s founded two anti-porn Cincinnati groups, the Citizens for Decent Literature and the Citizens for Decency for Law, is none other than the man who is now under indictment in the billion-dollar Lincoln Savings & Loan scandal, Charles H. Keating Jr. ■

How Workers Beat Back Police Scabherding

Every serious strike shows, as Marx and Engels asserted more than a century ago, that the capitalist state comes down to special armed bodies such as the police whose job is to defend the interests of the ruling class. From New York to Los Angeles, the cops are corporate America's front-line thugs. Any reliance on the capitalist state or its politicians, any illusions in the courts or the cops, spell death for a labor struggle. James P.



TROTSKY



LENIN

Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, describes here how the Trotskyist-led 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike, which culminated in a citywide general strike two months later, militarily defeated police scabherding in the "Battle of the Running Bulls." This served as a model in building the industrial unions in the 1930s.

There is nothing new, of course, in a fight between strikers and police and gunmen. Every strike of any consequence tells the old, familiar story of the hounding, beating, and killing of strikers by the hired thugs of the exploiters, in and out of uniform. What is out of the ordinary in Minneapolis, what is more important in this respect, is that while the Minneapolis strike began with violent assaults on the strikers, it didn't end there.

In pitched battles last Saturday and again on Monday, the strikers fought back and held their own. And on Tuesday they took the offensive, with devastating results. Businessmen, volunteering to put the workers in their place, and college boys out for a lark as special deputies—to say nothing of the uniformed cops—handed over their badges and fled in terror before the mass fury of the aroused workers. And many of them carried away unwelcome souvenirs of the engagement. Here was a demonstration that the American workers are willing and able to fight in their own interests. Nothing is more important than this, for, in the last analysis, everything depends on it...

A second feature of the fight at the City Market which deserves special attention is the fact that it was not the ordinary encounter between individual strikers and individual scabs or thugs. On the contrary—take note—the whole union went into action on the picket line in mass formation; thousands of other union men went with them; they took along the necessary means to protect themselves against the murderous thugs, as they had every right to do. This was an example of mass action which points the way for the future victorious struggles of the American workers.

—James P. Cannon, "Learn From Minneapolis!" (May 1934)



One thousand rallied against censorship of Mapplethorpe exhibit in Cincinnati last April.

Down With "Obscenity" Laws!

13 October 1990

State's Attorney
Broward County Courthouse
Fort Lauderdale, FL

Dear Sir:

The conviction of record store owner Charles Freeman on obscenity charges and the prosecution of 2 Live Crew is an outrage. We demand all charges against Mr. Freeman and 2 Live Crew be dropped.

Real obscenity is no stranger to the state of Florida: the assembly line of executions is obscene; it is an obscenity that thousands of black Haitian refugees are held in Florida concentration camps; jackbooted sheriffs telling black store owners what they can sell is deeply obscene; and it is certainly deeply offensive that even star pitcher Dwight Gooden is not safe from racist cop terror on the

highways of the "Sunshine" State. In the 1950s White Citizens Councils burned "godless" rock and roll records—the flip side of burning black churches and schools. What do you have in mind to accompany this prohibition on black rap music? How nasty do you wanna be?

Americans deeply cherish the rights supposedly embodied in the First Amendment, and despise government efforts to tell us what we can say, read and listen to. The Big Brothers in state houses and legislatures have absolutely no right to force their individual moral values on others. We demand an end to all obscenity laws. Drop the charges against Charles Freeman and 2 Live Crew.

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein
For the
Partisan Defense Committee

WORKERS VANGUARD

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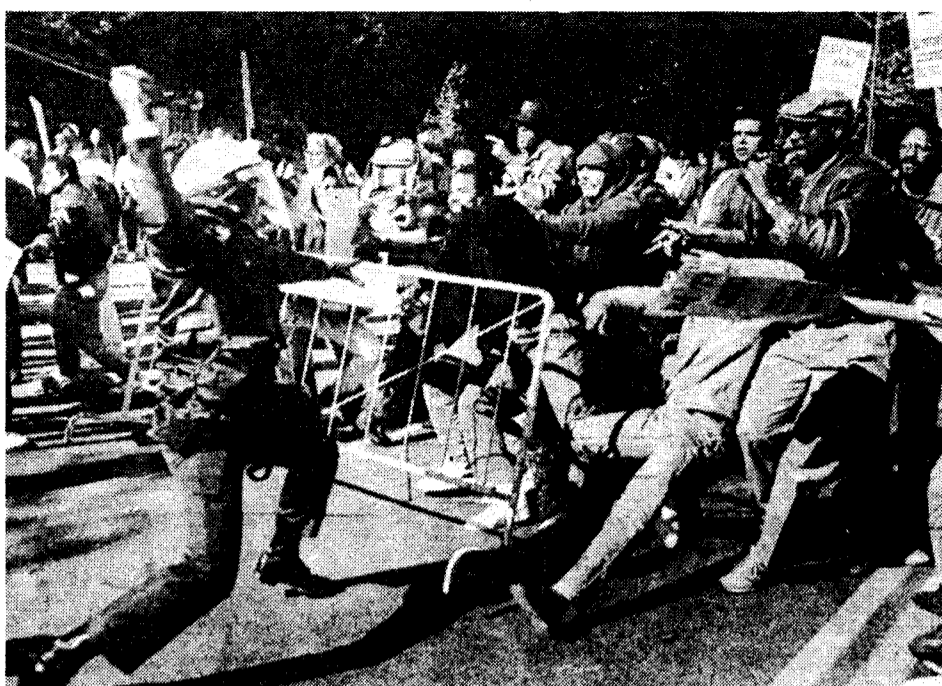
D.C. Cops Protect KKK, Beat Protesters

OCTOBER 28—About 30 hooded Klansmen marched down Constitution Avenue today, protected by thousands of riot-clad cops from the wrath of angry protesters. Some 2,500 demonstrators lined their march route, hurling rocks and bottles, even throwing themselves at the police, attempting to get at the KKK from every conceivable direction. Hundreds more stationed themselves at points around the Capitol. But the army of police cracked heads to ensure that the racist terrorists should march in Washington, D.C.

In contrast to the demonstration on September 2, when several thousand anti-Klan protesters were able to occupy the KKK's projected line of march, this time the protesters were kept hundreds of yards away from the march route. Demonstrators ran along parallel streets looking for an opening. When demonstrators probed police lines, clubbings and arrests often followed. Motorcycle cops drove into the crowd, while police dragged protesters across barricades to club and arrest them. Some 50 demonstrators have been arrested. Drop all charges against the anti-Klan protesters!

This was the first time the KKK had marched through the capital's streets since 1925, when 40,000 hooded white-supremacists paraded down Pennsylvania Avenue. For the last week, it was unclear whether the Klan would get a permit, which was issued after a federal judge (at the request of the ACLU) ordered the city to do so. Today the handful of nativist fascists were surrounded by 3,000 D.C., Capitol and Park police. After walking the eleven-block route, they stood on the Capitol steps shouting racial epithets through megaphones to the TV cameras.

In this 70 percent black city, D.C. local authorities were wary of a repeat of



Cops brutally charge anti-Klan protesters, October 28. An army of police lined the streets to escort the Klan to the Capitol.

last month's events, when demonstrators, including the mayor's wife, defied the cops and blocked the Klan's march route. But when the courts gave the Klan the go-ahead, the cops had their contingency plans ready. Particularly after black mayor Marion Barry was sentenced to six months in jail in a racist vendetta, the cops, citing "intelligence" of "exacerbated racial tensions," clamped down hard. They closed down museums and subway stations and sealed off the Mall area for most of Sunday.

In September, demonstrators didn't heed the calls of the Marcyite All-Peoples Congress to protest "peacefully" and just "say no to racism." When the Klan announced it would try to march

again on October 28, the APC issued a call on George Bush to "Ban the Klan Now!" and initiated a petition campaign: "We demand that the federal government act now to ban the Klan." The petition pathetically appealed to a Reconstruction law signed by Ulysses S. Grant as the basis for banning the Klan.

What an obscene comparison! General Grant led the Union armies which smashed the slaveowners' rule. George Bush on the other hand just vetoed civil rights legislation, while plotting a war which will rain death on the peoples of the Near East! Fascist David Duke was in the visitors' gallery gloating as Congress failed to override Bush's veto, and the Klan march was

their "celebration."

The fascist group which marched today, the "Christian Knights of the KKK," is led by Virgil Griffin, the ringleader of the November 1979 massacre which gunned down five leftists and blacks in Greensboro, North Carolina. Griffin's death squad was aided and abetted by city, state and federal police, and the killers were then acquitted by all-white juries! Now the Marcyites beg and plead with racist-in-chief George Bush to ban his dogs of war!

Such banning laws, even when enacted against fascists, are invariably used against the left. And they will be no more effective in stopping the KKK than are the Marcyites' appeals to the impotent War Powers Act in stopping the bipartisan U.S. invasion of the Persian Gulf. Unlike the craven Marcyites, the Progressive Labor Party's leaflet called to smash the Klan and linked the fascist KKK in the streets to Bush's civil rights veto. Hands off PL/InCAR!

Not whining pleas to the White House, but mobilizing the power of the integrated working class is key to stopping the racist terrorists in their tracks. In 1982, the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization was built by calling on the strength of the union movement, particularly of black-led locals in the D.C., Tidewater and Baltimore area. "Finish the Civil War!" was the chant which captured the spirit of the 5,000-plus demonstrators whose determination and organization made it clear that the racists wouldn't march that day.

We've got to finish the work started by Generals Grant, Sheridan and Sherman and the hundreds of thousands of black and white soldiers they led to victory. For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Racist Vote for Fascist Duke

Louisiana

Klansman David Duke, the fascist with a face-lift, came close to winning a U.S. Senate seat in Louisiana October 6. Sixty percent of the white vote in the open primary went to Duke, currently a state legislator from the lily-white New Orleans suburb of Metairie. That the winner, incumbent Democrat J. Bennett Johnston, a certified Dixiecrat and staunch opponent of integration, could posture as an "alternative" to Duke demonstrates the dead end of capitalist politics. Even as the largely black and Catholic population of Southern Louisiana returned him to office, "old Bennett" was whistling Dixie: "People are venting their spleen.... Well Bennett got the message." And what was that "message"?

