

Reagan in Russia

Nuclear Nut Hits Moscow

Just because Ronald Reagan put his signature to the so-called Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty last December, suddenly we were supposed to believe that he's a "man of peace." Rambomania was out and "summit fever" was in. But Reagan is still the same old anti-Soviet Cold Warrior, and provocation is the name of his game. So with his administration utterly discredited at home, his top cop Meese practically on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list, with Reagan's contras falling apart and Washington unable to oust a third-rate strongman in Panama, now he heads to Moscow to mix it up with the Russians.

Even before he crossed the Soviet border, Reagan was flaunting his intention to meet every U.S.-financed anti-Communist "dissident" in the Moscow area. Playing Jimmy Carter's "human rights" card, he staged an ostentatious anti-Soviet rally in the ballroom of the American ambassador's official residence where he paraded, among others, a Nazi war criminal. Then he went to a Russian Orthodox monastery to "pray" for "religious freedom" by quoting Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the guy who wants to bring back the tsar.

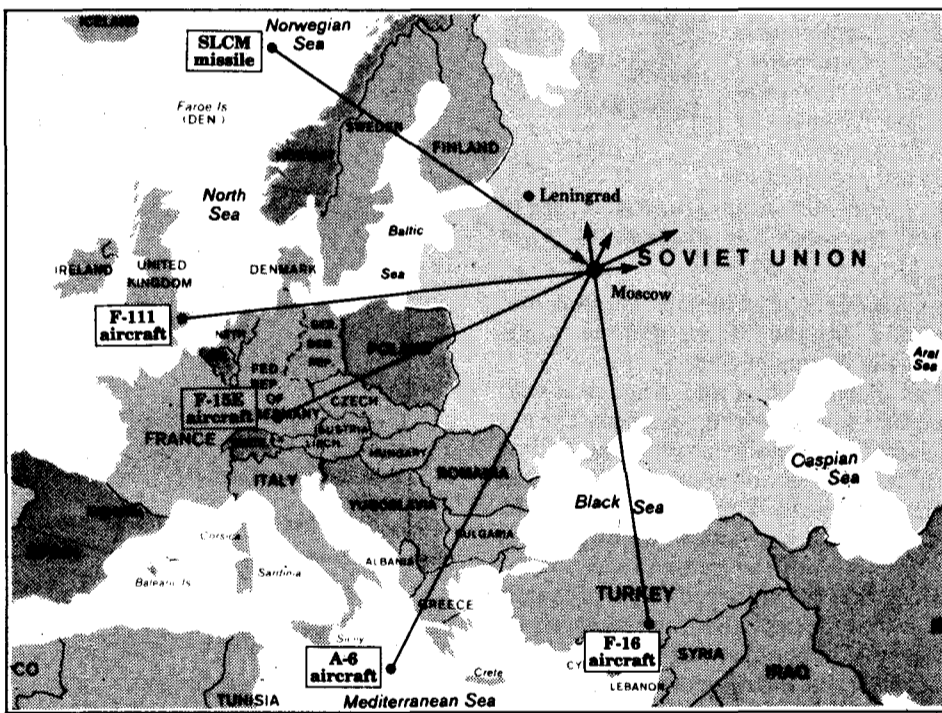
Reagan is a certifiable nuclear nut—with his finger on the button and his eyes on the star charts. And the ruling class he represents is still the most dangerous threat to the continued existence of civilized life on this planet the world has ever seen. The Reagan administration came to office with talk of exploding a "demonstration" nuclear bomb to scare the "Russkies." Then came the repeated provocative invasions of Soviet territorial waters and airspace, "jokes" on nationwide television about launching a nuclear attack, tirades against the Soviet "evil empire" and a skyrocketing war budget. Billions have been poured into the nuclear first-strike "Star Wars" scheme.

And Reagan's made the whole world a target in his war against "Soviet surrogates." From the terror-bombing of Tripoli to the invasion of tiny black Grenada to the armada in the Persian Gulf and the murder and rape of civilians by his Nicaraguan contra cutthroats, Reagan is a warmonger if ever there was one. Even a section of the American population appears to understand that the war-crazy gang in Washington needs some sort of straitjacket, as revealed in a *New York Times* (27 May) finding



Heikes/U.S. News & World Report

Reagan/Gorbachev "peace" toasts will not stop U.S. imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive. Map shows U.S. nuclear forces in Europe are still targeting Moscow despite the INF treaty. World socialist revolution is the only road to peace.



Center for Defense Information

that 8 percent of Americans surveyed thought the "Soviet Union should be stronger" militarily than the United States.

The American ruling class is out to reassert its role as cops of the world—and that is bipartisan policy. Democratic presidential contender Michael Dukakis even blurted out the long-standing U.S. policy for an atomic first strike when he proclaimed he was "prepared to use nuclear force" first

against Soviet armies in Europe. But meanwhile the liberals are calling "disarmament" rallies in New York and San Francisco on June 11 to "abolish nuclear weapons," promote "social justice," you name it—but mainly to elect a Democratic president. The rallies are timed to cap a United Nations "Special Session on Disarmament," where we'll see more hot air than you can find in a mushroom cloud.

For "disarmament" is a scam—the

vaunted INF treaty won't even lead to the destruction of a single nuclear warhead. The only means by which the imperialist rulers can really be disarmed is through the working class taking power. As Lenin said during the horrors of World War I, what is required is "arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie." Some 20 years later, as another world war approached, Leon Trotsky reasserted Lenin's point:

"The imperialists do not make war because there are armaments; on the contrary, they forge arms when they need to fight.... The idea of a so-called 'progressive disarmament' means only an attempt to cut down excessive military expenses in time of peace. It is a question of funds and not of the love of peace.... To build the revolutionary policy of the proletariat on a program of disarmament means to build it not on sand, but on the smokescreen of militarism."

—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937)

Nuclear weapons in the hands of Reagan and his class only lend more urgency to the need to sweep their system away through socialist revolution before they blow up the world.

The "Domino Theory" in Reverse

Yet the Kremlin dubs this "the summit that will finally bury the Cold War." The Soviet peoples, who have suffered more than any other in this century from the ravages of war, justifiably yearn for peace. But the Stalinist bureaucracy is selling them a bill of goods, arguing that they can bury the hatchet with the Reagan gang by burying the struggles of all the peoples who look to the Soviet Union for aid in liberating themselves from the imperialist yoke. Gorbachev thinks he can buy "peace in our time" by extinguishing "regional hot spots" from Afghanistan to Angola. All he will do is fuel Washington's counterrevolutionary ambitions to roll right up to the

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Abolish the Death Penalty!
Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!
SEE PAGE SIX

"MARKET SOCIALISM" IN EASTERN EUROPE

For Central Planning Through Soviet Democracy

SEE PAGE EIGHT

1,000 Protest Philadelphia Area KKK March

More than a thousand jeering protesters surrounded some 40 Ku Klux Klansmen when the robed and hooded race-haters, along with some neo-Nazi skinheads, showed up with Confederate flags in Parkside, Pennsylvania on May 21. Amid shouts of "racist pigs!" and "take your masks off!" the Kluxers were pelted with bottles, rocks and other missiles by the angry crowd. But the racist terrorists were spared the treatment they really deserved by the presence of hundreds of riot police on horses, with dogs and a helicopter. The cops ushered the fascists up Parkside's main street while restraining the crowd. A small group of Guardian Angels aided the police with crowd control. Five anti-Klan protesters, including members of the International Committee Against Racism, were arrested. Drop the charges against the anti-fascist militants!

The Klan announced its intention to march and distribute "anti-drug" leaflets in the lily-white community just outside Philadelphia at an April meeting of the Parkside Borough Council. But their real target was neighboring Chester, Pennsylvania which is 56 percent black and the site of integrated civil rights struggles led by the NAACP

and Students for a Democratic Society in the early '60s. Initially the council denied parade permits both to the Klan and the Chester NAACP which announced plans for a 5,000-strong anti-Klan counterdemonstration. In a disgusting display of liberal blindness, the American Civil Liberties Union of Pennsylvania went to court on behalf of the KKK and succeeded in winning a permit for the lynchers. The Klan is not a debating society: their tools of choice are the noose, firebombs and automatic rifles.

Once the Klan had its permit, the leaders of the Chester NAACP called off their plans for a counterdemonstration and actively urged blacks to stay home. The protesters who did show up were overwhelmingly white. But as one 66-year-old man said, "You let them come down to Chester and march and by night you'll find... them robes in the garbage" (*Delaware County Sunday Times*, 23 May).

From the police bombing of MOVE—incinerating eleven black people—ordered by Philly mayor of murder Wilson Goode, to the deadly attacks of the KKK, labor must be mobilized to smash racist terror. If the big guns of Philly labor, from the heavily black



Anti-Klan protester rips hood off fascist in Parkside, Pennsylvania. For mass labor/black mobilizations to crush the racist lynchers!

transit workers to the sanitation workers, had been out there May 21, the KKK would have never even got on their robes! When the integrated work-

ing class under revolutionary leadership takes its rightful place as the champion of all the oppressed, the days of all the racist killers will be numbered. ■



Only Socialist Revolution Can Prevent Nuclear War

For years Washington spokesmen cynically proclaimed that "mutual assured destruction" (MAD) would deter nuclear war. The notion fostered by Stalinists and pacifists that "disarmament" agreements can derail the war danger is no less cruel and dangerous an illusion. The grisly atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II demonstrated that the U.S. imperialists are prepared to



LENIN

unleash any horror to pursue their interests. As the American Trotskyists said at the time, only wiping out capitalist rule around the world can save mankind from atomic destruction.

The second imperialist world war has ended. Six years of wholesale slaughter and devastation have been brought to an awful climax with the discovery of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect, against the people of Japan...

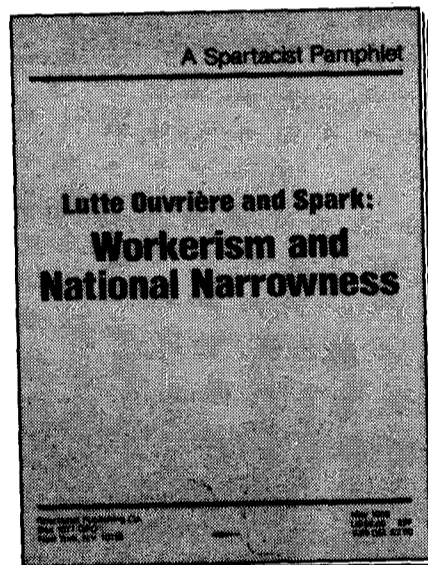
The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a combined population of 600,000 men, women and children, has sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who are the principal victims of war. It is universally realized that mankind has been saved from total annihilation in World War II only because the atomic bomb was invented so late. There is also the conviction, amounting to certainty, that another world war will mean the doom of the human race...

Among the illusions now being sown is the idea that the unlocked secret of atomic energy possesses such ghastly destructive power that the capitalist rulers will refrain from using it in future wars. But the entire history of imperialist warfare refutes this contention. Between two world wars the most frightful instruments of death were invented and perfected. ALL HAVE BEEN USED! During World War II other death-dealing weapons were invented and perfected. ALL HAVE BEEN USED!...

Let the cataclysmic horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki serve as a clarion call to the working class! The workers must wrench the power from the hands of the blood-drenched capitalist criminals and take their destiny in their own hands. The fight for socialism is now more than a fight to end poverty and inequality, to abolish the exploitation of man by man. Today the fight for socialism is a fight to prevent the annihilation of the human race. Mankind must now exterminate the capitalist system—or be exterminated!

—"There Is No Peace!" *Militant* (18 August 1945)

Lutte Ouvrière and Spark: Workerism and National Narrowness



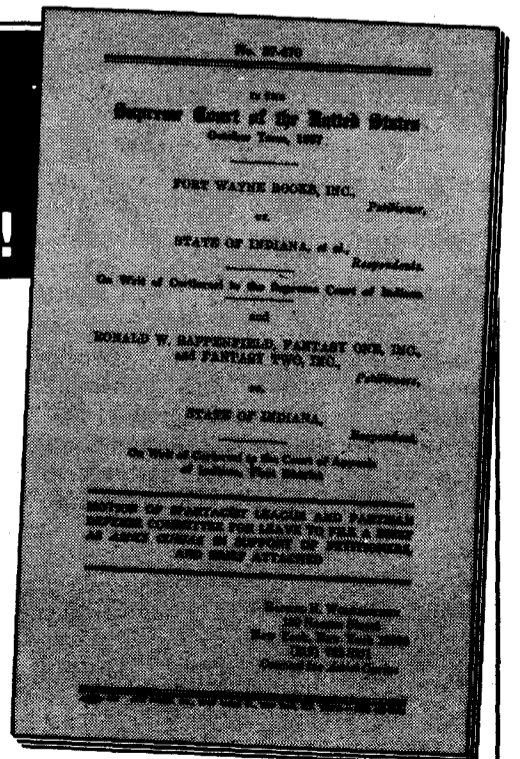
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SL/PDC Brief in U.S. Supreme Court: No to RICO Sex Witchhunt!

On May 12 the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee filed an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) legal brief in the Supreme Court opposing state use of draconian RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) conspiracy laws to shut down publishers and distributors of allegedly "obscene" material. The SL and PDC are supporting the appeal of Indiana booksellers against a state RICO law under which their stores were padlocked and assets seized; the case is expected to be heard this fall. Defense of key First Amendment rights of freedom of expression and opposition to this government's reactionary sex witchhunt are posed sharply in this case. All those concerned with civil liberties should order a copy of the brief now—send \$4 per copy to: Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.



WORKERS VANGUARD

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S.F. Mayor Targets City Workers

SAN FRANCISCO—Only months after taking office, liberal Democratic mayor Art Agnos is taking an ax to city workers. In February a budget deficit of \$180 million was "discovered" which Agnos blamed on his Democratic predecessor Dianne Feinstein—infamous for her pro-cop, anti-labor and racist policies. Agnos' solution: massive layoffs of city workers, many of them black and other minorities. Meanwhile the bosses in the city are on a union-busting rampage, from the Financial District where 1,800 janitors, overwhelmingly minorities, in SEIU Local 87 have been forced out on strike, to private hospitals who are demanding massive cuts in benefits for SEIU Local 250 hospital workers. With the new mayor sounding the charge, war has been declared on San Francisco workers.

On May 17 Agnos announced nearly 400 layoffs with a main target being the heavily black Muni transit workers. This is only the first wave. Already Agnos has threatened to more than double this figure if a measure on the June ballot freezing city workers' wages doesn't pass. But even if Agnos gets his wage freeze, more layoffs are in the works: 2,500 jobs are on his hit list, about 10 percent of the city workforce. These cuts will come at the expense of services used mainly by working people and heavily minority poor people—the buses, welfare, etc. At SF General Hospital the chief of attending physicians already says, "It is impossible to meet even the minimum standards for care" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 21 April).

The mayor's assault on city workers has given the green light to the bigwigs in the Financial District, where janitors

who struck on May 24 are taking the full brunt of the union-busting viciousness. Two strikers (Melba Carlisle, 57, and Chow Chap Tong, 63) were beaten up by scabs the first day of the strike and sent to the hospital while Agnos' cops

goons hasn't been seen in San Francisco for a long time. A Local 87 statement said that the "Gang of Four" (big downtown insurance and real estate firms) is spearheading this strikebreaking, bringing in a Chicago law firm one of whose



San Francisco, May 25: Striking janitors enter building to confront scabs who brutally attacked two elderly pickets.

escorted the hired thugs away from the site. The following day, 400 strikers from a union rally marched on the building, and a cop SWAT team arrested nine unionists. Teamsters who make deliveries and collect garbage at the 200 struck buildings are refusing to cross the SEIU picket lines.

