

Soviet Withdrawal Would Mean Horrible Bloodbath



Afghanistan Today



Der Spiegel

Mullah terrorists shoot down passenger plane in Khost Province, Afghanistan with U.S.-supplied Stinger missile, killing all 52 aboard.

Russia Must Win Afghan War!

When the Soviet Red Army went into Afghanistan on 27 December 1979, we Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency declared "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to "Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!" Propping up a shaky national-reformist regime on the USSR's vital southern flank against CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries, Moscow's intervention both defended the Soviet Union and posed the possibility of a revolutionary transformation of this hideously backward country. The Soviet troops brought with them literacy, doctors, and the first taste of liberation for Afghan women from the enslavement and seclusion symbolized by the *chadori*, the smothering veil covering them in yards of heavy cloth from head to toe.

Now, in the hopes of striking a "peace" deal with Ronald Reagan, the Kremlin Stalinists are opening the door to a bloody Islamic *jihād* (holy war) against every form of social progress in Afghanistan. In Kabul Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze announced to the Afghan press last week: "We would like the year 1988 to be the last year of the presence of Soviet troops in your country." That would mean leaving in the lurch the Afghan women, teachers, leftists, workers and soldiers who have fought for the last ten years to drag their country into the 20th century! The price for this obscene bid to placate U.S. imperialism is to hand over hundreds of thousands of Afghans to be tortured, flayed alive, beheaded and dismembered as infidels by the mul-



Afghanistan Today

Liberated Afghan women demonstrate on fourth anniversary of 1978 "April Revolution." They will pay in blood if Red Army pulls out.

lahs, tribal khans and feudal landlords. This is treachery!

The imperialist press is rubbing its eyes in disbelief. "Light in the Khyber Pass?" asked the *New York Times* (9 January). "Could it really be true? A Soviet-free Afghanistan" editorialized the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (10 January), saying that "If Mr. Gorbachev has truly made up his mind that the burdens of occupation outweigh the costs of defeat" there should be no problem. For

that is what they're after: not a deal but defeat, to install an anti-Soviet regime in Kabul and complete the encirclement of the USSR by hostile regimes all along its southern border. As we wrote in "Afghanistan and the Left: The Russian Question Point Blank" (*Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980):

"Afghanistan is a flash of lightning which illuminates the real contours of the world political landscape. It has exploded the last illusions of détente to reveal the implacable hostility of U.S.

imperialism to the Soviet degenerated workers state."

We warned then:

"It is possible the Kremlin could do a deal with the imperialists to withdraw, for example, in return for NATO's reversing its decision to deploy hundreds of new nuclear missiles in West Europe. That would be a real counter-revolutionary crime against the Afghan peoples."

A Soviet withdrawal now will embolden the deeply discredited Reagan regime, encouraging it to step up its murderous contra wars against Nicaragua, Angola and Kampuchea as well. Not withdrawal but victory! Red Army—Finish the job!

Afghanistan: Target of Cold War II

To mark the eighth anniversary of the Soviet intervention, thousands of Afghan counterrevolutionaries in Pakistan rallied around burning effigies of Gorbachev, chanting "Death to Russia! Death to Communism!" That same day TASS reported that Afghan thugs invaded the Soviet mission in the Iranian city of Isfahan. The U.S.' Afghan "freedom fighters" have vowed to kill all Communist collaborators. They mean it. Already, they have assassinated more than 2,000 schoolteachers for trying to bring literacy to a country where, before, 90 percent of the population was illiterate. The *mujahedin* have also justified shooting down an airliner taking Afghan children to study in the USSR, claiming they were being "brainwashed" by Satan. These feudalist reactionaries want to return to a 7th century society based on the cruelest social parasitism, criminality and slavery.