"Campaigning in Code," the *Washington Post* dubbed it, as Duke addressed pumped-up all-white audiences, blasting the "parasitic welfare underclass," "public housing residents," and immigrants who supposedly "threaten white Christian civilization." But you don't need a code breaker to recognize pure racism. The *New Orleans Times-Picayune* (9 August) cited records Duke sells under the "Rebel" label with titles like "Some Niggers Never Die" and "Kajun Ku Klux Klan," the latter about a black man tortured to death for refusing to leave a cafe where he is denied service. In Shreveport he ripped the paper, "But you know who owns the *Times-Picayune*?" The reply, chanted in unison: "Jews. Jews. Jews."

Duke says the Nazi Holocaust was a "myth perpetrated on Christians by Jews." Until June of 1989 he sold Nazi tracts out of his "legislative office,"

including "Did Six Million Really Die?" and videotapes of American Nazi Party founder George Lincoln Rockwell. Duke has been linked to paramilitary mercenaries bent on overthrowing Maurice Bishop in Grenada—only the KKK-endorsed Reagan got there first ("Bayou of Pigs," *Atlanta Constitution*, 3 October). "Former" Klansman and Nazi Duke now appears in three-piece suits instead of white sheets. But he is no less a fascist.

Duke has said the difference between him and other Republicans is he says openly "what a lot of other Republicans have not been willing to talk about on the campaign trail." As the Duke campaign threatened to be a major embarrassment for the White House, Bush trotted out VP Quayle and a bevy of Senators to denounce Duke. They got his Republican opponent to quit the race to avoid having Duke as the GOP candidate in a run-off vote. The Democrats have their fascists too. Duke, for one, ran in the Democratic presidential primaries in 1988. And KKK Imperial Wizard Tom Metzger was the Democratic Congressional candidate in San Diego, and was "disowned" by the Democratic Party.

The "mainstream" media tried to whitewash Duke's election results. The *New York Times* (8 October) headlined, "Louisiana Tally Is Seen as a Sign of Voter Unrest." Even Virginia black Democratic governor Douglas Wilder (who dropped his opposition to the death penalty to get elected) said Duke's showing was a "demand for change from the 'locked-out' and the leftout." Capitalist politicians of both parties compete for this deeply racist vote.

Not simply an "electoral" event, Duke's 44 percent vote will be seen as a green light for fascist terror. The very next day a black man was found hanged

from a tree in rural Winona, Mississippi. Charles Tisdale, publisher of the *Jackson Advocate*, told *WV* that "it's the fifth such lynching ruled a suicide in Mississippi since 1982." In the next weeks, two synagogues in Duke's Metairie bailiwick were desecrated with Nazi graffiti. And KKKers who carried out the 1979 Greensboro Massacre marched in Washington, D.C. on October 28, backed by an army of 3,000 cops (see above).

Meanwhile, in Portland, Oregon civil rights attorney Morris Dees won a \$12.5 million award in a civil suit against fascist Metzger's "White Aryan Resistance" for inciting the murder of Mulugeta Seraw, a 27-year-old Ethiopian student who was bludgeoned to death by skinheads. The No. 3 man of "WAR," David Mazzella, testified that he was sent to Portland to organize the skinheads and was with the killers hours before the attack. "I was a direct link from the things Metzger wrote to the skinheads they were trying to reach," said Mazzella (*New York Times*, 23 October). The Seraw family deserves every penny they can get from these fascist murderers.

The battle against the likes of Duke and Metzger will not be won at the ballot box or in the courtroom. Fascist penetration into key American cities can and has been stopped by the largely black plebeian and working-class populations. Notably in the South, a drive to unionize the unorganized on the scale of the organization of the CIO in the 1930s—and led by the powerful and largely (in the South) black ILA, joined by Teamsters, Mine Workers, transit and chemical workers of the ATU and OCAW—could break the back and "appeal" of David Duke fascism.

Louisiana has been hard hit for over a decade with unemployment running over

10 percent. The relative absence until now of integrated social struggle makes it ripe for Duke's scapegoating. Living in the shadow of Exxon refineries, the black poor of Louisiana are scraping to make ends meet; as for a long line of notoriously venal and corrupt Louisiana pols, *roulez les bons temps* (let the good times roll). But now opposition is beginning to polarize along class lines with renewed opportunity for militant social struggle. Duke is poison to united and integrated struggle; the reverse is also true. The recent strike by New Orleans teachers shows that there is a reserve of fighting social power to be tapped.

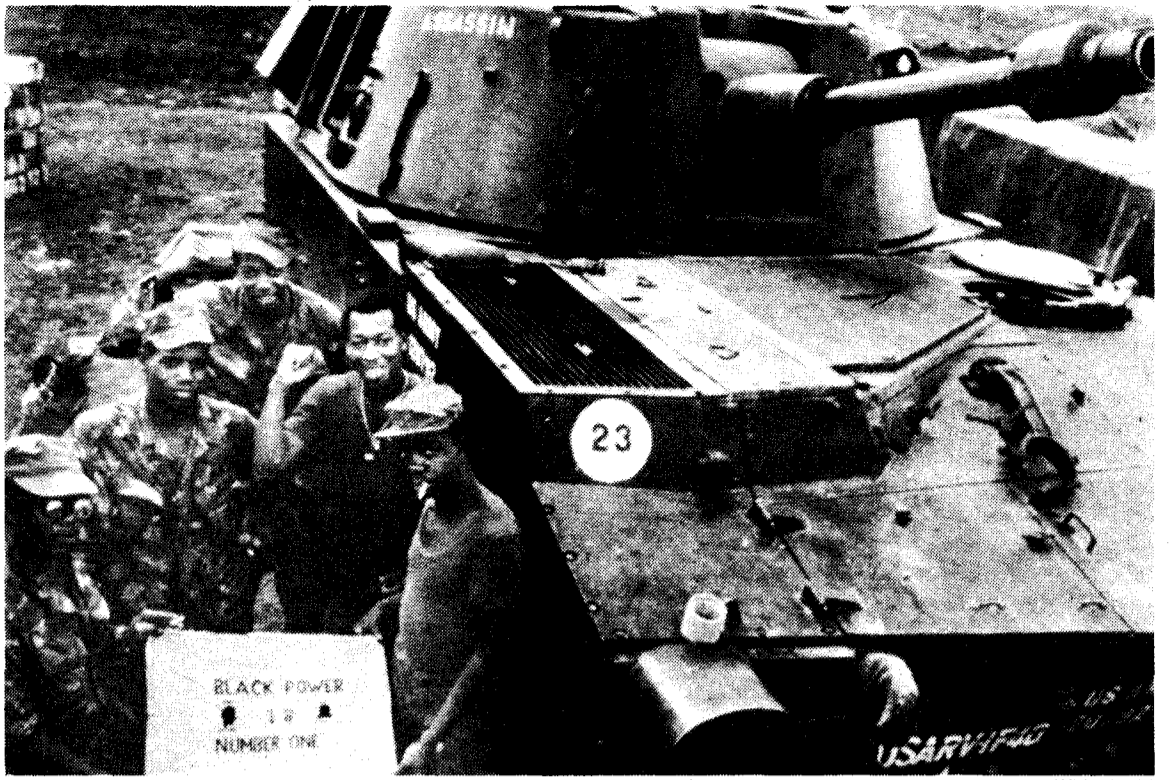
Liberals such as the "Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism" had no strategy to stop Duke except fund-raising benefits for anti-Duke television spots to "educate" the public. And their goal was only to keep Duke's vote under 40 percent to prevent him from gaining "legitimacy for future efforts." Meanwhile, Jesse Jackson has invited fascist Duke onto his TV show!

In New Orleans, black radical Leon Waters ran for Congress as candidate of the Revolutionary Political Organization (Marxist-Leninist). But Waters' call to "Vote No to Duke" is a backhanded call to vote for the Democrats. Moreover, the RPO's "legislative proposal" called to "Ban the Klan." The capitalist state always uses bans on "extremists" against the left, while keeping the fascists in reserve for use against working-class upsurge.

What is needed is a revolutionary fight to mobilize labor and minorities in an all-sided offensive against racist capitalist rule. Break from the partner parties of capitalism—for a workers party to champion the cause of the oppressed and fight for workers rule! ■



Griffiths/Magnum



Wide World

Black GIs got the most dangerous assignments, died disproportionately in Vietnam. Many were radicalized by the dirty imperialist war and by the racism they experienced in the army.

Vietnam: Racism and Rebellion Behind the Lines

Today when the U.S. sends hundreds of thousands of black, Hispanic and other working-class youth in uniform to kill and die in the Arabian sands, the "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well and could blow up in Washington's face. As the heroic Vietnamese were waging and winning a war of social liberation, increasingly American GIs came to understand that they were cannon fodder in America's dirty imperialist war. In particular, black soldiers—victims of racist oppression—saw the enemy at home, and at their back.

Contrary to the new lying "history" of Vietnam being drummed into popular consciousness by the bourgeois media, leftist antiwar activists didn't "spit on" returning soldiers. Rather they sought, through setting up GI coffeehouses, putting out underground newspapers, to win soldiers to their ranks. And they did, in large numbers. We print below the recollections of that monstrous war by Garry Gianninoto, a Vietnam veteran and member of the Spartacist League.

I was a Navy Medical Corpsman in Vietnam from February '68 through December '68, attached to the 1st Marine Division, 1st Battalion/27th Regiment, C Company. We spent most of our time between a small base south of Da Nang and Hue. My platoon was largely black, I'd say 70 percent black. Almost half of them were guys who'd already served one tour in Vietnam finishing out their time in Hawaii. Then they announced we were going out on a five-month training exercise, to the Philippines, Japan, but not Vietnam. On the third day out, the captain announced that this was no training exercise, that we were going to Da Nang. The unit was being sent back because of the Tet Offensive.

Even before we got to Vietnam a lot of these guys, because they knew what they were facing, decided that they didn't want to go back to Vietnam. One fellow had his buddy use an entrenching tool, those small foldup shovels they use in the field, to beat his lower legs, trying to break his legs. He was successful, and he was sent back to Hawaii once we got to the Philippines for a stopoff.

I Can Still See the Destruction

They actually landed us on the beach in Da Nang in landing craft, then loaded

A GI's View of America's Dirty War

us on trucks that drove past all the warehouses. I was struck by the poverty once we got further away from the city. I was basically apolitical. As a kid, like a lot of kids, I was aware of the fact that there was all this wealth in America and yet all this starvation. I knew about the war and read about the war. I didn't know anybody who really wanted to go fight, at least none of my friends. So instead of waiting to be drafted, I enlist-

There was a lot of brutality toward the Vietnamese. I saw young Vietnamese men who were "suspect" kicked, beaten, with their hands tied behind their backs. You'd hear the horror stories. Some of these Marines were crazy. I was sitting next to a guy one day, who was on his second or third tour on his request, and there was an old farmer working in the field. And this guy just lifted his rifle and said, "See that old 'gook'? If that

defoliated, I've heard 20 percent. It was probably more than that. I remember this one place where it looked like a moonscape, huge craters from 2,000-pound bombs that had been dropped. It had been defoliated, so everything was dead. The trees were just blackened, no sign of life. The people who'd been there were probably rounded up and put in one of the relocation camps, where their "hearts and minds" were "won over." A small village, where maybe 500 had lived, was gone. Land that they'd probably been on for god knows how many years was gone, their cemeteries were destroyed, their houses of worship were destroyed.