The use of private strikebreaking

partners says he was from "the bomb them into submission school of labor relations." Bay Area labor had better fight back, or else. Now's the time for some action like the building tradesmen who nailed the scab contractors at the Moscone Center on "Rat Monday" in March.

Local 87's sister local, SEIU United

Public Employees Local 790, represents 13,000 SF city workers—including the BART transit system. And longshoremens still hold a strategic position in the Bay Area—it was hard class struggle in the 1934 general strike which made SF a labor town. Today SF labor must defend the janitors and city workers! Shut down downtown! For a city-wide strike with mass picket lines to teach the scabs and this cocky new mayor a real lesson in "labor relations"!

Agnos not only knew about the deficit before the election, he knew his first major act in office would be to swing the job-slashing ax. The labor traitors knew it too and counted on the new "liberal" Democratic mayor to carry out the layoffs without provoking an explosion of class struggle. "He's got all the right instincts," said Agnos' 20-year buddy, former landlord and political mentor James Herman, president of the International Longshoremens and Warehousemen's Union (*Dispatcher*, 9 October 1987). (Herman gave Agnos union office space for his campaign headquarters.) And while squeamish about Agnos' authorship of the state's welfare-slashing "workfare" program, the reformist Communist Party fell in step with the union tops and pushed Agnos.

The behind-the-scenes labor godfathers of the new mayor, having boosted him as a "friend of labor," are now working frantically to help Agnos get away with his union-busting austerity drive. "The worst thing that anyone could do would be to push the panic button," said bootlicker Walter Johnson, head of the SF Central Labor Council, when the cuts were first announced (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 February). In a charade of negotiations with Agnos and the Board of Supervisors, these labor traitors came up with "alternatives"—

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Chicago Transit Militants: Don't Bring Back CTA Cops!

CHICAGO—One hundred and fifty workers packed the May 2 meeting of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 to discuss on-the-job safety in the wake of the recent brutal rape of a woman bus driver. Local 241 president Elcosie Gresham invited the press to the meeting, where he called for bringing back the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) police force, eliminated in 1979 by then-mayor Jane Byrne. But the union bureaucrats' hoped-for rally in favor of company cops never got off the ground. Instead, one angry unionist after another took the floor to blast the CTA for its callous disregard for driver safety and to demand union action to defend transit workers.

The union sister who suffered the sexual assault, a black 13-year veteran driver, courageously spoke out at the meeting to denounce the CTA supervisors who disgustingly tried to blame her for the attack, accusing her of failing to make a proper pre-pullout check of the bus! "The company cares only about its property and its buses, it doesn't care about us drivers and our safety," she said. The meeting rose in tribute to the sister when she finished her remarks exclaiming, "We must stand together!"

Chicago transit workers have no love for the city cops, who currently are supposed to "keep the peace" on buses and "EI" trains; the cops are notorious for harassing—and beating and arresting—bus drivers, particularly minorities and women. Last summer five white Chicago cops invaded the home of black bus driver Cassandra Seay, brutally attacked and then arrested her and members of her family. Militants

initiated a union mobilization which beat back the racist frame-up charges against Seay (see "Cassandra Wins!" *WV* No. 443, 1 January). A CTA police force would only mean more of the same: in New York City, Michael Stewart, the son of a black transit worker, was clubbed to death by a gang of eleven transit cops in 1983.

Under the latest CTA giveback contract, workers are being victimized by a company bent on scapegoating its employees for poor service, accidents, breakdowns and equipment shortages. Spurred into action by the new operations boss recruited from the Philadelphia transit system, union-hater Frank Wilson, the company even tried to introduce random drug testing recently at the Beverly bus garage. Union members rebelled, forcing management to halt the random tests, but only after two workers were suspended (one for alleged valium traces in his urine). Reinstating the CTA police would simply put an armed force of several hundred mercenary thugs at the disposal of the union-busting CTA brass.

Bus mechanic Kevin Quirk was applauded by the membership when he told the meeting:

"For workers and minorities, it has always been necessary to rely on our own organization for defense, whether it be defending our picket lines during a strike or on the job protecting our lives. "This was an outrageous attack on our sister. And while every day out on the street we face all the crap of this decaying racist capitalist system, it is deadly wrong to call on the cops for 'protection.' Whether it's the racist Chicago cops or some kind of CTA company cops, these are the forces that defend

this racist system, who daily terrorize and kill workers in Chicago and throughout the country."

Quirk also noted that transit workers have been victimized by the company or killed on the job because of the CTA's ban on all means of self-defense. Indeed, the ruling class wants the streets to be ruled by their armed thugs—the cops—while gun control laws disarm workers and minorities. New York City subway token clerk James Grimes is alive today only because he defied these laws and defended himself with a pistol when robbers tried to stick him up and blow him

away. When the NY transit bosses and the state went after Grimes on a gun rap, militant transit workers rallied to his defense, forcing the courts to dismiss the charges.

As Quirk told *Workers Vanguard*:

"The union tops call on the cops to defend our drivers. But who defends us from the cops? The cops threatened a full-scale riot in the black community the night Harold Washington was elected. But that didn't stop Washington from using the cops the same way Daley and Byrne did. We should have no illusions. It's a question of power. No matter which Democrat is in City Hall, racist cop terror will stalk the workers and blacks of this city. And only workers power will stop it."

What's needed is tough labor struggle across the board, to beat back the CTA's attacks, to stop racist cop brutality, to win free mass transit, and to forge a workers party in the vanguard of all the oppressed who have a stake in ending this sick and decaying profit system. ■



Chicago transit workers turn out last December in defense of bus driver Cassandra Seay and her family, victims of racist cops who invaded their home in July 1987.

Kim Philby: In Memoriam

For many of us, the death of Kim Philby evoked our admiration for the achievements of this remarkable Soviet master spy who penetrated to the heart of British and American intelligence and counterespionage operations during and after World War II. Philby died May 11 at age 76, and was buried in Moscow with the military honors accorded a general of the KGB. The Soviet news agency TASS called him "heroic" and "a man of lofty internationalist duty," adding laconically:

"For a long time Kim Philby was engaged in an exceptionally delicate work, or, better said, a struggle directly within the special services of the capitalist countries whose thrust was spear-headed against the Soviet Union and the world's progressive movement."

As opponents of imperialism, we drew no small satisfaction from Philby's exploits, and savored the humiliation which NATO secret services suffered as a result. At the same time, as fighters for the genuine proletarian internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky, our overall appreciation of Philby and his role must necessarily be more equivocal.

The outstanding work of Philby—called by one-time CIA chief Allen Dulles "the best spy the Russians ever had"—certainly had a devastating impact on the intelligence establishment of British imperialism, as rabid Fleet Street headlines about the "traitor Philby" bear witness still. When he finally escaped to the Soviet Union from Beirut in 1963, he left behind a legacy that goes far beyond the generation of spy novels he inspired, notably those of le Carré. British intelligence never really recovered; to this day they pore over each phrase of Philby, looking for clues to the elusive identity of a supposed "Fifth Man." Even the TASS eulogy for Philby set them vibrating again: "It was couched in the kind of prose that will raise eyebrows in London—and get MI5 going back over the Philby files, to see exactly what it was that made the KGB so grateful" ([London] *Guardian*, 13 May).

Before Philby, the British secret services were viewed as older and wiser, if a bit impoverished, by their U.S. counterparts. Although Allen Dulles and James Jesus Angleton were taken in by him; too (despite their claims in hindsight to have suspected all along), the "special relationship" between U.S. and British spy agencies did not survive the Philby episode. Philby became the symbol for the demoralization and self-doubt of the British ruling class as the last remnants of their empire crumbled and the Americans took over as world gendarme. No longer could they implicitly trust the most privileged and gifted scions of their elite institutions. More than anything, the British establishment could never forgive Philby for being a traitor to his class.

As a young leftist at Cambridge in the early '30s, H.A.R. Philby was attracted to Communism: "I had a good look around me and I reached a simple conclusion—the rich had had it too damn good for too long and the poor had had it too damn bad and it was time that it was all changed." For the next 30 years he served as a Soviet agent, moving into key positions in the British SIS (Secret Intelligence Service, also known as MI6). He ran Britain's anti-Soviet counterespionage operations from 1944 to 1947; he foiled imperialist-sponsored expeditions to promote counterrevolution in the Ukraine and Albania; he was the chief British liaison with the FBI and CIA in Washington during the period he described as "the full evil blast of McCarthyism"; he was even in line to become head of MI6, when the 1951 flight to the USSR of Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess, who had also been young leftists at Cambridge recruited to



Kim Philby, December 1967.

John Philby

Soviet espionage, placed Philby under a cloud of suspicion.

With proverbial nerves of steel, Philby brazened it out. He was officially cleared by Prime Minister Macmillan in Parliament and continued working for SIS in Beirut. Then, as the TASS communiqué said with suggestive understatement, "In 1963, having successfully accomplished a regular assignment, Kim Philby got to Moscow...." When asked in a recent interview if he would do it all again, he responded instantly: "Absolutely." Philby wanted to respond to the persistent planted rumors that he was disillusioned, in alcoholic depression, etc. He pointed to his comfortable Moscow home and his happy marriage to his Russian wife Rufa. "Although life here has its difficulties... it's my country and I've served it for more than 50 years. I want to be buried here. I want my bones to rest where my work has been."

Part of our admiration for Philby stems from hatred of those he opposed in the British intelligence services who thought they were fighting the wrong war (against Hitler) and wanted instead to be fighting the USSR. During WWII Philby evidently contributed to preventing the British from reaching a separate peace with Nazi Germany

to combine forces against the Soviet Union; while in charge of the SIS Iberian operations he deflected overtures from Admiral Canaris and other of Hitler's disaffected officers. In his memoirs, *My Silent War* (1968), Philby wrote: "... it is a sobering thought that, but for the power of the Soviet Union and the Communist idea, the Old World, if not the whole world, would now be ruled by Hitler and Hirohito. It is a matter of great pride to me that I was invited, at so early an age, to play my infinitesimal part in building up that power."

There is no question but that Philby and his colleagues from Cambridge undertook their work in the sincere conviction they were serving the cause of a communist future for mankind. Donald Maclean, one of Philby's comrades, evidently remained true to his socialist convictions until his last days in Moscow (he died in 1983). Roy Medvedev, who knew him personally, wrote in a eulogy that Maclean was disgusted by Stalin's crimes and had in his home a sign which read, "Opportunists, Dishonest People and Anti-Semites leave this apartment!"

But a life of service as a spy for the Soviet state under Stalin and his heirs does not necessarily equal a life of serv-

ice to the working class. While Philby's circumstances placed him in a position to battle against powerful imperialist agencies, many of his contemporaries in Soviet intelligence had far dirtier assignments, sabotaging revolutions and murdering leftists. While he was gleaming valuable information from the Francoists, on the other side of the lines in the Spanish Civil War his GPU colleagues were assassinating leftists like Andrés Nin and strangling the revolution. Philby's intelligence work reflects only one side of the contradictory Soviet regime which issued from the political degeneration of the first victorious workers revolution, a regime that sacrificed the hopes for world revolution on the altar of "socialism in one country."

That Philby shared this program is evident in a recent interview in the *London Sunday Times* (20 March, 27 March, 3 April and 10 April). In his first published interview with a Western journalist in 20 years, Philby met this spring with Phillip Knightley on several occasions, discussing his views at length. Asked about Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, he said that if his advice had been sought, "I would have advised against it on purely historical grounds. I would have said, look what happened to the British there. So keep out.... We decided to go in and hold the country down for a bit until we could restore order.... But now we are anxious to pull out as soon as we can do so without a massacre of our friends there."

We Trotskyists, who unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, proclaimed, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" Faced with unenviable options on their Afghanistan border, the Brezhnev regime chose what it saw as the lesser evil: intervention against CIA-backed feudal reactionaries. This pushed the Soviet military into defending social progress and women's rights, while cutting against the pursuit of "détente." If ever there was an occasion to implement the policy of "exporting revolution" by force of arms—a line often attributed to the Trotskyists, but actually proposed by Red Army Marshal Tukhachevsky (as well as the youthful Bukharin)—it would be in Afghanistan. Far from being a historically cohered nation-state, Afghanistan has been and is a cauldron of feuding tribes and fragmented peoples, for whom effective assimilation into the USSR through an Afghan workers state would constitute enormous social progress. Conditions of life in Soviet Central Asia testify to the vast gains this would bring for the Afghan peoples.

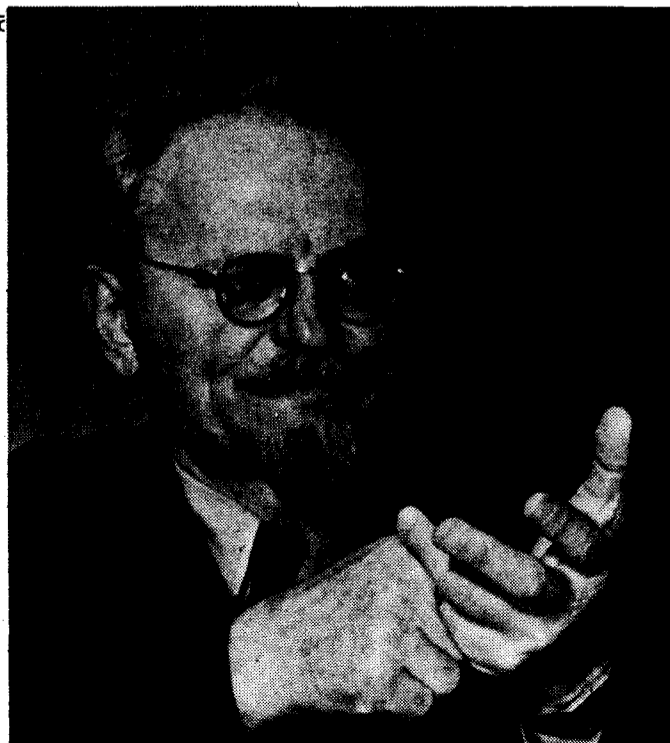
Unfortunately the Gorbachev leadership, in deciding to withdraw the Soviet army from Afghanistan, is leaving open the field for the bloody chieftains and mullahs who would unleash a

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Vladimir Kibalchich

Ignace Reiss (left), veteran of Soviet intelligence service, murdered in 1937 by Stalin's NKVD after embracing Trotsky's Fourth International. Trotsky (right) was himself assassinated by Stalinist agent in August 1940.