Emancipated women in particular are threatened by the Islamic reactionaries. The vice president of the All-Afghanistan Women's Council went to university in Kabul with Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, now one of the top Afghan contras. "In 1971, when women came out in public with no veil, Gulbaddin's supporters sprayed acid in their faces," she said. "When women wore

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Harold
Washington**

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**Yes, Gorbachev...
Peaceful Coexistence With
Imperialism Is a Pipe Dream**

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Shachtman and Stalin, Again

18 November 1987

Dear Comrade Editor,

Apropos of "All the News That Fits, We Print: Shachtman Died a Stalinist?" (*WV* 440, 13 November 1987), readers of *Workers Vanguard* should remember that in 1972, the last year of his life, Max Shachtman supported Richard Nixon for president and endorsed the continued imperialist slaughter of the Vietnamese workers and peasants (see, e.g., Michael Harrington's *Fragments of the Century*, ch. 7). Shachtman died as he had lived much of his adult life: as a despicable social patriot in the labor movement. He was *neutral* in the war between nazism and the Soviet deformed workers state, and he supported U.S. imperialism at the time of the Korean War (see, e.g., "Socialist Policy and the War, part 2," *New Internationalist*, July-August 1951), in the Bay of Pigs invasion, and in the Vietnam War. Ludicrously, Constance Myers (*The Prophet's Army: Trotskyists in America, 1928-1941*) went away from her own 17 August 1972 interview with the inventor of modern anti-

communism thinking that he had become a Stalinist (pp. 199-200). She was simply unable to understand that Shachtman then believed that Stalin was the true successor to Lenin in an entirely negative sense—because he successfully "enslaved" half the world! Ms. Myers reports only a few pages later that Shachtman said in the same interview: "Then and now Trotskyists really have nothing to say to the working class. 'Socialism in One Country?' What does that mean to a working guy! He doesn't want socialism anywhere!" (p. 204). While it is true that the slogan "Stalin is Lenin today" was authored by Stalin himself, it has been eagerly adopted and spread by anti-communists from Shachtman and Irving Kristol to Solzhenitsyn and Sun Myung Moon.

Comradely,
Rick B., Oakland
Bob Z., Berkeley

WV replies: Bob Z. and Rick B. have not written a helpful contribution to the discussion on Max Shachtman. Quite the contrary—their letter perversely

projects Shachtman's last political decade back into his earlier political activity, fundamentally misrepresenting Shachtman's position on just about everything.

It was only after he entered the Socialist Party in 1958 that Shachtman acquired the necessary social connections (chiefly in the bureaucracy of Albert Shanker's American Federation of Teachers) to become a consistent "despicable social patriot in the labor movement." For the first two decades of his adult life Shachtman was a proletarian revolutionary, first in the Cannon faction in the Communist Party and then in the Trotskyist movement. After he broke in 1940 with revolutionary Trotskyist politics, he underwent a *complex* political evolution. If you had to pick a term to cover his whole career, Shachtman is best characterized as a political *impressionist*.

Shachtman was one of the leaders of the opposition which arose in the revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) under the pressures of imminent inter-imperialist world war. Following the Stalin-Hitler pact, this petty-bourgeois opposition within the SWP flinched from the military defense of the Soviet Union. This was a fundamental programmatic capitulation to petty-bourgeois public opinion and a decisive step toward what Shachtman would later become. But at this time, the SWP opposition faction was far from being a homogenous layer of dyed-in-the-wool social democrats. Trotsky tried hard to



Max Shachtman, as leader of Workers Party, 1945.

win Shachtman back to the proletarian majority, noting in "From a Scratch—To the Danger of Gangrene":

"Shachtman concluded a bloc with Burnham and Abern against the proletarian wing of his own party. It is impossible to evade this. The relationship of forces with the bloc is completely against Shachtman. Abern has his own faction. Burnham with Shachtman's assistance can create the semblance of a faction constituting intellectuals disillusioned with Bolshevism. Shachtman has no independent program, no independent method, no independent faction."

This unstable bloc collapsed exactly one month after the opposition split to form the Workers Party (WP)—the

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Finland Yesterday, Afghanistan Today—Defense of the USSR!