That's what really struck me—this total destruction of an entire people—and made me start to think this was wrong and there was absolutely no justification for what was being done. It was more than I'd imagined could be done to human beings, land, animals. And those images stick in my head. I can still see them, I can still smell them.


Racist Hell for the Ranks

It was interesting: when we were in the bush, with a couple of exceptions, there was little overt racism to black GIs. But one day we were out and it was hot, we'd been shot at, we knew we were going to get shot at some more. One of my buddies, a black kid from Detroit, was taking a break and he was a little slow in getting up. Our captain came along—all the officers, by the way, were white—and said to him: "Get your nigger ass up. Get going!" My buddy jumped up and tried to punch the captain's face. Two men grabbed my friend and kept him from attacking the captain. The captain said, "Take this man back and court-martial his black ass."

No more than five minutes passed and we hear this shriek, and here comes my buddy with two grenades, one in each hand, and he'd pulled the pins on both grenades. The captain took one look at my buddy, and just turned and ran, left his whole command post behind. My buddy was put on the next supply chopper and court-martialed; I think he was given six months for attempted assault.

That was the only incident that I saw in the bush in terms of overt racism. But there was a lot of taking so-called

Vet of Nam Combat and Danang Brig Rebellion Tells What the Military and the Newspapers Hide
 By Gary J. Gianninoto
 Hospitalman USN (ret.)



Ex-corpsman Gary Gianninoto smiles now that he is free, but the past was a nightmare.

BIGOTED OFFICER GETS JUMPED
 Our company commander was an out and out bigot. He treated the black guys like shit. He used to especially pick on one black guy named Brown from Detroit. But one day he pushed it too far. When he told Brown to get his "black ass moving," Brown turned around and knocked him right on his back

THE BOND
 The Servicemen's Newspaper
 Vol. 3 No. 7 New York, N.Y. July 22, 1969

After returning from Vietnam, Garry Gianninoto spoke out about the horrors he experienced. Left: 1969 article in newspaper of the American Servicemen's Union, associated with Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/YAWF.

ed in the Navy for four years.

So I was really angry at being there. I didn't want to be there. At the beginning I blamed the Vietnamese for my being there—I felt they should go fight their own war. A lot of guys took their rage out on the villagers. And there was a policy too: search and destroy missions. You'd just burn a village down, destroy the grain stores and seal off all the bunkers, whether or not there were people inside. Nobody would bother going in to look, they would just take grenades and throw them in there or use a flamethrower.

was 'Charlie,' this is what I would do to him." And he just squeezed the trigger and shot the old man dead. And that went on all over the place, or where they went further and killed all the villagers, everybody who was a witness.

The more I got out into the various areas, the more I saw. After four weeks I saw a defoliated area, where they'd gone in and just destroyed a tremendous piece of land. Where there had been villages and crops, there was nothing. With Agent Orange, what they said then was nothing would grow for 20 years. I don't know how much of the land was

troublemakers—the blacks were considered troublemakers, and later I was considered a white troublemaker—and making them walk point on patrols. Day patrols, night patrols, short patrols, long patrols. And it was a given that the man who walked point was usually a black man. This was the guy who walked ahead of the main column, and he had to feel his way along, look for booby traps, poke around looking for mines, looking for any trip wires, that kind of stuff. There was one poor guy who went out 20 times and walked point 20 times only because he was in some captain's shit-house who wanted to teach him a lesson.

Guys resented it, there'd be complaints to the NCOs, the sergeants, about it. But especially in the Marines, they would threaten your life: "If you don't do A, B and C, we're going to take you somewhere out in the boonies and put a bullet in your head, and say that you got hit by a 'gook'."

The very tense period was after King's assassination. There were all sorts of special MP types brought in, there were limitations on staying up late at night—a lot of times we would stop off at a base to spend the night on our way somewhere and we'd usually stay up late in one of the bunkers and get high and listen to music and sing. That kind of stuff was curtailed because I think the military was afraid there might be an explosion.

"Fragging"

There were several incidents of fragging in my unit. The first one was between a white sergeant and a black GI. The sergeant kept riding the black GI and it was endless and ceaseless—riding him, riding him, riding him. So one day the sergeant was out by himself walking around, and it was alleged that the black GI shot him and hit him in the leg, but didn't kill him—which in a way for the sergeant was a good thing, because it got him sent back to the States.

The other incident of an officer being shot at by his own men was our colonel, who was a 20-year man and had no experience in combat. He had been yanked from behind his desk in Hawaii and given about 1,200 men to command. After about a month of being under this



Heroic 1968 Tet Offensive by North Vietnamese Army and NLF spelled defeat for U.S.—Vietnam was a victory!

going to save the colonel from his fate, and he ended up getting his own throat cut. Fortunately, it wasn't too severe, but the colonel never thanked the man for doing this. He could have gone over to the sick bay and thanked the guy. But he never did. The other times that the unit tried to get this bastard was when he would go along with us on the larger operations, where his face had to be seen. He was finally relieved of duty after seven months of command for incompetence.

The other thing that started happening in my unit was a number of people—especially the guys who'd already fought the war once—started saying, "I'm going to shoot myself and get the fuck out of here." It was started one day by this young white kid from the South. We were on a small patrol—squad size, 12 men—and he said, "Wait up, guys, I've got to go take a piss." He went over to the tree line, took his M-14, pressed the barrel against his thigh and pulled the trigger. He literally blew his leg away. And that sort of started it.

So there'd be groups of two, three, four guys who, as soon as we hit any kind of incoming fire, would shoot themselves, usually through the calf muscle, or in between the toes of the feet, or

and said "I quit." My life was threatened. I was court-martialed, and I spent four months in a brig in Da Nang at hard labor burning shit from the outhouses, or digging garbage pits, things like that.

Surprisingly (not so surprisingly, I suppose), a lot of the guys I knew were in the brig. We were in a facility that was designed for 180, and there were 300 prisoners squeezed into this filthy hole that didn't even have trenches in case we were attacked.

One night at a movie guys just sort of exploded and we were led back into our hooches—each hooch was a cage which was separated from the next one by a twelve- or nine-foot fence and barbed wire. We all began to bang our canteen cups on the wooden floor, louder and louder and louder and louder. And the next thing I knew, in one of the hooches the guys started to rip two-by-fours off the hooches and managed to break the lock on their gate and came down and broke the lock on the next gate. And the turnkeys, as we called them, the guards, locked the main gate and left us inside this small compound. We proceeded to break out of that and took over the brig for about three days.

What they did to break it up was they brought in a battalion of, say, a

burned down a couple of buildings.

Along with another guy I led a sit-down strike while I was in the brig. We used to go out on work details to string razor wire, usually at another base. So we're out there with this razor wire and these heavy gloves and two sets of pants and two shirts so we wouldn't get cut up, in 100-degree weather. And the deal was when we did this kind of stuff, we would have a hot meal. But the officers said we couldn't go into their mess hall because we were prisoners and not worthy. We were going to eat C-rations instead. So my buddy and I said to the guys—there were ten or twelve of us on the work detail—"Listen, they're not going to let us eat. Let's just sit down and not work." We all sat down and lit up a cigarette.

They had to go get a lieutenant—some little shitfaced 20-year-old lieutenant right out of Officers Training School. He actually fired a shot over his head, ordered us back to work. And we just refused. Anyway, we end up before the commanding officer of the brig, and all ten or twelve of us are charged with mutiny, put in solitary confinement, which is something I never experienced the likes of before. It's like a six-by-eight cell, and it's disgusting. There was one fellow in there, black of course, for nine months, because he'd gotten caught smoking a joint in the brig. We spent about a week in there, and they dropped the charges. I don't think they wanted to have a big court-martial over ten or twelve Marines and a Navy Corpsman who wouldn't string barbed wire because they couldn't get a hot meal.

Last thing I want to tell you about is the phantom patrols, as we called them. They'd leave the main base and check out with the lieutenant and go over the map with the red flashlight. Then they'd line up very seriously and go out maybe 100 yards, if that far. We'd stop and the radio man would call back in, and we'd just sit down, wait 10, 15 minutes, and put the radio man back on. "Charlie One, this is Charlie Two. We're now at Checkpoint Two." This would go on until Checkpoint Four or Five, and then we'd do the same thing in reverse order. I later heard that this became more widespread, that small units would go out at night and not go anywhere, because they didn't want to risk running into the enemy when they didn't have to, especially if you only had a couple of months to go before you were going to be going back to the States.

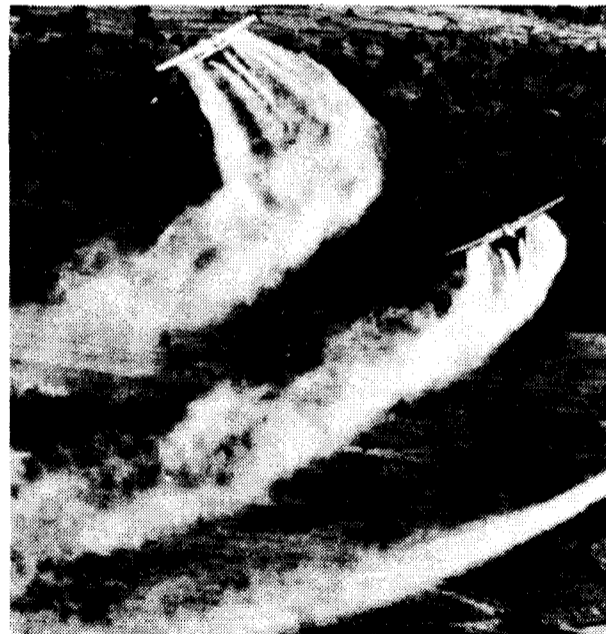
Black GIs: "This Isn't Our War"

Among the blacks and poor whites, there wasn't any sense that this is a war that has to be won. There were no more than a handful of men in my unit that were gung ho—that's the expression that was used—and one of them was killed because of his wanting to go out and win the war. The pitch that we were given about the Vietnamese was they're not Christians, they don't know how to govern themselves, and Westmoreland's famous line about how these people put less value on life than we do. The only education that the guys got were from people like myself, medics, about how not to get syphilis and gonorrhea and things like that. I knew men who had absolutely no idea where they were geographically in the world.

