

German Currency Union: Deutschmark Über Alles

For Class Struggle Against Fourth Reich!

JULY 9—As the treaty for a German monetary union took effect at midnight, July 1, TV cameras focused on scenes of joyous citizens of the DDR (East Germany) popping corks of champagne bottles, greeting the introduction of the West German Deutschmark. Millions voted for the parties of capitalist reunification in the March DDR elections, buying West German chancellor Helmut Kohl's lying promise of prosperity through a "quick mark." On Sunday they formed lines at banks all across the country, to withdraw new hard currency from savings accounts. But the D-mark intoxication was already wearing off as working people saw the price tags while window-shopping in Berlin's Alexanderplatz. While East Germans were able to exchange a few thousand marks (one or two months' wages in the West) at a 1:1 ratio, prices for many basic necessities shot up by 300-600 percent.

Most concerned about the effects of economic *Anschluss* (annexation) are East German workers, who face the prospect of losing their jobs in short

continued on page 4



Schneider/NY Times

Striking workers march in East Berlin July 6 defending their jobs and living standards, threatened by capitalist reunification.

For Soviet Democracy to Forge a Planned Economy

Workers' Anger Mounts Over Perestroika Chaos



Independent

Soviet coal miners strikes last summer challenged Kremlin bureaucracy.

JULY 9—While Mikhail Gorbachev was warmly welcomed by Bush, Reagan and the chief executives of the Fortune 500 corporations, he is feeling a very different kind of heat at home, whether from Soviet workers or fellow Kremlin bureaucrats. As the Communist Party holds its 28th Congress in Moscow, the country is approaching the boiling point: the economy is descending into chaos, one union republic after another declares its "sovereignty," the CPSU is threatened with splits, there is recurrent speculation about a military coup. One Gorbachevite intellectual predicts, "Spontaneous workers' uprisings are quite possible."

A government announcement in late May that bread prices would be tripled and other consumer prices doubled set off a wave of panic buying which stripped the shops bare. The Kremlin tops quickly backtracked, postponing a decision on price rises until September. An all-Soviet congress of coal miners held in the Donbass of the eastern Ukraine in mid-June threatened to strike

in July unless Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov—who is being held responsible for the proposed price hikes—resigns. At the same time, Soviet military commanders are openly critical of Gorbachev's abandonment of East Europe, especially with a German Fourth Reich looming on the Western horizon.

During the CPSU congress, counter-revolutionary Estonian nationalists announced a reunion rally of "fighters for the freedom of Estonia," including former officers in Nazi Waffen-SS divisions, in the town of Tori. A few days before the scheduled rally, Soviet paratroopers in armored personnel carriers rumbled through the small town, while in the Estonian capital of Tallinn patriotic Soviet citizens protested this reunion of Nazi war criminals. The Estonian nationalists got the message and called off the rally.

Gorbachev's base of support has been sharply cut on both sides. The Western-oriented intellectuals now denounce his

continued on page 12

"Porno Police" Go After S.F. Photographers

San Francisco artist Jock Sturges was stunned. Surrounded by FBI agents and cops marauding through his apartment, he was told by the first lawyer he could find: "My boy, the first thing you must know about all this is that for all events and purposes the Fourth Amendment is dead." The FBI raid on the well-known Bay Area photographer's home on April 25 was a blatantly "unreasonable search and seizure." With no search or arrest warrants, and although Sturges repeatedly asked them to leave, the feds and SF cops invaded his home, claiming they had "probable cause" to bust in to prevent "destruction of evidence."

In fact, the police destroyed plenty themselves. After their search warrant caught up with them, the cops went into an orgy of destruction, mangling thousands of dollars worth of negatives and expensive exhibition prints, seizing them and Sturges' cameras, enlarger and other equipment, as well as a computer,

modem and printer, his business papers and address book, and hundreds of negatives belonging to another photographer. They also wantonly wrecked the artist's supply of discontinued Agfa photographic paper; the police officer who opened (thereby exposing) all the boxes couldn't understand Sturges' agitation, because it was "only blank paper."

This heavy-handed, idiotic and vicious rampage started with a hot tip from a photo processing lab that some suspiciously professional-looking shots of nude women and girls had come in. That spells "kiddie porn" to the cops these days, the bizarre contemporary analogue of the '50s "red scare" in terms of terrorizing the population. And there are plenty of federal and state agents out there, ready and waiting to come crashing down on anybody they don't happen to approve of. It's no surprise Sturges' film looked professional—he is a professional artist,



McLaughlin/Reaction! Images Photos
Joe Semien (left) arrested, jailed and facing felony charges. Jock Sturges: his home was ransacked by the FBI, his works seized.

whose works are owned by New York's Museum of Modern Art and Metropolitan Museum, as well as the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

As we go to press, two and a half months later, most of Sturges' working equipment and archives are still in police custody, though he has yet to be charged with any crime at all!

This is a grotesque atrocity. But in racist America it only gets worse if you're black. Jock Sturges, who is white and from an upper-class Rhode Island background, is lucky compared to Joe Semien, the black businessman to whom Sturges had given some color film to make internegatives. Semien routinely sent the exposed film to a lab for processing. Next thing he knew, at least eight FBI and cops were bursting into his apartment in a pre-dawn raid. He and his roommates, some naked, were roused out of bed and forced up against a wall. Semien was handcuffed for over six hours and charged with two felonies and ten misdemeanors.

As Semien said, "This situation stinks of, if not racism, then class bias. I have nothing but respect for Jock, and what he's going through is at least as hard as what I'm going through. But I spent several hours in handcuffs and two days in prison being treated like a criminal,

and he hasn't been arrested or charged with anything" (*SF Weekly*, 6 June).

This bozo bust is brought to you "courtesy" of the Justice Department's well-funded "National Obscenity Enforcement Unit," a legacy of Ed Meese's infamous porn commission. This national obscenity siphons bucks and experts to favored prosecutors, including the Bay Area-wide (watch out, Marin County!) task force on "child pornography" headed by assistant U.S. attorney Rodolfo Orjales. Orjales is the Justice Department special prosecutor who will try Sturges if a federal grand jury decides charges should be brought.

The same Justice Department "Meese police" unit advises prosecutors in Cincinnati, Ohio who are bringing the nation's first "obscenity" case against an art gallery and its director for exhibiting the nationally acclaimed tour of the late Robert Mapplethorpe's photographs (see "Bigots Target Mapplethorpe Exhibit—Cincinnati Museum Stands Fast," *WV* No. 501, 4 May).

The Jock Sturges/Joseph Semien Legal Defense Fund is asking for donations to help pay legal expenses. Checks made out to the above fund should be sent c/o Photography 501(c)(3), 2660 Third Street, No. 205c, San Francisco, CA 94107, or call (415) 550-1605. ■



TROTSKY

Central Planning and Workers Democracy

Throughout the Soviet Union and East Europe, advocates of "market socialism" or outright capitalism dismiss central planning by pointing to the evident bankruptcy of the Stalinist "command economy." Yet at a time when capitalism had produced the Great Depression, spawning massive social misery and leading to World War II, central planning was the motor force for massive development of the Soviet economy. What failed was

bureaucratic commandism, as Leon Trotsky noted in The Revolution Betrayed, particularly when it came to increasing the quality and not simply the quantity of production. Writing in 1932, at the time of Stalin's first Five Year Plan and the forced collectivization of agriculture, Trotsky pointed to the centrality of workers democracy in making the planned economy function.

Industrialization and collectivization are being put through by the one-sided and uncontrolled laying down of the law to the laboring masses by the bureaucracy. The trade unions are deprived entirely of any means of influencing the correlation between consumption and accumulation. The differentiation within the peasantry is still being liquidated not so much economically as administratively. The social measures of the bureaucracy as regards the liquidation of the classes run much too far ahead of the basic process, the development of productive forces....

The bureaucracy cannot exercise its pressure upon workers and peasants except by depriving them of all possibility of participating in decisions upon questions that touch their own labor and their entire future. Herein lies the greatest danger! The constant dread of meeting opposition on the part of the masses leads in politics to the "closed ranks in double time" of the bureaucratic and personal dictatorship.

Does this mean that the tempos of industrialization and collectivization should be lowered? For a given period—undoubtedly. But this period may not long endure. The participation of workers themselves in the leadership of the nation, of its politics and economy; an actual control over the bureaucracy; and the growth in the feeling of responsibility of those in charge to those under them—all these would doubtless react favorably on production itself: the friction within would be reduced, the costly economic zigzags would likewise be reduced to a minimum, a healthier distribution of forces and equipment would be assured, and ultimately the coefficients of growth would be raised. Soviet democracy is first of all the vital need of national economy itself. On the contrary, bureaucracy secretes within itself tragic economic surprises.

—Leon Trotsky, "What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat" (January 1932)



LENIN

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Worldwide Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal One Day in East Germany...

At a July 8 congress in Berlin of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), Spartakist Workers Party spokesman Renate Dahlhaus commented before the 1,500 participants on the lying claim in the PDS newspaper that former East German prime minister Hans Modrow had "absolutely nothing to do" with demonstrations to save black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal:

"One day in East Germany, the DDR, two nice but weak-willed PDSers who wanted a 'kinder, gentler' reunification with the capitalist imperialist successor to the Third Reich and are known as sellouts did a decent, humane, working-class and even internationalist thing. They endorsed the protest rally against the execution of the American black militant and intellectual, Mumia Abu-

Jamal, in Pennsylvania, USA. When their act was publicized, *Neues Deutschland*, an organ of 'total and profound truth,' said they had done no such thing and were only truly disgusting examples of rotten capitulation to capitalism.

"Modrow put his signed name to this demonstration. Gysi supported it. And *Neues Deutschland* lied, not for the last time. Leon Trotsky said that if someone lies in small things, they will also lie in big ones. The new Fourth Reich is moving in every way to criminalize the present and former members of the SED/PDS. Capitulation and lies only strengthen these ferocious witchhunts. Members and supporters of the PDS and all socialists in Germany must be alerted by this incident. This must set all alarm bells ringing."

Hitler Slave-Labor Bosses Created Him

Whose Creature Is Helmut Kohl?

The following article was translated from Spartakist No. 73, 3 July, published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League.

When Helmut Kohl rehabilitated the SS in Bitburg in 1985 with Ronald Reagan, he knew all too well what he was doing and for whom. In recent years, there has been nervous anxiety internationally over the ominous rise of German nationalism. The Greens and Social Democrats scoldingly wagged their fingers, seeing in Kohl's Bitburg spectacle nothing more than an embarrassment for the German nation. They were ever quick to alibi such "nationalist excesses" whenever he put his foot in his mouth and too blatantly articulated the real intentions of his class.

Today he is on a roll and consciously throwing his weight around as German revanchism is implementing its program in view of the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe. Now, when his imperialist colleagues are all busy trying to sell the Russians on how a Fourth Reich as the linchpin of NATO would be good for stability, Kohl blusters: "There must not be a second Versailles" (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 26-27 May). In other words, don't mess with the "new Germany," or



Der Spiegel
Sons of the Third Reich: Would-be Führer Kohl (left) with late right-wing demagogue Franz Josef Strauss, agents of expansionist German imperialism.

minute to go to a German-language mass in celebration of the bloody victory of German nationalist forces on 3 May 1921 at Gora Swietej Anny in Upper Silesia. And he has the chutzpah to demand from the Polish government compensation for property the German bourgeoisie lost in

And sure enough, the opinion polls right after the Volkskammer [DDR parliament] elections in March showed that Kohl had partially outflanked SS man Schönhuber [then leader of the fascist Republikaner party]. Not for nothing did Kohl use skinhead bands and other Nazi scum in his election rallies in Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Leipzig as goon squads that were brutally unleashed against counterdemonstrators. Today hundreds of skinheads rampage through East German cities.

The West German Federal Republic (BRD) formally claims to be the legal successor to the Third Reich. The BRD took over many laws from it wholesale (or, as in the case of the anti-foreigner laws, in even stronger form). Following the brief post-1945 period of "de-Nazification" (mainly by the stroke of a pen), Hitlerite cadres were rehabilitated *en masse* and were in no time back in business, running Cold War West Germany's state, economy and judiciary. After all, as Adenauer explained, who else knew the ropes? Many of Bonn's most illustrious leaders in the '50s had been important figures in the Nazi era—Hans Globke (the grey eminence of the Adenauer era, who during the Third Reich penned the authoritative commentary on Hitler's racial laws); Reinhard Gehlen, the head of Hitler's intelligence agency Foreign Armies East, whose entire network after the war first went over to the Americans and then were taken over *in toto* by the West German BND (Bundesnachrichtendienst, West Germany's CIA); Hans Filbinger, the bloody naval judge who continued to issue fascist death sentences in the POW camps; Chancellor Kiesinger, who was Goebbels' contact man in the Foreign

Ministry—to name but a few. Others were Hitler's obedient servants even without Nazi party cards, like Ludwig Erhard, who already during the war was praised by the Hitler regime for his economic postwar plans.

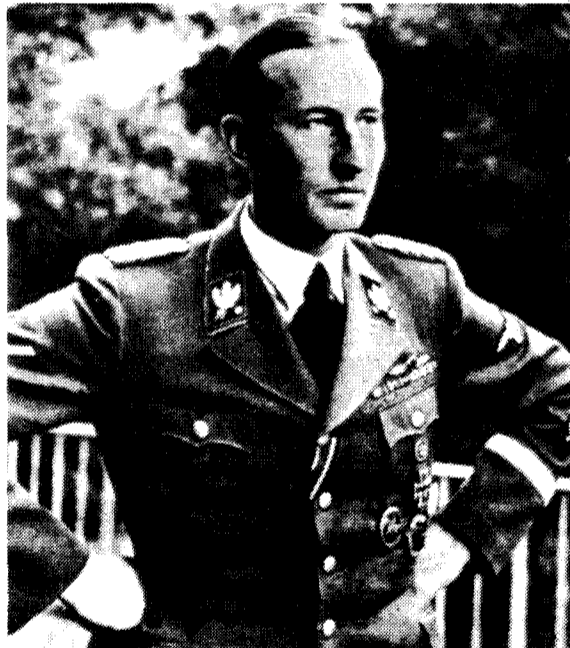
Kohl always liked to leave the sabre rattling to his older party friends like hardliner and Eastern Front fighter Alfred Dregger. One of the younger generation of "smoother," more saleable Christian Democratic politicians, Kohl emphasized in his campaign biographies his "mercifully late birth" as part of the hard-sell campaign to give the ascendant "new Germany" a better image on the world opinion market. "Kinder, gentler," as his pal Bush in the White House would say.

Kohl may not have the Nazi credentials of a Kurt Kiesinger, but his political connections with some of the most monstrous elements of the Third Reich are real enough. He was heaved into the chancellor's saddle by powerful circles of industrial magnates who can thank the Holocaust for their fortunes—men who were leading cadres in the IG Farben slave-labor economy attached to the extermination camps. And at least since the appearance in 1987 of Bernt Engelmann's book *Grosses Bundesverdienstkreuz mit Stern* [titled after West Germany's "federal service cross"], this has been a well-known fact.