AP

Clericals Beat Ivy League Bosses

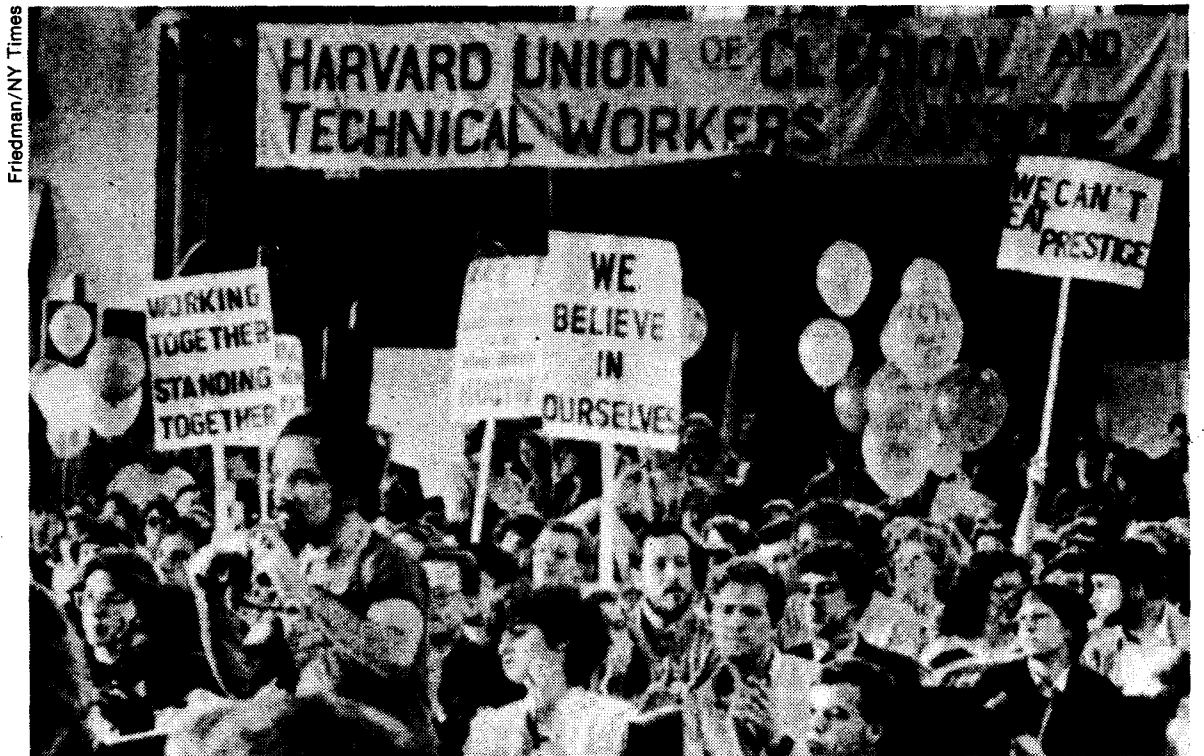
A Union Victory at Harvard

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts—After 17 years of organizing efforts, the clerical workers who keep Harvard University running celebrated a victory over their smug bosses on May 17. In the largest-ever election for union recognition at a private university, 3,400 clerical workers won union representation by the Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers (HUCTW), an affiliate of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). The struggle between American capitalism's premier think tank and its overwhelmingly female clerical and technical workforce was hotly contested and recognized by both camps as a landmark for future union organizing at private universities. As AFSCME president Gerald W. McEntee remarked, "I'm certain that if you can do it at Harvard, you can do it at an awful lot of places."

Securing the union's victory won't be easy. McEntee called the sleazy anti-worker crusade by the men who rule "Fair Hahvahd" "one of the most subtle but violently antiunion campaigns I've ever seen." Already the university has challenged the election results, trying to use the bureaucratic machinery of Reagan's pro-employer National Labor Relations Board that organized the vote. Harvard spent thousands of dollars printing anti-union memos, letters and pamphlets; supervisors were trained to convince staff members to vote against the union; Harvard workers were forced to attend seminars on the "dangers" of unionization. But despite the Corporation's power, money, prestige and high-pressure tactics, Harvard *lost*. Stop Harvard's union-busting campaign!

In the weeks preceding the election, the Harvard Spartacus Youth Club fought to win students to the side of the

Workers and students rally in support of union organizing drive by Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers.



workers. As the SYC's leaflet stated:

"Students have a side and a role to play in this struggle. The union-busting Harvard administration is also the enemy of student protest.... When campus workers strike Harvard, they're taking on an institution which braintrusts scenarios for World War III against the Soviet Union and the counterrevolutionary policies for which U.S. imperialism is known worldwide, from South Africa to Central America. "Unlike the mealy-mouthed members of the Democratic Socialists of America who call on Harvard to be 'neutral' in the union election, we know, as the old coal miners' song goes, 'there are no neutrals here!' This filthy rich bastion of the ruling class tried to save money during the Depression by withholding back pay due the scrubwomen of Widener Library! The only 'union' Harvard ever shed tears for was the reactionary CIA-backed Polish Solidarność. In 1983

Lech Walesa was invited to speak at Harvard's commencement while the University conferred an honorary degree on the vicious union-busting *Washington Post* owner Katherine Graham—and simultaneously locked the campus food service workers in Local 26 out of negotiations for a contract!"

"We Can't Eat Prestige!" was one popular slogan of the HUCTW's organizing drive. Indeed, labor struggle requires a break with the elitist "professionalism" which is pushed by the employers to promote the illusion of "common interests" between bosses and workers. "White collar" clerical workers at Yale University won an eleven-week strike in 1984 in large part because the "blue collar" maintenance and dining hall workers honored the picket lines

that went up against the ivied walls. At Harvard, the dining hall workers organized by Local 26 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees union has a record of militant struggle in defense of their predominantly female and minority membership, and their support will be vital to the HUCTW. All university employees, including professors, should be organized in a solid union front! Next to the high-tech belt around Route 128, colleges and universities are the major "industry" in Boston—united struggle by campus unions could have a tremendous impact throughout the area. Solidarity in the form of militant action of all university workers, students and teachers is critical to beat back the Harvard bosses. Victory to the HUCTW! ■

UCLA: Latino Student Barred from Office

The recent student election at the University of California in Los Angeles reminded a lot of people of the charades organized south of the border in "death squad democracies" brokered by U.S. imperialism. A Latino student, Lloyd Monserratt, won the election for president of the Undergraduate Student Association Council (USAC) but was barred from office on the spurious charge that he lacked sufficient academic credits. New elections on May 26 erupted into an angry melee when pollsters at Ackerman Union refused to give ballots to some 200 predominantly black, Latin and Asian students, denying them the right to vote for their candidate. Quicker than you could say "Sham!" ballot boxes at five polling stations around the campus were trashed by protesters chanting "Fuck Chuck" (a reference to UCLA chancellor Charles Young).

Lloyd Monserratt's election was stolen from him. For years, student elections at UCLA have been split between a "minority slate" and one dominated by white fraternity punks. When minority students win, the frat boys routinely challenge the elections and call for inspection of the candidate's academic eligibility. Now another student election is called for June 2 and Chancellor Young threatens a massive show of police force—armed UCLA cops at every voting booth! In an

200 Protest Racist Election Fraud



Integrated student protest brought rigged elections to a halt at UCLA, May 26.

emergency USAC meeting convened after the protest, Chancellor Young belatedly bowed to his toadies:

"The free electoral process has been interfered with in exactly the way it was in pre-Nazi Germany and Nazi Germany. That is something we've got to take goddamn seriously.... We've got

to have an election, or I'm going to have to take over the student government and appoint a dictator."

—*Daily Bruin*, 27 May

It's come to the point that you can't even vote for who you want in sand-box student elections without big brother zapping your vote and your

candidate out of the picture. At UCLA it's a case of racism. At UMass Amherst, Jason Rabinowitz was denied his electoral victory because he's a member of the Communist Party's youth group (see "CP Youth Barred from Office," *WV* No. 451, 22 April). A far cry from the vaunted "marketplace of ideas," the university under capitalism is an ideological and technical training ground for the maintenance of capitalist rule. When challenged by leftist and minority student protest, campus administrators drop the façade of bourgeois democracy and trample on the most basic democratic rights for youth.

Führer Young's ideal student body president would be someone whose views approximated those of autocrats like the bloody ex-Shah of Iran, a personal friend of Chuck's who funded UCLA's "Center for Mideast Studies." And this isn't the first time Young has tried to bar a minority student from political activity. In 1985, Young tried (without success) to "ban" Spartacus Youth League member Juvenal Martinez for leading a militant protest against Salvadoran ambassador of death Rivas-Gallont. "Free" elections Salvador-style could be what's in store for UCLA students with cops crawling over ballot boxes and Young threatening to press charges against the anti-racist protesters. We demand: Cops off campus! Seat Lloyd Monserratt! No reprisals! ■

Abolish the Death Penalty!

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The following article is reprinted from *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* Number 7, March 1988, publication of the *Partisan Defense Committee*.

In solitary confinement in Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison, a young black man awaits the electric chair. Mumia Abu-Jamal is a death row political prisoner. He faces death today because yesterday he defied this racist, capitalist order. Mumia is a man marked for extinction, a member of an endangered political species—one of that breed of black youth who was radicalized through the struggles of the sixties, who came through the Black Panther Party and is still resisting the racist system which is trying to kill him. It is that history which has made Mumia the target of a deadly state vendetta.

Mumia was accused of killing a cop on the streets of Philadelphia on 9 December 1981. At age 26, Mumia was well known throughout the city when he was arrested. He had been a leading Black Panther Party member, was an outspoken MOVE supporter, an articulate and passionate journalist. He was the president of the Association of Black Journalists. Even the day after he was arrested, framed up as a "cop killer," the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (10 December 1981) headlined, "Jamal: An Eloquent Activist Not Afraid to Raise His Voice." And it was this voice that the racist cops and rulers of the city of "brotherly love" wanted silenced.

In 1970, at the height of COINTELPRO, sixteen-year-old Mumia, communications director of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party, was featured in a *Philadelphia Inquirer* article. Twelve years later, at the 2 July 1982 sentencing hearing, the D.A. demanded Mumia be condemned to death for his political history and beliefs.

Central to Mumia's trial was the state's "unfinished business" with the Panther legacy. From the outset, the prosecution sought to prove that Mumia was a committed cop-killer, that his membership in the Panthers was proof of that. The prosecution read from statements attributed to Mumia twelve years earlier. And what were these statements which brought down the lethal wrath of the state? What had Mumia said which convinced the court that Mumia could no longer be among the



Mumia Abu-Jamal and son, Mazi Mustafa, in 1982.

living? That he was too dangerous to live?

From the *Death Sentence Hearing*, 3 July 1982:

Q. [To Mumia] "Do you recall saying, 'All power to the people?'"

A. "Yes."

Q. "Do you believe your actions as well as your philosophy are consistent with the quote: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun?'"

A. "I believe that America has proven that quote to be true."

Q. "Do you recall saying that: 'The Panther Party is an uncompromising party, it faces reality?'"

A. (Nods affirmatively) "Yes."

The D.A. entreated the jury that for twelve years Mumia had been determined to kill cops—from "all the way back then with political power, power growing out of the barrel of a gun." This was all the state needed to prove Mumia must be legally murdered.

To the racist butchers who run this country, the Panther slogans, "Power to the People" and "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," disputed the state's "right" to keep the cities' blacks, poor and all minorities under the jackboot of cop terror. As Mumia answered his kangaroo court, "It's very clear that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun or else America wouldn't be here today. It is America who has seized political power from the Indian race, not by god, not by Christianity, not by goodness, but by the barrel of a gun." And by the barrel of its guns—cops, courts and electric chair—this vicious capitalist state seeks to preserve its

bloody class rule.

Mumia was black. He was a Black Panther. He believed in black self-defense. And he was not yet dead. The COINTELPRO terror campaign hadn't riddled him with bullets while he slept the way Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were executed. This bloody program killed 38 Black Panthers. Somehow it missed Mumia. He survived the destruction of the Black Panther Party.

Mumia was deeply impressed by the refusal of MOVE members to be broken during their 1979 trial on frame-up charges of killing a cop during the 1978

massive police siege of MOVE's Powelton Village home. As Mumia told us, he became "a widely-known, and among the cops, widely-hated MOVE supporter, who went into the jails to get the Africas' side of Aug. 8, '78 confrontation.... I did human, warm pieces on some of the most beautiful folks I ever met—for that I've been shunned by former 'professionals', and persecuted by the STATE."

As a former Black Panther and an outspoken MOVE supporter Mumia was in the cross hairs of Philly's bloody cops. They want him silenced—and dead—to finish the "job" begun by racist Frank Rizzo and carried on by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode. In 1970, Rizzo, then police chief, personally led a raid on Panther headquarters, dragging Panthers into the streets, stripping them naked and lining them up against the wall. On 13 May 1985, Goode, in collaboration with Meese's FBI, ordered the hideous bombing of the MOVE home, killing eleven people, including five black children.

Like Geronimo Pratt, Rubin Carter and countless other black activists killed or locked behind bars, Mumia is deemed "dangerous" because to the state he is a symbol of black rebellion against the hellish conditions of black ghetto life. The D.A. argued for the death penalty, "This is what this is all about, law and order."

On the night of 9 December 1981 Mumia was working as a cab driver. He saw a cop beating his brother who had been stopped for an alleged traffic violation. Mumia rushed in, taking a near-fatal bullet in the stomach. When the gun smoke cleared the cop was dead. Mumia was sitting on the curb bleeding profusely. The rest of the cops came. The witnesses had contradictory stories. But the state had the man it wanted.

Mumia's experience taught him not to expect a fair trial. The court forced an appointed lawyer on him, and denied Mumia's request to have MOVE leader John Africa as his defense counsel. To get the "right" jury of eleven whites, the court permitted a white juror who admitted he could not be impartial, while excluding twelve prospective black jurors simply on the D.A.'s request. The judge denied Mumia's request to have the arresting cop called as a witness. The cop's report indicated that Mumia had made no statement. This was crucial in refuting an alleged

continued on page 14

Partisan Defense Committee
CLASS STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL—ABOLISH THE DEATH PENALTY!

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE FREES HUMBERTO CENTENO!

Support and build the work of the PDC! Send a donation of \$5 or more to receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1.00: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, NY, NY 10013.



Jamal, age 16, speaking at Black Panther Party meeting in California (left). Philadelphia police raid Panther headquarters, strip-searching members on sidewalk, August 1970.



Black Militant on Death Row

For 20 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal, 34, has been in the cross hairs of Philadelphia's racist killer cops. Rampant shootings of unarmed suspects, physical assaults on the Black Panther Party and SNCC, and the hideous bombing of the MOVE organization on 13 May 1985, have made Philadelphia police synonymous with unbridled racist state terror. On 9 December 1981 they tried to kill Jamal in the streets, but failed. He was hospitalized with a bleeding stomach wound, and arrested on charges of killing a cop. Convicted of murder in July 1982 and sentenced to die in the electric chair, today Mumia Abu-Jamal

He fought to change the name of Benjamin Franklin High School to Malcolm X High School, and was later expelled for circulating pamphlets calling for "black revolutionary student power."

• Co-founder and Minister of Information of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party in 1968 at the age of 14: Jamal wrote for the *Black Panther*, which he recalled, "charged my pen with a distinctive anti-authoritarian, and anti-establishment character that survives to this day." He wrote Panther leaflets which drew death threats from the police Civil Disobedi-

pendence fighters and international public figures. His work was guided by "the principle that we are oppressed Black human beings first" (*Philadelphia Tribune*, 5 December 1980). Jamal spoke "of the triumphs and tragedies of poor and oppressed Black and Hispanic people with passion and eloquence—in both English and the Spanish language." He was elected president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists, at age 26 in November 1980; named by *Philadelphia Magazine* as one of its "people to watch" in 1981, citing his "eloquent, often passionate, and always insightful interviews [which] bring a special dimension to radio reporting."

• Well-known supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization: Jamal covered Rizzo's 8 August 1978 press conference following the siege on the Powelton Village MOVE home by more than 600 heavily armed cops earlier that day. Rizzo blamed the "new breed of journalism" for the death of one officer during the cop assault and warned, "They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop. And one day, and I hope it's in my career, that you're going to have to be held responsible and accountable for what you do." Jamal recalls that after the Powelton Village cop assault, he "gave voice to the members of the MOVE organization... Most black reporters ignored them, while the white press slandered them."