I sort of became one of the brothers. I hung out with the blacks because in large part I didn't have much in common with a lot of the whites. So I heard a lot of the grumbling. Talking about racism. The war isn't their war. They ain't getting nothing out of it.

Da Nang was like a big whorehouse, black market. Too bad they didn't sell magazines. You could buy tires; you could sell American money, but you couldn't buy a magazine. Some guys had subs to some of the magazines. But newspapers, the one you saw the most there was the *Stars and Stripes*. For a while one of my friends was getting

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U.S. imperialists rained chemical death on the people of Vietnam. Air Force dropped 19 million gallons of deadly "defoliants" like Agent Orange (left), burned thousands with jellied gasoline napalm (right).

guy's command, people began to make decisions that this guy had to go: too many times our own artillery was called in on us, too many times our own jets bombed us, too many times of this, too many times of that.

When we were back in regimental HQ, which was a relatively safe area where we'd go back now and then to freshen up, the colonel always took a shower at a certain time. And he was in the shower this one night with another enlisted man. So the enlisted man dries himself off, goes outside the door, and overhears these two GIs talking, "When the colonel comes out, you grab him and I'll cut his throat." The kid decided that he was

through the forearm, using a pistol. The last count before I left my unit, there were eleven guys out of say 40 who'd shot themselves. No one was successful in getting back to the States. A good friend of mine—he was a medic like myself—decided he wasn't going to drink any water or take any salt tablets in the unbearably hot weather. The last time I saw him he was being carried by four guys and he was in heat stroke.

Rebellion in the Brig

After four months I decided I wasn't going to shoot myself or dehydrate myself, but I'd had it because I'd seen too much butchery. I went to my superiors

thousand Marines, complete with shotguns, dogs, tear gas and just bombed the place with tear gas and, using bullhorns, threatened that if people didn't start to come out, they were going to set the dogs loose and they were going to start using their shotguns. I've been tear-gassed at demonstrations but I've never seen anything like it. A lot of guys were charged, again mostly black. The dogs were taken out of the dog kennels and Marines were put in. They had these steel cargo containers and they put four or five guys in each one of those. About a week later, they had a rebellion at the army brig—which could hold 800 men—down in Long Binh near Saigon. They

Spartacist Group of Poland Founded

We are proud to print below a statement of working agreement between the International Communist League and our comrades of the newly founded Spartakusowska Grupa Polski. The militants of the SGP come to the ICL, having arrived at revolutionary Trotskyism after several years of efforts to rediscover the program of authentic communism. Its cadre include some who were politicized by the events of 1980-81 in Poland but were repulsed by the reactionary clericalism of Solidarność. They were among the founders of the Ruch Młodej Lewicy (RML—Young Left Movement), initially a somewhat heterogeneous grouping which sought to function as a left wing within the youth organization of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR—the ruling Stalinist party). Seeking the road to proletarian internationalism, our new Polish comrades came into conflict with the Stalinist nationalist perversion of Marxism and with the deeply nationalist pro-Solidarność left. They were excluded from a May Day demonstration in 1988 for carrying banners hailing Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, revolutionary leaders of the Russian, Polish and German workers. Increasingly attracted to Trotskyism, they were instrumental in seeing that key works by Trotsky like *The Revolution Betrayed* were translated into the Polish language.

Thus, by the time they first came into contact with ICL literature this summer, the comrades who now constitute the SGP had through their own experiences and struggles arrived at a similar political thrust on several key questions. But it was necessary to draw a sharp political line against the pro-Solidarność outfits like the Mandelites and Morenoites who masquerade as Trotskyists. As the Polish comrades noted in a letter to our German section: "In the Trotskyist movement in Poland, we often meet with activists who

have a 'Solidarność' pedigree, or in any case put all their hopes in 'Solidarność.' Until now it is difficult for them to shed these illusions. Either they don't know or they deliberately suppress the reality of our true tradition (for 'tactical' reasons). It is increasingly more difficult for us to have a common language with them."

For the ICL, this agreement represents a welcome result of our ongoing propagandistic intervention into the events in Poland from without. It is also a modest vindication of our insistence on reviving the historic revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Soviet proletariat. The beginnings of political revolution in

East Germany (DDR) a year ago allowed us for the first time to reach out to Polish workers with Trotskyist propaganda in their native language. A statement of "Internationalist Greetings to Our Polish Comrades" (December 1989) by our comrades in Germany, produced through the assistance of a Polish-speaking sympathizer in London, was widely distributed among the thousands of Polish workers in the DDR. Subsequently, a "Letter to Polish Workers" (May 1990) by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany was distributed in Poland itself, to the combative rail workers in Szczecin as well as the

Warsaw congress of the OPZZ trade-union federation. This letter, counterposing the Trotskyist perspective of proletarian internationalism to escalating Greater German chauvinism and the nationalism of Solidarność, came into the hands of the RML.

Nine years ago our call to "Stop Solidarność Counter-revolution" stood out sharply as a concretization of the Trotskyist insistence that the USSR and the deformed workers states be defended against capitalist restoration. Sundry opportunists sneered that such a principled stance would find no support within the Polish workers movement. The revolutionary regroupment in Poland is therefore particularly satisfying. The adherence of Polish comrades to the ICL, along with fusions of new forces in Canada and Mexico, bears witness to the power of the Leninist program to regroup subjective communists internationally. Forward to the reorganizing of the Fourth International!



New York, September 1981: Spartacists opposed power grab by reactionary Solidarność, company union for the CIA and capitalist bankers. Solidarność leader Lech Wałęsa (right) flaunts money from Western backers.

Agreement for Common Work

Between Young Left Movement of Poland and ICL

1. From October 1917 on, capitalism has sought to crush the world historic achievements of the Russian Revolution. The restoration of capitalism would mean massive immiseration and unemployment of the working people, bringing back all the backwardness and chauvinism of the past, and preparations for a new interimperialist war. We Trotskyists stand for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution.

2. In Poland the primary agency for counterrevolution has been Solidarność, aided and abetted by imperialism, the Vatican and social democracy. By the time of its first congress in 1981, Solidarność had consolidated behind a program of social counterrevolution: support to anti-communist "free trade unions,"

restoration of capitalism through bourgeois parliamentarism, and liquidation of the planned economy. Had Solidarność been victorious, it would as well have threatened the existence of the other deformed workers states, placing in the hands of the imperialists the main supply and communication routes between the Soviet Union and the DDR, then the front line state confronting NATO. At that time the international Spartacist tendency (iSt, now the ICL) demanded "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution" and supported Jaruzelski's preventive military coup, while fighting for a proletarian political revolution to oust

the parasitic bureaucracy. The RML [Young Left Movement] agrees with this position. These events were an acid test for all would-be revolutionaries; it is necessary to swim against the stream when the Marxist program stands counterposed to the existing consciousness of the overwhelming bulk of the working class.

3. We reject the claims of fake-leftists that counterrevolutionary Solidarność was leading a "proletarian political revolution" in 1981. A genuine proletarian political revolution is premised on the defense of the collectivized property

relations. As opposed to workers "self-management," which in reality means the introduction of capitalist property relations through the pitting of workers in different enterprises against each other, we stand for a planned, socialized economy (including the collectivization of agriculture) free of Stalinist bureaucratic parasitism, arbitrariness and national autarky. The basic direction of the economy and society must be decided through workers democracy, that is, rule by workers councils.

4. True to the program of the early Communist International, Trotskyism stands for world socialist revolution. In contrast, Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" is a nationalist, anti-socialist lie aimed at conciliating imperialism. The Gorbachev bureaucracy's appeasement of imperialism and its undermining of the collectivized economy, unleashing bloody national and ethnic conflicts, threatens the very existence of the homeland of October. The Polish Stalinists, who mortgaged the economy to the Western bankers and drove the working class into the arms of the CIA and Vatican, are self-evidently politically bankrupt. Those who have paved the way for capitalist restoration cannot lead the struggles to beat it back.

5. Posed pointblank is the need to build an authentic Trotskyist vanguard party in Poland, part of a reformed Fourth International. But we reject the idea of a "family of Trotskyism"; genuine Trotskyism has nothing in common with such pro-Solidarność purveyors of anti-Sovietism as the followers of Nahuel Moreno and

Panorama

Columbia University Press

Książka i Wiedza

no credit



Poland's revolutionary Communist tradition: Rosa Luxemburg and the "Three W's"—Adolf Warski, Henryk Walecki and Wera Kostrzewa of the early Polish Communist Party.

Letter from Polish Comrades

The following letter was addressed to the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

Wroclaw
29 July 1990

To Comrade Spartacists,

As young people, who during their studies have arrived—thanks to their own efforts and searchings—to Trotskyism, that forgotten tradition and modern revolutionary current of the workers movement, we read with interest your publications. As far as we know, you are the only current which commemorates the anniversary of the deaths of Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht. It so happens that we too have remembered this anniversary in Poland.

So for your interest, on the 1st of May 1988, we were thrown off an official demonstration in Warsaw for having banners, one of which was about "Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht." On the 70th anniversary of the death of R. Luxemburg and K. Liebknecht we have issued a leaflet on the streets of Wroclaw in dedication to their memory. We have organized a series of meetings with slides from the German and Polish press, in which we have documented



Young Left Movement in Poland, Spartakist Workers Party in Germany have fought to revive internationalist tradition of the "Three L's": Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. For revolutionary unity of German, Polish and Soviet workers!

this forgotten tradition. Thanks to you our access to this tradition became wider.

In the Trotskyist movement in Poland, we often meet with activists who have a "Solidarność" pedigree, or in any case put all their hopes in "Solidarność." Until now it is difficult for them to shed these illusions. Either they don't know or they deliberately sup-

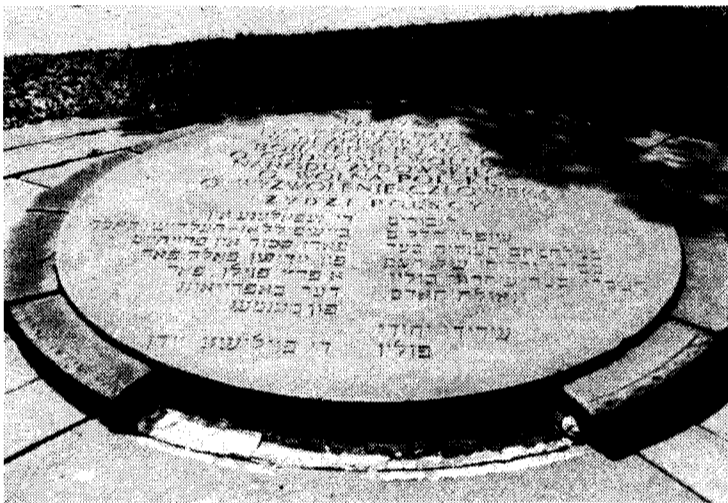
press the reality of our true tradition (for "tactical" reasons). It is increasingly more difficult for us to have a common language with them.