Engelmann points to a certain Dr. Fritz Karl Ries, the "one-time slave driver of Trzebinia, Lodz and Auschwitz" and a postwar industrial magnate in Rheinland-Pfalz, as the kingmaker who made the politician Kohl: "Prime minister Kohl must 'obligingly do' what he, Ries, wants. *Wirtschaftswoche* and the exclusive *Manager-Magazin* both cite the Consult Dr. Ries concerning Helmut Kohl: 'If I call him at three in the morning, he has to jump...!'" (Ries had himself appointed the honorary consul of Morocco.) Engelmann explains that Kohl's management career began at BASF in Ludwigshafen, one of IG Farben's successor firms (in addition to BASF, also Bayer, Hoechst, Casella), each of which is larger than IG Farben before its breakup in 1945. There Dr. Ries "discovered" his future political protégé (and generously endowed him with "his financial support"):

"For almost two decades, during which the Ludwigshafen Junge Union leader Helmut Kohl rose from city councilman to CDU state legislator and finally to prime minister of the Rheinland-Pfalz, this upwardly-mobile politician...was a very frequent guest in the home of Dr. Ries.... The young politician sought considerable advice from his experienced and almost fatherly friend and patron, 23 years his senior. And Dr. Ries told him often and eagerly how best to go about

continued on page 4



Der Spiegel

maybe you'll get a new Hitler—"And this time, no more Mr. Nice Guy," as the old joke goes. Helmut Kohl has been obsessively marketing himself to become the first *Reichskanzler* since Hitler. The bourgeois liberals and social democrats are not laughing at Helmut Kohl anymore. At most they question the break-neck speed at which he is ramming through *Anschluss*; the debate is now all on his terms.

Make no mistake. This "chancellor of German unity" is no "moderate man of the center" as he makes himself out to be, but the creature of the rabidly revanchist wing of the German bourgeoisie. Since 1945 they have sought their chance, preparing slowly but persistently to get back the vast holdings in the East from which they were driven when the Red Army shattered Hitler's Reich. This is the old capital which Kohl & Co. speak for, and they are consciously trying to roll back history, reclaiming their property and reasserting hegemony over what they see as "their" East European hinterland.

In recent months, Kohl has consistently accommodated the most revanchist elements, e.g., refusing adamantly to formally recognize the Polish western border (no one speaks of the "German eastern border"). When he went to Poland last November, he pushed until the last



AP

Daimler-Benz' H.M. Schleyer (above), part of circle who sponsored Kohl's rise, was top-echelon SS man in Prague during WW II, where he served under "Hangman" Heydrich (left).

World War II east of the Oder-Neisse, in "the Polish area," as they say in Bonn. West of the Oder-Neisse border, the Fourth Reich has meanwhile succeeded in installing a regime which is returning to the capitalists the property nationalized in the DDR (East Germany) after 1949, or else fully compensating them.

Indeed, one of Kohl's main services to his class as a politician has long been his ability to broker a "union" which includes the Christian Democrats' sordid fringe of assorted old and new Nazis.



Der Spiegel Photos

Daimler-Benz boss (left) with Hitler in 1933. German military commanders oversee slave labor at Daimler-Benz in 1944.



Germany...

(continued from page 1)

order as a result of the introduction of capitalism. Already on Monday, some 20,000 metal workers in the Greater Berlin area held "warning strikes," including the IFA truck plant at Ludwigsfelde and steel workers at Hennigsdorf. And almost 1,000 workers at the Schwarze Pumpe energy Kombinat (conglomerate) blocked the highway and held DDR economics minister Pohl hostage demanding job guarantees. On Wednesday, several thousand metal workers marched in Schwerin in the north, as shipbuilders and dock workers in Rostock wildcatted. The next day it was the turn of iron and steel factory workers in Leipzig and Halle to the south. And on Friday, some 120,000 metal workers in the Berlin-Brandenburg region struck and demonstrated in the biggest labor action in years in the DDR.

Many of the walkouts were called by IG Metall, the Social-Democrat-led metal workers union, to demand higher wages, shorter working hours and job security, "to give every worker a chance to climb into the market economy." What nonsense! As "Day X" (marking currency union) approached, unemployment in the



East Germans line up to exchange currency for West German marks. Bonn politicians, Frankfurt bankers have undertaken massive "leveraged buyout" of DDR.

DDR doubled in June to 142,000, and economists predict two to four million jobless by the fall. While West German capitalists have undertaken "the biggest leveraged buyout in history" by seizing the East German workers state, West German Social Democrats are carrying out a "hostile takeover" of the

formerly Stalinist-controlled East German trade unions. SPDers like IG Metall's Hartwig Bugiel have staged a series of actions to give themselves a "combative" image, although they are the "labor" cover for the introduction of unemployment and poverty.

But the solid support for last week's

strikes could point to a "hot autumn" of class struggle. Moreover, the bourgeoisie does not yet have in place a police/military apparatus to defend its class rule east of the Elbe. In this still-fluid situation, massive working-class struggles could throw up organs of dual power. The key is revolutionary leadership.

The German Democratic Republic was what we Trotskyists term a deformed workers state. That is, while the economy was based on the collectivized property forms of proletarian rule, political power was in the hands of a narrow, conservative bureaucracy whose policies were summed up by Stalin's nationalist doctrine of building "socialism in one country"—or in the case of the DDR, half a country. Rather than seeking to spread socialist revolution worldwide, as the Soviet Union and the Communist International did under Lenin and Trotsky, the East German Stalinists under Ulbricht and Honecker tried to ward off capitalism by purely military/administrative means, epitomized by the Berlin Wall. But after four decades of being undermined by the power of capitalism's cheap commodities, the collapse of the Honecker regime last fall marked the terminal bankruptcy of Stalinism.

The taking effect on July 1 of the state treaty between East and West Germany

Kohl...

(continued from page 3)

rising from modest beginnings through war, defeat, exile and currency reform to become a multi-millionaire and captain of industry."

So how, then, did the Doctor Consul rise to such heights? Fritz Ries was, so to speak, a small fish in the pond of those who became multimillionaires through slave labor, such as for example the members of the "Circle of Friends of SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler" including Heinrich Bütefisch, boss of IG Farben at Leuna (executed after the war), and Friedrich Flick (who got even richer after the war). Still, Ries was powerful enough to requisition on 23 February 1945 the transport by truck from the West to Leipzig of 15,000 bottles, i.e., 30 tons of...champagne. SS Sicherheitsdienst files spoke of the trustworthy Ries as the "Aryanization king."

His career began with a small rubber plant in 1938. The Leipzig firm of Flügel & Polter (which grew from 120 to 10,000 workers) was known to its slave laborers as "Prügel und Folter" (beating and torture). After 1938, Miguin condoms, produced in a plant Ries "bought" from its Jewish owners "with the support of the Nazi district leadership," carried on its packaging the inscription "Now Aryan!" Almost exclusively by this same method he picked up factories—in Saxony, Plauen, Berlin, on the Oder and Main rivers, in Munich, in Austria. Ultimately, tens of thousands of slave laborers—at first mostly Jewish, then increasingly Polish and Ukrainian—were driven on by the whip in his "Upper Silesian Rubber Works" in Trzebinia, until, completely enfeebled and emaciated, they were transported the 20 kilometers to the gas chambers and ovens of Auschwitz, through the gate inscribed "Arbeit macht frei" (Work makes you free), or to the camps at Jaworzno or Wadowitz.

At the beginning of 1945 there was nothing left to "Aryanize," the *Judenaktionen* (roundups of Jews) had made the procurement of new slave labor more difficult, Hitler was beaten. So Ries, like Deutsche Bank chief Hermann Abs and his ilk, was shipping trainloads of stolen wealth, works of art, etc. to western Germany. He also was shipping out to the West enormous quantities of machinery from his own industrial torture chambers, as well as the stolen personal wealth of his victims—cash, jewels, gold, dollars. With the generous state aid to which he was entitled in his official status as a "person driven from his home" (*Heimatvertriebener*), he built up a new indus-

trial empire in the Rheinland-Pfalz.

In the '60s, the Ries circle was at the center of activities which, in the interests of the bourgeoisie, later led to the successful ouster of the Social Democrat/Free Democrat (SPD/FDP) coalition under the chancellorship first of Willy Brandt and then of Helmut Schmidt. An alliance was prepared of right-wing conservative forces with the FDP. To lead it, Franz Josef Strauss, another of Ries' intimates, was dumped in favor of a tandem consisting of Helmut Kohl and, as braintruster of the operation, Prof. Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf. (Biedenkopf is another bosom buddy of bankers and chemical industry magnates, with connections to Henkel and DEGUSSA, manufacturers of Zyklon B, the gas used in the death camps.)

In return for the patronage, fatherly advice and family trips abroad, Kohl ensured the flow over the years of untold millions from the Rheinland-Pfalz coffers to keep the chronically sinking Ries group afloat. But the insatiable Ries went bankrupt anyway and committed suicide in 1977. Engelmann's earlier book, *Grosses Bundesverdienstkreuz*, caused quite a stir in 1974-75, and most top Bonn politicians discretely distanced themselves from Ries. "Only one, namely Helmut Kohl, seemed to be undeterred by the sinister past of his long-time patron," Ries, whom he had decorated in 1964 with the Great Federal Service Cross and to whom Kohl, "in February 1972, had added a star to the Great Federal Service Cross pinned on his tuxedo, 'in appreciation of his entrepreneurial achievements and in recognition of his concern for society.'"

For Marxists, this is only logical: a capitalist government is just that—the "executive committee" of capital. Some executive committee! The above-named "entrepreneurial achievements" were of course accomplished "in tandem" with numerous well-known Nazis. The "king of Bavaria," Franz Josef Strauss, who had belonged to the elite (5,000-man) "intellectual SS," the NSDStB, was a regular guest in Ries' castle in the Steiermark, who in turn gave shares in his company as a present to Strauss' wife.

Evidently the brains behind the Kohl-Biedenkopf plan was Dr. Hanns Martin Schleyer, an adviser to Flick, the personnel director of Daimler-Benz and president of the Federation of German Industry and of the Federation of German Employers. Schleyer, a top-echelon SS man, was already active from 1941 to 1944 in the Federation of German Industrialists in Prague. He was most probably personally responsible for the bestial massacres in Prague in the last days of

the Nazi occupation. The Red Army Faction reminded the world of these facts when they assassinated him in 1977 (leaving his body in a car rented under the name "Ries"). This act of individual terror, however misguided and futile, was certainly no crime against the working people! And now leading bourgeois circles, with their characteristic bestial arrogance, have set up a "Hanns Martin Schleyer Foundation" in Leipzig to help organize the reconquest of the East.

The Working Class Must Prevent a Fourth Reich!

That is, then, where Helmut Kohl, the man who would be *Reichskanzler*, comes from. So it's no accident when he blocks

in the DDR. After Brandt, Vogel and Lafontaine had paved the way, the bourgeoisie pushed the SPD aside and poured in many millions of D-marks to buy the Volkskammer elections. They are driving toward a Fourth Reich, before the working people wake up and realize what has happened to them.

The working people of the DDR who voted for Kohl and his party have, in the upshot, fallen prey to an enormous power and propaganda machine with its cynical, lying promises of a Greater German capitalist paradise. In part this was possible because the East German workers do not yet know who their future masters are. But as the successive waves of warning strikes show, it is becoming daily more



Kohl and Reagan salute Nazi SS graves at Bitburg, 1985.

recognition of the Oder-Neisse border, or when he waves the spectre of a Hitlerite revanchist opposition to a "Second Versailles." But this is not just a conspiracy by a small circle of aging industrialists left over from the Third Reich. It corresponds to the fundamental drive of the German bourgeoisie for more *Lebensraum* (living space). What Hitler failed to achieve with the Wehrmacht, they're now trying to accomplish with the D-mark. And in this, all the parties of the "democratic" Fourth Reich are involved, especially the Social Democrats, who just voted for the *Anschluss* treaty. In fact, the SPD has repeatedly in recent months made way for Helmut Kohl, who better represented the more aggressive policy of German imperialism.

Now the German bourgeoisie thinks that its wildest dreams are coming true

obvious to the workers that capital has declared them free game for unfettered exploitation. The DDR state insignias are being dismantled, not only at the border with West Germany, and the eastward penetration of capital picks up speed. For all of humanity's sake, this sinister operation of capital must not succeed! Workers in East and West must unite in powerful struggle against the capitalist class, the masters of the Kohls and Lafontaines. A revolutionary, truly Leninist party is urgently needed to organize these struggles and lead them to victory, to a red Germany of workers councils in a socialist Europe! Only proletarian democracy in all of Germany can clean out the unspeakable filth on which the Federal Republic was built. Only the proletariat in power will avenge the victims of the Holocaust! ■

places economic control of the DDR in the hands of the capitalists. Not only does the West German Bundesbank control the currency, but those nationalized enterprises in East Germany which have not already been transformed into shareholding companies are now run by a "trusteeship agency" (*Treuhandanstalt*) which collects profits and distributes funds according to the interests of the capitalists (making some firms attractive for bargain-price buyouts and closing down others). Thus workers in the DDR are now subject to exploitation just as are those in West Germany. While a high percentage of the enterprises are nationalized, these now operate in the interests of capital and thus there is no longer a collectivized economy.

The destruction of the East German workers state represents a serious defeat for the international working class, and DDR workers are beginning to feel the terrible consequences personally. Women are among the first to be affected, as childcare centers are shut down, pregnant women and those on maternity leave are fired, and the right to abortion is under attack. Also targeted are the 150,000 foreign workers on contract in the DDR: many have been fired, and meanwhile racist assaults by fascist elements against Mozambicans and Vietnamese are mounting. The entire workers movement must come to their defense, for all working people are in the sights of the capitalists,



Spartakist Workers Party on May Day in East Berlin. Lead banner reads: "Against Privatization—No to Capitalist Reunification!"

who want to raise their profits by turning the annexed DDR into a cheap-labor country.

For the bourgeoisie, freedom means "free enterprise." In the DDR today, this translates as follows: the 1,600 branches of the one State Bank have been divided equally between the Deutsche Bank and

the Dresdner Bank; the insurance agency has been taken over lock, stock and barrel by West Germany's Allianz monopoly; energy supplies, formerly divided between the lignite and electric power Kombinats, are to be carved up by three West German monopolies; efficient collective farms have to slash production

(dumping milk in the street) because price rises have cut demand; Kombinats are broken up into their components, but centrally controlled as never before by the "trusteeship agency" in the interests of privatization. Meanwhile, theaters face bankruptcy, and circuses are liquidated (they want to kill the lions, elephants next). Some "freedom"!

This is West Germany's "social market economy" in all its grisly, glitzy glory. But while the capitalists rub their hands with glee at the thought of future profits, they could receive quite a jolt. For the basis has also been laid for common class struggle uniting workers in East and West Germany. IG Metall leaders are still negotiating demands for a 35-hour workweek in the West while the new DDR employers associations refuse to grant a 40-hour week in the East: instead of blowing off steam with "warning" strikes, militants should fight for joint action which would allow the powerful German proletariat to flex its muscles. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), which has uniquely opposed capitalist reunification, are fighting for such an internationalist perspective, taking the lead in defense of foreign-born workers and women, showing solidarity with Soviet soldiers, calling for sharp class struggle against a Fourth Reich.

We print below the lead article from *Spartakist* No. 73 (3 July), published by the SpAD:

JULY 1—"Day X": market economy moves in, and although shelves all over the DDR are now full again, they are stocked with goods that have become unaffordable for many. In a country where the right to work was a basic right, there are already 130,000 unemployed on the streets. Hundreds of thousands more are directly threatened. The first to be fired are women and immigrant workers; tens of thousands of the latter have already been thrown out of work and are threatened with immediate deportation. The bourgeois press predicts 2.5 to 4 million jobless, up to a third of the working class. "Freedom" means that bookstores *threw away* their books and phonograph records. Many were reminded of Nazi book-burning. Nazis/skinheads run amok and attack immigrant workers and other minorities. On June 23 in Berlin there was a massive Volkspolizei action to protect houses occupied by Nazis from anti-fascist demonstrators.