Jamal was conspicuous for his uniquely favorable interviews with MOVE members from the depths of Philadelphia jails. He describes how, "While walking to work one day I... passed in front of an idling cop car—I glanced at the driver, white, with brown hair, and wearing dark shades. He 'smiled,' pulled his hand out of the car, and pointed a finger at me, his thumb and other fingers cocked like a gun.—Bang! Bang! Bang!—the finger-gun jerked as if by recoil, and, the cop returns his fire-finger to the window, giving it a cowboyish blast of breath, before returning it to an imaginary 'holster.' He & pal laff. Car rolls."

His esteem among colleagues was so great that the day after his arrest the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (10 December 1981) wrote a feature article, "The Suspect—Jamal: An Eloquent Activist

Not Afraid to Raise His Voice." The *Inquirer* described him as a "gaily among journalists and easily recognizable because of his dreadlock hairstyle, revolutionary politics and deep baritone voice," and noted he was credited with opening up the Association of Black Journalists to lesser organized minority groups "who usually never had access to the press in getting their voice heard."

On 3 July 1982 Jamal was sentenced to die in the electric chair. The prosecutor won his sixth death penalty with the argument that Jamal planned to kill a cop for the past dozen years. His "proof" was Jamal's membership in the Black Panther Party! The D.A. cited the 1970 *Philadelphia Inquirer* article in which Jamal uses the Panther slogan "All power to the people!" He assured a death sentence by telling the jury that Jamal would never die—he would have "appeal after appeal after appeal." But today Jamal is still on death row. ■



Mumia Abu-Jamal, then reporter for Philadelphia Channel 12, WHYY-TV, interviews basketball star Julius Erving, 1980.

no credit

is in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania state prison under the shadow of the Jim Crow death penalty.

The story of Mumia Abu-Jamal reflects that of a generation of black militants from the civil rights movement through the Reagan years. While some were bought off, many of the best in this generation were gunned down by the state or jailed.

Who is Mumia Abu-Jamal?

• Experienced cop terror and racist oppression at an early age: Jamal was beaten and arrested at 13 for protesting a George Wallace presidential rally in the white racist bastion of South Philadelphia—home of Mayor Frank Rizzo.

ence Squad. As Minister of Information Jamal was featured in a front-page article of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in January 1970. While still in his teens he was arrested during one of many cop raids on Panther headquarters during the notorious FBI/cop COINTELPRO conspiracy against the Black Panther Party.

• Widely acclaimed journalist from 1970-1981: Jamal was broadcast around the country on the National Black Network, Mutual Black Network, National Public Radio, the Associated Press and Radio Information Center for the Blind. He interviewed Julius Erving, Bob Marley, Alex Haley, Puerto Rican inde-



Delbert Africa under the jackhammer of Philadelphia police SWAT team, as 1978 siege of MOVE ends with assault by an army of 600 cops.

UPI

What You Can Do

"My research on Mr. Abu-Jamal's case leads me to strongly believe that he was denied his constitutional right to a fair trial and that he was sentenced for execution solely because of his political views and activities."

—JoNina Abron, assistant editor of *The Black Scholar*

The Partisan Defense Committee is campaigning to prevent the legal murder of Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. PDC representatives and SL supporters, from coast to coast, have sought out organizations and individuals who oppose the barbaric death penalty to go to bat for Jamal. We are raising wherever possible Jamal's struggle to live, most recently at the Atlanta conference of Third World Journalists; at an American Civil Liberties Union meeting in L.A.; to the Connecticut Network Against the Death Penalty; with the AAPRP in Washington and the Coalition of Black

Trade Unionists in Toronto. At Philadelphia meetings commemorating the 1985 MOVE massacre we met many who remember Jamal with fondness, as one elderly black woman did who bitterly recalled, "Mumia, I really loved him. Radio hasn't been the same since."

You can help stop this racist legal murder. The PDC has circulated the following letter and petition:

"Save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!

"The death penalty is barbaric and an outrage against justice and decency.

"Mumia Abu-Jamal faces the death penalty because of his political acts and beliefs. Mumia Abu-Jamal was Minister of Information of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party. He became a well-known and respected journalist—President of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. Jamal was prominently known to the City of Philadelphia as a vocal supporter of the MOVE organization. In 1982 he was convicted of the killing of a Philadelphia policeman. Mumia Abu-Jamal was sentenced to death for his political activities and

beliefs, specifically for statements he made as a Black Panther Party member 12 years earlier.

"Jamal's appeal is now before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The National Conference of Black Lawyers and American Civil Liberties Union submitted *amicus curiae* briefs on Mumia's behalf opposing the sentence of death.

"I demand that you not permit the legal murder of this courageous voice of the rights of black and poor people. Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!"

Individual signatories to this letter include: Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Bob Brown, co-editor of *Pan-African Roots* newspaper; Ramsey Clark, attorney; Howard Fast, author; Melvin King, Rainbow Coalition; Barbara Kopple, filmmaker; William Kunstler, attorney; George Lach, member of Executive Board AFSCME Local 2203; Aurelio Martinez, Jr., President, National Association of Letter Carriers Local 142; Howard Moore, attorney; Robert Moses, teacher, University of Massa-

"Under no circumstances should the death penalty be used. Simply put, the Death Penalty is a sin against God and Humanity, and it is time we awaken from a barbaric age."

—Reverend Graylan Scott Ellis-Hagler, of the Church Action for Safe & Just Communities, Roxbury, Massachusetts

chusetts; Alma Washington, member of Actors' Equity; and Frank Wilkinson, Executive Director Emeritus, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation [organizations listed for identification purposes only].

Hundreds of people on city streets and shopping centers have signed the petition. Thousands more are needed. To get your petitions and to donate to the work of the PDC write to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Take Jamal's case to your unions, community and civil rights organizations, college campuses, local newspapers and all opponents of the Jim Crow death penalty. Organize protest. Join the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal—Abolish the death penalty! ■

For Central Planning Through Soviet Democracy

The first part of this series (WV No. 444, 15 January) dealt with the bankruptcy of the Yugoslav model of "self-management." The second part (WV No. 448, 11 March) considered the end of "goulash communism" in Hungary and the somewhat contrasting experience of East Germany.

PART THREE OF THREE

When Tito's Yugoslavia instituted workers' self-management of enterprises in the late 1940s, it was presented as and regarded as a fundamental challenge to Stalinism. When 20 years later Hungary introduced the market-oriented New Economic Mechanism, it was viewed as very much an anomaly among the Sino-Soviet states. But today "market socialism" has come to Deng's China and Gorbachev's Russia. Soviet economist Abel Aganbegyan, the leading intellectual architect of *perestroika* (restructuring), declared during his recent visit to the U.S.: "We're going to have a market for all of the factors of production, from raw materials to machine tools to consumer durables, everything, to replace the centralized distribution system."

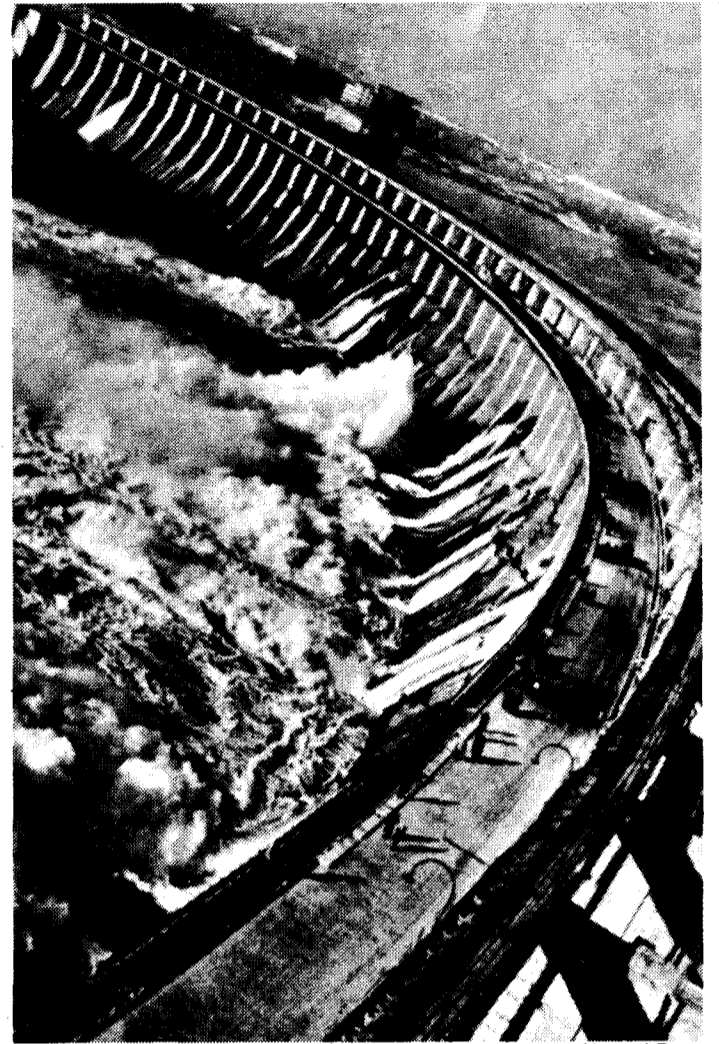
We are seeing here a historical tendency among bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states, not merely a coincidence of economic policy zigzags. The drift toward "market socialism" is neither linear nor irreversible. East Germany experimented with the market-oriented New Economic System in the 1960s but then recentralized its economy in the early '70s. Today, however, East Germany is the exception, the only major East European country to retain centralized planning and management. It is also, not accidentally, the most successful economy in East Europe.

There is an *inherent tendency* for Stalinist regimes to abandon central planning in favor of an economic setup with the following major elements: output and prices determined through atomized competition between enterprises; investment, managerial salaries and workers' wages geared to enterprise profitability; unprofitable enterprises are shut down, resulting in unemployment; price subsidies are eliminated, resulting in a higher rate of inflation; the



Viktor Bulla

Communism equals soviets plus electrification, said Lenin. Workers at Putilov metalworking factories meet to elect deputies to Petrograd soviet, 1920 (left). Dnieperstroy hydroelectric station, originally advocated by Trotsky (right). In 1926, Stalin said the mammoth power plant would be no more use to Russia than a gramophone to a peasant without a cow. Yet upon completion in 1932, Dnieperstroy generated more electricity than in all of tsarist Russia.



Novosti Press

role of petty capitalist entrepreneurs is expanded, especially in the service sector; increased commercial and financial ties to Western and Japanese capitalism, including joint ventures, are encouraged. These measures do not amount to creeping capitalism, as many Western bourgeois commentators and not a few confused leftists contend. But they do strengthen the internal forces for capitalist counterrevolution.

At the same time, Gorbachev's *perestroika* means harsher conditions for Soviet workers. While the intelligentsia looks to a new wave of liberalization similar to Khrushchev's "de-Stalinization" in the mid-late 1950s, for the working class there is a partial return to the labor practices of the Stalin era.

Instead of the expansion of consumer goods and relaxation of draconian labor discipline during the post-Stalin "thaw," there is now an *anti-egalitarian* campaign with the reintroduction of piece rates on a wide scale, a widening of income differences between workers and the managerial and technical elite. But as the *New York Times* (10 May) recently reported on the impact of *perestroika* in a Black Sea port, "the ruthlessness of the marketplace violates the sense of justice and equality reinforced by 70 years of Soviet rule."

Thus Soviet workers are bound to resist the effects of "market socialism." Gorbachev's Russia is clearly heading toward serious labor unrest, although we cannot predict its magnitude,

immediate demands or leadership. The explosive combination of market-oriented economic measures and political liberalization has created the best opportunity for the emergence of an independent workers movement since the 1920s. The central task for a reborn Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard in the USSR is to link the defensive economic struggles of the working class to the program of proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, establishing a centrally planned economy on the basis of soviet democracy and restoring Soviet Russia as a bastion of world revolution.

The economic crises in much of East Europe and the drive toward market-oriented reforms demonstrate the impossibility of building socialism in one country. As early as the 1840s Marx and Engels insisted that, "The communist revolution will therefore be no merely national one" ("Principles of Communism" [1847]). Achieving communism requires at least the combined effort of several of the most economically advanced countries. An isolated socialized regime would be subject to enormous military and economic pressures from the surrounding capitalist world, pressures which deform and will ultimately destroy a nationally-limited workers state.

Stalinist Russia: From Bureaucratic Commandism to Perestroika

The advocates of "market socialism" in Gorbachev's Russia look back fondly on the New Economic Policy (NEP) especially of the mid-late 1920s,



Der Spiegel

Long lines and empty shops in Warsaw as Polish Stalinist regime imposes austerity dictated by Western bankers.

whose leading ideological apologist was Nikolai Bukharin and whose chief implementer was his then-bloc partner Joseph Stalin. Bukharin talked of building socialism "at a snail's pace," insisting that the expansion of industrial production in the Soviet Union should be determined by the *market demand* of the small-holding peasantry for manufactures. The Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky, insisted on the need for rapid industrialization and central planning. As early as 1925, Trotsky warned that "if the state industry develops more slowly than agriculture... this process would, of course, lead to a restoration of capitalism" (*Whither Russia?*).

As the Opposition had predicted, by the late '20s the growing contradictions of NEP led to an acute "scissors crisis" as a sclerotic industry was unable to supply the peasantry, who sharply cut back grain deliveries, threatening to bring urban Russia to a standstill. Stalin reacted by switching to a policy of ultra-left economic adventurism—forced collectivization of agriculture, bureaucratic commandism and a breakneck tempo of industrialization. At the end of the first five-year plan, he boasted:

"The fundamental task of the five-year plan was, in converting the U.S.S.R. into an industrial country, to completely oust the capitalist elements, to widen the front of socialist forms of economy, and to create the economic basis for the abolition of classes in the U.S.S.R., for the building of a socialist society."

—J.V. Stalin, "The Results of the First Five-Year Plan" (January 1933)

He declared that the success of the first five-year plan was "creating in the country the prerequisites that would enable it not only to overtake but in time to outstrip, technically and economically, the advanced capitalist countries."

Trotsky acknowledged the enormous historical significance of Soviet industrial construction, but pointed out the *limits and contradictions* of Stalinist industrialization and exposed the illusion of "building socialism in one country":

"The progressive role of the Soviet bureaucracy coincides with the period devoted to introducing into the Soviet Union the most important elements of capitalist technique. The rough work of borrowing, imitating, transplanting and grafting, was accomplished on the bases laid down by the revolution. There was, thus far, no question of any new word in the sphere of technique, science or art. It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic command—although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But the further you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of a bureaucracy like a shadow. The Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, *quality* demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery." [emphasis in original]

—*The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

Today Gorbachev admits that precisely in the sphere of quality, in technical and scientific innovation, the Soviet Union has fallen increasingly behind Western and Japanese capitalism:

"A country that was once quickly closing on the world's advanced nations began to lose one position after another. Moreover, the gap in the efficiency of production, quality of products, scientific and technological development, the production of advanced technology and the use of advanced techniques began to widen, and not to our advantage."

—*Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World* (1987)

One might reasonably ask: why has it taken half a century for the economic contradictions of Stalinist Russia, which Trotsky wrote of in *The Revolution Betrayed*, to come to the fore? The answer lies in the effects, both economic and political, of World War II (called in Russia the Great Patriotic War). Hitler's Operation Barbarossa, although finally broken by the Red Army, devas-



TASS from Sovfoto

Gorbachev exhorts Soviet people to work harder, but his market-oriented perestroika (restructuring) means harsher conditions for workers.

tated western Russia and the Ukraine. Twenty-five million people were left homeless, hundreds of towns and thousands of villages were completely destroyed. In 1945 industrial output in the areas which had been occupied by Nazi Germany was just 30 percent of the prewar level. Thus the fourth five-year plan (1946-50) largely had to *redo* the basic construction of the previous three. Soviet industrial production did not recover its prewar level until 1950.