We are hearing proposals to suppress your position, which they consider as "discrediting the Trotskyist movement" (!). Discussion is cut short at the very moment that it should have started.

The threat to the workers states by

German imperialism against which you are warning is in Poland used to fuel nationalistic hysteria. Our aim is to oppose it with an internationalist stand calling for a common defense of the gains of workers revolution on this and the other side of the Oder. We express full support to your struggle.

With internationalist greetings,
AJ, RK



Spartakist

Warsaw monument to 1943 Ghetto uprising, erected by Jewish survivors in 1946.

the United Secretariat [Usec] of Ernest Mandel, who in 1983 hailed the Solidarność leadership as the "best socialists in the world." The RML, a group known for honoring the communist leaders Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, came to recognize that Trotskyism represented the continuation of the revolutionary traditions of the "3 L's." The RML first came into contact with the program of the ICL while it was engaged in discussions with the Morenoites. Particularly decisive in winning it to the program of the ICL were (a) agreement over the character of Solidarność and (b) the RML's support to the "Trotskyist Platform" published by the Trotskyist Faction of the Mexican POS, which subsequently fused with the Grupo Espartaquista de México.

6. A Trotskyist party must be a tribune of the people, championing all victims of oppression. The drive to restore capitalism revives and intensifies all the "old crap" of the prewar social order, from reactionary clericalism to Pilsudskiite nationalism and anti-Semitism. As Rosa Luxemburg wrote in 1905: "The clergy, no less than the capitalist class, lives on the backs of the people, profits from the degradation, the ignorance and the oppression of the people." The Catholic hierarchy, conciliated by the Stalinists, has long exercised decisive influence over Solidarność. Clerical reaction particularly targets women. Smash the attacks on abortion rights! For free abortion on demand! For free 24-hour childcare facilities! For the strict separation of church and state! Down with the conservative Stalinist dogma that glorifies the institution of the family, the main social institution oppressing women. Only the achievement of a genuine socialist soci-

ety, based on material abundance and egalitarianism, can truly liberate women.

7. We honor the 600,000 soldiers of the Red Army who died liberating Poland from the Nazis. But today the forces of capitalist restoration have fueled the growth of virulent anti-Semitism, from skinhead Nazis in Germany to the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] vermin here to the Great Russian chauvinists of Pamyat. For workers united fronts to smash the fascists! Workers in Poland: smash chauvinist attacks on Jewish people, Ukrainians, Gypsies, homosexuals! Honor the heroic fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of 1943! Defend leftists and former members of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] against anti-communist witchhunts! For class struggle against attempts to dismantle social gains of the collectivized economy: for factory occupations and strikes against privatizations and plant shutdowns!

8. In East Germany what began as a political revolution turned into a capitalist counterrevolution. This defeat for the workers movement has whetted the appetites of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism for a renewed "Drang nach Osten" [drive to the East]. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany [SpAD] uniquely fought against capitalist reunification and fight today against anti-Polish and anti-immigrant chauvinism, as an essential part of the struggle for socialist revolution. Polish communists must fight relentlessly against Pilsudskiite nationalism, which subjects the workers to the dictates of the IMF while spewing out anti-Russian and anti-German chauvinism. Only proletar-

ian internationalism offers a way forward—For the revolutionary unity of Russian, Polish and German workers! For a socialist united states of Europe!

9. Reformists and centrists, forsaking the principle of defense of the deformed workers states against counterrevolution, assist in infecting the working masses with the poison of national chauvinism. Thus, such organizations as Usec, the Morenoites and Workers Power backed both the Polish nationalists of Solidarność, while in Germany tailing after such groups as the PDS, SPD and/or the United Left, which supported revanchist capitalist reunification. Adapting to conflicting appetites of different national bourgeoisies, the fake-Trotskyists are an obstacle to the construction of an international vanguard party.

10. Polish Trotskyists must seek to reclaim the best traditions of the Polish workers movement, forged in the struggle against national chauvinism. This is exemplified by Rosa Luxemburg, a Po-

lish Jewish communist and leader of the revolutionary German proletariat. Reviling Luxemburg for her internationalism, Stalin never trusted and finally liquidated the Polish CP, which was the first to come to the defense of comrade Trotsky by asserting in 1923 that "the name of Comrade Trotsky is insolubly connected with the victory of the Soviet Revolution, with the Red Army, with communism."

11. While today Walesa and Jaruzelski obscenely whip up Polish nationalism by celebrating the defeat of the Red Army outside Warsaw in 1920, we reaffirm the policy of the early Polish CP, which not only rose to the defense of the Russian Revolution but recognized that the Polish proletariat was a bridge to extend westward the revolution to the borders of Germany, with its powerful proletariat. The subsequent defeat of the German revolution of 1923 was a major impetus for the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy with its false ideology of "socialism in one country."

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Spartakist

Top: Polish railway workers in Szczecin strike in May against Solidarność regime's capitalist "shock treatment." Bottom: women peddling vegetables to survive.



Le Bolchévick



Night-and-Fog Action Against Ex-Stalinist PDS

Fourth Reich Anti-Communist Witchhunt

In the dead of night on October 19, Mercedes paddy wagons pulled up in front of the headquarters of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) at Rosa Luxemburg Square in the former East Berlin. Some 150 heavily armed police, many of them wearing bulletproof vests, piled out and sealed off the building. Accompanied by shadowy figures in plainclothes, they searched through the offices for six hours, finally leaving at 5 a.m. with a sheaf of documents.

This is the same building, the Karl-Liebknecht-Haus, which was stormed by the Nazis only days after Hitler took power in 1933, proclaiming a Third Reich (empire). Now, barely two weeks after the official takeover by capitalist West Germany of the former German Democratic Republic (DDR), a bureaucratically deformed workers state, the Fourth Reich of Greater German imperialism dramatically announced that its bourgeois "democracy" spells anti-communist witchhunting.

This time the "night-and-fog" operation was ordered by the Social Democratic (SPD) city-state government of Berlin. The action was illegal from start to finish: there was no search warrant (they hadn't even applied for one); the lame excuse was "danger in delaying" even though the raid was planned for at least 13 hours. And one of the police officials let the mask fall as he snarled: "the time of 50 years of restraint is over." Today the bourgeois-democratic German state does not need to place the Nazis in power to achieve its ends, but they are waiting in the wings.

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), fought to mobilize the working people to oppose the capitalist *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR, warning that this would bring mass unemployment, destruction of women's rights, attacks on immigrant workers and a witchhunt against "reds." With close to three



Der Spiegel Photos

Berlin cops seal off PDS office (above) October 19 raid. PDS leader Gregor Gysi (right) harassed by anti-communist demonstrators in January, now turns in party treasurers to Fourth Reich.



PDS brought out barely a hundred.

A week later, this weak-kneed response turned into belly-crawling capitulation by PDS leader Gregor Gysi. After handing over the DDR to the capitalists, Gysi now turned in PDS treasurers Pohl and Langnitschke to the bourgeois state, which promptly jailed them. This is class treason! The accusation was of sending some 100 million D-marks in PDS funds to the Soviet Union. The two said they were trying to protect their party against the snoops of the Deutsche Bank and the threat of illegalization.

In a statement to the Berlin government, the SpAD demanded the immediate release of Pohl and Langnitschke, an end to the attacks on the PDS headquarters, and "Bourgeois state, keep your fingers out of the treasuries of working-class parties!" Already last summer, in an open letter to the left (12 July), the SpAD had denounced the grotesque party expropriation law which aimed at criminalizing the PDS. The Spartakists called on the workers movement to refuse to comply with this outrageous anti-communist law.

As we had warned, German reunification was accompanied by repression of reds. The very next day, the former head of the Stasi (state security) counterespionage department, Werner Grossman, was jailed. Simultaneously, an arrest order was issued for former intelligence chief Markus Wolf, whose successful spy operations aided defense of the DDR and the Soviet bloc against NATO imperialism for decades. A federal court declared it legal to exclude communists from the unions. And a labor court declared that comparing plant conditions to Nazi times was grounds for firing.

The witchhunt is by no means limited to state action. On the night of October 3, as fireworks exploded over the Brandenburg Gate to celebrate capitalist reunification of Germany and crowds sang "Deutschland über Alles," bands of skinhead Nazis rampaged across the country. In Leipzig, where a year ago demonstrators marched to democratize the DDR, squares echoed with German nationalist intoxication and club-wielding gangs of up to 200 fascists gave the stiff-arm salute, chanting "Sieg Heil!" and "Foreigners out!"

The next day, the thousands of West

German police and border guards who were brought into Berlin to occupy the new capital of Greater Germany let loose against an anti-reunification demonstration of 10,000, which had been called by the anarchistic "Autonomen" and included many youth and foreigners. More than 200 were injured in the brutal cop attacks. The PDS had scheduled a march in remembrance of the DDR on October 2, but canceled it because of "lack of cooperation" from the police!

The fact that a mass party of 350,000 didn't dare to go on the street in its stronghold is one more expression of the criminal policy of capitulation of PDS leader Gysi and former DDR president Hans Modrow. In the previous week, party meetings were repeatedly disrupted by small bands of Nazis. On September 30, a PDS election meeting in Frankfurt/Oder was attacked by fascist gangsters with tear gas and pistols firing blanks. A week earlier, a PDS meeting of 500 was intimidated by 30-35 fascists for two hours while the police stood by.

When some 150 fascists disrupted a PDS gathering of 5,000 in Dresden, Gysi grotesquely declared that "Right-wing radicalism belongs to the political culture of a pluralist democracy"! Leaving his members defenseless, turning in to be jailed those who would protect the party, Gysi wants to earn credit with the bourgeoisie as a "democrat." But he is only encouraging those, both right-wing reactionaries and particularly the SPD, who seek to wipe out the PDS and every vestige of what they (falsely) identify as communism. The liberal/social-democratic *Der Spiegel* last February published an anti-Semitic smear against Gysi labeling him "the manipulator."