TROTSKY

When Soviet forces swept into Afghanistan in December 1979, beating back CIA-supplied Islamic reactionaries and opening the door to social progress, there was a howl of protest extending from Jimmy Carter to various fake-Trotskyists. The laments were reminiscent of the imperialist hue and cry when the Red Army moved into Finland and Poland on the eve of



LENIN

World War II. But in the wake of the Stalin-Hitler pact, "which raised the curtain on the world war," Trotsky noted that the extension of socialized property to Poland could spur the spread of revolution. In Afghanistan today, withdrawing Soviet forces without finishing off the mullah terrorists would be a betrayal emboldening counterrevolution everywhere.

The seizure of eastern Poland—a pledge of the alliance with Hitler and a guarantee against Hitler—was accompanied by the nationalization of semifeudal and capitalist property in western Ukraine and western White Russia. Without this the Kremlin could not have incorporated the occupied territory into the USSR. The strangled and desecrated October Revolution served notice that it was still alive.

In Finland the Kremlin did not succeed in accomplishing a similar social overturn. The imperialist mobilization of world public opinion "in defense of Finland"; the threat of direct intervention by England and France; the impatience of Hitler, who had to seize Denmark and Norway before French and British troops appeared on Scandinavian soil—all this compelled the Kremlin to renounce sovietization of Finland and to limit itself to the seizure of the indispensable strategic positions....

Extremely eloquent in its unanimity and fury was the campaign that the world bourgeoisie launched over the Soviet-Finnish war. Neither the perfidy nor the violence of the Kremlin prior to this had aroused the indignation of the bourgeoisie, for the entire history of world politics is written in perfidy and violence. Their fear and indignation arose over the prospect of a social overturn in Finland upon the pattern of the one engendered by the Red Army in Eastern Poland. What was involved was a fresh threat to capitalist property. The anti-Soviet campaign, which had a class character through and through, disclosed once again that the USSR by virtue of the social foundations laid down by the October Revolution, upon which the existence of the bureaucracy itself is dependent in the last analysis, still remains a workers' state, terrifying to the bourgeoisie of the whole world.

—Leon Trotsky, "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" (May 1940)

George Washington vs. La Prensa

When the pro-contra Nicaraguan newspaper *La Prensa* was closed down by the Sandinistas in June 1985, it became a *casus belli* for both Reaganite Republicans and liberal Democrats, who used it to justify the bloody contra war in the name of "freedom of the press." In turn, the reopening of *La Prensa*, which has received at least \$100,000 from the CIA conduit "National Endowment for Democracy," was a component of the Arias "peace plan" godfathered by Congressional Democrats. "*La PreCIA*" resumed publication last October 1.

A bipartisan Congressional majority voted December 21 to supply the contras with another \$14.4 million in aid. The Sandinistas' compliance with the Arias plan is scheduled to be "reviewed" by the heads of the U.S.' Central American client states on January 15, whereupon Reagan is expected to request additional millions for his counterrevolutionary terrorists. The December 21 vote came in the wake of contra assaults on three mining villages, which resulted in over 100 civilian casualties.

In short, the war goes on—yet criminally, *La Prensa* continues to publish! Lenin's Bolsheviks, during the bloody Civil War unleashed by the White Guard generals and imperialist armies, decreed temporary extraordinary measures to silence counterrevolutionary propaganda, for, as Lenin wrote, "in such moments it is no less dangerous than bombs and machine-guns." Recently we reported on an exchange between ourselves and Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega at his October 8 press conference in New York City ("*La Prensa* Wants to Give Nicaragua Back to the Yankees—We Say No!" *WV* No. 438, 16 October 1987). We also noted that during the American Civil

War Lincoln shut down literally dozens of pro-Confederate newspapers. This prompted a reader to research the question of how America's "founding fathers" would have reacted to the pro-British *La Prensas* of their time. Below is our reader's letter.

12/22/87

Dear Editor:

It was quite refreshing to see *Workers Vanguard* cut through all the imperialist hypocrisy (liberal and conservative) over Nicaragua. An interesting point, though, is that the Sandinistas have been more lenient towards their counter-revolutionary opposition in time of war than Washington, Jefferson, and Co. ever were.