Resistance to the Nazi invasion rekindled a spirit of patriotism among the Soviet peoples. This was intensified by the Cold War launched by U.S. imperialism, whose leaders threatened to use their monopoly of nuclear weapons against Russia. Thus Soviet workers and peasants were willing to make the sacrifices and accept the labor discipline necessary for the rapid postwar reconstruction of the economy. Even bureaucratic parasitism and corruption was restrained in this period compared to the *la dolce vita* spirit of Brezhnev and his cronies in the 1970s.

Khrushchev's denunciation in 1956 of Stalin's monstrous crimes generated an expectation of socialist renewal, especially among the youth. The Soviet film *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears* conveys the naive but genuine social idealism of peasant youth who come to the big city as factory workers in the early Khrushchev period. The film also depicts the social malaise of the last Brezhnev years in the late '70s—the inward-turning personalism and political cynicism, the rowdy street gangs in Moscow's better-off suburbs. Gorbachev himself laments the loss of socialist idealism in the contemporary Soviet Union which he heads:

"Decay began in public morals; the great feeling of solidarity with each other that was forged during the heroic times of the Revolution, the first five-year plans, the Great Patriotic War and postwar rehabilitation was weakening; alcoholism, drug addiction and crime were growing; and the penetration of the stereotypes of mass culture alien to us, which bred vulgarity and low tastes and brought about ideological barrenness increased."

—*Perestroika*

Gorbachev is lumping together and confusing very different kinds of social idealism. The workers who made the Bolshevik Revolution were imbued with the spirit of revolutionary internationalism; they believed they were leading all of mankind into a socialist future. When the Polish Jewish anarchist Hersh Mendel arrived in Moscow in October 1917, he asked a group of Red Guards what they were fighting for. One of them replied, for the brotherhood of peoples (see "Memoirs of a Revolutionary Jewish Worker," *Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88). In contrast, the shock brigades of Stalin's first five-year plans believed they were building in a few short years socialism in one country. And in defending the "socialist motherland" against the Nazi German invasion, Soviet workers and peasants

responded to Stalin's appeals for national patriotism.

Nonetheless Gorbachev is right in one important respect. In the last Brezhnev years *all* forms of social idealism atrophied in the Soviet Union. And this has had a profoundly negative impact on the economy, captured by the cynical formula common in the Soviet bloc: "we pretend to work, they pretend to pay us." Gorbachev's answer is to reintroduce piece rates and tie wages to enterprise profitability. Other elements of the Kremlin elite want to go even further along these lines than Gorbachev. For example, the economist Nikolai Shmel'yov, a former son-in-law of Khrushchev and extreme partisan of *perestroika*, maintains that only the whip of unemployment can restore labor discipline:

"Today it is, I believe, clear to everyone that we owe disorderliness, drunken-



Stalin inspects limousine, symbol of privileged Kremlin oligarchy.

ness, and shoddy work largely to excessively full employment. We must discuss fearlessly and in businesslike terms what we could gain from a comparatively small reserve army of labor.... A real danger of losing your job and going onto a temporary allowance or being obliged to work wherever you are sent is a very good cure for laziness, drunkenness and irresponsibility."

—quoted in U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *Gorbachev's Economic Plans* (1987)

In his own way Shmel'yov focuses on a basic contradiction of a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Economic planning, one of the main benefits of which is full employment, can be effective only when the workers, technical intelligentsia and managers identify themselves with the government which issues the plans. When they are alienated from the ruling oligarchy, the plan will be ignored and subverted at the base. The formal plan targets may be met, but by poor quality and ill-assorted goods. Raw materials, energy and other inputs will be used wastefully. State-owned supplies and equipment will be diverted into the black market, undermining the socialized economy.

Within the framework of Stalinism, there is thus an inherent tendency to replace centralized planning and management with market mechanisms. Since managers and workers cannot be subject to the discipline of soviet democracy (workers councils), increasingly the bureaucracy sees subjecting the economic actors to the discipline of market competition as the only answer to economic inefficiency. The restoration of workers democracy in the Soviet Union is not just an abstract ideal but a *vital condition* for the renewal of the Soviet economy on a socialist basis.

Plan, Market and Soviet Democracy

To be sure, workers democracy is not a cure-all for the economic problems of the Soviet Union or elsewhere. In the early 1930s Trotsky observed that the Stalinist bureaucracy imagined it "could a priori draw up a faultless and exhaustive economic plan, beginning with the number of acres of wheat down to the last button for a vest." Neither would a genuine workers government be blessed with perfect foresight and the capacity to draw up a letter-perfect plan down to the last detail. Thus Trotsky wrote: "Only through the interreaction of these three elements, state planning, the market, and Soviet democracy, can the correct direction of the economy of the transitional epoch be attained" ("The Soviet Economy in Danger" [October 1932]).

There is of course no recipe book, applicable to all times and places, on how to combine central planning, the market and soviet democracy. This will depend on the level of economic development, the international situation and countless other shifting conditions. Workers democracy and planning are not enough; there must also be an intelligent political leadership—a revolutionary party—to assess and adapt

to the concrete situation facing a given workers state. We can, however, sketch out some general guidelines concerning the plan, the market and workers democracy.

Clearly, some economic activities are suitable for long-term planning and others are not. In building a new city or developing new oil fields in Siberia, a ten- or even fifteen-year plan might be desirable. For constructing new factories, a five-year plan may be optimal. On the other hand, the output mix of various factories—how many dresses and skirts, pots and pans they produce—might well be changed every week or two in line with changing market demand.

Long-term planning should be applied to the expansion of productive capacity (e.g., factories, railroads) and other major construction projects such as housing, schools, hospitals. The output of different consumer goods and intermediate products should be adjusted constantly on the basis of changing supply and demand conditions. The mechanism for this, however, need not

continued on page 10

"Market Socialism"...

(continued from page 9)

be and should *not* be atomized competition between enterprises as in Yugoslavia or Hungary. Rather there should be a *centralized market mechanism*, for which a theoretical model was developed by the Polish socialist economist Oskar Lange in the 1930s.

Stalin has given central planning a bad name. Many people assume it means a small group of bureaucrats or technocrats running the economy. How can planning be combined with soviet democracy? Generally speaking, the most fundamental economic decision facing society is the division of the total product between consumption and investment, and the division of investment between consumer goods and producer goods (e.g., machine tools). As a rule the larger the proportion of total output invested and the larger the proportion of investment in producer goods, the higher will be the long-term growth in income.

During the 1920s the Soviet economist G.A. Feldman, basing himself on Marx's model of expanded reproduction in the third volume of *Capital*, developed a theoretical model for long-

presented to the highest soviet body, which would then determine the basic future shape of the economy.

Once the growth of per capita income is determined, it is possible to project—based on past experience, surveys and consultation with consumer cooperatives—the increased demand for the broad categories of consumption (e.g., food, clothing, household appliances, automobiles). The increased quantities of raw materials and intermediate goods (e.g., steel, plastics, textiles) required to produce the final array of goods can be projected through the input-output analysis first developed by Wassily Leontief. (Leontief was an economics student at the University of Leningrad in the mid-1920s before emigrating to the West. Input-output analysis should therefore be viewed as a by-product of the theoretically rich, as well as historically portentous, debate over industrialization and planning in the Soviet Union during the 1920s.) The rapid development of computer technology in recent years enormously increases the potential scope and accuracy of input-output analysis. It is thus possible to draw up an investment plan that is both internally consistent and in line with the democratically determined overall growth of investment and consumption.

As previously indicated, the current output mix of consumer goods and serv-

thetic fabric is in short supply, the agency would order the mills to increase the production of this fabric and reduce those in relative oversupply.

The idea that market competition is needed to adjust production of consumer goods to demand is a myth of bourgeois economics. In fact, it isn't even true of the highly monopolized economy of the advanced capitalist countries. Computerized stock control is now common in the U.S. and West Europe. When someone goes to one of the larger supermarkets the items they purchase are recorded at the checkout counter where a photoelectric cell reads the product code on the package. This information is fed into a complex distributional network linking factories to stores. A socialist economy would be even more efficient in constantly adjusting production to the shifting needs and wants of society.

Adjusting supply and demand is of course critically dependent on how relative prices are set. A dress which is immediately sold out of the stores at \$20 may be unsalable at \$40. How then should its price be determined? In general prices should be proportional to the cost of production, i.e., if one style dress costs twice as much to produce as another style, consumers should pay twice as much for it. This does not rule out subsidies or additional taxes in special cases. For example, to encourage children to read, children's books might be priced below the publishing cost. The economic organization described above will not be totally immune from imbalances and bottlenecks. But no economic system can fully anticipate changing wants, resources and technologies. That's just life.

Workers Management Versus Socialist Planning

The question of workers management/control has become a boundless sea of confusion and confusionism. It has also become a common demand voiced by would-be leftist opponents of traditional Stalinist bureaucratic commandism. For example, the manifesto issued by the Federation of Socialist Clubs, formed in Moscow last summer, demands the "transfer of the social means of production (factories) to a system of leasing self-managed enterprises to collectives," while at the same time calling for the "democratization of the planning system" (*International Viewpoint*, 9 November 1987). Needless to say, the Socialist Clubs' manifesto does not indicate how it is possible to combine self-managed enterprises with democratized economic planning.

The principles of socialist economic organization sketched out in the previous section define the nature and *limits* of workers control *at the point of production*. Workers would certainly elect their own managers and make certain other managerial decisions (e.g., the organization of training programs). A small fraction of total investment—say, 10 percent—can be placed at the disposal of individual workers councils and their decisions worked into the upcoming investment plan. But to have individual workers councils determine production and prices is to recreate the anarchy of the market. Nor can enterprise councils decide the scope and composition of investment, since particular groups of workers cannot have unlimited claims on the state budget, i.e., on the *collective social surplus*.

In response to the first article in this series, "The Bankruptcy of the Yugoslav Model," we received a thoughtful letter from *WV* reader Bob Montgomery. He pointed out that Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program" (1875) took aim at the conception of the proletariat as an agglomeration of groups of individual workers to be amalgamated into state-supported producer cooperatives. This was the 19th-century version of workers self-management.

Marx reminded philistine "socialists" that resources for the replacement



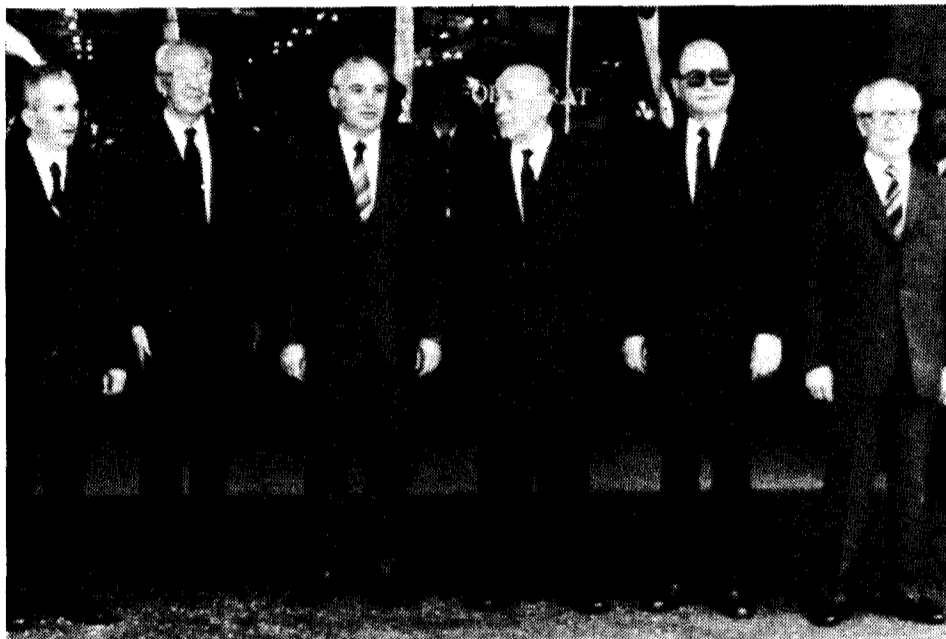
Wide World
Leon Trotsky in 1917, co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik Revolution.

and expansion of the means of production, provision for the aged and others unable to work, expenditure on schools and hospitals, etc., must be deducted from the total social product before distribution to individual workers. He pointed out that "what the producer is deprived of in his capacity as a private individual benefits him directly or indirectly in his capacity as a member of society." As Marx indicated, the difference between socialism and capitalism is that the worker functions *not* as a private producer of labor but as a member of the social collective. As our reader put it, class consciousness of the revolutionary proletariat has nothing in common with the syndicalist fetish of workers managing their "own" means of production and exchanging their products with other groups of workers.

Many would-be leftist opponents of the Kremlin oligarchy, such as Boris Kagarlitsky, principal organizer of the Federation of Socialist Clubs, view enterprise self-management, by weakening the power of the *nomenklatura* (ruling bureaucratic caste), as the path of least resistance to workers democracy. In fact, enterprise self-management can serve as an effective *diversion* from a genuine struggle for soviet democracy. The Gorbachev regime itself has made a big to-do about allowing workers to elect managers. And the Kremlin tops are willing to let workers make certain decisions over enterprise operations, especially when those decisions are determined by the need to maximize profits. As the Yugoslav experience demonstrates, workers management and "market socialism" weaken the *political consciousness* of the proletariat and intensify divisions especially along generational and national lines.

The advocates of workers management, East and West, have a conception of the economy that is fundamentally technologically stagnant. It is here that the outlook of syndicalist-minded radicals converges with that of Stalinist bureaucrats (both old-line and reform-minded) as well as of bourgeois ideologists. All assume that the same workers do the same work in the same factories or offices year after year. In striking contrast, the Marxist conception of socialism is of an economy so technologically dynamic that mechanical and mindless labor rapidly diminishes and is replaced by *creative scientific and artistic activity*:

"To economise on labour time means to increase the amount of free time, i.e. time for the complete development of the individual, which again reacts as the greatest productive force on the productive force of labour.... Free time—which includes leisure time as well as time for higher activities—naturally



Interfoto MTI via Eastfoto
Gorbachev (third from left) meets with heads of Warsaw Pact states. Economic crises, a product of Stalinist mismanagement, national autarky and imperialist pressure, now wrack much of East Europe.

term planning. (This pioneering work, "On the Theory of Growth Rates of National Income," has been translated into English in Nicolas Spulber, ed., *Foundations of Soviet Strategy for Economic Growth* [1964].) Feldman related the current level of investment and its division between consumer and producer goods to the future growth rates of per capita income, consumption and investment. On the basis of Feldman's work or similar models it is possible to draw up a series of alternative plans, ranging from one which maximizes near-term consumption to one which maximizes long-term growth in income. Alternative plans could be

ices should be determined through a centralized market mechanism. How would this work? Take the clothing industry, for example. A centralized distribution agency would be responsible for supplying a number of stores and consumer cooperatives. In turn it would command the resources of various clothing factories. If a particular style or size shirt is in short supply, the agency would order the factory(ies) to produce more of this item and fewer items in relatively ample supply. The clothing factories would in turn be serviced by a centralized distribution agency commanding the resources of various textile mills. If a particular kind of syn-

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transforms anyone who enjoys it into a different person, and it is this different person who then enters the direct process of production. The man who is being formed finds discipline in this process, while for the man who is already formed it is practice, experimental science, materially creative and self-objectifying knowledge, and he contains within his own head the accumulated wisdom of society."