For the workers, D-mark intoxication is increasingly becoming a nightmare, and they are beginning to fight against it. Last week 3,000 striking sanitation workers surrounded the "Red City Hall" in East Berlin for a whole day with hundreds of garbage trucks. They showed their class power and won a 33 percent wage increase. They demanded the same pay as in West Berlin. *Equal pay for equal work* is a basic demand against the exploitation of the DDR as a low-wage zone and thus can unite East and West German workers in struggle. Even when the mountains of garbage in the streets started to stink, the strike was widely popular. The BVB city transport workers threatened to strike in solidarity if they didn't win their demands.

Resistance to a Fourth Reich Must Be Organized! Workers: Unleash Your Power!

In Rostock, where the shipbuilding industry is to be completely annihilated, 10,000 metal and shipyard workers came out to a rally in front of the Neptune shipyard against the firings. In Sangerhausen, 6,000 miners went on warning strike. All face the threat of being laid off, and the copper mine is to be closed. At first there were promises of "retraining," but the workers are simply to be thrown on the slag heap. (Workers in the Ruhr basin also have a lot of stories like this!) DDR workers are beginning to show determination to defend their jobs and their lives. These struggles must be organized and consolidated! What's needed is a revolutionary, authentically Leninist party to broaden these struggles and lead them to victory. This is the party that the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) is fighting to build.

The Volkskammer elections were a distorted referendum on the continued existence of the DDR. The SpAD was the only organization that ran on a clear "No to capitalist reunification!" But in the March 18 elections, the forced march to a Fourth Reich won. German imperialism wants to smash as quickly as possible the gains of the East German deformed workers state, built on the victory of the Red Army over the Nazis. The "State Treaty" [on economic union between East and West Germany] demands giving the country's productive wealth back to the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz.

The only difference between Kohl and the SPD [Social Democrats] over *Anschluss* was: how fast? Kohl thought he could ram through *Anschluss* before the workers realized what was happening to them. But the SPD wants first to purge and shackle the workers *politically*. When the PDS [East German Stalinist former ruling party] bureaucracy buckled under the pressure of Bonn's propaganda bombardment, it was the SPD bloodhounds who insisted on expropriating the PDS's property. We defend the PDS against these attacks. The "Law on Parties" enacted in order to go after the PDS—by a government in an advanced stage of dissolution—must be resolutely opposed and defied. Is this absurd law for *Gleichschaltung* [Nazi-style enforcement of conformity] to be applied to parties in the BRD as well? Will the Christian

Democrats also be prosecuted, having paid for their *Anschluss* propaganda blitz with 25 million D-marks from the state treasury?

The target of the large-scale witchhunt is not only the PDS, but the *entire working class*. The SPD-led DGB [West German union federation] bureaucracy demanded first the dissolution of the FDGB [DDR union federation], and the FDGB tops groveled. The DGB tops are presiding over the wholesale expropria-

anti-Communist purges and mass firings!

In West Germany, the CDU tried to use the state legislature elections in Nordrhein-Westfalen and Niedersachsen as referendums on rapid capitalist unity...and lost. A lot of West German workers know that they are going to pay for a capitalist reunification, and Federal Bank czar Pohl is already talking about higher taxes. Warning strikes in the metal trades, printing and the post office showed that West German workers, particularly their strategic component of immigrants, want to fight. It is the stranglehold of their SPD/DGB leadership that holds them back. And this spring the union bureaucrats' biggest worry was that *nothing* should get in the



West German tank, part of NATO arsenal directed at the Soviet Union.

tion of the FDGB unions and "complete waste management," i.e., the firing of every last former FDGB functionary. Only when purged of "communist infiltration" are they to be allowed admission *en bloc* to the DGB.

On July 1 all former contracts between the FDGB and the managements of the state-owned enterprises will be abrogated. Now the workers are to be left completely leaderless, in the midst of mass layoffs and an anti-Communist witchhunt; and meanwhile they don't even know who the owners of their plants are going to be. The DGB wants to arrange for the election of plant councils, like the ones in West Germany. In other words, DDR workers too are supposed to be straitjacketed and muzzled so that the "interests of the company" (i.e., of capital) are ensured! And sure enough: newly elected plant councils in DDR plants have already begun on *their own* voting

way of the march toward reunification.

The PDS is being hounded and persecuted, but it offers itself up as the loyal reformist party of a Fourth Reich. Its leadership declares that they don't regard themselves as "sand in the gears of German unity"; rather, they insist on "helping design" the *Anschluss* (*Neues Deutschland*, 21 June)! Thus, on the heels of several days of protest by thousands of Berlin working people, they now acquiesce to the law that will purge their own people from the public services under the smokescreen of "incompetence."

Gorbachev and Hans ("united fatherland") Modrow gave German revanchism a green light for the capitalist reconquest of the DDR. But the Kremlin's appeasement of the NATO imperialists only further whets their appetites to recapture the Soviet Union itself. From Washington

continued on page 6

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"Red Army Faction" Retirees Seized in East Germany

Stop the Witchhunt Against Leftists!

The following article was translated from Spartakist No. 73, 3 July.

Government and media, East and West, march in lockstep, unleashing a witchhunt to accompany *Anschluss* (annexation) of East Germany (DDR). East German interior minister Diestel announces the arrest of former Red Army Faction member Susanne Albrecht and denounces a supposed "diabolical connection" between the RAF and the Stasi [former East German secret police]. West German interior minister Schäuble announces investigations of Erich Honecker, former security ministry chief Erich Mielke and even ex-espionage chief Markus Wolf for "supporting a terrorist association." In the next few days, additional former members of the Red Army Faction are arrested in various cities around the DDR, where they have been leading ordinary lives for years.

The purpose of this operation is to brand the DDR a criminal state. All those who were part of it, particularly members of the ex-SED, will be subject to a red purge, to be thrown out of their jobs and worse. And with the advance of a Fourth Reich an atmosphere of informing is being created, reminiscent of the first days of the Third. But not all are mesmerized like a rabbit before the snake that intends to devour it. At a June 16 demonstration in East Berlin defending the right to abortion, a spokesman for the SpAD drew applause when she called for the immediate release of ex-RAFers Susanne Albrecht and Inge Viett: "Diestel's snooping and police-state terror must be stopped. His witchhunt against the RAF comrades is directed against all fighters and activists for the rights of the oppressed, in order to persecute and criminalize all those who fight against capitalist *Anschluss*."

In the mid-'70s, the [West German] SPD/FDP coalition's "anti-terrorist" campaign meant a wave of repression against the left, trampling on democratic rights and reinforcing the German bourgeoisie's "strong state." The witchhunt targeted anyone the bourgeoisie defined as an RAF "sympathizer." Now they want to label every former Stasi employee, every ex-SED and present PDS member a criminal on charges of "harboring terrorists." Honecker and Mielke are to be prosecuted *ex post facto* under the infamous Paragraph 129a

of the West German legal code, and the "little Erichs" will be targeted for repression.

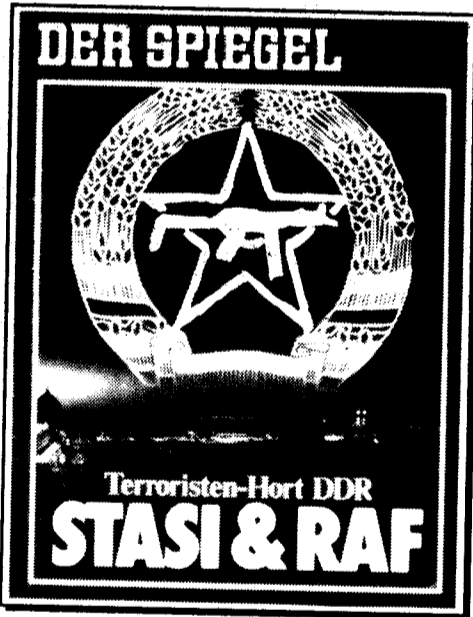
The "enlightened," "liberal" press leads the pack in stoking the hysteria. *Der Spiegel* says the DDR was a "terrorist haven." *Die Zeit* editorializes about the "RAF-Stasi Connection." *The DDR*

in your neighbor.)

And the "alternative" West Berlin *taz* newspaper plays right along, publishing a list of over 9,000 "Stasi addresses." Since the Stasi has already been dissolved, this document is nothing but a hit list for anti-Communist thugs, endangering anyone who happens to be living at



Posters by West German spy agency offering East Berliners 50,000 Deutschmarks for informing on RAF. "Green" paper *Tageszeitung (taz)* prints lynch list of addresses of the Stasi, dissolved East German political police. Pro-social-democratic *Spiegel* brands DDR a "terrorist haven."



population is to be turned into block-warden fingersmen, as in Hitler's terror Reich. (Hence the posters by the West German BND spy agency at border crossing points offering DM 50,000 for "information": i.e., to prepare for currency union, get a nest egg by turning

one of the addresses appearing on the list.

The leading role of *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel*, publications close to the SPD, is hardly surprising. *Die Zeit* publisher Helmut Schmidt was chancellor of the SPD/FDP government that directed the

"anti-terror" scare of the "German autumn" in 1977 and built Stammheim ["high security" prison]. They led the media pack in the social-democratic campaign following the anti-fascist mobilization at Treptow. The SPD has been in the forefront of demanding a generalized red purge as the precondition for *Anschluss*. Expropriation of the PDS and blacklisting, mass layoffs of teachers and other public employees: the only difference is that the latter-day Noskes want Schäuble and Diestel to do the actual dirty work. (The latter, of course, reserve the right to cull through the debris of the Stasi to find those who are willing to work for the Fourth Reich.)

Grotesquely, the PDS itself is feeding the witchhunt in which it is to be hounded and expropriated. *Neues Deutschland* vies with the Springer gutter press in denouncing the alleged RAF-Stasi connection and demands that "those involved be called to account." PDS members had better understand that the Fourth Reich is not going to tolerate any "loyal opposition," no matter what [PDS leader] Gysi & Co. do to demonstrate their reformist trustworthiness.

In the "German autumn" of 1977, when the rest of the "left" ran for cover during the anti-RAF witchhunt, the Trotzistische Liga Deutschlands, predecessor of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), was unique in consistently defending the RAF against bourgeois repression while rejecting their program of petty-bourgeois despair over the revolutionary capacity of the working class. We draw a clear distinction between attacks on representatives of the bourgeoisie, such as the high-level SS man Schleyer, and indiscriminate attacks on innocent people, such as the insidious bombing of the West Berlin disco La Belle. In the first case, we defended the RAF against criminalization and state terror. Such actions are no crime against the working class and stand in sharp contrast to the second case. The bourgeoisie now wants to pin the blame for that attack on the RAF, without any proof. Today, as the only consistent opponents of capitalist reunification, we say that the real "terrorist association" sits in Bonn, the self-declared successor state to the Third Reich. For class struggle against a Fourth Reich!

As an SpAD spokesman recently remarked in a discussion at a public forum:

"If you consider the question of individual terrorism against specific representatives of the reactionary capitalist system, then we first have to look outside the DDR and BRD. The Bolsheviks, you know, arose out of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia in political struggle against the petty-bourgeois terrorism of the Narodnaya Volya [People's Will] group. They said: the way to overthrow the tsar is not to shoot him; rather, the way is to organize the working class. That is what the Bolsheviks did—lead a workers revolution to victory—and they were the only party in the world to do so. But the Bolsheviks always defended the petty-bourgeois terrorists against the bourgeois state.

"Diestel has ordered his weapons for the police here in anticipation of the hot autumn announced by Kohl. These police are being prepared for it. That's the reason for this whole campaign against people who for the last ten years have done nothing but take care of children's health, go shopping for food, and raise more children. That's what's going on here right now." ■

Germany...

(continued from page 5)

to Bonn the capitalist rulers are playing up the fact that NATO is advancing to the Polish border. They are trying to sell this to Moscow by offering another "non-aggression pact"! But who in the Soviet Union can forget the terrible consequences of Stalin's faith in the last "non-aggression pact" with imperialist Germany? Meanwhile, NATO reaffirms its doctrine of a nuclear first strike against the USSR.

For now, the continued presence of Soviet troops in the DDR can buy pre-

vious time for the workers to organize resistance against a Fourth Reich. Many in the Soviet high command have not forgotten the number of casualties the USSR suffered in smashing Hitler's Reich.

As workers at factory after factory face shutdowns and mass layoffs, they don't see how they can resist alone. But united we are strong! If there was a combative mass proletarian leadership in the DDR today, it would not only be organizing the struggle to protect workers' jobs and livelihoods, but it would also champion the cause of *all* the oppressed. A first step in organizing and broadening class-struggle resistance in the DDR

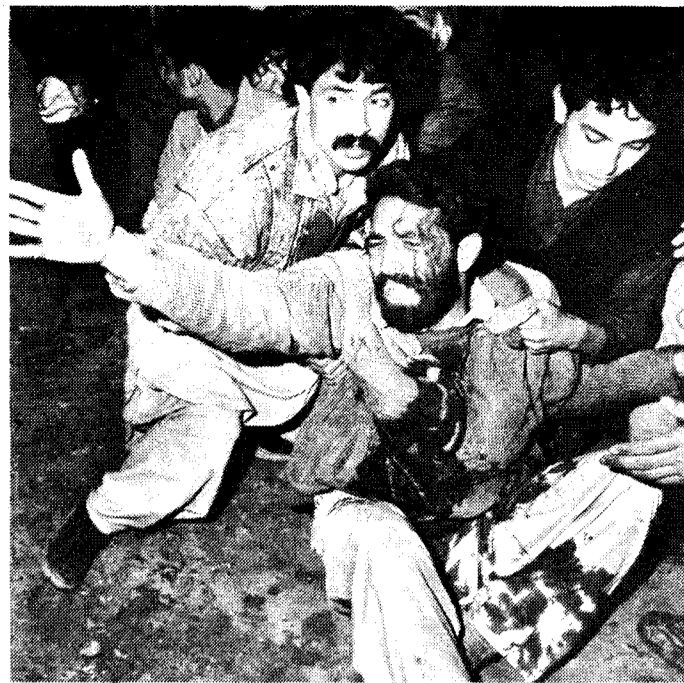
could be a congress which unites the working people with representatives of all the other victims of capitalist reunification: immigrant workers threatened by fascist terror, layoffs and deportations; the elderly with starvation pensions; working mothers without childcare; cooperative farmers facing ruin; thousands of artists who are being thrown out on the street; youth with no future.

On June 28 at a demonstration in Ludwigsfelde, the Hennigsdorf steel workers demanded "Save Our Real Wages!" Many workers remember the demand of the Hennigsdorf workers for a metal workers government on 17 June 1953, when the East German workers were the

first in Eastern Europe to rise against their Stalinist misleaders. To protect their gains, workers must fight for political power. Today the fate of the German working class is intimately bound up with that of the Polish and Soviet workers. For the Polish workers, who today have begun to fight back against the "shock treatment" prescribed by the International Monetary Fund, and for the Soviet workers suffering under Gorbachev's shaky "market reforms," the German currency union will only bring more misery. Militant proletarian resistance would send shock waves from Berlin to the Urals. For internationalist unity of the German, Polish and Soviet workers! ■



Indian army patrolling Kashmir. Kashmiri student bloodied by Indian border guards.