Beginning in 1775 American states began to ban (through anti-sedition laws) any publication or proclamation criticizing the revolutionary Congress or the state assemblies. In 1776 the U.S. Congress itself urged all the states to pass such laws and by 1778 every state had enacted such a ban (*Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History*, L. Levy, 1960). After 1776 "Committees of Censorship" were set up and British loyalist and often even neutralist publishers had their printing presses destroyed and were either exiled or imprisoned. Even before this the loyalist press was almost completely wiped out by the revolutionary "Sons of Liberty." By 1776 all loyalist publications in all 13 states had been suppressed. Washington and Jefferson tolerated no "*La Prensa*."

Nor were the American revolutionaries afraid to use terror against their counter-revolutionary enemies. For example, General Nathaniel Greene,

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Nicaragua: A Heroic Fighter Goes Home Honor Nora Astorga

The following column by Jimmy Breslin first appeared in the New York Daily News, 5 January 1988.

By Jimmy Breslin

The people in the hospital didn't think that she was going to make it with the cancer through Wednesday, but this was Nora Astorga you were dealing with and she was there Thursday, which was New Year's Eve. Julio Icaza, her assistant at the Nicaraguan delegation to the United Nations, came to the hospital to see her at 8 p.m.

"What can I do for you?" he said.

"I want a marguerita," she said.

Julio went out of the hospital and up to a place called Juanita's on Second Ave., and they gave him the drink, which is made of tequila, but he knew that he also had to get a glass with a salt crust on it or the woman back in the hospital would get mad.

Icaza brought the margueritas back and he and Nora Astorga toasted each other and Nora Astorga threw the drink down and said, "I'm getting out of here. I'm going home. I'm not going to die here."

All along, since the illness gained command, she had said she wanted to do three things, learn to ice skate, visit Ghana and go back to Nicaragua. Back in early December, she had been at Bear Mountain with her five children and she went so far as to put on skates, but as she was having difficulty walking, there was no way to skate. The visit to Ghana was only conversation. Now, all she really could do was try to get home to Nicaragua.

At 7 a.m. on New Year's Day, she was put on a medical plane and, again, the doctor with her wasn't sure

whether she would last the trip. But here she was, on oxygen, staring at the ceiling, telling herself that she was going to be there at the end. The plane had to refuel at Fort Lauderdale, and as it was starting the descent to the airport, Nora Astorga was in about as tough a shape as you can get and the ones on the plane thought that maybe she would not be there for the landing.

She was. She even got off the plane and stood in the Florida sun and she was desperately ill and she was going home.

Nora Astorga is 39 years old and furious that she has cancer. She is all woman, with striking high cheekbones and short-cropped black hair. Her business was law and revolution in her country and now international relations.

She was not very good at flinching. For years, one of Nicaraguan dictator Somoza's generals tried to force himself on her. His name was Reynaldo Perez Vega. Nora Astorga, working in law, carrying messages as an agent for the Sandinistas, who were then still out in the hills, finally told the general, all right, and on March 8, 1978, she was in a hotel and the general arrived. Nora Astorga walked out of the room and the general did not. They found him on the floor with his throat cut.

She said afterward that she had not gone to bed with him because he was a monster.

It was a famous story but one she talked about only once in the years afterward, and then was irritated with



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herself that she had.

"All they want to know about is that," she said one day.

"Well, they can't ask the other guy," she was told.

She didn't answer.

Nora Astorga was 29 years old and she fled into the hills to a Sandinista camp, where she became a squad leader. She became pregnant and was sent to a desk job in Costa Rica. When the Sandinistas chased Somoza out in 1979, Nora Astorga was the chief special prosecutor against Somoza "war criminals." She always points out that they were trials without executions.

Nicaragua named her the ambassador to the United States and she became the first one in memory to be denied diplomatic credentials by Washington. Nora Astorga believed that the reason was that the general killed in the room in Nicaragua had been closely associated with the CIA.

The Sandinista government in Nicaragua then named her ambassador to the United Nations and she came to New York two years ago. She had

a house in Westchester and an office on Second Ave., where you always saw her walking to the UN, tall woman, wearing sunglasses, speaking the English of a woman educated in Washington.