—Karl Marx, *The Grundrisse*
(edited and translated by
David McLellan [1971])

This conception of a communist future presupposes a *global economic order*, which requires the appropriation of the productive resources of the *advanced capitalist countries* through proletarian revolution.

Toward a Global Socialist Order

The economic crises now wracking much of East Europe are a direct consequence of the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." The Soviet bloc economic organization, the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON, also abbreviated as CMEA), is *less integrated* than the Common Market of capitalist West Europe. COMECON trade is only one step more advanced than barter. For example, if East Germany runs a trade surplus with Poland, it cannot use the resulting credit balance to increase its imports from Hungary.

As a consequence of the bureaucracies' refusal to coordinate economic policies across national borders, COMECON trade is based on *world market prices* (with a time lag and sub-

**Hungary, 1956:
Crisis of
"de-Stalinization"
leads to
proletarian
political
revolution as
Hungarian army
units go over
to insurgent
workers councils.**



Andor Heller

to Western bankers increased *fivefold* between 1974 and 1980, from \$11 to \$55 billion. To meet their debt payments Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia have since 1980 imposed ever more severe austerity programs dictated by the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In Poland the economic crisis led to the brink of counterrevolution. The powerful Catholic church—one of whose sons, Karol Wojtyla of Krakow, became Pope John Paul II in 1979—was able to mobilize much of the working class through the "free trade union"

Those countries more forthcoming with food, industrial consumer goods, or high-quality, sophisticated machinery will find it easier to secure adequate supplies of Soviet energy and raw materials."

—*International Organization*,
Spring 1986

Such is the logic of "socialism in one country."

The COMECON practice of basing trade on world market prices is fundamentally irrational, economically destabilizing and politically divisive. It makes no sense at all. Relative costs of production in East Europe and the Soviet Union are radically different from those prevailing in the capitalist world. Why, then, doesn't COMECON set prices proportional to costs of production? Because the nationally based bureaucracies have no control over production costs in their "socialist" trading partners. The Kremlin apparatchiks wouldn't dream of giving the East Germans some control over production costs in developing Siberian oil fields. In turn, the East Berlin *Bonzen* do not allow the Muscovites to influence costs, and internal prices for electrical machinery in Leipzig and Erfurt. So Russia and East Germany trade oil and machinery on terms set by the Rockefeller empire and Siemens!

Stalinist nationalism thus intensifies the pressure of the capitalist world market upon and within the Soviet bloc. The socialist economic integration—especially through large-scale investment projects—of East Europe is a vital necessity not only to raise productivity but to counter imperialist economic subversion and warfare. For example, a major research effort, pooling the technological resources from East Berlin to Novosibirsk, might make a breakthrough in producing cheap synthetic

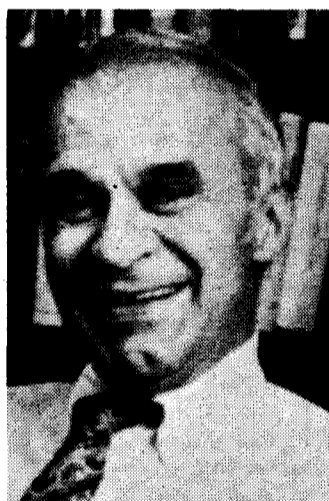
oil. Such a development would significantly reduce import costs for the East European countries.

Proletarian political revolution in East Europe, to oust the bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the Soviet workers and turned its back on Leninist internationalism, will raise on its banner: *repudiate the ruinous debt to Western bankers*. The Stalinist regimes in East Europe could not conceive of such a measure—indeed, they have increasingly become local collection agents for the IMF—because they cannot withstand the inevitable imperialist retaliation (e.g., trade boycotts). However, socialist economic integration would make East Europe less dependent on Western imports and credits, while revolutionary workers governments in East Berlin, Warsaw and Moscow would have the moral authority to appeal to West European and American workers against the blood-sucking capitalist bankers. Imperialist economic warfare against East Europe would be transformed into *class warfare* within the heartland of world capitalism.

The Trotskyists do not propose to replace the dogma of socialism in one country with that of socialism in half a continent. As long as Wall Street financiers, German industrialists and Japanese *zaibatsu* own most of the productive wealth on this planet, the communist vision of a classless and stateless society cannot be realized anywhere. As long as world imperialism exists, the shadow of nuclear Armageddon will hover over mankind. The only road to a future of peace, material abundance, social equality and personal freedom is the road of Lenin and Trotsky, the road of international proletarian revolution leading to a global socialist order. ■



New York Times



Newsweek

Polish socialist economist Oskar Lange (left) developed theoretical model for combining market calculation with centralized management. Soviet-educated economist Wassily Leontief pioneered input-output analysis, a key tool for central planning.

ject to negotiation in special cases). This practice is adhered to even when world market prices are wildly distorted by international cartels, such as the Seven Sisters/OPEC manipulation of the world oil market. Recent proposals by Aganbegyan and others to eventually make the ruble convertible will only intensify the disruptive effect of the world market fluctuations on COMECON.

During the early 1970s, when the world market price of oil was inflated by 400 percent, the Soviet Union was selling oil to East Europe at an ever smaller fraction of the OPEC price. As a result the East European bureaucrats squandered energy instead of conserving it. New factories in Poland, Hungary and East Germany were designed to use energy as if cheap oil was a permanent condition. Then in 1975-76 the Soviet Union raised oil prices within COMECON by 70 percent and also cut back its oil and natural gas shipments to East Europe so as to sell more on the world capitalist market, taking advantage of the Seven Sisters/OPEC price-gouging.

In the mid-'70s the East European countries were hit by a double blow from which (with the exception of East Germany) they have not recovered to this day. The world capitalist depression of 1974-75 collapsed their export market in the West, while the cost of fossil fuel and other raw materials (largely imported from the Soviet Union) skyrocketed. To maintain employment and living standards, the East European Stalinist regimes turned to the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt Börse. East Europe's debt

Solidarność. Lech Walesa and the other clerical-nationalist leaders of Solidarność made a power bid only to be stopped at the last possible moment by General Jaruzelski's counter-coup in December 1981. But the debt-ridden Polish economy, made worse by Jaruzelski's market-oriented reforms à la Gorbachev, has once again produced widespread worker unrest. And once again Walesa, the Gdansk agent of "free world" imperialism, is seeking to exploit (fortunately, without much success) the bankruptcy of Polish Stalinism.

It is the Kremlin oligarchy which is ultimately responsible for the political and economic bankruptcy of its East European clients. It was, after all, J.V. Stalin who formed present-day East Europe in his own image—bureaucratically deformed workers states. And it is the Soviet leadership which determines the basic economic order in East Europe. In the mid-late '70s the Brezhnev regime encouraged Gierek's Poland and Kadar's Hungary to borrow heavily from the West so as to ease the financial burden on Russia. Under Gorbachev Soviet economic relations vis-à-vis East Europe have become even more narrowly nationalistic and shortsighted. Michael Marrese, an American specialist in Soviet bloc economics, noted a few years ago:

"...the Soviets seem to have abandoned a multilateral approach to easing shortages of energy and raw materials among CMEA countries. It appears that the Soviets intend to negotiate bilaterally with individual East European countries and adjust their long-term supply commitments with respect to energy and raw materials, depending on the relative attractiveness of the exports which each country offers.

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Nicaraguan PRT: Centrists in a Quandary

The accords drawn up by the Central American presidents at Esquipulas, Guatemala last August promised "peace," but instead plunged a knife in the back of struggles for social liberation throughout the isthmus. With Reagan's contra mercenaries defeated and his regime in turmoil over the Contra-gate scandal, U.S. Democrats engineered the "peace" hoax together with the local bourgeois regimes as a smarter program to isolate Nicaragua and stop the spread of revolution in the region. Aid was banned to leftist Salvadoran FMLN insurgents and Guatemalan guerrillas while the Sandinistas lifted restraints on internal counterrevolution. And now the Sapoá agreements between the radical-nationalist Sandinistas and the contras are laying the basis for re-establishing full-blown capitalist rule.

Now bloody contra criminals are riding through the streets of Managua. Contra military chief Enrique Bermúdez (a former Somoza colonel) meets with the rightist parties and the publishers of the CIA organ, *La Prensa*. The Sandinistas are even talking about allowing some contra comandantes to join the army as officers! Contra honcho (and CIA agent) Adolfo Calero may soon demand his Coca-Cola distributorship back, while contra landlords in Miami reclaim their *haciendas*. Managua has invited in multinational companies with a new foreign investment code, and has begun handing back properties to absentee owners who fled the country. Schools are being turned over to the churches. Reagan's killers have failed, but the rollback of the Nicaraguan Revolution is in full swing.

In the U.S., the reformist left has enthused over the pact for "peaceful" counterrevolution in Nicaragua while acting as the left tail on the Democratic Party donkey at home. The Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (8 April) headlined, "Nicaragua Gov't, People Back Cease-fire Pact"; a few weeks later they begged Washington to buy off the revolution, calling "For massive U.S. aid to Nicaragua" (*Militant*, 29 April)! Meanwhile, the ex-SWPers of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency pro-

be paid for with the blood of the most militant fighters for social justice. Instead of parleying with the contras, they must be crushed! To overcome the devastation of the contra war and imperialist economic blockade, what's needed is to establish proletarian state

the ostensibly Trotskyist Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party). The PML's American supporters of the Marxist-Leninist Party have struck a "militant" stance against the Esquipulas accords, declaring "The peace pact

against the Nicaraguan workers and revolution."

Moreover, in the October issue of their paper *El Socialista*, the Nicaraguan Morenoites made a forthright self-criticism under the headline "It Was an Error to Sign the Slate." The PRT said it had supported Sánchez because the PSN was a workers party. "This was our error," they say, because the PSN totally supported the pact from the outset, and "thus became one more party in... the bloc of bourgeois-democratic, pro-imperialist reactionary parties. In these conditions, it was the same thing to support the PPSC, the PCD [Democratic Conservatives] or the PSN itself." The article went on to say: "The PRT's mistake consisted of not extracting the practical conclusions from an analysis that was essentially correct. There was a great contradiction between what we said and how we acted..."

The contradiction between words and actions is a classic definition of centrism. But frankly recognizing a grave error could open the way for a sharp political struggle posing the need for a genuinely revolutionary program and party. The Nicaraguan Morenoites admit that in supporting the slate, "the PRT leadership showed signs of a great political weakness, which we intend to rectify beginning with this public self-criticism." But self-criticism is only the beginning. For the PRT's correction raises pointblank the issue of the popular front, a dividing line not only between reformists and revolutionaries, but also with centrists. As Trotsky said of the Spanish POUM in July 1936, on the eve of the Civil War:

"The left centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver, so as to be able to peddle their wares in the shadow of the People's Front. In reality, the People's Front is the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."

—Leon Trotsky, "The Dutch Section and the International" (July 1936)

Given Trotsky's biting denunciation of the popular front, a classic subterfuge of pseudo-Trotskyists who can't resist the election-time pressure of the bourgeoisie transmitted through the reformists is to call for voting for the "workers parties of the popular front." That is what the Nicaraguan PRT did in supporting the "Socialist" candidate of a popular front for implementing the "peace" pact with the contras. This has been standard practice for Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), whose sections routinely give "critical" support to the Stalinist and social-democratic candidates of every class-collaborationist coalition, while whispering under their breath about the perils of popular frontism.

The PRT's deceased mentor (who was part of the USec for a decade and a half) played the same games. For years Moreno gave electoral support to the bourgeois-nationalist Peronists in Argentina (see our *Moreno Truth Kit* [January 1980]). Moreno the master of political camouflage is dead, but Morenoism—which made political banditry into a method, posing alternately as Peronists, Guevarists, Maoists, Social Democrats, Sandinistas, even Khomeinists, depending on the mood of the moment—lives on. The PRT's correction under the hammer blows of the class struggle in besieged Nicaragua, if consistently applied, would put them at odds with the whole history of their own tendency. As we wrote last September, the PRT's zigzags are "hardly fortuitous," for despite their "left" talk, in the crunch the Morenoites' "real policy is to be a 'left' tail of the popular front."

If backing the PSN candidate was the



May Day in Nicaragua, 1984. Embattled masses urgently need Bolshevik leadership to defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution.

power, led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party firmly committed to the program of permanent revolution.

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

In Nicaragua, the reformist pro-Moscow Socialist (PSN) and Communist (PCN) parties have joined hands with the right-wing bourgeois opposition in the so-called "bloc of 14," demanding that the Sandinistas "democratize" the country by relinquishing key levers of power. While construction workers (initially joined by mechanics and restaurant workers) have waged a

doesn't defend Nicaragua" (*Workers' Advocate*, 1 October 1987). And in every issue of their paper they boast of their Nicaraguan comrades as "the Revolutionary Alternative" to the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas.

Yet while the Nicaraguan PML criticizes the Esquipulas accords, it has not opposed them outright. Instead they called for fighting "to prevent the Esquipulas accords from weakening or dismantling the conquests achieved" (*Prensa Proletaria*, September 1987). Moreover, they joined with several bourgeois parties in putting forward a slate of candidates for the National Reconciliation Commission to implement the "peace" pact. In the words of PML leader Isidro Téllez, "to do otherwise is to open the road to the ultra-right" (*Barricada*, 28 August 1987). This is the classic "fight the right" rhetoric of Stalinists, from the Spanish Civil War to Allende's Chile, to justify a popular front with the supposed "progressive" bourgeoisie. And to top it off, the lead candidate on the PML-backed slate, Mauricio Díaz of the Popular Social Christian Party (PPSC), turned out to be a fervent supporter of contra Cardinal Obando y Bravo!

The PRT, followers of the late Argentine leftist adventurer Nahuel Moreno, last August denounced the Esquipulas pact as "counterrevolutionary" and "completely injurious to the Nicaraguan and Central American revolutions." But after opposing the formation of the National Reconciliation Commission, they turned around and gave critical support to Luis Sánchez, the PSN candidate for the Commission who was on the same slate as Díaz. We sharply denounced this in our article "Nicaraguan Left and the 'Peace' Fraud" (*WV* No. 436, 18 September 1987), noting "Morenoites Join Popular Front for 'Peace.'" We characterized the PRT as "centrists in the pressure cooker of a besieged country mired halfway in a revolution." Subsequently, the PRT had second thoughts. On October 8, they demonstratively walked out of a session of the National Dialogue, declaring "we will not be part of the installation of a deadly trap



FSLN 1984 election campaign banner calls for "the building of socialism." Now Sandinistas bargain away social gains of the revolution while smashing workers' strikes.

claim the Sapoá accords "A Victory for the Nicaraguan Revolution" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, May 1988). *Socialist Action* (April 1988) is queasy, asking "Nicaragua cease-fire: Is the war really over?" But while refusing to call for "humanitarian" contra aid, as much of the "solidarity" crowd did, they say nothing against the Sandinista sellout.

The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League uniquely told the truth, declaring: "Sandinista-Contra Pact: Revolution in Grave Danger" (*WV* No. 450, 8 April). We have warned repeatedly that the treacherous concessions by Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega and the rest of the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) leaders will

bitter strike for the last three months against the FSLN's pro-capitalist austerity program decreed in February, their PSN and PCN union leaders have tried to turn this legitimate struggle into a rallying point for counterrevolutionary opposition to the Sandinistas (see "Nicaragua in Turmoil," *WV* No. 452, 6 May). This scenario was played out in Chile in 1973, when CIA efforts at internal "destabilization" of the popular-front Allende regime ultimately led to the bloody Pinochet coup.