Sakellariou/JB Pictures

Brutal Crackdown in Kashmir

The following article is adapted from *Workers Hammer No. 115 (July 1990)*, published by the *Spartacist League/Britain*.

"Kashmir is at war with India" reports *India Today* (30 April). And the massive resistance of the overwhelmingly Muslim population of the Kashmir valley threatens to trigger a new war between Pakistan and India. Disputes over Kashmir—which is strategically placed on India's borders with Pakistan, China and Afghanistan, with the USSR nearby—have already twice been the direct cause of wars between the two states of the subcontinent (in 1948 and 1965). In late May the troop buildups, border skirmishes, threats and hysteria between two weak and unstable governments nearly exploded into full-scale fighting. The *Economist* termed it "the makings of a bloody, old fashioned war" but both countries hover on the threshold of a nuclear warfare capacity. Kashmir epitomises the seething complex of national and communal conflicts throughout the region, from the Kurdish areas of Turkey through Soviet Central Asia to the Muslim minority areas of China, as well as in the Indian subcontinent.

The new Indian government of V. P. Singh had barely been installed on 2 December 1989 when Dr. Rubiya Sayeed, daughter of Home Minister Mufti Mohamed Sayeed, was kidnapped. The government traded her for five imprisoned Kashmiri separatists, but not before search operations had triggered unprecedented protests. And when security forces opened fire on demonstrators in the main Kashmiri town of Srinagar on January 20, the unrest exploded in a popular uprising. The central government declared presidential rule and sent in the paramilitary police and a tough governor, Jagmohan. With the local police demoralised and disaffected, the paramilitary and army forces now number more than 150,000. One Indian magazine describes the situation:

"The whole valley has been handed over to the para-military forces. Jammu and Kashmir police are looked upon with distrust. In fact every Kashmiri Muslim is prima facie considered a pro-Pakistani traitor. The alienation of the people is total and the masses have lost all faith in political leaders."

—*Economic and Political Weekly* (5-12 May)

Life in Kashmir has become one curfew after another. The economy is in tatters, and the summer tourist season, upon which about two-thirds of the population depends, is doomed. One government minister, George Fernandes, admits the "total collapse of civil authority" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 May). On May 21 the security forces fired on the funeral procession of a "moderate" religious leader, killing hundreds. The

tens of thousands at the funeral blamed governor Jagmohan for the assassination and chanted: "What did the Maulana call for? Holy war, holy war."

With mounting stories of rapes and death squad killings, and facing international and domestic criticism, the V. P. Singh government replaced Jagmohan with G.C. "Gerry" Saksena, the former head of India's spy agency, RAW (Research and Analysis Wing). Marxists demand the immediate withdrawal of the Indian army and security forces from the Kashmir valley, and of the Pakistani army from the areas of Kashmir they occupy. Defense of the oppressed and of the right of national self-determination is not conditional upon the character of the leadership; we defend the exercise of the right of self-determination, as long as the Kashmiri struggle is not decisively sub-

ordinated to the intervention of the Pakistani ruling class (as was the Bangladeshi struggle to the Indian ruling class in 1971 with the Indian army's invasion). But short of a perspective of proletarian revolution throughout the whole subcontinent the prospects for Kashmiri liberation are far from rosy. This is especially so given its location and historical role in relations between India and Pakistan.

"Divide and Rule"

Kashmir is a chapter in the sordid history of British imperialism in India. The province is 80 per cent Muslim; it was first linked to the area across the southern range of Pir Panjal when the Jammu Dogra king "bought" Kashmir from the British in 1846. The kingdom refused to join the Sikh-Afghan alliance against the British, and during the 1857

"Mutiny" it sent troops to help the British at the siege of Delhi. Its founding ruler, Gulab Singh, aptly called himself "zar kharid" ("slave bought with gold").

The kingdom, with its all-powerful British Resident, remained a horribly impoverished area. During the Indian independence struggle the secular bourgeois nationalists of the National Conference led a struggle against the Dogra autocracy and, in alliance with the bourgeois Indian Congress, for accession to India. Jinnah's Muslim League tried to woo the Kashmiri Muslims; when this failed he sent irregulars in to seize Kashmir for Pakistan. Unfortunately for Jinnah, these backward, tribalist mercenaries were so busy looting and raping that they failed to push on to Srinagar's airport, allowing the Indian army to counterattack successfully. The emergent armies of India and Pakistan, still under British generals, fought it out until a cease-fire on 1 January 1949. This left Kashmir divided between India and Pakistan.

The Kashmiris were promised a plebiscite to decide whether they would join India or Pakistan or become independent. But the Indian bourgeoisie, acutely aware that the Kashmiris might well reject union with India, quickly reneged. Sheikh Abdullah and other leaders of the National Conference were jailed by their old ally Pandit Nehru, himself from a Kashmiri Hindu family. Virtually every election has been rigged. The central government has relied on engineering changes in governments and spreading patronage among various politicians. At the same time the National Conference degenerated into a corrupt and nepotistic outfit. The April 1987 elections were stolen by a combination of the National Conference and Gandhi's Congress (I) headed by Farooq Abdullah. This government was especially corrupt and ineffective. While the government looted the treasury and built golf courses for the rich, the urban poor still have no sewage systems. A new wave of protests began in April 1988 with demonstrations over electricity price increases.

During the partition of India, while neighbouring Punjab and North West Province were gripped with murderous pogroms (which produced mass forced population transfers of literally millions of people), Kashmir remained remarkably calm. During the Pakistani attempts to wrest Kashmir from India in 1948 and 1965 there was little mass support. Now the Kashmiri Muslims are totally alienated from India. And the movement has developed an Islamic fundamentalist character. Muslim women are compelled to adopt the practices of purdah (seclusion) while Hindu women have been instructed to wear the bindi mark on the

continued on page 14

India, Pakistan Talk War



Sharad Saxena

Indian prime minister V. P. Singh (above) meets with army officers. Pakistan's prime minister Benazir Bhutto confers with her generals.

Gamma



Ex-Morenoites Split Over German Events

Trotskyist Fusion in Mexico

At a meeting on July 1, the Grupo Espartaquista de México (Spartacist Group of Mexico) fused with the Trotskyist Faction of the Partido Obrero Socialista (POS—Socialist Workers Party). The fused group maintains the name of the GEM as part of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). This successful regroupment is an important breakthrough for the ICL in Latin America, all the more so as the comrades of the Trotskyist Faction waged a fight inside their former organization, the POS, solidly centered on the Russian question. It is also a confirmation of our perspective, laid out a year ago in declaring the ICL, that the international crisis of Stalinism would present opportunities of winning would-be communists to the banner of authentic Trotskyism, which defends without quarter the gains and heritage of the October Revolution.

The Trotskyist Faction comes out of the Morenoite current, followers of the late Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist Nahuel Moreno. The hallmark of this quick-change artist in his earlier years was passing himself off in rapid succession as a "left" Peronist, Castroite and Maoist before settling into social-democratic reformism. After the 1976 Videla coup in Argentina, Moreno put on more radical airs in exile, wrapping himself in the red-and-black flag of Sandinismo. In order to expose this consummate political bandit, we published the *Moreno Truth Kit* (1980). During the next decade, Moreno & Co. came to be characterized by virulent anti-Sovietism, trying to outdo all others in solidarity with Polish Solidarność, the favorite "union" of Ronald Reagan. Upon returning to Argentina, Morenoism re-established itself as a national social-democratic tendency.

Following the death of its *líder*

máximo in early 1987, the Morenoite International Workers League (IWL) was thrown into turmoil. Its Argentine "mother party," the MAS (Movement to Socialism), expelled a minority in mid-1988 which set up the PTS (Party of Workers for Socialism). Then led by one León Pérez, the PTS adopted a more leftist posture, criticizing the MAS for popular-

ism, these three groups called themselves the Internationalist Faction of the IWL.

But "true Morenoism" is the antithesis of authentic Trotskyism. This was brought home by the rapid disintegration of the Stalinist regimes of East Europe. When the Argentine PTS responded to the fall of the Honecker regime and the opening of the Berlin Wall in November

the Stalinist bureaucracy, which seeks to appease imperialism while sitting atop the economic foundations of proletarian rule.

In response, the PTS leadership sent a letter to the POS stating that only if the opposition changed its position and accepted the Stalinophobic position that Stalinism is "counterrevolutionary through and through" was there any sense to discussing. And, indeed, when Urbina and Humberto H. presented their "Platform of the Trotskyist Faction" (translated below) on May 20, the PTS delegate engineered their expulsion at that very meeting on charges of being "Spartacist agents." As the two say in a declaration on the split, "in reality they accuse us of being Trotskyists." There was an irony in this bureaucratic and openly political expulsion, moreover, as the expelled comrades had been assigned the task of studying the positions of the Spartacists.

The comrades of the Trotskyist Faction were not only the founders of the POS, but were also among the founding members of the Morenoite tendency in Mexico and before that were cadres of the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party) of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. The Faction's documents, which have been published together with documents of the ICL in a Spanish-language bulletin, *Del morenismo al trotskismo—La Cuestión Rusa a quemarropa* (From Morenoism to Trotskyism—The Russian Question Point Blank), proceed from the dispute over East Germany to analyzing "the popular-frontism and rabid anti-Sovietism of the MAS and the IWL" and understanding Morenoism as a liquidationist current whose inveterate tailing after non-proletarian forces denies the need for a Trotskyist vanguard. The bulletin also

continued on page 11



East Berlin, January 3—250,000 turn out in united-front protest, initiated by German Spartacists, against fascist defacing of Soviet war memorial at Treptow Park.

frontism and "national-Trotskyism." Earlier that year the Mexican Morenoite group, the PTZ (Zapatista Workers Party), expelled a minority which had opposed its opportunist electoral and community work. This group subsequently became the POS, and aligned itself with the Argentine PTS and Pérez' American Internationalist Workers Party. Laying claim to the mantle of Moreno-

1989 by demanding the withdrawal of Warsaw Pact troops from East Germany (DDR), two leaders of the Mexican POS objected. A document by Arturo Urbina on "Trotskyism in the Face of the Events in Germany" reasserted the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialism, and upheld Trotsky's analysis of the dual role of

Platform of the Trotskyist Faction

The following document by the Trotskyist Faction was submitted on May 20 to the Mexican Morenoite POS.

I.

For unconditional military defense of the USSR and the social gains of the workers states.

Based on the conception of Trotsky embodied in his work, "War and the Fourth International," we state: DOWN WITH NATO! No pacifist illusions in disarmament. Only international proletarian revolution can bring peace to humanity. Only the working class can disarm, by insurrectional means, its respective warmongering bourgeoisies.

For the proletarian internationalism of Lenin. We oppose any kind of support to counterrevolutionary or restorationist movements in the workers states, movements which hide behind "nationalist" demagoguery, illusions in bourgeois democracy and freedom of religion. For relentless struggle against the reactionary ideology of Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism.

For proletarian political revolution in the USSR and in all the deformed workers states. Power to revolutionary workers councils: Down with the parasitic bureaucratic caste! Only the working class and the revolutionary party can

consistently defend the gains of the October Revolution.

For the right of secession from the USSR for all the republics which desire it in order to form independent WORKERS STATES.

Reclaim Lenin and Trotsky's conception of proletarian internationalism, which is based on the unity of the exploited and oppressed against the exploiters and oppressors, rejecting the anti-Marxist conception that there are "reactionary and progressive peoples," which comes out in our line on the fratricidal war between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Such a conception can only serve as a cover for these wars.

To reaffirm the Marxist conception that the Stalinist bureaucracy, as such, has a dual function, or plays a dual role, in the workers states, as was expressed in the classic works of Trotsky, particularly in "The Class Nature of the Soviet State," *The Revolution Betrayed*, *In Defense of Marxism*, the *Transitional Program*, etc. Against the Shachtmanite (and Healyite) conception that the bureaucracy is "counterrevolutionary through and through," which is utilized as a justification for abandoning in practice the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the workers states in the face of constant aggres-

sion and imperialist counterrevolution. Against conditional or "conjunctural defensism" of the workers states, which infuses the program and politics of the Internationalist Faction (IF) of the IWL.

II.

For a united socialist Germany in a federation of socialist workers states of Europe.

Down with the Fourth Reich! No to capitalist reunification! The German working class must take the lead in the process of political revolution with the program of world socialist revolution. For united-front actions to smash the fascist danger! No to the sellout of the social gains of the DDR! Full rights for all immigrant workers! Defend the rights of women, homosexuals, Jews, leftists, against ultrarightist terror and imperialist counterrevolution.

We reject the slogan, "Warsaw Pact Troops Out," as a capitulation to the NATO of Bush, Thatcher and Mitterrand. Revolutionary fraternization with the soldiers and officers of the Red Army based on defense of the gains of the workers states and for the formation of revolutionary soldiers and sailors councils.

We salute the Red Army in Afghanistan and the heroic combatants of Jalala-



Leon Trotsky in exile in Mexico, 1940.

bad against the mercenary armies of fundamentalist reaction supported by the CIA. We denounce the shameful capitulation of the Moscow Stalinist bureaucracy which made a pact with imperialism for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghan soil. We reject the shameful capitulation of the so-called Trotskyist movement which joined the imperialist campaign of "Russians out of Afghanistan!"

Morenoism: A Case Study in Stalinophobia

The dramatic unraveling of the Stalinist regimes in East Europe has placed on the agenda the alternative: either proletarian political revolution to replace the crumbling bureaucracies with the authentic soviet democracy of workers councils, or capitalist counterrevolution. Despite

By the
**Grupo Espartaquista
de México**

PART ONE OF TWO

the triumphalism of the imperialists, who brag of "winning" the Cold War, proclaiming the "death of Communism," the decisive battles over the social and economic gains of the bureaucratically deformed workers states are still to be waged. These struggles are an acid test for all tendencies who call themselves Marxist and, all the more, Trotskyist.

Already the battle has been joined over Germany. After the collapse of the decrepit Honecker regime in the DDR (East Germany) last October under the impact of constant street demonstrations, which led to the opening of the Berlin Wall, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) mobilized its resources worldwide in order to intervene. The ICL sought—and we continue to do so—to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party in the heat of battle to lead the German workers in these convulsive times.

In December we launched a daily paper, *Spartakist/Arbeiterpressekorespondenz* (Workers Press Correspondence), in Berlin with a press run of 50,000 and wide distribution in cities throughout the DDR. As far as we are aware, this was

AVANZADA SOCIALISTA

30 March 1990

autororganizaciónes u otros de tipo
Junto a esto nos manifestamos claramente por la defensa del derecho de las masas alemanas a unificarse como ellas lo deseen, aún cuando decidan hacerlo en los marcos del capitalismo y siempre que esto sea resuelto en forma democrática. Este sentimiento de las masas hacia la unidad es a la vez el rechazo a 40 años de división reaccionaria de la clase obrera y del conjunto de la nación alemana. Los revolucionarios defendemos la decisión de las masas este año.

"In addition, we come out clearly for the defense of the right of the German masses to unite however they wish, even if they decide to do so in the framework of capitalism and as long as this is resolved in a democratic manner."