Accompanying the attacks on the PDS are repeated attacks against Mozambican and Vietnamese workers' housing, against Turkish immigrants in the West and against Soviet soldiers. In the industrial city of Halle, which is near the giant chemical plants of Leuna and Buna, a building containing the offices of various left groups has been attacked on several occasions by skinhead/Nazi bands, who also harass passengers on the streetcars. A united-front demonstration in Halle against the fascists has been called for November 2.

As the Spartakist Workers Party builds

this anti-fascist action with a leaflet titled "Stop the Nazis with Workers Mass Mobilization," the Social Democrats and bourgeois media have howled. An article in the *Mitteldeutsche Zeitung* (26 October) objected to the SpAD's "militant language" and its "calling for the Reformhaus to be defended by workers fighting groups and discharged NVA [East German Army] soldiers against attacks." The article quoted a statement denouncing "the takeover by class-struggle ideologues who have learned nothing from history."

In response, the SpAD wrote to the paper: "From the history leading up to 1933, for example? The working class of Germany had and has the power to stop the Nazis. It was the policy of the Social Democrats and the Stalinists which held the working class back from resistance to Hitler and thus aided his seizure of power." The Spartakists noted that many groups (including PDS, Vereinigte Linke, KPD, Young Socialists, League of Anti-Fascists and Gay League) had called for the November 2 demo, and that a united front means freedom of propaganda for all participants.

The SpAD is running in the upcoming December 2 Bundestag elections under the slogan, "For Workers Resistance Against the Fourth Reich." Spartakist candidates are being presented not only in Berlin, but now also in the states of Sachsen-Anhalt, Mecklenburg and Hamburg. The election program highlights the struggle against the anti-communist witchhunt, calls for workers defense guards to protect foreign workers, and for full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers and their families. The SpAD has also demonstrated against the immigration ban on Soviet Jews.

In an article in *Spartakist* (No. 77, 9 October), our comrades recalled Trotsky's description of Hitler's tactics at the time of his 1921 Munich beer hall putsch: "To a meeting of the Social Democracy he sent a band with Rudolf Hess. He says that at the end of the meeting his thirty boys evicted all the workers and they were incapable of opposing them. Then he knew he would be victorious. The workers were organized only to pay dues." *Spartakist* added, following Trotsky:

"What was and is needed are disciplined, determined self-defense groups of workers, who can count on the support of many thousands more workers and the oppressed."

At Treptow War Memorial in East Berlin on January 3, some 250,000 came out in the largest anti-fascist mobilization in German history, to stand with the Red Army which had smashed the Nazi dictatorship. It was initiated by the Spartakists and then taken up by the SED/PDS. The participants saw that capitalist reunification would mean revival of the brown-shirt scum. This "fighting demonstration" frightened not only the bourgeoisie and the fascist bands, but also the Stalinist bureaucrats, for whom the massive presence of their own ranks, eager to fight, raised the spectre of civil war and revolution.

The former Stalinist rulers crawled before the imperialist onslaught, rebaptizing themselves as social democrats, handing over the country and now their own officials. Yet many members and former members of this party and others still consider themselves communists, "in spite of everything," in Karl Liebknecht's famous words. The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, which fought against capitalist reunification at every step, calls on those who would return to the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky to join its ranks. ■



Spartakist Workers Party of Germany denounces SPD-led witchhunt, demands "Hands Off PDS and FDJ!" in East Berlin, July 3.

million now jobless, women massively thrown out of work, tens of thousands of foreign workers expelled and the assault on the PDS, our warnings have been fully confirmed.

The day after the police action, the SpAD took part in a protest in front of an administrative court, raising the slogan "Hands Off the PDS!" Spartakist candidate for the Bundestag (parliament) Renate Dahlhaus noted Rosa Luxemburg had been jailed there, and later Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered by the Freikorps (forerunners of Hitler's Brownshirts) instigated by the Social Democrats. But instead of the thousands who should have protested this dangerous cop assault, the

Deal for Rich...

(continued from page 1)

American-educated Saudi doctor saying, "Did not the American ambassador to Baghdad virtually invite Saddam to invade?" And a "Report from Baghdad" in the *New Yorker* of 24 September noted that following the 1987 "reflagging" of Kuwaiti tankers under the protection of the U.S. Navy, the Kuwaitis began acting "as if they had suddenly felt themselves to be invulnerable." The writer, Middle East expert Milton Viorst, asks:

"Is it too farfetched to wonder whether there was something cooking between the White House and Kuwait?... [Iraqi foreign minister] Aziz suggested that it had become America's linchpin. Iraqis were convinced, he said, that the United States, seeking to impose its own order on the region, had come to the Gulf planning to stay."

Meanwhile, Washington has been hard-lining it. Bush, a certified war criminal who launched the bloody invasion of Panama and oversaw the dirty contra war against Nicaragua, has ordered "war crimes" charges to be put together against Saddam Hussein and revved up his "Arab Hitler" rhetoric. *Newsday* (24 October) reports the government is "considering a major public relations effort to prepare the nation for a long siege in the Saudi Arabian desert and a possible war against Iraq." The U.S. commander of the Gulf forces, General "Stormin' Norman" Schwarzkopf, said Americans would have to "patiently" accept a desert war that could "last a long, long time and kill an awful lot of people" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 28 October).

Schwarzkopf also hinted at the sort of war scenario Washington is hoping for, projecting an "international incident" that would lead to a "skirmish" with Iraqi troops. The U.S. would like to send in troops to take back Kuwait City, launch air strikes against Baghdad, but not commit itself to a drawn-out ground war. Washington could claim that it deterred Iraqi aggression and liberated Kuwait, while Saddam Hussein would get what he wanted in the first place: a secure outlet to the Gulf and control over the (previously shared) Rumaila oil fields which the Kuwaitis were siphoning off. And Bush gets to buy out of his "wimp" image at the price of a few thousand lives. At least that's how the Pentagon's computer read-out has it.

But war is no war game. And the U.S.' night-fighting capabilities are in question after several crashes, its high-tech weaponry affected by sand and heat, its troops unsure of what they're fighting for, or whether they want to fight at all. The Iraqi army—battle-hardened in the squalid eight-year Iran-Iraq war—has an experienced officer corps, a heavy advantage in troop strength and armor, as well as its own share of sophisticated weapons, and moreover is fighting on its own terrain. Washington's scenario of choice could turn into a nightmare. And in the politically shifting sands of the Near East, the best laid plans of imperialist warmongers are notoriously prone to blowing up in their authors' faces.

"Pandora's box will open wide the minute war breaks out," writes Paul Mann in *Aviation Week* (1 October), "to say nothing of the consequences if war between the U.S. and Iraq were to trigger another Arab/Israeli/Palestinian conflict." And the Israelis have been going out of their way to provoke a war. Avi Shlaim, an Israeli scholar at Oxford, writes of the bloodthirsty Zionist massacre of Palestinians at Jerusalem's Al Aksa mosque: "An immediate consequence of this latest Israeli-Palestinian clash is to make war in the Gulf more likely and this would not be unwelcome to the Israeli proponents of 'War Now'" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 21 October).

A generalized war in the Near East could unleash massive turmoil. The situation cries out for an internationalist proletarian leadership to direct the anti-imperialist sentiments of the Arab masses away from nationalist fratricide into class struggle against their own despots—



WV Photos
Spartacists take a side for defeat of U.S. imperialism: October 20 demonstrations in (clockwise from top left) Cleveland, New York and San Francisco.

of them. Hebrew-speaking workers: break from your Zionist rulers before they hurl the region into a thermonuclear holocaust! Defend the Palestinians—Israel out of the Occupied Territories! U.S. out of the Persian Gulf! Defend Iraq—Working masses must oust the butcher Saddam Hussein!

"Bush and the Democrats—Out the Door!"

Even as they beat the drums for war, imperialist "opinion-makers" in the U.S. are particularly worried about its consequences on the home front. The *New York Times* (21 October) published an article by James LeMoyné based on touring the desert front. He reported:

"American troops become visibly uncomfortable when discussing the thought that they are here to defend low oil prices and the near-absolute family monarchies that dominate Saudi Arabia and most other gulf states.

"Talking to soldiers stationed in the desert here makes it apparent that the political cost of either broken illusions or large American casualties in a treacherous war is likely to be high, both for President Bush and for the American people."

Bush is already in big trouble coming off the budget fiasco. He is being treated as a leper within his own party. When Bush went to campaign for the Republican Senatorial candidate in New Hampshire, the candidate didn't show. Vermont Republican Peter Smith denounced Bush's stand on the budget and the civil rights bill while the president was seated behind him on the platform. Bush barely (by one vote) prevented a Senate override of his veto of the toothless "civil rights" bill, which would merely have restored the possibility struck down by the Supreme Court for women and minorities to sue against job discrimination.

But if the Democrats stand to be the winners by default in the upcoming Congressional elections, they are no less a party of wealth, war and racism than the Republicans. They stand behind Bush on the Persian Gulf. Some Congressional Democrats are even talking of using the ballyhooed War Powers Act to vote Bush an undated advance declaration of war! The budget debate was over how much of a tax break the top brackets should retain. One voter in Texas summed up the general mood of disgust with both parties when he said, "What I'd like to see... is for every single member of Congress to get kicked out."

But the liberal and reformist organizers of the new "antiwar movement" seek to save the asses of the gang in Washington and channel deep discontent and anger with the patrician wimp in the White House back into the fold of the Dem-

ocratic Party. They seek to resurrect another popular front of betrayal, which ties the working class to its exploiters. In contrast, in the October 20 marches, Spartacist contingents chanted: "Remember Hiroshima, remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!" In fact the Democrats—whose image as the "people's party" of capitalism makes them more effective in calling on the population to make sacrifices—has been in office during every U.S. war of this century.

We appeal to the strikers on the *Daily News* picket lines in NYC, to the long-

shoremen in L.A. who struck against a cop invasion of their union hall, to black people in Washington who tried to stop the Klan nightriders from marching through their city. Now is the time to mobilize in class struggle against the racist warmongers. When the 200-strong Spartacist League contingent at the October 20 march in New York chanted, "The rich get their budget, the poor get war—Bush and the Democrats, out the door!" it was welcomed with thumbs up from many people. Break with the Democrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive



WV Photo

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Racist Cops Rampage Against Students at San Leandro High

OAKLAND, California—On October 24, dozens of police brutally beat students, mainly blacks and Hispanics, at San Leandro High School, sending 20 to the hospital with broken bones and bruises. The rampage was triggered when a plain-clothes cop singled out a black student who was crossing the street along with several whites during the lunch period, and handed him a citation for "jaywalking." Students protested, reportedly a cup or bottle was thrown at the cop, and then all hell broke loose.