There are, however, two small parties in Nicaragua who have generally opposed the Sandinistas from the left—the pro-Albania Partido Marxista-Leninista (PML, formerly MAP) and

same as supporting the bourgeois candidates of the same slate for the National Reconciliation Commission in Nicaragua, then to be consistent the PRT would have to *oppose* voting for Allende in Chile, Mitterrand in France, Felipe González in Spain, all of whom ran in alliance with bourgeois parties or politicians. This was the policy of the international Spartacist tendency. Of Chile, we wrote in 1970:

"It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

—Spartacist No. 19, November-December 1970

Tragically, our warning was borne out. Moreno, however, *denied* that Allende's Unidad Popular was a popular front, and *hailed* the election of Mitterrand and González who then enforced vicious anti-worker austerity.

Centrism Under the Gun

Now in Nicaragua the battle has again been joined over the construction workers' strike. While we denounced FSLN strikebreaking and supported the strikers' legitimate demands, we stressed that revolutionaries must seek to "take control of the struggle away from the reformist traitors who are leading the workers into the arms of Reagan's contras." The PRT, however, declared its "unconditional" support to the strike. As a result, on May Day it participated in the demonstration called by the CPT union federation, a coalition including the U.S.-funded CUS labor front for the CIA, along with "some leaders of right-wing parties who are part of the contras' internal front!" They admit to some discomfort at the fact that "some slogans of a counterrevolutionary sort were chanted" (*El Socialista*, May 1988).

By failing to translate its formal opposition to the Esquipulas "peace" fraud into a hard proletarian opposition to "reconciliation" with the contras, the PRT at a crucial moment completely undercut its leftist posture. Now they have treacherously joined forces with a very foul-smelling front with the internal contras, while repeating empty statements about the importance of breaking ties with the right wing. Fighting for class independence of the workers can indeed mean excruciating isolation when the popular front is popular. But this is the key to winning the masses from the reformist and nationalist misleaders when illusions in class-collaborationist "unity" are blown away by the heavy winds of class struggle.

In Nicaragua today, the struggle to forge an authentic Trotskyist party—key to fighting for socialist revolution throughout Central America—lies in an intransigent struggle for Bolshevik clarity against the treacherous and ultimately suicidal contradictions of centrism. For the battle between revolution and counterrevolution, as in Spain, is literally a matter of life and death. ■

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Nuclear Nut...

(continued from page 1)

gates of the Kremlin.

Reagan came to power committed to reinvigorating U.S. imperialism in the wake of its humiliating defeat in Vietnam by "rolling back Communism" through a series of "proxy wars" against supposed "Soviet surrogates" around the globe. As former CIA chief William Casey put it, the U.S. was out to "win one." And when it comes to support to the Afghan *mujahedin* and the Pol Pot gang in Cambodia, it's the Democrats who have been running point. In order to justify their policy of global counter-revolution, the Reaganauts revived the "domino theory" which saw all the surrounding dominos falling every time some country stopped being an outright U.S. neocolony. Aside from "taking" tiny Grenada, militarily it's been a flop.

Gorbachev's "détente offensive" is changing all that. He is offering up to the U.S.—free of charge—what its

ally Prince Sihanouk on the payroll. A similar deal is being mooted for Angola, where 40,000 Cuban troops have provided a defensive bulwark against murderous raids by the South African army and the CIA puppet forces of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA guerrillas.

Now a leading Gorbachev strategist has come out in print echoing the imperialist line that "Russian expansionism" under Brezhnev is to blame for the Cold War. According to Moscow correspondent Martin Walker, an article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* implicitly attacks former Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko and "cites the invasion of Afghanistan, the hunt for client states in Africa, and the hypocrisy of Soviet support for peace movements while deploying new generations of nuclear weapons, as the causes for the West's justified suspicions of Brezhnev's Russia" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 29 May). Neither the stodgy Brezhnev nor Gromyko were "global class warriors"; they were responding to crazed provocations by the American beast wounded in Vietnam. But at least



Nickelsberg/Time

Soviet armored column in Kabul heading for the Russian border. Gorbachev's pullout from Afghanistan opens the door to bloodbath by CIA-armed Islamic fanatics.

proxy armies were incapable of winning on the battlefield. When the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan against the CIA-backed Islamic holy warriors, we Trotskyists proclaimed, "Hail Red Army!" Now as Soviet troops began pouring out of Afghanistan on May 15, the reactionary *mujahedin* and their imperialist backers are crowing. One young woman university student shuddered when she spoke of her fate should the *mujahedin* enter Kabul: "It will be much worse for the women. The men know simply that they may die. But I have heard stories from relatives in Herat how they come and take the women..." (*Washington Post*, 23 May).

Meanwhile, the Soviet regime is twisting the arms of its Vietnamese and Cuban allies to "roll back" as well. The Vietnamese Stalinists got in the Moscow summit spirit by announcing that they will withdraw 50,000 troops from Cambodia by the end of the year. Vietnamese troops went into Cambodia in the first place to rescue that country's people from the horrendous holocaust inflicted on them by the insane Pol Pot regime, which had turned the entire country into one huge concentration camp. So the CIA put Pol Pot and his

Gromyko ("Mr. Nyet") could say no to the U.S. once in a while; Gorbachev just can't seem to say no.

The illusions of Stalinists and Western liberals notwithstanding, "détente" and Cold War are not alternative policies but different phases of an ongoing conflict between Western imperialism and the Soviet degenerated workers state which represent fundamentally counterposed *social systems*. What brought about the short-lived "détente" of the 1970s was the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people who, at the cost of two million lives, defeated the American colossus, allowing the Soviets to achieve rough nuclear parity. The imperialists are still bent on reconquering that vast chunk of the globe ripped out of the capitalists' hands by the Russian workers revolution of 1917. The conflict which has existed since 1917 will not disappear until one or the other system triumphs.

Imperialism Cannot Be Appeased

Praising Reagan's ability "to take a fresh look at existing realities," Gorbachev told interviewers from the *Washington Post* (22 May), "Who would have

thought in the early '80s, both in the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., that it would be President Reagan who would sign with us the first nuclear arms reduction treaty in history?" Well now, who would have thought in the early '30s that Adolf Hitler would sign a "nonaggression" pact with the Soviet Union? Notable in the historical re-examination taking place in the Soviet press as a result of *glasnost* is a crescendo of criticism directed against the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. On the eve of the summit, a leading Soviet historian denounced it in *Moskovskaya Pravda* as Stalin's "biggest criminal miscalculation... threatening the very existence of the Soviet Union" (*London Independent*, 19 May).

From a Marxist standpoint, a pact with Nazi Germany was no more unprincipled than a pact with the imperialist democracies, who had repeatedly rebuffed Stalin and finally made their own deal with the Nazi leader at Munich in 1938. Liberals and petty-bourgeois "friends of the Soviet Union" reacted in horror to Stalin's deal with Hitler, seeing it as a "betrayal" of the class-collaborationist People's Front. Trotsky denounced such "democratic" imperialist anti-Sovietism and led a faction fight against an opposition within the American Trotskyists which abandoned the defense of the USSR. But he warned that Stalin's confidence in the pact disarmed the Soviet Union in the face of the Nazis, who had proclaimed their intentions to wage war against the "Bolshevik menace" from before they took power, while it sowed confusion among the ranks of the world proletariat.

Far from buying time for Soviet Russia to arm itself, as Stalinist apologists (Gorbachev included) have until now contended, the Hitler-Stalin pact paved the way for the Nazi onslaught. Stalin refused to believe that Nazi invasion threatened even *after* it had begun. So what have the Kremlin Stalinists learned from the sorry lessons of the Hitler-Stalin pact they now disown? Zero. Now they place their hopes in the man who paid homage to Hitler's SS troops at Bitburg.

"We want to be partners with America" writes *Izvestia* commentator Alexander Bovin, while Gorbachev harks back to "the atmosphere of mutual trust, friendliness and sincere interest in each other which was born in Soviet-American relations in the years of joint warfare and victory over fascism." What joint warfare? It was the Soviet Union which achieved victory over Nazi Germany, at the cost of 20 million lives. The imperialist Allies even refused Stalin's pleas to open a second front until Soviet tanks had begun rolling west. And the final shots of World War II—Washington's racist atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki after Japan had already raised terms of surrender—were in fact the opening shots of the Cold War, designed to terrorize the Soviets with a demonstration of America's willingness to use its newfound nuclear might.

On the eve of the Moscow summit, Reagan dismissed Soviet appeals for "peaceful coexistence" by pointing out that Marx and Lenin argued that communism could only succeed "when the whole world became communist." But the Stalinist bureaucracy, with its nationalist perspective of building "socialism" in one country, eschews Marx and Lenin. It will take proletarian political revolution to restore revolutionary internationalism to the Kremlin. The U.S. imperialist behemoth cannot be appeased any more than could Hitler's Germany, nor can it be vanquished militarily from without, but it can—and must—be defeated from within through revolutionary struggle by the powerful American proletariat. As the American Trotskyists declared following Hiroshima and Nagasaki, "Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction In Another Imperialist War." ■

Kim Philby...

(continued from page 4)

bloodbath against leftists, against unveiled women, against atheists, against any who have assisted the Soviets. And the market-oriented economic policies of the new Kremlin chiefs threaten to strengthen the hand of capitalist restorationist forces internally, as well as fostering social inequality, undermining centralized planning and exacerbating antagonisms among nationalities of the USSR.

To political impressionists, the zig-zags of the Soviet bureaucracy appear incomprehensible; the fundamental underpinnings of the state are confused with vagaries of policy. Thus when Stalin's terror held sway, and particularly during the Hitler-Stalin pact, it became fashionable to deny altogether the class character of the USSR as a workers state; even today Stalinism is made out by some to be "counterrevolutionary through and through." Conversely, with Gorbachev's current popularity in the West, one hears the fake-left chorus hailing the return of workers democ-

racy to Soviet Russia. But a vast gulf separates *glasnost* and *perestroika* from measures of genuine soviet democracy: only the revolutionary mobilization of the Russian workers behind an internationalist, Bolshevik leadership can dismantle the legacy of Stalinism and restore the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky, the traditions of the October Revolution. We look forward to a new generation of Bolshevik-Leninists in the USSR, part of a reborn Fourth International committed to finally dispatching moribund capitalism through world socialist revolution.

In an article written more than a decade ago ("Heroic Soviet Spies," *WV* Nos. 165 and 166, 8 and 15 July 1977) we paid tribute to men like Leopold Trepper, head of the Red Orchestra Soviet spy network in Nazi-occupied Europe; Richard Sorge, who ran a daring operation in WW II Japan; and Ignace Reiss, a Soviet intelligence officer who embraced Trotskyism and was murdered by Stalin in 1937. The crucial warnings by Sorge and Trepper of the impending German invasion of the USSR in 1941 were criminally ignored by Stalin, whose refusal to heed them and prepare

militarily cost millions of Soviet lives. *WV* also recounted the venal record of others who did the Kremlin's dirty work, like Mark Zborowski, who infiltrated the Trotskyists and played a key role in the NKVD assassination of Trotsky's son Leon Sedov in 1938 (and probably that of Ignace Reiss as well), or Ramón Mercader, who on Stalin's orders in 1940 drove a mountaineer's ax through the skull of Leon Trotsky.

The same *Workers Vanguard* article described the dual nature of the Soviet state and the men who serve it:

"...how can it be that within one and the same government apparatus, at the very heart of the military and security organs of state power, there can be such mortal enemies: the Zhukovs and Tukhachevskys, the Abakumovs and Treppers, the Zborowskis and Reiss—the jailers and those who tomorrow will be their prisoners, the assassins and those who will be their victims, all loyally working in the interests of the Kremlin? The answer is to be found in the fundamentally contradictory character of the Soviet deformed workers state.

"Stalin's capture of political power in the USSR marked the imposition of iron rule by a parasitic stratum that had escaped the control of the working

class. This bureaucracy sought above all to defend its own privileges. At times this would force it to resist encroachments or direct attack by one of the imperialist camps, as in World War II.... It was because of this face of the bureaucracy that dedicated Soviet intelligence officers could accomplish the outstanding work that they did against the Axis imperialists, although it was constantly sabotaged by their superiors.

"But there is another face of the Kremlin as well, that of the state prosecutor who demands 'confessions' for imagined 'crimes against the Soviet Union,' and of the prison camp guard who executes jailed oppositionists while they sing the Internationale and vow to defend the USSR against imperialist attack."

We celebrate the triumphs of Kim Philby, Soviet master spy. He performed invaluable services in defense of the homeland of the October Revolution. And, as we wrote ten years ago, "when the Soviet working class rises up to expel the Stalinist bureaucracy, they will remember the vital work done by the heroic Soviet spies, the martyrs of the Red Orchestra and their comrades. Nor will they forget the infamy of the Zborowskis and Mercaders and their masters. To each his due." ■

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 6)

confession the other cops claimed Mumia gave while almost bleeding to death from his stomach wound.

Mumia presented a defense of 15 character witnesses. He exposed inconsistencies in the state's case, which he described as, "A parade of street hustlers and whores strutted on the witness stand, one to say she saw a 'short' man, of roughly 200 lbs. shoot the victim (I am 6 ft. 1; and was about 170 lbs. at the time)... a white cab driver described the shooter as a man wearin an 'Afro'; (and I've worn long locks for several years prior to 1981)." To bolster its image of Mumia as "violent," the prosecution slandered one of his character witnesses, renowned poet and Temple University professor, Sonia Sanchez, as a "friend of cop-killers."

The death sentence for Mumia is the long arm of COINTELPRO terror reaching into the courtroom. This time they got him. Mumia has been sentenced to death because of his political beliefs, because of what he wrote, because of what he said, because of who he "associated" with—and because of who he is. The use of the death penalty in this case is no aberration. The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is what the death penalty is about. It exposes not only the barbarity and arbitrary cruelty of this ultimate form of state terror, but the inherent racism in its application.

It is no accident that the U.S. and South Africa are among the few in-



13 May 1985: The bombing of black America—signature of the Reagan years. Bodies of eleven members of the Philadelphia MOVE commune, including five children, burned to death by police assault are pulled from wreckage.

dustrial powers which retain the death penalty. In both countries, capital punishment is the legacy of racial subjugation which denied to whole peoples fundamental human rights, reducing man to a beast of burden and the disposable property of his master. Today, one out of every two people on death row is black or Hispanic, *four* times their proportion in the population as a

whole; two-thirds of those with Mumia on death row in Pennsylvania are black. Capital punishment is institutionalized racist murder.

Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die! Death row is not just another housing unit in the prison hellholes. It is a holding pen for those who *will* be put to death. In insisting on the death penalty for Mumia, the D.A. told the jurors he

would have "appeal after appeal after appeal"! Tell it to the family of 27-year-old Robert Streetman who was put to death by lethal injection on January 7 as his lawyer was calling the governor's office to advise them the Supreme Court would consider a new motion for appeal.

A few years ago the Supreme Court ruled that executions could be carried out before all legal appeals were exhausted. Last month Chief Justice Rehnquist complained that courts need to put an end to 11th hour appeals and after the Supreme Court rejected his application for a stay, Florida executed Willie Jasper Darden on March 15th, three weeks before the normal 30-day limit to file appeals, despite substantial evidence he was not guilty!

Mumia is now appealing his conviction and sentence of death. The National Conference of Black Lawyers and ACLU submitted an *amicus curiae* brief on his behalf. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has issued no decision to date. We must act now. Mumia's case must be the cause of all blacks, workers and defenders of democratic rights.