Der Spiegel

Argentine Morenoite newspaper supports capitalist reunification of Germany. Rightist demonstrators in Dresden last year march under banner of "Germany—One Fatherland."

the first Trotskyist daily ever in a deformed workers state. We distributed thousands of greetings, in their native languages, to Vietnamese, Polish and Cuban workers in East Germany, and to the soldiers of the Soviet Army at their posts guarding the front line against NATO imperialism. At the beginning of January, after the defacing of Soviet soldiers' graves at the war memorial in East Berlin's Treptow Park, we initiated a massive workers united-front mobilization. With the support as well of the SED, the Stalinist party (now the PDS), the demonstration brought out more than

250,000 people, striking a sharp blow against the fascists and showing solidarity with the Red Army which, at the cost of 20 million Soviet lives, smashed Hitler's Third Reich.

On January 3 in Treptow, spokesmen of the Trotzkiistische Liga Deutschlands (German section of the ICL) and of the Spartakist-Gruppen, which we had formed in the DDR, called for workers self-defense guards to smash the fascists and for the formation of workers councils, while warning that social democracy was a Trojan horse of counterrevolution. This revolutionary program infuriated the

diehard Stalinists, who tried to silence our comrades with crazed booing. The bourgeoisie, for its part, was shocked by this powerful workers mobilization, and at the Round Table of the DDR the SED was sharply criticized for the notable presence [at Treptow] of the Trotskyists and our warnings against social democracy.

With the fusion of the TLD and active elements of the Spartakist-Gruppen, at the end of January the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) was formed, which then participated in the
continued on page 10



Spartakist

Soviet soldiers in Halle, East Germany commemorate Red Army victory over Nazi Third Reich.

We salute the sending of Cuban troops to Angola during the war against the agents of the South African regime. We denounce the capitulation of Castro and the Kremlin which negotiated with imperialism the departure of the Cuban internationalist fighters.

We reject the slogan of a "Constituent Assembly" for Germany, recently raised by the PTS (see the special pamphlet, "Where Is the MAS Going?" [Buenos

Aires]), for being a slogan for capitalist restoration.

III.

**For the construction of
Trotskyist parties in the USSR
and in all the workers states,**

sections of the Fourth International which lead the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, confront imperialist counterrevolution, and unite under the pro-

gram of the Fourth International the political and social revolutions throughout the world. A process of unity which will not take place through the "unconscious dynamic" of struggles, as the PTS and the IWL maintain, but only as the *Transitional Program* lays out: by resolving the crisis of proletarian leadership in a fight to the death against the old leaderships and centrism.

IV.

**Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution
in Poland.**

Eliminate from our program any kind of "critical" support to this agency of capitalist restoration and anti-Communism. Along with this, no political confidence in the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy! For proletarian political revolution to bring down the Walesa-Jaruzelski government! For the program of proletarian internationalism against the clerical nationalism of Walesa, the Pope and the Black Madonna! For revolutionary unity of the Polish, German and Soviet proletariat against the schemes of the International Monetary Fund.

V.

Proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy is more urgent than ever to defend the gains of the October Revolution. Against Gorbachev's perestroika and so-called "market socialism," Trotskyists fight for a truly centralized, planned economy, based on workers democracy. Faced with the bankruptcy of COMECON under the bureaucracy's leadership, we fight for genuinely coop-

erative economic relations among the workers states based on solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

VI.

We oppose the document titled "Thesis of the PTS on the Political Revolution" presented by the PTS; we reject it as any kind of basic document or programmatic guide for the Internationalist Faction, as it is fundamentally revisionist. The document in question reasserts and lays claim to the principal concepts of the IWL and Morenoism, such as a "world counterrevolutionary front," "February revolutions" in the workers states and dissolving the revolutionary party in an objectivist and eclectic conception of the class struggle, leading us to capitulate to different petty-bourgeois, reactionary and counterrevolutionary leaderships that arise in the process.

In the case of the PTS this objectivist conception has led it to raise the slogan of a constituent assembly in Germany, which means objectively acting like a simple variant of Morenoism and the IWL.

Comrades: The political crisis which has been opened in the Mexican group and the ranks of the Internationalist Faction can only be overcome if we assimilate and reclaim the traditions and programmatic guidelines of the Fourth International. We call on all the comrades of the IF to discuss and support the general line of this Platform.

Humberto H., Arturo Urbina
Mexico City, 19 May 1990

Morenoism...

(continued from page 9)

precipitous elections for the Volkskammer (East Germany's parliament) on a program of struggle "Against Capitalist Reunification! For a Red Germany of Workers Councils in a Socialist Europe!" We organized a demonstration against privatization of the collectivized means of production. And in the face of the bourgeois onslaught, which brought in millions of D-marks in order to buy the DDR elections, we were in fact the only party which flatly rejected *Anschluss* (annexation) by imperialist West Germany. (See *Spartacist* [edición en español] No. 23, May 1990, for more information.) Subsequently, the SpAD marched on May Day together with Mozambican workers demanding full citizenship rights for foreign workers.

While we Spartacists fought for Trotskyism, in defense of the gains of the workers state and against the bankrupt bureaucracy which sought to sell these out to imperialism (only bargaining over the price of this liquidation sale), we hear from Buenos Aires the voice of supposed Trotskyists who lined up openly in the camp of counterrevolution, explicitly calling for capitalist reunification. This was the shameful policy of both wings of the Morenoite current, followers of the deceased Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist Nahuel Moreno.

The main grouping, the International Workers League (IWL) whose "mother party" is the Argentine Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS), began with an article proclaiming "the first stage of the political revolution" which "brings together everyone who opposes the regime." According to the formula of Moreno, this stage is "democratic, popular, against the totalitarian regime" (*Correo Internacional*, November 1989). That is, according to this treacherous theory, "everyone" from revolutionaries to open counter-



May Day in East Berlin: Spartacist Workers Party marches with Mozambican workers demanding full citizenship rights. Right: Program of German Trotskyists in March 18 DDR elections.

revolutionaries are to make common cause in this phase of a process which is to lead eventually to "socialism with democracy." Which not only implies the possibility of socialism *without* democracy, thus whitewashing Stalinism, but is also a call for social democracy, the counterrevolutionary enemy of authentic communism which is the goal of the political revolution.

That is only the beginning. In the next issue of their magazine they reprint a resolution of the IWL ("The East Shakes the World") with a program for Germany "whose guiding slogan is: German reunification now" (*Correo Internacional*, January 1990). While adding that this would be "to achieve a socialist and democratic Germany," it's obvious that in the present circumstances, in the face of the imperialist drive and the lack of a mass proletarian revolutionary movement, this means nothing but capitalist

reunification. But in order to underline the counterrevolutionary character of this call, they insert an "errata" sheet in which, dishonestly blaming a "technical error," they extensively rewrite this point. Now the "guiding slogan" is: "German reunification now!" with an exclamation point, and this is explained as "the struggle of the German people for immediate and unconditional reunification of their country." A "Socialist Germany" reappears only as a "perspective" way at the end.

The policies of the IWL are criticized by the Partido de Trabajadores por el Socialismo (PTS—Party of Workers for Socialism), a split from the MAS in 1988, which presents itself as a member of the "Internationalist Faction" of the Morenoite International. The PTS calls the IWL's attempt to demonstrate the existence of a homogeneous bloc uniting the imperialists against German reunification as "the height of political myopia." But while it talks of "a united, workers, socialist Germany" and refers to "plans for capitalist reunification," the PTS adds the slogan: "Immediate withdrawal of all the occupation troops from German soil, of the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 6 December 1989).

Some "occupation army"—only two months before the article quoted above was written they refused to shore up the Honecker regime. (For their part, the troops of imperialist NATO—of which the BRD is one of the principal components—don't "occupy" West Germany either.) How grotesque! In fact, Soviet troops have constituted the first line of defense of the workers states against imperialism, and that is what the Morenoites want to withdraw. Within the Mexican group aligned with the PTS, the Partido Obrero Socialista (POS—Socialist Workers Party), an opposition arose to their demand for the withdrawal of the Soviet Army which later formed the Trotskyist Faction and was promptly expelled as "Spartacist agents."

Reacting to this opposition which returned to Trotsky's policy of unconditional defense of the USSR (particularly referring to his writings collected in the volume *In Defense of Marxism*) and reflecting the impact on the German masses of the imperialist assault, the PTS amplified its support to counterrevolution. In an article written after the March 18 elections in the DDR, they state: "We come out clearly for the defense of the right of the German masses to unite however they wish, even if they decide to do so in the framework of capitalism" as long as "it is resolved in a democratic manner" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 30 March). So while we Spartacists fight to defend the gains of the workers state in the DDR and for a revolutionary reunification of Germany, both varieties of Morenoites are "fighting" for the destruction of the DDR and a capitalist reunifi-

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cation, in the name of democracy and the right of self-determination!

Thus in a polemic titled "Where Is the MAS Going?" (*Cuadernos de Avanzada Socialista* No. 3, April 1990), in a box on German reunification, after calling for the expulsion of "foreign troops, breaking with the Warsaw Pact and NATO," the PTS adds the slogan for "a truly sovereign Constituent Assembly." Behind this supposedly evenhanded "democratic" phraseology is hidden the clearly counterrevolutionary content of their call. A constituent assembly is, at most, a revolutionary-democratic slogan which at particular times can be used against dictatorial capitalist regimes as a subordinate element in a program for workers revolution. Using it against a workers state (however bureaucratically deformed), as the Morenoites do vis-à-vis the DDR, is a call for bourgeois counterrevolution.

This inevitably recalls the example of the social democrat Karl Kautsky, who in the middle of the bloody Russian Civil War (and when social democracy was allied with the imperialists against the nascent Soviet state) published a diatribe rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat and attacking the Bolsheviks for having dispersed by military force the Constituent Assembly which refused to recognize the revolutionary government of the soviets. In his "Theses on the Constituent Assembly" (December 1917), Lenin answered with incisive simplicity:

"Every direct or indirect attempt to consider the question of the Constituent Assembly from a formal, legal point of view, within the framework of ordinary bourgeois democracy and disregarding the class struggle and civil war, would be a betrayal of the proletariat's cause, and the adoption of the bourgeois standpoint."

Taking up Kautsky's program seven decades later, the Morenoites want to give a democratic cover to a Fourth Reich as he did in his time to the British Empire [in the battle over Soviet Georgia].

This is not Trotskyism, it is the purest Stalinophobia. They speak of political revolution but support social counterrevolution. And they do so precisely at the moment of the terminal crisis of Stalinism, when key sectors of the dissolving bureaucracy are turning over to imperialism everything that has been built by the workers' sweat. In contrast, Trotsky declared flatly in his "Letter to the Workers of the USSR" (April 1940), which is partially and misleadingly quoted by the PTS leaders:

"But, fortunately, among the surviving conquests of the October Revolution are the nationalized industry and the collectivized Soviet economy. Upon this foundation workers' soviets can build a new and happier society. This foundation cannot be surrendered by us to the world bourgeoisie under any conditions. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationali-

zation of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones."

**Morenoites:
In Solidarity with Pro-Capitalist
Solidarity in Poland
Caboose of Capitalist
Reunification of Germany
Cat's Paw of Imperialism
Over Lithuania**

The frantic anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism of the Morenoites is nothing new. Applauding the "Iranian Revolution" of the Imam Khomeini, they described it as "the most spectacular example of an upsurge to be seen in recent years" ("Declaration and Platform of the Bolshevik Faction," July 1979), and they even called for the extension "within the borders of the USSR" of this Islamic counterrevolution! After the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against the *mujahedin* (holy warriors) financed and armed by the CIA, Moreno & Co. howled with the imperialist wolves over "this new outrage by the Soviet bureaucracy against the independence of its neighbors" (Resolution of the First Congress of the IWL, March 1985).

But it was over Poland that Moreno most energetically unfurled the anti-Soviet banner. Crying "All power to Solidarity!" he boasted of being even more consistent than his pseudo-Trotskyist rival Ernest Mandel in his adulation of this company union in the service of the CIA,



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Nr. 1 ARBEITERPRESSEKORRESPONDENZ 7. DEZ. 1989
**Kein Ausverkauf der DDR!
Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte, jetzt!**
Die DDR ist in Gefahr. Westdeutsche Revanchisten und ihre SPD/SED-Handlanger wollen die DDR vereinnahmen. Aber die ostdeutschen Arbeiter und Volkswirtschaftler sind nicht gewillt, eine kapitalistische Wiedereingliederung zu erlauben. Nachdem die stalinistische SED-Führung ihren völligen Bankrott bezeugt hat und durch abgetriebene, von der bürgerlichen Politik zum Staatsratsvorsitzenden ernannte Erwin Zech zum Staatsratsvorsitzenden ernannt wurde, ist die DDR in eine politische Krise geraten. Die DDR ist in Gefahr. Westdeutsche Revanchisten und ihre SPD/SED-Handlanger wollen die DDR vereinnahmen. Aber die ostdeutschen Arbeiter und Volkswirtschaftler sind nicht gewillt, eine kapitalistische Wiedereingliederung zu erlauben. Nachdem die stalinistische SED-Führung ihren völligen Bankrott bezeugt hat und durch abgetriebene, von der bürgerlichen Politik zum Staatsratsvorsitzenden ernannte Erwin Zech zum Staatsratsvorsitzenden ernannt wurde, ist die DDR in eine politische Krise geraten. Die DDR ist in Gefahr. Westdeutsche Revanchisten und ihre SPD/SED-Handlanger wollen die DDR vereinnahmen. Aber die ostdeutschen Arbeiter und Volkswirtschaftler sind nicht gewillt, eine kapitalistische Wiedereingliederung zu erlauben. Nachdem die stalinistische SED-Führung ihren völligen Bankrott bezeugt hat und durch abgetriebene, von der bürgerlichen Politik zum Staatsratsvorsitzenden ernannte Erwin Zech zum Staatsratsvorsitzenden ernannt wurde, ist die DDR in eine politische Krise geraten.

sented by Rosa Luxemburg.

Today we stand by the railroad strikers in Poland, while Walesa denounces the strike leaders as "provocateurs." The ICL, the only tendency which was able to swim against the stream when Solidarność was widely popular, inside Poland and among fake-leftists internationally, is also the only one to put forward a genuine class-struggle program against the capitalist government of Solidarność (and Jaruzelski).

Moreno borrowed the pronounced anti-Sovietism and Stalinophobia of his last years from the tendency of Pierre Lambert in France, with which the Moreno-

many can take place only when, under the leadership of a Trotskyist party, the masses carry out the political revolution in the DDR and the social revolution in West Germany. While placing no trust whatsoever in the bureaucracy, we defend the right of these states to defend themselves against imperialist attack and against attempts at capitalist restoration within, even when the bureaucrats' bankrupt policies lead to 'defense' by such bureaucratic methods as the Berlin Wall."

—Translated in *Spartacist*
No. 29, Summer 1980

After his split with Lambert, Moreno kept the formulation of a "front of imperialist and bureaucratic counterrevolution." It is the cornerstone of the Manifesto of the First Congress of the IWL. This guts any substance from the (rare) ritual mentions of defense of the USSR: if such a counterrevolutionary alliance or front were to exist, then what is the whole Soviet military apparatus for? And, in fact, in an article on "Nuclear Arms and the Class Struggle" in *Alternativa Socialista* (January-February 1984), published by the Mexican and U.S. sections of the IWL, there is a call "for a democratic referendum in the USSR, so that the population can take a stand on whether or not it considers defense of the workers state based on the policy of the arms race is positive." I.e., they are for the "democratic" disarming of the Soviet Union in the face of imperialism!