"The cops went crazy with their clubs," one Asian student told WV. "Then they started saying, 'You blacks go back to Oakland.'" Other students told reporters, "Police officers were yelling, 'You Mexicans and blacks, get the hell out of San Leandro.'" Students were choked with billy clubs and beaten against police cars. Cops unleashed a dog on some students. San Leandro police called in the Oakland PD, Alameda County Sheriff's Department and the state Highway Patrol. Four students were charged with assaulting police and resisting arrest. We demand: Drop the charges!

Cops have been hovering around the high school supposedly to prevent fights among students. But one student told WV, "We didn't have a problem before. The cops started it." In fact, the students of San Leandro High—black, Hispanic, white and Asian—are sticking together in the face of this racist cop brutality. "All races were trying to help each other," said a black senior.

On October 26, about 200 students

protested the racist cop onslaught and organized a successful boycott of classes, demanding a mass meeting. In the face of an outpouring of anger from students and their parents, school principal Bob Oates reluctantly agreed to hold a mass meeting of parents on October 29. Parents were outraged that the school didn't even notify them that the cop rampage had occurred. Some only found out when their kids phoned them from the hospital! Meanwhile the San Leandro PD claims that the cops showed "considerable restraint" and denies any racism!

San Leandro, just south of Oakland in Alameda County, used to be lily-white. Today about half the students at San Leandro are white, 11 percent black and the rest are Asian and Hispanic. The club-swinging cops gave full vent to the racism of those who want to preserve their white enclave. This comes in the context of a profusion of KKK-inspired incidents in the East Bay, from cross-burnings and racist graffiti against blacks and immigrants, to a pipe bomb made by a fascist Hayward youth found exploded in a restaurant, to beatings of Asians and blacks. Metzger's "White Aryan Resistance" is actively recruiting in Alameda and Contra Costa counties.

What's needed is integrated class struggle against the racist violence, whether of the white-hooded Klansmen or the bosses' blue-uniformed police thugs. San Leandro students and parents who are organizing to get the cops off campus have a good idea where to start. ■

Cops Invade Union Hall Longshoremen Shut Down Los Angeles Ports

Los Angeles cops and sheriffs are used to getting their way, terrorizing black and Hispanic workers and youth. But on October 10, a couple of gun-toting investigators for the Los Angeles County district attorney's office picked on the wrong target: hundreds of members of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 13.

The two cops waltzed into the Local 13 union hall in Wilmington, California, supposedly to pick up a longshoreman for "non-payment of child support." Despite lying accounts of the incident in the capitalist press the next day, longshoremen said the DA's men never identified themselves to the officials in charge of the hall, where between 300 and 400 ILWU members were waiting to be dispatched for work on the docks. Sergeant-at-arms John Nappi asked who they were and demanded to see their union books. Finding out they weren't members, he ordered them to leave—and union members in the hall suggested they do as they were told.

ILWUers said the "investigators" then went berserk, barricading themselves in a union office and brandishing their guns, even threatening to shoot longshoremen through the door! A score of LAPD cops arrived suspiciously quickly—longshoremen told WV that you can never find a cop in San Pedro, but that day they were crawling all over the place. They hauled the 65-year-old Nappi

out with a gun pointed at his head, charging him with three counts, including "inciting a riot." Curiously, the longshoreman wanted for non-support (the poor guy's paycheck was already being garnished) wasn't taken.

The cops took the sergeant-at-arms to jail, but the longshoremen weren't finished. They quickly struck the ports of Long Beach and Los Angeles, stranding 33 ships, including one carrying matériel for Bush's war on Iraq. ILWU members in the L.A. ports haven't been happy about working the cargo destined for the oil barons' war, everything from tanks to portable refrigerated morgues. For 13 hours no cargo moved. The bosses' spokesmen at the *Los Angeles Times* (12 October) moaned about "how powerful and clannish longshoremen can be."

An LAPD captain wailed that "my gosh, they had a warrant and a union hall is not a sanctuary against arrest." Well, this time the L.A. cops and their capitalist masters got just a little taste of workers power. Mobilizing that power in political strikes against Washington's bipartisan war moves would sink a giant cargo hook in the U.S. invasion of the Persian Gulf (and save a lot of lives). And integrated struggle of black, white and Hispanic workers would quickly put a halt to the LAPD storm-troopers' marauding at home. Hands off the ILWU! Drop the charges against Brother Nappi! ■

Vietnam...

(continued from page 5)

Ramparts magazine which a lot of us read. It talked about the war and about things in general.

And it was about that time that the self-inflicted wounds started because, I think, people felt like, "A bullet in my leg is not really going to hurt me when I'm out of here, taking the chance of getting my head blown off. And for nothing, to go back to a ghetto where I didn't have a job before and ain't going to have one when I get back." It had an incredible impact on me, a white kid who grew up in the suburbs. I knew about the war, but I learned a lot about race rela-

tions in this country. I learned a lot about the war in Vietnam. It's a shame. I met a lot of decent guys who I never saw again.

I got my discharge in July '69. But I was now politicized, I'd become politicized by the war—mad as hell—and I wanted to do something. One day I was reading one of the so-called underground newspapers, of which there were many at the time, and there was an ad for the American Servicemen's Union. So I went down to their office and told them I just wanted to get involved in protesting the war and putting an end to it, tell people what was really going on there. I was around YAWF for maybe a year plus. They taught me nothing. They never tried to recruit me, and when I think about it,

I don't think they tried to recruit any of the vets. Basically, what they used the GIs for, especially the black vets, was gooning and making speeches.

I was reading on my own, everything from guerrillaism to the Little Red Book. But I started to become disenchanted with the whole thing when I saw that you'd go to these demos and get your ass kicked, which happened to me quite a bit, you'd get tear-gassed, and the war went on. So I started to just drift slowly away from the whole thing. I stayed away from politics until I ran into a couple of members of the Spartacist League a few years later and I started reading *Workers Vanguard*. And I was impressed because of the intensity with which I was pursued politically. I started to get more and more involved and realized that if anything was going to be done, this was the organization that was going to do it. ■

Poland...

(continued from page 7)

12. The RML agrees with the iSt position on Afghanistan, hailing the Red Army intervention, which posed the extension of the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples and particularly to the oppressed women of Afghanistan. Gorbachev's withdrawal was a sellout, greatly encouraging the imperialists in their drive to overthrow the Soviet workers state. We reject the anti-Soviet demand raised by fake-leftists to withdraw the Warsaw Pact troops from East Europe—Soviet troops have constituted the first line of defense of the workers states against NATO imperialism. Out of the ranks of Soviet soldiers and officers will come many fighters for Trotskyism.

13. The comrades of the RML constitute themselves as the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP). The SGP and the ICL look forward to an early fusion, where the SGP will become part of a democratic-centralist International. In the interim, in

matters of mutual concern regarding Poland, both parties to this agreement will consult. *

14. The SGP needs to develop a systematic public face, recruiting cadre and intervening in various struggles and movements with ICL propaganda. A Leninist-Trotskyist party in Poland will be built from above through splits and fusions of ostensibly revolutionary organizations. Cadre can be won from among left Stalinists, as well as ostensible Trotskyists.

15. The ICL will assist the comrades in Poland in developing a systematic educational program to better acquaint them with the specific positions of ICL sections on various problems and events in the world. Fuller political integration will be enhanced by travel and mutual exchanges of visits with other ICL sections. In particular, it is envisaged that comrades from Poland participate in the SpAD's election campaign, as well as helping to translate election materials and fundamental ICL documents into the Polish language. The establishment of an ICL group in Poland represents a real step in our capacity to bring the program of Trotskyism to the East European and Soviet proletariats.

20 October 1990

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Class War...

(continued from page 12)

But the press unions must not stand alone. City workers are now facing 35,000 layoffs threatened by black Democratic mayor Dinkins who was elected with heavy union support. Under pressure from the bankers, the city is even taking back the miserly 5.5 percent contract (less than the inflation rate!) negotiated with the teachers. Even Barry Feinstein of the Teamsters and Stanley Hill of DC 37 are blowing hot air about demonstrations and strike action. This city could use a real labor demonstration, not some parade charade but a solid phalanx of union power marching from Wall Street to City Hall, and then heading over the Brooklyn Bridge to the *News*' Pacific Street plant. City workers should put the bridges up like in '71, shut the subways down like in '66. And the teachers should open the classroom doors to let one million students out on the streets! For the bosses, the movie *Escape from New York* would look like a Sunday picnic in contrast.

The *Daily News* strike has national importance. And the last thing American workers need is another losing strike. Just look at the sorry record of the last decade: PATCO, Greyhound in 1983-84, Arizona miners, Hormel meatpackers, Eastern Airlines workers, Pittston miners and now Greyhound again. The labor misleaders have produced an unbroken string of defeats. From Ronald Reagan to the Tribune Company, the bosses sure as hell aren't playing by Marquis of Queensberry rules. Yes, it's war—*class war*—and you've got to have a class-struggle program to win.

As we go to press, the Allied unions are militantly picketing every night. At the Pacific Street printing plant in Brooklyn, at smaller plants in Kearny, New Jersey and Garden City, Long Island, pressmen and drivers are battling against an army of strikebreakers and cops riding shotgun for scab delivery trucks. Over the weekend, the *News* brought out-of-town editors and reporters into the *News* building on 42nd Street. They are being housed in the hotel next door, owned by Leona ("only little people pay taxes")

Helmsley. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers should refuse to serve them.

Every day, *Daily News* yuppie PR scab Lisa (pull my bow) Robinson is on TV, telling the strikers "they quit," and retailing bald-faced lies that over a million scab papers were delivered. (Every time she comes out, picketers yell "Three Mile Island" at her, referring to her previous job as a company flack putting a positive "spin" on that nuclear near-meltdown.) But the only place in the five boroughs you can be sure of finding the *News* is in



Transit workers join striking pressmen at Brooklyn printing plant. The *Daily News* unions' fight is the cause of all working people and minorities!

the East River!

Almost four dozen strikers have been arrested, as the NYC cops of "friend of labor" mayor Dinkins have brought out the horses and wielded the riot sticks. Some nights it looks like he's already hired the 5,000 more racist cops and they are all on Pacific Street in Brooklyn! In the middle of a "budget crisis" they've spent half a million dollars on police overtime pay! The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a telegram denouncing the Dinkins administration's strike-breaking and demanding all charges against the unionists be dropped.

As *Workers Vanguard* has said before, "Labor's gotta play hardball to win!" But

the Allied union tops didn't want this strike and haven't prepared for it. In September, when union foremen at the Pacific plant were fired, Printing Trades Council president George McDonald said, "We're going to eat this one too. We're bleeding, but it is not blood that is going to kill us." Maybe it wasn't killing them, but it sure as hell was killing the *News* workers!