Mumia's fight to live must become our fight. His case must be a symbol of the battle against the death penalty. We must not allow the state to pull the switch. Our voices and our protest along with legal defense matter. We must make this case and this cause known to ever wider circles. If we can help to save the life of this courageous young man, we help all those who face the executioners. Publicize this case, raise it in your unions and community organizations. Organize mass protests. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Death Penalty! ■

S.F. Workers...

(continued from page 3)

like a six-month wage freeze!

Beginning with his assault on PATCO air controllers, Reagan has waged war on labor and blacks as the domestic front of the anti-Soviet war drive. The Democrats have followed suit. In November 1984, Agnos staged a provocation during a tour of Russia by California state legislators—getting himself briefly detained when leaving after meeting with prominent anti-Soviet "refuseniks" (*Oakland Tribune*, 1 December 1984). A year later, he managed to redbait even hard-bitten anti-Communist Feinstein when she briefly pushed for "sister city" relations with Leningrad. Agnos outrageously compared the Soviet Union to apartheid South Africa, and effectively squelched Feinstein's plan with his rabid Cold War hue and cry.

Agnos went after and got the active

support of the strikebreaking, racist cops during the elections. A month after he took office, police rampaged through the black ghettos, shooting at will and gunning down retarded Samoan teenager Tony Grohse in cold blood. In exchange for their electoral support, Agnos rewarded Paul Chignell, an officer of the politically powerful Police Officers Association—which provided money, mailings and precinct workers—with a \$56,000-a-year job as special assistant for "civil service and labor affairs"!

Last year they smashed the tugboat men and socked it to shipyard workers. Now city workers' jobs are on the line. The bosses are playing hardball and SF labor has got to strike back *now*. Yet the fat cat bureaucrats who tie the unions to the Democrats are making the workers eat it. All they have to offer is flag-waving protectionism, like at the Jesse Jackson rally and POSSCO protest in Pittsburg last March. This racist sucker bait is all the more dangerous for serv-

ice sector unions with their large Asian, Latino and black memberships.

The giveback artists who have shackled the unions' power for decades are the biggest obstacle to victory. To win you need a class-struggle leadership in the

unions, one committed to forging a workers party that will wage a revolutionary fight to put the profit-hungry, war-mad bosses, their politicians and their capitalist system out of business for good. ■

Spartacist  Forum

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
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Jesse Jackson Fronts for Party of War and Racism

Speaker: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee

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French Trotskyists' Program of Struggle

Capitalism is leading us to ruin. We need a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie and undertake the socialist reconstruction of France in the framework of the Socialist United States of Europe!

Stop Rollback of Social Gains!

- No more layoffs—For a sliding scale of wages and hours!
- Strikes mean a total shutdown of production. To win, we need elected strike committees, recallable at any moment, and picket lines to shut everything down, to defend and extend the strike!

Smash Racist Terror!

Crush the Fascists Before They Crush Us!

- We have to shatter the racial segregation that gives rise to racism. Down with all discrimination in jobs, housing and social services! Full citizenship rights for immigrants!
- Anyone who is living in France has the right to stay—No deportations!
- Cops out of the immigrant neighborhoods!
- Abolish special police units, including the CRS and tactical squads!
- Worker/immigrant mobilization to crush the fascists! Worker/immigrant defense squads based on the unions!

The Proletariat Must Defend All the Oppressed!

- Free quality medical services! Billions for AIDS research!

- Cops, judges and priests out of the bedroom! Oppose all discrimination against homosexuals!
- Against all sexual discrimination! Equal pay for equal work! For quality day care open 24 hours a day!
- Free abortion on demand for all women, including minors and immigrants! Immediate divorce at the request of either spouse!

Independence for the Colonies!

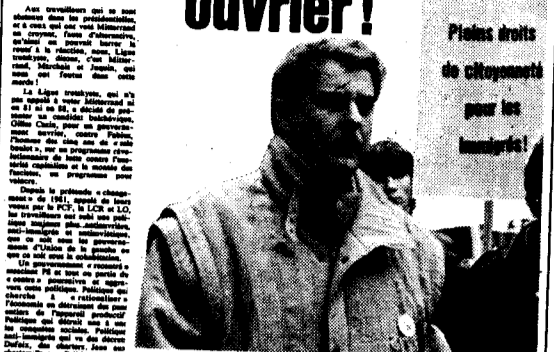
- Immediate independence for New Caledonia, Réunion, Guyana and the Antilles!
- Immediate withdrawal of French troops from New Caledonia and the Pacific!
- French troops out of Africa!

For Proletarian Internationalism! For the Defense of the USSR!

- The USSR must be defended against imperialism and internal threats of counterrevolution such as Solidarność' 1981 attempt, financed by the CIA, to seize power in Poland. For workers political revolution to drive out the Stalinist bureaucracy, restore soviet democracy and ensure the USSR's advance toward socialism!
- In 1979 we said "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" when it intervened to defend the USSR and fight the reactionary mullahs armed by the imperialists. Gorbachev is in the process of abandoning the Afghan peoples in the name of an impossible "détente" with imperialism. Women who today have been freed

Votez bolchévique!

Pour un gouvernement ouvrier!



Votez Gilles Cazin!

Candidat de la Ligue trotskyste dans la 4^e circonscription de la Seine-Maritime

from medieval oppression will be the first victims of Islamic fanatics.

- Not one man, not one penny for the bourgeois army! Down with the anti-Soviet French *force de frappe* [nuclear strike force]!

French Elections...

(continued from page 16)

against capitalist austerity and the rise of the fascists, a program for winning.

Ever since the so-called "change" of 1981 that the PCF, the LCR and LO so fervently called for, the workers have been subjected to increasingly anti-working-class, anti-immigrant and anti-Soviet policies, whether under governments of the Union of the Left or under "cohabitation" [with a Socialist president and a right-wing prime minister].

A "re-centered" government in which the SP joins with all or part of the "center" will pursue and intensify this policy. It is a policy which seeks to "rationalize" the economy by destroying entire sectors of the productive apparatus. It is a policy which destroys social gains one by one; an anti-immigrant policy. . . . It is a policy of strengthening and modernizing the *force de frappe* [French nuclear strike force] and the military deployment against the Soviet Union.

One of the main consequences of the Mitterrand governments' policy has been the rise of fascism and Le Pen's 14.4 percent of the vote on April 24. What has enabled the *Führer* of the National Front to get millions of votes from despairing and enraged petty bourgeois, from backward layers of the proletariat and from the scum of decaying capitalist society is: the effects of the crisis, the dead end of bourgeois "democracy," the SP's and CP's reformist policy of loyally administering capitalist bankruptcy.

Of course, the bourgeoisie today is not yet at the point of bringing the fascists to power in order to crush the workers movement; it still thinks it has major resources in the form of parliamentarism or "classic" bonapartism. And for the time being, it considers Mitterrand the best guarantee of "social peace." Besides, the National Front's provocation on May Day in Paris demonstrated that it has not yet succeeded in "organizing its heterogeneous electorate into attack squads against workers and immigrants," as we wrote in our April 27 leaflet. How can the fascists be defeated? In that same leaflet, we answered: "What will stop the fascists are hundreds of thousands of workers



Le Bolchevik

French Trotskyists say: "Mitterrand's racist and anti-Soviet campaign puts wind in the fascists' sails."

who have been mobilized and are determined."

Be Realistic, Vote Bolshevik!

It is not true that the working class has no choice but to "stand by" Mitterrand, even "without illusions." As the CP, the LCR and LO did in 1981, this year the first two persisted in voting for Mitterrand. As for LO, it has taken refuge behind a refusal to take any position at all. As happened between 1981 and 1986, any workers' struggle will come smack up against the "re-centered" popular front of the Mitterrand government(s). That is why he has been able to offer himself to a worried bourgeoisie as the best possible guarantor of "social peace." Because *the working class has not been defeated*. It has the social power which still inspires the same old fear in the bourgeoisie. And to those who try to tell us that this is outmoded, that the working class no longer aspires to free itself from capitalist exploitation, we answer that such claims were made before May '68—this "pretty" theory collapsed 20 years ago.

Working-class combativity is a reality today. It is expressed in the strikes at SNECMA [aircraft and missile engines], Michelin [tires], Renault-Cléon [auto], the Gardanne miners, etc. Moreover, this combativity was not affected by the presidential elections and there is no reason for it to be affected by the elections to parliament. But when confronted with a generalized counter-attack waged in the name of "The Europe of 1992" [when all trade, tariff and citizenship barriers will be eliminated in

the Common Market], then "normal" trade-union struggle, one shop at a time, even waged under common slogans, becomes completely inadequate. These are the classical tactics of the reformists, frightened by the scope that a general counteroffensive by the proletariat could take on. It is not only the path of guaranteed failure, but also the rationale for arguing that there is no other

solution but to "assemble left forces" as the PCF leadership says.

Today the PCF finds itself electorally reduced to short rations. But it dug its own grave with its disastrous policy of class collaboration, leaving the SP free to cynically pick which PCF candidates will be elected on June 12.

A generalized counterattack is what the proletariat needs. Such a battle would be organized with strike committees, it would defend itself with mass picket lines. Such a battle would inescapably pose the question of power.

When you fight for power, you need tools, and above all a revolutionary party. A party that understands that the fight between the proletariat and the fascists is an expression, in the final analysis, of the extreme polarization of society. A party which concretely poses the question of the conquest of power by the proletariat, which raises, without any ambiguity, the perspective of a workers government.

This has nothing to do with the various faces of the policy of class collaboration for which the proletariat has always paid such a high price. *That is the real meaning of the candidacy of Gilles Cazin.* ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Mitterrand Popular Front Opens Door to Fascist Le Pen

Bolshevik Campaign in French Elections

"Vote Bolshevik!" "For a Workers Government!" Under these slogans, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) launched its electoral campaign in the fourth district of Normandy's Seine-Maritime department. The two-round election, to be held June 5 and June 12, comes only weeks after the French presidential election, where the fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen scored one-seventh of the total vote, and the provocative May Day "rally" by Le Pen's National Front.

The LTF's candidate is Gilles Cazin, who has worked in the Renault-Cléon auto plant near Rouen since 1972. A member of the CGT trade-union federation, Cazin has been active in numerous strike struggles at Cléon, including the occupation of the plant in 1978. In 1984 he organized a delegation of Renault workers in support of the largely immigrant workers strike at the Talbot auto plant outside Paris. Recently he has fought for real strike action against firings, instead of the impotent pressure tactics of the Stalinist CGT leadership. Running as alternate candidate is LTF founding member Blandine Hollander.

In this district, Cazin is running against "socialist" Laurent Fabius, Mitterrand's prime minister from 1984 to 1986. Fabius is notorious for his frank avowal that Mitterrand's popular front took on, as Fabius put it, the "dirty job" of imposing capitalist austerity on the working class. (Today unemployment is 10 percent in France as a whole, 13 percent in Seine-Maritime.) During Fabius' sway as prime minister, French state terrorists bombed the *Rainbow Warrior* in New Zealand, killing a member of the ecologist Greenpeace organization. The May 24 *Figaro* noted the LTF candidate with the headline, "Trotsky Against Fabius."

French workers have already gone through a bitter experience with Mit-

terrhand. The Communist Party (PCF) of Georges Marchais, which crawled into the anti-Soviet popular-front cabinet in 1981 only to leave three years later, has offered no alternative. Its score in the April 24 election was less than half that of the fascists. The Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* (2 May) remarked acerbically about the PCF's dismal showing that "the Communists have no program, no slogans capable of attracting broad layers of the population, above all the working class." At the same time, a leading PCF apparatchik, Rigout, has announced it is necessary to reconstruct the Communist Party.

As for the pseudo-Trotskyists, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), which supported the pro-Mitterrand, ex-PCF "renovator" Pierre Juquin in the presidential vote, is presenting a handful of candidates under the name of the Juquin committees (whose national leaders decided to duck the elections). And Lutte Ouvrière, which has denied that Le Pen is a fascist and even "debated" a National Front leader, decided not to run candidates when the PCF rejected LO's proposal for a joint campaign on the PCF's own program. Unlike the popular-frontist, electoralist LO and LCR, the LTF uses the election as a platform to put forward its program of revolutionary struggle (see page 15).

Gilles Cazin broke with the LCR in 1981 in opposition to its support for Mitterrand and joined the Ligue Trotskyste. In Rouen in December 1981, the LTF sparked a march of hundreds against fascist provocations. In the summer of 1987, the LTF led picket-line protests against racist discrimination by the Flunch restaurant in Rouen. On January 27 of this year, the LTF together with Tribune Communiste, which broke out of the "anti-opportunist" milieu around the Com-



Gilles Cazin, militant Renault-Cléon auto worker and LTF candidate, marching against fascist Le Pen in Rouen, March 31.

unist Party and later fused with the LTF, participated prominently in a united-front demonstration of thousands called by the PCF against Le Pen's fascists.

The Ligue Trotskyste demonstrated its program in action last weekend in response to a vicious assault by a gang of some 20 Rudolf Hess-loving skinheads on North Africans in Rouen and the nearby town of Sotteville in a night of racist terror on May 27/28. Hundreds of these knife-wielding fascists had mobilized internationally for an "Oi Oi" music "concert," terrorizing at least two of the major cities in the area, Rouen and Brest. The very next afternoon, the LTF held a protest in Sotteville at which a North African restaurant owner whose cafe was attacked by the fascists spoke, as did two of the victims. Gilles Cazin declared: "We must crush the fascists before they crush us! The whole workers movement of the region must organize an immediate, massive, powerful response to this sinister and menacing raid!"

The LTF is campaigning in the Leninist tradition of the "tribune of the people," condemning the anti-homosexual witchhunt stirred up by hysteria in the face of the AIDS epidemic. Our comrades' Bolshevik campaign offers a program for the liberation of women through socialist revolution, addressing itself in particular to women workers, who make up half of the active labor force in the district. Central to the LTF campaign is the cause of the immigrant workers, recalling that in 1871 the Paris Commune, the first workers government, decreed full citizenship rights of "all immigrant work-

ers and their families."

A special election supplement of the LTF newspaper *Le Bolchéviek* emphasized as well the decisive importance of the "Russian question" today, proclaiming "We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!"

"Today, Gorbachev is in the process of selling out Afghanistan and Nicaragua. Thus he not only stabs the peoples of these countries in the back, he also weakens the defense of the USSR, closing the imperialists' vise and encouraging them to roll back 'Communism' throughout the world, including the Soviet Union itself. The defense and extension of the gains of October requires a struggle for world socialist revolution, which by rooting out capitalist exploitation will eliminate the cause of war."

We print below the lead article from the May 1988 *Le Bolchéviek* supplement, and the LTF's program of struggle from an election poster that has been posted throughout the district.

To the workers who abstained in the presidential elections and to those who, for the lack of any alternative, voted for Mitterrand in the belief that it would block the path of reaction, we, the Ligue Trotskyste, say that it was Mitterrand, Marchais and Juquin who got us into this shit!

The Ligue Trotskyste, which didn't call for a vote for Mitterrand in either 1981 or '88, has decided to run a Bolshevik candidate, Gilles Cazin, for a workers government and against Fabius, the man who for five years did the "dirty work." [Cazin is running] on a revolutionary program of struggle

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Ligue Trotskyste/Tribune Communiste contingent at January 27 protest in Paris against Le Pen. Banner reads: "Le Pen—Enough Is Enough! For Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations to Crush the Fascists! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!"