The Morenoite label of a "counter-revolutionary front of imperialism and Stalinism" has a lot in common with the Maoist theory of "two superpowers." Both reflect a Third World nationalist viewpoint. And when all is said and done, they end up supporting imperialism, as the Maoists did over Angola and Vietnam in the '70s and the Morenoites

After Honecker's fall, Trotskyists intervened in DDR with agitational daily paper whose first issue called for: "No Sellout of the DDR! Workers and Soldiers Councils, Now!" Left: Distributing Trotskyist literature at SED conference in East Berlin last December.

repeat today, in a crystal clear fashion, over Poland, East Germany, and East Europe and the USSR generally. Thus the epigones of Moreno support counter-revolution in the Baltic republics which lurks behind the "independence" movement. The PTS "justifies" its call "for defense of the right of Lithuania to secede from the USSR" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 30 March), egregiously citing the call by Trotsky for "an independent workers' and peasants' Ukraine" (to which he added, to avoid any possibility of distortion, "soviet"). These falsifiers and swindlers are oblivious to the class line between these two policies.

To top it off, in a resolution at its recent special world congress, the IWL calls "on all governments who claim to respect the right of national self-determination to immediately recognize the Republic of Lithuania," and "in order to break the boycott of Lithuania" it calls on "all governments of the world to send the products the country needs" (*Correo Internacional*, May 1990). So to support the pro-capitalist secessionists they call for diplomatic blackmail and economic aggression by imperialism against the workers state! And to give themselves a scanty "working-class" cover, they call on the labor movement to isolate the USSR ("cut off telephone calls, air and sea voyages, shipment of goods, etc.") and even to starve the Soviet workers ("Argentine workers should demand the suspension of grain deliveries to Russia")! These anti-Soviet scoundrels offer themselves as cat's paws to imperialism against the land of the October Revolution!

[TO BE CONTINUED]

AVANZADA SOCIALISTA

6 December 1989

del SED...
- Por la organización de los obreros movilizados en Comités de Fábrica y Empresas.
- Retiro inmediato de todas las tropas de ocupación del suelo alemán, de las fuerzas armadas de la OTAN y del Pacto de Varsovia. Frente al Peligro de acciones militares contrarrevolucionarias tanto de las fuerzas que responden a la OTAN como las que responden a las del Pacto de Varsovia, los trotskistas llamamos al armamento de la clase obrera del Este de Europa.

"Immediate withdrawal of all the occupation troops from German soil, of the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact."

Morenoite press called for Soviet troops to withdraw from East Germany.

the Vatican and the bankers of Frankfurt and Wall Street. And now that Solidarność is leading the Polish government, imposing unemployment, hunger and poverty on orders from its masters of the International Monetary Fund, what do the Morenoites say? The recent resolution of the IWL on East Europe proclaims, "Poland: First Victorious Democratic Revolution." They call the achievement of "almost total freedoms which it [Poland] now has" a "colossal victory."

While the leader of Solidarność, Lech Walesa, calls openly for capitalism, today the IWL flaunts its alliance with the Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution (PPS-RD) of Josef Piniór, who last year made a tour of Argentina sponsored by the MAS. The PPS-RD denies the working-class character of the East European states and has allied itself with far-right groups such as "Fighting Solidarity," who in front of Walesa and U.S. president Bush in Gdansk (July 1989) raised banners with the slogan "Death to Communists."

Nine years ago, when the Stalinists' lies, bureaucratic repression and disastrous economic mismanagement pushed millions of Polish workers into the arms of a clerical-nationalist leadership, the Spartacist tendency told the truth, calling to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" (title of the [Spanish-language] Spartacist pamphlet published in late 1981). We noted that at its first congress, Walesa & Co. rejected any mention of socialism, called for the abolition of central planning, called for anti-Communist "free trade unions" throughout East Europe and invited notorious CIA "labor" agents to join in their conclave, while they were financed by millions of dollars provided by Washington. And we called on the Polish workers to return to the revolutionary internationalist traditions repre-

ites fused in 1980, declaring this "a leap forward like no other in the history of the Fourth International," only to split apart one year later (see "Son of Perón Leaves Son of Mitterrand," *Workers Vanguard* No. 298, 5 February 1982). That is the origin among the Morenoites of the Stalinophobic concept of a "counter-revolutionary Holy Alliance between imperialism and Stalinism" supposedly going back to the Yalta and Potsdam conferences—a trademark of Lambertism to justify its constant pro-social-democratic politics. In reality, while a division of Europe was negotiated at these two conferences, and both Stalin and the imperialist Allies feared proletarian revolution in the aftermath of the Second World War, the Yalta conference "recognized" the accomplished fact of the liberation of East Europe by the Red Army and Potsdam saw the first shots of the anti-Soviet Cold War.

The logical consequences of the Stalinophobic positions of the Moreno-Lambert duo were not long in coming to the fore. Thus the German group of the Parity Committee (which brought together the Morenoites and Lambertists) called for "unconditional reunification of Germany" through "free elections in all Germany without preconditions." This is the literal predecessor of the present position of the MAS/IWL and the PTS, for a counter-revolutionary annexation of the DDR by capitalist West Germany such as is taking place before our eyes. Our German comrades responded at that time with an open letter in which they stated:

"...the TLD stands for unconditional defense of the social gains of the deformed and degenerated workers states, while simultaneously calling for a political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucrats and for the international extension of the proletarian revolution. The revolutionary reunification of Ger-

Mexico Fusion...

(continued from page 8)

contains a historical analysis of the anti-Sovietism of Moreno, of which Part I is published here (see page 9).

In a letter explaining their decision to fuse with the International Communist League, the comrades of the Trotskyist Faction noted, "As was the custom in Morenoism (which even prohibited its members from buying the Spartacist press), for us over many years, 'The devil' was called Spartacist." We two even criticized the Mexican PTZ for not being sufficiently 'consistent' in the anti-Spartacist struggle." But the course of the class struggle, particularly the worldwide crisis of Stalinism, led them to reread many of Trotsky's works, notably *In Defense of Marxism*, the record of his struggle, together with James P. Cannon, against those who abandoned defense of the Soviet Union on the eve of World War II. Their decision to fuse with the ICL, they explain, was based on a determination to "build revolutionary parties and reforge the Fourth International to fight every kind of centrism, reformism, Stalinism, etc."

In a continent dominated by Third

Worldist nationalism, which is also a calling card of Morenoism, the fight by the Trotskyist Faction beginning over historic events in East Germany and centering on the Russian question placed the struggle for internationalist proletarian communism firmly in the forefront. For the ICL, this fusion and the consolidation of the Grupo Espartaquista de México is also an important step in overcoming the setback for our work in Latin America suffered with the demise of the Chilean Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria some years ago under the pressures of exile and a lack of cadre resources for the tasks of a tiny propaganda group. And it confirms our efforts, from the inception of the international Spartacist tendency, to seek by revolutionary regroupment, through a process of splits and fusions, to win communist cadres who form the basis of a Leninist party.

We greet our new comrades and urge would-be Trotskyists, in Latin America and elsewhere, to study the documents of this fusion as they analyze and reject those who pass off Stalinophobia as Trotskyism, which defends the Soviet Union and all the gains of the workers movement against the class enemy and the sellout bureaucracies who would sacrifice this legacy on the altar of class collaboration. ■

Soviet Workers...

(continued from page 1)

"half measures" as an obstacle in their drive for a "free market" economy. The apparatchiks blame him for their crumbling authority. In the weeks leading up to the party congress, both the "liberal" Boris Yeltsin and the "conservative" Yegor Ligachev called on Gorbachev to step down as CPSU general secretary, although both sides subsequently pulled back. Disparaging the architect of perestroika (restructuring) is ever more common at the base of Soviet society. A young oil worker from Siberia summed up the popular attitude: "As for Gorbachev, he is *ne tuda, ne suda*"—neither here nor there.

In recent weeks the conservative wing of the Kremlin oligarchy has found a strong organizational base in the newly formed Russian Communist Party. While the minority national republics (e.g., in the Baltic region and Soviet Central Asia) have long had organizationally separate Communist parties within the framework of the CPSU, the Russian republic heretofore has not. The old-line Stalinists are exploiting popular fears of economic insecurity and riding the rising tide of Russian nationalism, linked to anti-Semitism (what German socialist leader August Bebel called "the socialism of fools").

Fear for the Soviet Union's future has been enormously intensified by Gorbachev's seemingly limitless capitulations to world imperialism. At the Russian Communist Party congress in mid-June, General Albert Makashov was wildly applauded when he warned of a reunified Germany in the West and a remilitarizing Japan in the East. "Comrades," he proclaimed, "the army and navy will be needed yet by the Soviet Union" (*Washington Post*, 20 June). Speaker after speaker roasted Gorbachev. The Russian party elected as its leader the prominent hardliner Ivan Polozkov, best known as the scourge of petty capitalist entrepreneurs ("cooperativists") in the southern Russian region of Krasnodar.

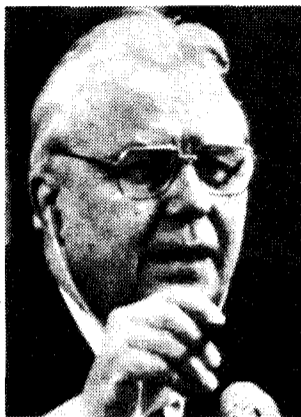
The conservative counterattack continued at the CPSU congress now in progress. Ligachev got "thunderous applause" when he charged that "the past five years of perestroika" has "yielded us little good." Alexander Yakovlev, Gorbachev's chief lieutenant and ideologue, blames conservative resistance to perestroika on the ingrained outlook of the lifelong apparatchik, who "has grown accustomed to his position, his lifestyle, his living standards, who has grown used to wielding power—history's most corrupting habit." Certainly Ligachev, Polozkov and their friends are defending the interests of the privileged parasitic caste forged under Stalin. But Gorbachev, Yakovlev and the "liberal" Stalinists are promoting a potentially even



Der Spiegel
Gorbachev defends capitulations to Western imperialism and drive toward market economy against conservative wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy represented by: (from left to right) Russian CP leader Ivan Polozkov, Yegor Ligachev and defense minister Dmitri Yazov.



Reuters



Der Spiegel



Clopet/US News & World Report

more privileged group of parasites, namely, capitalist entrepreneurs.

Yakovlev cannot explain why after five years of perestroika, during which Gorbachev called all the shots, the old-line Stalinist hacks are making something of a comeback. It is precisely because Soviet working people are suffering the "transition to a market economy." A Gorbachev "reformer" in the giant engine plant in Yaroslavl, who lost out in the delegate elections to the party congress, noted: "The deteriorating economic situation is working in favor of the conservatives. The conservatives are able to argue that life may have been difficult in the old days, but it's gotten a lot worse now" (*Washington Post*, 30 June).

Coal Miners, Oil Workers Threaten Strikes

The splintering of the bureaucracy and associated layers of the intelligentsia has gone so deep that in the weeks leading up to the CPSU congress, speculation abounded of a walkout by the rightist Democratic Platform. There is a growing malaise in the country, with a sharpening of political tensions prefiguring civil war. Pro-capitalist Leningrad city council chairman Anatoly Sobchak calls for creating a "free economic zone" for capitalism in the city. And some of his cohorts are calling to strip the name of Leningrad from this first city of the

Bolshevik Revolution and restore its tsarist name (*New York Times*, 24 June). This is the language of counterrevolution.

But, particularly since the coal miners strikes which paralyzed the country last summer, a new and potentially decisive factor has been added to the equation—the working class. The June all-Soviet

disrupted" and that "150,000 oilmen and their families are on the waiting list for housing, many of them live in wooden sheds" (*Moscow News Weekly*, 8 April).

The oil workers are also demanding that their union be given 10-15 percent of the foreign-exchange earnings from Tyumen's oil output. While understandable in the present situation, the demand by a group of workers for a share of the country's foreign-exchange earnings is nonetheless wrong in principle. The wealth of the Tyumen oil fields rightly belongs to the entire Soviet working people. The development of these fields was made possible by the economic surplus generated in countless factories, farms and mines. The Tyumen oil fields could not and would not exist without the food grain produced in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, the steel smelted in the Urals and machine tools manufactured in Leningrad, and the railways which link together the far-flung Soviet economy. The drive toward a market economy undermines the unity of the Soviet proletariat.

The oil workers are not here motivated by an ideological commitment to market economics. They are trying to find a means—any means—to meet their urgent needs. Yet while no wing of the bureaucracy offers a program which meets the interests of the multinational Soviet working class, the various intra-bureaucratic tendencies are refracted within the newly fledged workers movement. Just as the ravages of perestroika have caused some workers to support the conservative wing of the Kremlin oligarchy, so hostility to the Stalinist hacks has caused other workers to look favorably on Western-oriented social democrats and liberals.

Both the Kuzbass and Donbass miners' groups have expressed support for the populist demagogue Boris Yeltsin, who praises Ronald Reagan for bringing about



Frey/Time

Soviet troops departing Afghanistan, February 1989. Gorbachev's pullout was betrayal of Afghan peoples and of defense of the USSR.

miners congress issued a declaration which stated, "We do not consider the Communist Party of the Soviet Union our party." Miners in the Ukrainian Donbass and Siberian Kuzbass coal fields have called for a protest strike to coincide with the last day of the congress, July 11, because of the government's failure to fulfill promises of improving living conditions. Gorbachev lashed back that the strike threat is "not acceptable." TASS reported that "The leader of the party believes the idea of a strike was not born in the ranks of the working class. Someone wants to stir up the workers."

What an unmitigated expression of bureaucratic arrogance—as though the absence of food on the table and goods in the stores is not enough to "stir up" the workers! It is not only coal miners who are talking about strike action. The oil workers union in the Tyumen region of Siberia, which accounts for two-thirds of the USSR's entire output of crude oil, has threatened to strike unless the government meets demands to improve their desperate conditions. Even the Moscow minister in charge of fuel and energy concedes that the "food situation in Tyumen is grave, state deliveries are being

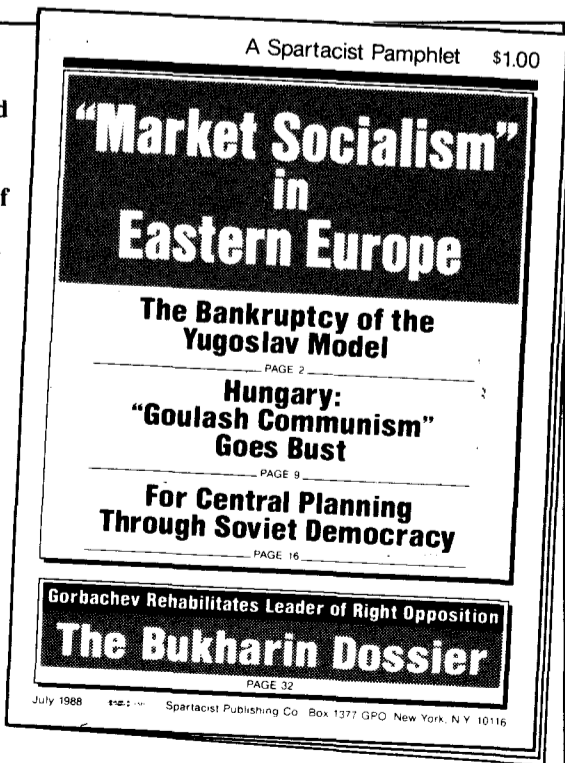
"major improvements, especially in the American economy" (*Against the Grain* [1990]). Under Reagan, American trade unions were broken, wages and benefits slashed and millions of working people driven into poverty and homelessness. Yeltsin's own "painless" solution to the Soviet economic crisis involves selling land to private entrepreneurs, privatizing state-owned apartments and further cutting military spending and investment in new plant and equipment. After a few years of Yeltsin's version of perestroika, the Soviet Union would be economically and militarily far weaker than today.