The *Daily News* is playing a dirty racist game, pitting desperate unemployed black and Hispanic workers against the

version. Instead of shutting down the airports with strike action, the Machinist leaders called for a "boycott" of Eastern Airlines that has left those workers on the street for almost two years. *Workers World* pushed the same criminal strategy at Greyhound, where Amalgamated Transit Union bureaucrats have cut off strike benefits and hung the strikers out to dry.

The only "boycott" that works is labor action to keep the *Daily News* off the streets. Picket lines mean don't cross, and the *News* can't publish without deliveries of ink and paper. There must be an authoritative strike committee, elected from all the Allied unions, that can extend the strike to all the dailies and appeal to NYC labor and its allies to pour into the streets. The first job of a strike committee should be to publish a daily, mass circulation newspaper by and for the workers of New York. Fill it with the truth about the bosses' dirty war on the unions, with reporting on the fight for justice, and the comics—but no ads for Bloomingdale's or Citibank. Shut down the *Scab News* and let them howl—the only news will be the *Workers' News*.

This is the program that the Spartacist League has brought to *Daily News* strikers, and thousands of NYC unionists and minorities. Over 10,000 copies of a special strike supplement of *Workers Vanguard* were distributed in four days. The *WV* supplement has struck a chord because it shows the way to win. One older pressman told a *WV* reporter, "I'm a conservative, at least I was. But you see all this on TV about El Salvador, the rebels. Well, we're the rebels here, and the cops, they're the army."

Around the world, the working class and the oppressed must rely on their own strength to win, shedding any illusions that this racist capitalist state can be "neutral" when the fundamentally counterposed interests of labor and capital collide on the picket line. The Democratic and Republican parties are just two wings of the capitalists' property party, the "bipartisan" war party. We need a fighting workers party.

The *Daily News* bosses provoked labor war on the streets of New York. They asked for it, they got it. It's the urgent task of class-conscious workers to finish it. Victory to the *Daily News* strike! ■

Daily News Workers...

(continued from page 12)

Kalikow just slashed workers' pay again. Instead of begging capitalist advertisers to boycott the *News*, the strike needs a union paper, a real daily newspaper that can serve as a strike organizer. In order to win this strike, the best militants in every press union must be elected to form a citywide newspaper strike committee, appealing to labor and minorities across New York City to join the fight.

Boss Hog(e) with his ritzy Gramercy Park apartment is out to provoke race war in the tinderbox that is NYC. By targeting their scab hiring at blacks and Hispanics, these strikebreakers hope to set off a racial bloodbath on the picket lines. But don't anybody forget the *News* bosses are convicted racists—proven in a lawsuit by black reporters in 1987. When the strike kicked off last night, pressmen and drivers gave their answer to this racist appeal. They took a Confederate flag and burned it, denouncing the "scab flag" of the Tennessee union-busting law firm of King and Ballow, hired by the *News*.

As the strike began, workers showed their power. Teamsters lined up on Atlantic Avenue refused to deliver truckloads of newsprint to the plant. This is the way to win. And the strikers showed that scabbing is dangerous to your health. One scab bus was left sitting on its rims on Atlantic Avenue, not a single window intact. It's war, but it has only begun.

And with real labor solidarity in action it can be won.

For a Workers Party!

The infuriating arrogance of the *Daily News* bosses matches that of the people who run this country—from Wall Street to Washington, Republicans and Democrats. Congress, that millionaires' club, spends weeks haggling over how much of a tax break their fellow millionaires should get. Meanwhile, they're sending our kids off to fight their war for Big Oil. The rich get their budget and the workers get war. That's what capitalism is all about. For years the capitalists have looted the economy, shutting down factories and turning the Midwest into a rust belt. They've turned the cities into living hell. They've stolen billions through their S&L scam. So now they've got a "budget crisis," and we're supposed to pay through the nose for gas, cigarettes and a six-pack.

They've thrown trillions into high-tech weapons in their "war against Communism," aimed at taking back the countries where capitalism was kicked out. What they bring back to East Europe is homelessness, unemployment, soup kitchens. Meanwhile, in this country Medicare benefits are slashed, young workers are pauperized by "two-tier" wage deals, a quarter of young black men are in jail or otherwise held hostage by the penal system. Over three million people sleep and die on the streets. And many more are only one paycheck away from the streets.

This country needs hard class struggle to turn things around. And there couldn't be a better time. The government is a mess, and they've thrown themselves

headfirst into a quagmire in the Saudi sand. But we need a new leadership of the labor movement. The professional losers who sit atop the unions have spent whole careers capitulating to the ruling class. They're in bed with the Democratic and Republican politicians whose strings are pulled by Wall Street. The Spartacist League says: labor and minorities need a workers party, which organizes on the picket lines and in the streets to throw out this government by the rich, for the rich, and to put a workers government in power.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

What's going to decide this strike is power. Newspapers aren't just words on a page. Publishers like the *New York Times* own everything back to the forests and the paper mills that produce their newsprint. They get their big bucks from the big advertisers, from Bloomingdale's to Exxon. They speak for the capitalist class that runs this country. But they can be defeated, by mobilizing workers power. Without our labor, the presses don't run, the trucks don't roll and their profits don't roll in. The bosses have been sticking it to working people, minorities—all of us—for years. They're asking for a fight, so give them one!

Whether it's the rent-a-cops inside the fence with their dogs or the NYPD outside with its horses and helicopters, the cops are the armed fist of the ruling class. Labor's strength lies in organization, unity, militancy, and a leadership with a class-struggle program and the determination to win. Against the bosses' cynical attempts to pit unemployed black



Daily News strikers burn Confederate flag, a Klan symbol and "scab flag."

and Hispanic workers against the unions: fight to create jobs through a shorter workweek and no loss in pay, set up union-run minority recruitment and training programs, at full union scale and at the bosses' expense. We need, here and now, a massive display of working-class power, crossing all the craft and race lines. To stop the scabs, strikers should occupy the *Daily News* and surround it with the *New York City working class*.

The *Daily News* unions' fight is the cause of all working people and minorities who if we stand together make up the immense majority of this city. All out now to defend the *Daily News* workers! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Stop the Scabs—Take the Plant!

Class War at Daily News

OCTOBER 30—"We are in a war with the *Daily News*," declared the head of the Allied Printing Trades Council, comprised of ten unions representing 2,500 workers at America's second largest newspaper. The *News* unions are facing the Chicago-based Tribune Company, a vicious union-busting media empire which owns New York's "hometown paper" and has left a trail of broken strikes and decertified unions from Chicago to Newport News, Virginia. After a crass provocation, the *News* bosses carried out a mass firing of union workers at the paper. All of New York labor has a stake in a victory for the *News* unions, and will suffer badly if they lose.

With the strike almost a week old, we're happy to see there are a lot of disabled trucks and very few copies of the *Daily News* on the streets. But that and impotent appeals for a consumer boycott aren't enough to win this battle. A long, drawn-out strike is a ticket for defeat. *News* workers need to hit the bosses hard, now. The Spartacist League has called on press unions, NYC labor, minorities: All out to win the *Daily News* strike! And since we're not talking about "fighting the good fight" only to lose it, let's get down to specifics. The newspaper unions should occupy the printing plants and ring them with mass pickets. That will put an end to scabbing, quick. To put the scab *News* out of action, newspaper workers should produce a real daily strike newspaper. A mass meeting should be called of all press unions to organize a citywide newspaper strike.

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Albans/AP

Scabbing can be hazardous to your health! *Daily News* strikers rock scab bus in Brooklyn.

Press Unions, City Labor, Minorities

All Out to Defend Daily News Workers!

The arrogant *Daily News* bosses opened up with both barrels on the press unions in NYC last night. After suspending an injured worker, they locked out a couple hundred drivers who walked out in sympathy, then fired 60. After ten months of constant provocations and assault by the *News* owners, the Chicago-Tribune Company, with their hired thugs and professional scabherders, it finally came to a head. One striker spoke for unionists throughout the country fed up with years of givebacks to the bosses when he yelled out: "Let the payback begin!"

Following the cynical management provocation in the early morning hours of October 25, the locked-out drivers exploded in anger. The street outside the *Daily News*' Pacific Street plant in Brooklyn looked like a war zone, as scab delivery trucks burst into flames. The next night the 9 p.m. shift went in only to find their brothers were fired. They turned around and walked out, chanting "Union, Union!" Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union head Michael Alvino officially announced the strike, denouncing the *News*' attempt to split the drivers union by "listing 60 guys, like the Nazis picked out

hostages." The Pressmen voted then and there to stay out too. Workers declared, "It's going to be settled out here."

They're right. This strike is going to be settled on the picket lines. In the 1978 *Daily News* strike union militancy and solidarity broke the management onslaught in three days.

For a decade, Wall Street and their two parties in Washington have busted unions while they slashed social services. In NYC, Wall Street and the Democrats in City Hall and the state house have united to demand thousands of workers be laid off to hire thousands more cops to unleash racist terror in the ghettos and barrios. The capitalist politicians and media want to roll back the lousy contract the teachers got, which doesn't even catch up with inflation. Enough! The *Daily News* strike is the chance to stop the union-busters cold!

The press unions at the *Daily News* are fighting, and they are fighting hard. But they had better not be left to fight alone. A few courageous acts of defiance are not enough—the *Daily News* unions face the power of the bosses' state. And in every strike, as soon as the work-

WORKERS VANGUARD

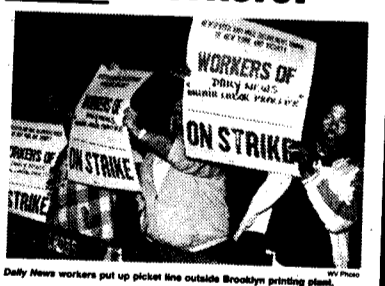
Strike Supplement 26 October 1980

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Daily News workers put up picket line outside Brooklyn printing plant.

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Stop the Scabs—Take the Plant!

Thousands of *Workers Vanguard* strike supplements have been distributed on the picket lines and to workers throughout the city.

ing class uses its power the cops and courts come down like a ton of bricks. We need to unleash our power—take the printing plant and ring it with mass pickets from every union in New York City! Make Pacific Street and Sixth Avenue a workers fortress. They'll think twice about unleashing their dogs and cops when labor is sitting on top of their precious machinery.

The future of every newspaper union in the city is on the line. Stop all the presses—from the *New York Times* to *Newsday* to the *Post*, where real estate king Peter

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