That old-line Stalinist hacks get a favorable hearing in Russian factories, that a pro-capitalist demagogue like Yeltsin enjoys widespread popularity—this is possible because there does not now exist in the USSR a genuine communist party of the working class. A Leninist-Trotskyist party would counterpose to bourgeois parliamentarism proletarian political power based on democratically elected workers councils (soviets). It would counterpose to "market socialism" a planned economy to maximize productivity in an egalitarian social order. It would undercut Russian nationalism by fighting for internationalism, which is

A pamphlet on the economics of the East European deformed workers states, analyzing Yugoslavia, Hungary and East Germany in the context of Gorbachev's perestroika. The pamphlet considers the history of the ruling bureaucracies' efforts to combat stagnation through decentralization and "market-oriented" reforms, and counterposes the Trotskyist program for centralized economic planning based on workers democracy.

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key to the very existence of the multinational USSR. It would promote the perspective of socialist revolution in the imperialist centers as the surest defense of the remaining gains of the October Revolution.

What Road for the Soviet Working Class?

Since the coal miners strikes last summer, the working class has emerged as a major factor in the Soviet political and economic crisis. Fear of worker unrest has slowed down the drive toward a market economy, especially the raising of consumer prices in state shops. However, the Soviet proletariat has *not yet* emerged as an *independent political force*, as a class for itself. The workers' organizations which have arisen in the past period remain under the influence of various competing *petty-bourgeois tendencies and ideologies* stemming from the bureaucracy and intelligentsia.

The United Front of Toilers (OFT) of the USSR, founded in Leningrad a year ago, opposes the basic thrust of perestroika and strongly appeals to Soviet patriotism. An important component in the Front is the Internationalist Movement in Latvia and Estonia, consisting mainly of Russian-speaking workers defending their democratic rights against reactionary Baltic nationalists. The Front's Charter states that its goal is "the carrying out in practice of Lenin's Declaration of the Rights of the Toilers and Exploited People." It calls for the "Development of soviet socialist democracy" and "struggle against economic egoism of authorities or enterprises."

Yet the OFT is being promoted by old-line Stalinist bureaucrats, especially in the trade-union apparatus, who are allied with the vilest Russian nationalists. One of its founding constituents, the United Front of Russian Workers, had *Pamyat fascists* acting as an open faction. In Leningrad, OFT leader Mikhail Popov formed an electoral bloc with the extreme Russian nationalists of Fatherland. Such actions fatally undermine the OFT claim to stand for "guaranteeing the real equality of toilers of all nationalities." An internationalist workers movement can be built in the USSR only by relentless political combat against Great Russian chauvinism, defending Jews against the rising tide of violent anti-Semitism and crushing the fascist thugs of Pamyat in the streets.

The United Front of Toilers was a major organizing force in the push toward the formation of the Russian CP. Thus workers who want to conserve a socialized and egalitarian economy find themselves in the same political current as the notorious defender of Stalin, Nina Andreyeva, who lauds the gravedigger of the Bolshevik Revolution and pathological mass murderer as a "wise statesman." In a negative sense the ideological stamp of Stalinism is also seen in the Front's Charter. While it repeatedly calls for defending and strengthening the "soviet socialist Motherland," the program is totally devoid of any perspective for *international socialist revolution*. Yet the present economic crisis facing the USSR is not centrally the result of a conspiracy

by Western-oriented intellectuals but of the powerful pressures—economic and military—of world capitalism.

To match the U.S. military buildup under Carter and then Reagan without cutting living standards, the Brezhnev regime reduced investment in new plant and equipment. The growth of planned investment was cut from 7 percent a year in the early 1970s to a mere 2 percent a decade later. As a result, productivity steadily declined in the country's evermore-aged industrial plants. Further, the collapse of the world oil prices in the early '80s sharply cut the USSR's foreign-exchange earnings. At one level Gorbachev's perestroika and the drive toward a market economy is a reactionary answer to the *objective* crisis of the Soviet economy after decades of bureaucratic mismanagement in the name of building "socialism in one country."

While the OFT links patriotic and socialist-minded workers with Stalinist bureaucrats and Russian nationalists, other organizations link workers who want to struggle for their interests against the Kremlin oligarchy with pro-Western anti-Communist reactionaries. Thus the June miners congress in the Donbass declared its opposition to increases in state-controlled consumer prices. Yet the organizers invited the rabidly anti-Communist Cold Warriors of the American AFL-CIO union bureaucracy to the congress. For decades the AFL-CIO tops have supported the buildup of the Pentagon's massive nuclear arsenal targeted at Soviet working people, as well as acting as agents of the CIA, supporting death squad regimes in Central America. At home they sabotage strikes, openly



Moscow News

Pro-capitalist demagogue Boris Yeltsin (center) attends Russian Orthodox service in Leningrad's St. Isaac's cathedral. Head of the Leningrad city council, Anatoly Sobchak (left), wants to restore city's tsarist name.

defending American capitalism in which inflation is taken as a matter of course, since for the workers to do anything about prices would challenge the sacred rights of private property.

A similar contradiction was manifest at a conference of independent workers organizations held in the Kuzbass in early May which formed the Confederation of Labor. A banner in the meeting hall read: "the very idea of communism must perish once and for all" (*Financial Times*, 5-6 May). A featured speaker at the conference was Nikolai Travkin, who not only denounced "the communist



Kassin/Moscow News

Siberian oil workers are threatening to strike as Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika produces economic desperation.

monster" but condemned "socialist" and "egalitarian" principles. Yet a delegate from the Chelyabinsk People's Front in the Urals spoke in a language very close to that of Trotskyism:

"The Russian Revolution was a historical step forward, but the bureaucrats usurped the power. We are now on the threshold of a new political revolution. But this will not succeed without the working class as its guiding force....
"We must unite the forces that are in favour of socialism."

—*International Viewpoint*,
18 June

How does one account for the glaring contradictions in the newly fledged Soviet workers movement—appeals to the ideals of the October Revolution

An aspirant to provide the "Socialism" in this counterrevolutionary formula is Boris Kagarlitsky, who is generally lionized by the Western left. In fact, he is a garden-variety social democrat. The keynote speaker at the founding of Kagarlitsky's Socialist Party last month was the British left Labourite Tony Benn. Kagarlitsky tries to sell "self-management" as an alternative to both central planning and "free market" capitalism. Loosely allied with his group is the Marxist Platform of the CPSU, which declares: "The main idea in the political sphere is the organization of democratic self-management at all levels of the society. In the factories and plants this means workers self-management" (*International Viewpoint*, 18 June).

"Self-management" is a much abused and much confused term. Certainly, workers should have wide latitude in determining the internal organization of their enterprise. They should have the right to elect their managers and decide how a certain fraction of investment is allocated. However, self-management is usually taken to mean that specific groups of workers have the *exclusive right* to dispose of the product of the particular factory, mine, oil field, etc. In other words, workers councils would have rights comparable to that of owners in a capitalist society. Such a conception, which goes back to Proudhon, *not Marx*, is a travesty of socialism. Should the oil workers in Tyumen, for example, earn close to half of the Soviet Union's total foreign exchange? Should they have five or ten times the income of coal miners just because of the gross irrationalities and monopolistic character of the world market for fossil fuel?

After more than six decades of oppressive Stalinist rule, Soviet workers identify central planning with bureaucratic commandism and arbitrariness. But if the bureaucracy is ousted from political power and replaced by a government of workers soviets, centralized planning and management is the *only way* that the working class can *democratically* determine the direction of economic development and allocation of limited resources among alternative needs. At the same time, central planning can be effective in stimulating dedicated and creative effort only when the mass of workers know that they are building for a socialist future for themselves and their children.

However, socialism cannot be built within one country, even one as vast and naturally rich as the Soviet Union. As Trotsky's 1927 Platform of the Opposition stated:

"...our fundamental historical expectations continue to be linked with the further development of the world proletarian revolution. Its victory in the advanced countries will break the ring of capitalist encirclement, deliver us from our heavy military burden, enormously strengthen us technologically, accelerate our entire development—in town and countryside, in factory and school—and give us the possibility of really building socialism—that is, a classless society, based on the highest level of technology and real equality among all its members both at work and in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor." ■



Newsweek

Dmitri Vasilyev (center), leader of fascist Pamyat organization, surrounded by his black-shirted stormtroopers.

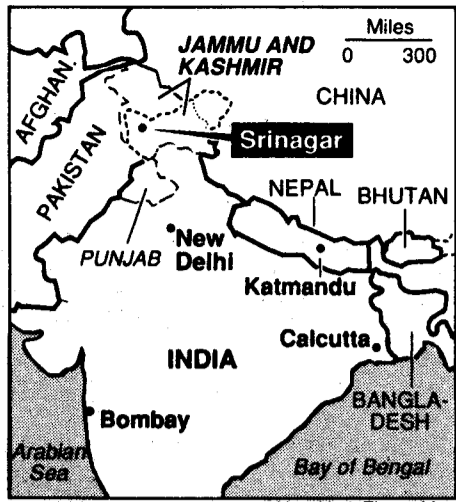
Kashmir...

(continued from page 7)

forehead to identify themselves; cinemas, video libraries and beauty salons were shut down, and liquor sales banned. The mosques preach *jihad* (holy war) and demand the men wear beards and traditional Kashmiri garb.

Among the plethora of groups one of the largest is the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) which demands independence and seeks to distance itself from some of the more communal aspects of the struggle. Rivalling it is the Jamaat-e-Islami, which calls for an Islamic order and theocratic structure. It is linked closely to the organisation of the same name in Pakistan and calls for accession to Pakistan. Another group, the "Allah Tigers," claims allegiance to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Hizbe-Islami, the fascist drug-running extreme of Afghan reaction long favored by the CIA. Even if they were to somehow succeed in removing the Indian overlordship of the region, an internecine war would be posed between those favoring joining Pakistan and the increasingly strong pro-independence forces.

Since last year perhaps as much as half of the non-Muslim population (Hindus and Sikhs) have fled the Kashmir valley. Fearful of threats by some Kashmiri Muslim groups to drive out all Indians and barraged with anti-Muslim propaganda by Hindu communalist groups, the



59th amendment to the constitution, New Delhi again imposed a state of emergency, in the face of the central government's inability to contain the armed activity of the pro-Khalistan groups. Moreover India has the second-largest Muslim population in the world (after Indonesia), larger than Pakistan and larger than that of the entire Arab world.

The brutal suppression in Kashmir is intended to signal that separation is not an option. Indian bourgeois nationalists are always touting India's secular character. But Indian nationalism has always contained a strong element of Hindu and Hindi chauvinism, reflecting the predominance of Hindus and the strong percentage of Hindi-speaking people in the population. The late, uneven and arrested development of the Indian bourgeoisie in

has been stymied in Afghanistan, particularly at the heroic defense of Jalalabad. Now they have rushed headlong to embrace this new opportunity.

Benazir Bhutto Plays the Kashmir Card

Bhutto herself has not dragged her heels in whipping up chauvinism and war hysteria over Kashmir, outflanking her most strident opponents and earning kudos from the army for her stance on Kashmir. She is after all the daughter of her father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a wealthy landlord from the Sind (around Karachi) and a demagogic populist who as much as anyone was responsible for the bloody Pakistani attempt to suppress the uprising in Bangladesh. Bhutto quotes her father in vowing a thousand-year war over Kashmir. This imperialist-touted "democrat" presides over Pakistan's pivotal role in imperialism's reactionary terrorist war in Afghanistan.

But Kashmir has not proved sufficient for Bhutto to divert the discontents of her "own" people. Sind, the main base of Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP), is awash with intercommunal gang warfare. The near-anarchic conditions are a direct result of the counterrevolutionary involvement in Afghanistan, with a flood of guns and drugs into the main cities of Sind intersecting bitter intercommunal strife. One inhabitant of Karachi, Pakistan's major port and commercial centre, said, "You could call it Beirut. Or maybe Colombia" (*India Today*, 15 June). One

about exactly who to crack down on.

Kashmir, the Sind and the Punjab are not isolated examples. In India itself national and communal unrest continues among the Gurkhas and Assamese, to mention only two examples. In Burma and Nepal the recent period has seen mass protest against despotic regimes. In Sri Lanka the withdrawal of the brutal Indian army occupation restores the island to the situation which triggered the Indian intervention in the first place: bloody fighting in the North between the "Tamil Tigers" and the Sinhalese-chauvinist Sri Lankan army and police, with hundreds killed, and the looming prospect of genocidal pogroms against the Tamil minority in the South.

More broadly, from the Kurds in Turkey, through Soviet Central Asia, to the Muslims of Chinese Sinkiang, there is a wave of ethnic unrest. U.S. imperialism has exerted strong pressure on its Pakistani client state to avoid giving an excuse "for an Indian pre-emptive war" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 21 June). Billions of dollars have been channelled through Pakistan to aid the reactionary war in Afghanistan, with the Pakistani army committing troops to the Jalalabad siege, but the imperialists fear a Pakistani war with India could lead to the disintegration of their key ally in the region.

The Stalinist bureaucracies of China and the Soviet Union fear the wave of nationalist and Islamic fundamentalist unrest that has spread among their central Asian minorities and along their borders. The Chinese Stalinists aided the reactionary CIA cutthroats against the Soviet Army supporting the PDPA regime in Kabul. Meanwhile, Gorbachev's policies of perestroika have encouraged reactionary nationalist movements within the USSR and throughout the entire region. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan had posed the possibility of a social transformation that would lift the people of Afghanistan out of feudal and capitalist immiseration, as well as dealing a blow to the most reactionary forces in the region. Leftist and national minority militants from Iran and Pakistan sought refuge in Kabul. Now Gorbachev's sell-out withdrawal has encouraged imperialism and reaction while strengthening the hold of the most reactionary elements within the national struggles such as that in Kashmir.

From Kurdistan to Eelam: Workers Must Rule

It is only the perspective of proletarian revolution that can bring liberation to the oppressed nationalities of the Indian subcontinent. This will not come from the Stalinist Communist parties of the Indian subcontinent. During the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war the respective parties of India and Pakistan shamelessly supported their respective bourgeoisies. In India both the CPI and CPI(M) support V. P. Singh's current coalition government. *People's Democracy* (10 June) advises:

"The CPI(M) Central Committee urges the National Front Government to urgently address itself to the task of restoring

continued on page 15



Margaret Bourke-White

Refugees flee for their lives in 1947-48 partition between India and Pakistan, engineered by British imperialism, in which millions died in communalist riots.

Kashmir high-caste Hindu Pandit community is fleeing. Typical of the whole of India, where caste and minority divisions aid capitalist rule, the Pandits have occupied a disproportionate share of government and professional posts. Now the precipitate flight of this layer is crippling social services, as hospitals for example find their staffs dramatically depleted.

Trip Wire for Indo-Pakistani War

The bourgeois rulers of both Pakistan and India see the Kashmir issue as integral to their existence. As recently as 1987 full-scale war almost broke out, and fighting has continued atop the Siachen Glacier. Pages and pages in the press of both countries are devoted to possible military scenarios. Even more ominous are the veiled threats of both sides with regard to nuclear warfare. V. P. Singh told the Indian parliament that Indian scientists could and would counter any moves by Pakistan to introduce nuclear weapons (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 26 April).

Singh says that "Fundamentalism is not necessarily directed only at certain parts of India; it is a threat to the fabric of India itself" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 May). Kashmir is the only Muslim-majority state of India. Its location is strategic and next to it is the Punjab, a hotbed of Sikh unrest for an independent Khalistan. After promising elections, and repealing the draconian

the context of myriad national, language and religious divisions poses the disintegration of this prison house of peoples. And today the bourgeois politicians hardly bother to mask their corruption, nepotism and venality.

Their pretensions to "secularism" are transparent. The Congress (I) of Rajiv Gandhi has long played the communalist game. In the Punjab it encouraged pro-Khalistan fanatics like Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in an attempt to undermine the more moderate Akali Dal. And the government of the new "Mr. Clean" V. P. Singh relies on the support of the sinister Hindu communalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). The BJP calls for pre-emptive strikes against Pakistani-held "Azad Kashmir" and for opening the valley to all Indians. This party is now a major force in the Hindi belt across north central India, having gone from 2 to 84 seats at the last general elections.

For Pakistan, the issue of Kashmir represents its pretensions to constitute "one nation" of all Muslims. The Pakistani ruling class cannot accept the option of an independent Kashmir—which would pose the question of independence for the Baluchis, Pathans and Sindhis who all bridle at Punjabi domination. The issue of Kashmir has always been used by the fragile bourgeoisie of Pakistan to divert attention from problems within their artificial state. The government of Benazir Bhutto, under pressure from right-wing and religious forces like the Jamaat-e-Islami and the Inter Services Intelligence,

force is the Mohajir Qaumi Mahaz (National Mohajir Movement, MQM), based on the Mohajir community—Muslims who fled India at the time of partition. The MQM was originally encouraged by General Zia as a counterweight to the PPP. Other private armies exist among the Pathans who control road transport and drugs, and among the landlords in the countryside. The provincial PPP government draws support from the Sindhi community. There is even an "All Sindh Bandits Association." Hundreds have been killed in these clashes, while the Bhutto government and the army quarrel

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Save Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

to many as the "voice of the voiceless" for his defense of the poor and oppressed minorities, Jamal was framed in 1982 on charges of killing a Philly cop. Today, his name is becoming the rallying cry against the racist death penalty. As PDC co-chairman Charles Brover stated, "This campaign cracks the boundaries and politicizes the struggle against the death penalty."

The protests, kicked off with a rally of 150 people in New York on June 28, illustrated the growing support of the labor movement in the fight to save Jamal. Rally chairman Gene Herson, labor coordinator of the PDC, recalled the massive international protests of the 1930s and '40s which saved the lives of nine black youths in the famous Scottsboro case: "around the world millions poured out for them, victimized simply because they were black." Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 UAW and veteran of five decades in the labor movement, told of his work in the Scottsboro defense in the 1940s. Robinson pointed out, "The trade-union movement in this country is the bulwark for the defense of working people. That's what it's supposed to be. If we are to save the life of this brother, and the others who are out there, we need a strong militant trade-union movement."

At a June 29 rally in Paris, 70 people heard speakers from the American Commission of the Movement Against Racism (MRAP) and a Kurdish organization in addition to the Comité de Défense Sociale, our fraternal defense organization in France. A statement was also read from the CGT, France's largest trade-union federation representing millions of workers, announcing that it "joins the international defense campaign to demand that MUMIA ABU-JAMAL's life be spared." Earlier, *L'Humanité*, newspaper of the French Communist Party, published an article on Jamal titled "An American Black Man in Danger."

On July 4 in Toronto, with the banners of the Metro Toronto Labour Council, representing 180,000 union members, and United Transportation Union Local 483, 100 people came out to the U.S. consulate to demand that Jamal not die. André Kolompar, president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers Toronto, spoke on behalf of the Metro Council. Toron-

to's demonstration, sponsored by the PDC of Canada, also provided a platform to protest recent racist cop killings of black youth there, and cop attacks and arrests of anti-racist demonstrators outside the Royal Ontario Museum.

In London on July 6, J. Robson, secretary of the locomotive engineers union, ASLEF District No. 8, recalled the history of international labor defense, in adapting the last words of IWW organizer Joe Hill, executed by a Utah firing squad 75 years ago: "Organize and mobilize so no one has to mourn." Paul Trehwela, co-editor of *Searchlight South Africa*, noted: "As the hanging capital of the world, South Africa sees its own future in the electric chair in Huntingdon State penitentiary in Pennsylvania." The London rally, which drew over 85 people, was held in the black community of Brixton, scene of a racist cop riot five years ago.

Paul Hill, one of the Guilford 4, Irish nationalists recently released after over a decade in prison on phony charges, sent a message of solidarity. Hill said in part, "I cannot forget that the judge at my trial said that he regretted that he could not sentence me to death. If he had, then last October's admission of my innocence by the British Home Secretary would have meant nothing. Nothing could be a greater indictment of the barbaric death penalty."

In Germany, where fascist attacks on immigrant workers, Jews and leftists are escalating as part of the capitalist annexation of East Germany (DDR), demonstrations were held on July 3 to save America's black journalist on death row. The protests were supported by Holocaust survivors, representatives of immigrant organizations and members of the Stalinist PDS, the former ruling party of East Germany. In East Berlin 60 people rallied in front of the U.S. embassy despite the intimidating presence of 200 cops with water cannon. Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) signs included "Stop the Nazis! For workers defense of immigrant workers' apartment blocks!" "Full citizenship rights for foreign workers!" and "No to a Fourth Reich of German imperialism!" Outside the U.S. consulate in Hamburg, 60 people turned out, including Iranian leftists, anti-fascists and supporters of AGIPA-Press, who brought petitions bearing 1,300 names.

One of those who endorsed the demonstrations for Jamal was former DDR

prime minister Hans Modrow. We also received the endorsement of PDS chairman Gregor Gysi. But on the day of the rallies, *Neues Deutschland* and two other DDR newspapers published a lying statement from a PDS spokesman that Modrow had "absolutely nothing to do" with the protests. At a PDS congress on July 8, Modrow and Gysi confirmed their endorsements. SpAD spokesman Renate Dahlhaus commented to the 1,500 participants: "The new Fourth Reich is moving in every way to criminalize the present and former members of the SED/PDS. Capitulation and lies only strengthen these ferocious witchhunts" (see box on page 2).

This round of protest will conclude with rallies in Sydney, Australia on July 12 and in Oakland, Chicago and Jamal's hometown of Philadelphia on July 14. Support grows daily. Mexico: Section X

(Mexico City) of the teachers union unanimously passed a resolution calling for Jamal's freedom. Italy: over 1,000 people have signed statements demanding Jamal not die. And word has spread far and wide. Poland: petitions have come in with 100 signatures from around the country. Argentina: we just received a statement of support signed by 23 students. In a message of solidarity from his cell in Huntingdon's death row, Jamal said, "Your international voice of protest becomes a sweet song of hope for the thousands of us in the United States sitting on the brink of death. I am honored to join you, and this noble fight."

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Stop racist "legal" lynchings! Abolish the death penalty! To join the campaign to save Jamal, contact the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Telephone: (212) 406-4252. ■

Kashmir...

(continued from page 14)

peace in the Valley by taking firm administrative measures.... The CPI(M) calls upon the National Front Government to immediately seal the border with Pakistan in order to stop the flow of subversives and arms."

Likewise both Communist parties oppose the right of self-determination for the Sikhs in the Punjab.

Communist/national/religious divisions not only obstruct working-class unity in general but in this region of the world are particularly targeted against the working class, since it is often made up of local minorities. The Hindi-speaking workers of Calcutta, the Bihari and Gurkha tea plantation workers of Darjeeling, the immigrant workers of Bombay's industry and especially graphically the Indian Tamils of Lanka's hill country plantations are evidence of this. British imperialism's cynical "divide and rule" schemes and the grafting of capitalist oppression onto pre-existing social structures have left the impoverished subcontinent a mosaic of national and caste antagonisms.

If the "secular," "all-India" pretensions of India's rulers are a fiction behind which the brutal oppression of national and religious minorities and depressed castes is perpetuated to serve the interests of the capitalist ruling class, still

the despairing program of the minority nationalists offers no way forward. To rip these areas away from the control of the overbearing "center" in Delhi, even if it can be accomplished by massive and necessarily bloody popular resistance, would produce only new versions of the tragedy of partition, forging ethnically "pure" areas through mass flight provoked by naked terror by the new local majorities. Only those for whom the members of other communities are not human beings can look forward to a repetition of the enduring image of partition: as the train pulls into the station, those waiting on the platform begin to shriek and faint as they see hanging out the windows the dead bodies of their relatives, hacked and bludgeoned to death for the crime of being from the "wrong" community.

Only a Bolshevik vanguard party can break the genocidal pattern bequeathed by imperialism, by establishing the ascendancy of the class question, uniting all the working class and oppressed in the struggle for workers revolution. Only an internationalist perspective, uniting social struggle in the subcontinent with the fight for workers revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, can open the door to real social liberation for the impoverished Indian and Pakistani masses. For soviet workers republics from Baluchistan and Kashmir to Eelam and Lanka, as part of a socialist federation of South Asia! ■

Barry...

(continued from page 16)

The FBI is Moore's permanent meal ticket (she's in the "federal witness program" now): they bought her hotel room, her cognac, her crack and her crack pipe, even her clothes, for this pathetic entrapment, the one and only hard piece of evidence the feds could get at the time—which in itself only resulted in one lousy *misdeemeanor* charge.

Meanwhile, the FBI kept the heat on, threatening former friends with jail and prosecution, and assembled a collection of professional finks to testify against Barry. They piled the charges on, finally forcing the mayor to say he wouldn't run for re-election. Now he's facing eleven drug *misdeemeanor* counts and three felony counts of lying about drug use to a grand jury, with potential hard time of up to 26 years in jail.

Why Barry? We noted when the FBI sting first occurred that George Bush and his gang "figures it can get away with doing anything to anybody, from the invasion of Panama and attempted murder of Manuel Noriega to eliminating the black mayor of black Washington—all in the name of the phony 'war on drugs'." The article went on: "But the aura of corruption surrounding his administration is hardly different from the sleaze factor on Capitol Hill or in the White House. From the standpoint of the working class, his crimes have nothing to do with any alleged drug use or 'wom-

anizing.' Marion Barry, who has repeatedly been elected with the support of real-estate interests, is a black front man for racist reaction, a willing tool of capitalist rule over the poor and working people" ("Racist Sting Entraps D.C. Mayor," *WV* No. 495, 9 February).

Bush and his drug czar Bennett are running a vendetta against black Washington. Judge Jackson further enraged the population when he tried to exclude two prominent black figures from attending the public trial on Barry's behalf, Bishop George Augustus Stallings Jr., of the Imami Temple African-American Catholic Congregation, and anti-Semitic demagogue and Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. The columnists claimed Barry was making "race an issue" by inviting the black ministers! Farrakhan's vigilante squads, who claimed to have "cleaned up" the Mayfair Mansions project, have been on the front lines on behalf of Bush's "drug war" on the ghettos. But now that they're running candidates in the area, they're trading Barry's support for their own.

Meanwhile, Washington is getting hotter. The city council just cut funding for the homeless. Indifference to the plight of the homeless was the backdrop to activist Mitch Snyder's suicide. City workers are facing layoffs. The white power structure wants a police state in D.C.—they've already cut the number of seconds between when a policeman searching a house knocks and when he kicks in the door from 15 to 12. Bush & Co. have their candidate for police-

state mayor—former police chief Maurice Turner. Turning the heat up even higher on Barry is part of this assault.

The jury should throw this rotten racist case right out of court, right now. The set-up of Marion Barry is an indictment of the whole system of racist injustice in capitalist America. Even the haughty *New York Times* (8 July) noticed the

growing unpopularity of this witchhunt, headlining "Out of Barry Courtroom, The Law Is on Trial, Too." The rulers of this country are plenty nervous knowing that their capital city is over 70 percent black; Washington would grind to a halt without black labor. What's needed is a revolutionary leadership to mobilize that power. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

New York, Toronto, Paris, London, Berlin

Rallies Demand: Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

In the past two weeks rallies and demonstrations in New York, Paris, Berlin, Hamburg, Toronto and London have brought together hundreds of socialists, trade unionists, black activists, anti-apartheid militants and opponents of the racist death penalty to save the life of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The Partisan Defense Committee initiated this campaign of rallies and demonstrations on the anniversary of Jamal's sentencing on 3 July 1982 and of the restoration of capital punishment by the U.S. Supreme Court on the eve of the bicentennial celebration in 1976. As Jamal's wife Wadiya told the New York rally, "this date has memories for me that have nothing to do with America's independence. It has everything to do with American vengeance."

For 20 years—from his days as a 14-year-old Black Panther Party spokesman in 1968 and his well-known support of MOVE as a prominent journalist—Jamal has been the target of Philadelphia's trigger-happy racist cops. Known

continued on page 15



July 4 demonstration in front of U.S. consulate in Toronto, Canada.

Spartacist Canada

Feds' Racist Set-Up of Marion Barry

Political Lynching by Videotape

Washington, D.C. is growing increasingly enraged over the daily barrage of racist, drug-witchhunting assaults on embattled mayor Marion Barry. Black D.C. sees him as a victim of a racist set-up, even if they know he's no virgin. As Barry's drug and perjury trial, which began June 4, heads into the hot summer, black sympathy is growing for the mayor, who's being castigated for not bending over the barrel and meekly accepting his whipping.

When the feds finally sprang their infamous videotape of Barry at the Vista Hotel, the city stopped dead to watch it. And the FBI made sure every TV station in town (and around the country, thanks to C-SPAN) was supplied with a copy to spread the dirt. This attempted public lynching by video may backfire, though, as many shared the reaction of one mother at a Landover Mall video store. "It's mean," she said, "It's sad. It's mean." Over 2,000 people came out on July 2 in a lunchtime rally for Barry, as many speakers denounced the federal government's assault.

The tape certainly was shocking, but not for anything Barry did. It was obviously and outrageously a set-up job. For an hour we see his former girl-



Videotape of FBI, cops storming Vista Hotel bedroom on January 18, after entrapping D.C. mayor Marion Barry.

FBI/WRC-TV

friend Rasheeda Moore repeatedly ask the mayor if he "wants to do something," supposedly meaning drugs, and he repeatedly—at least seven times—says no. Finally, he is maneuvered into tak-

ing a few puffs from Moore's pipe. Then he picks up his jacket, saying "Let's go downstairs." Suddenly the cops are all over him, as men with "Police" and "FBI" on their jackets pour into the

room. "Face the wall!" they bark. As the enormity of it sinks in, Barry mutters to himself, "I'll be goddamned...the bitch set me up...never should have come up here...I mean, she set me up."

She sure did. And the whole stable of liberal, holier-than-thou *Washington Post* columnists joined in. As the local media played the tape over and over, with numbing repetition, the effect was downright creepy: the dim, unfocused images and mumbled, fuzzy words revealed the sad spectacle of a couple of middle-aged, overweight, uneasy people verbally jockeying around in a hotel bedroom on the evening of January 18. The guy obviously had getting laid on his mind after a hard day at the office, the woman seemed preoccupied and nervous. He suggests they make it for old time's sake, she turns him down. Who wants to be seen in a situation like that?

Barry's main defense lawyer, R. Kenneth Mundy, forced Moore to say on the stand that she'd even exceeded instructions on how to get the mayor. "This is correct," she stated to Mundy's assertion that Barry did not "have drugs on his mind, but you had drugs on your mind for him" (*Washington Post*, 30 June).

continued on page 15