Once, when I happened to see her out on the street, I asked her what she thought was the reason most people were afraid of Nicaragua. "We are going to first take over the Panama Canal and then come North and eat up Mexico and enter the United States through Texas," she said.

"Then Reagan is personally obsessed with Nicaragua," she said.

"This is because we are not quite light enough." She held out her arm.

Over the last year, she had cancer operations and treatments and never uttered a word in public. She would take chemotherapy in the morning and go to the United Nations in the afternoon. On the few times she would talk in private about the disease she did it with bitterness. She wasn't even 40 yet, her youngest child was only 8 and here she had a fatal disease. "What do you call this?" she demanded. You kept seeing her on Second Ave. Then the other week she was not there. "Nora is in the hospital," somebody said.

And now, standing in an airport in Florida on New Year's Day, she got back on the medical plane and it took off for Nicaragua. "I will live," she said. She stayed on oxygen and stared at the ceiling. She made it to Managua and as she came off the plane, a doctor was waiting.

"We'll take you to the hospital," he said.

Nora Astorga shook her head. "I'm going home," she said.

She went home to her house in Managua, with a balcony that is higher than the trees. She can look out over the tops of the trees and see Lake Managua. She was still there yesterday. She may not ever be back here, but that is our loss, and even more when you understand that our government said that the woman was our enemy.

At S.F. Demo Against Zionist Terror

Cops, Palestinian Nationalists Seal Off Reds

SAN FRANCISCO, January 7—A Spartacist contingent was excluded from a demonstration at the Israeli consulate here tonight by a bloc of Palestinian nationalists and American reformists relying on riot cops of the SF police department. Called by a "Palestine Solidarity Committee" promoted heavily by the Workers World Party (WWP), the demonstration was to denounce Israel's bloody crackdown on Palestinian protest in Gaza and the West Bank. Instead it was turned into an ugly anti-communist scene.

The embattled Palestinian victims of Zionist terror urgently need the aid of the international proletariat: one of the Spartacist League's chants was "Labor: hot-cargo military goods to Israel!" But the demonstration organizers preach reliance on imperialism. They chanted social-patriotic slogans such as "Money for jobs, not for occupation," while their leaflet—echoing the PLO's prostration before the U.S. and Arab bourgeois regimes—ended:

"We demand that immediate action be taken by Congress and the Reagan administration to pressure Israel to end all further attacks on Palestinians. With the occupation so brutally exposed, now is the time to demand that our government join with the international consensus and support a real plan for peace."

The reformists and nationalists want to



pressure the Democrats to pressure Reagan to pressure the Zionists to stop being Zionists. U.S. imperialism—the most powerful force for oppression and war on the planet—is supposed to become a force for "peace" in the Near East!

Their sought-for bloc with imperialism translated into a real bloc with the SF cops to kick out the revolutionaries, whose slogans might tarnish the reformists' respectability in the eyes of the bloody U.S. rulers. Spartacist League



SF cops seal off Spartacist contingent after provocation by anti-communists.

signs and chants included: "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!" "Smash U.S./Israeli/Pretoria Anti-Soviet Axis!" and "Free Mordechai Vanunu!" (the Israeli technician on trial for his life for exposing the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal); as well as "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" and "For Unconditional Military Defense of USSR Against Imperialism!"

When we "disobeyed" the nationalists' "orders" to take down our signs and silence our bullhorn, their goon squad set upon the Spartacist contingent, pushing and shoving to try to throw us out of the march. Frustrated at the ensuing standoff, one of the goons spat out a racist insult at a black Spartacist supporter. This racist was swiftly shut up by an outraged trade unionist. Several members of our contingent avoided being pushed into a plate-glass window

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Chicago After Harold Washington

As Harold Washington lay in state in Chicago's Civic Center, hundreds of thousands of people, predominantly black, waited in the pouring rain to file past the casket of the first black mayor of Chicago. Washington's sudden death of a heart attack on November 25 precipitated both a massive outpouring of grief by large numbers of this city's beleaguered black and Hispanic population, and a grotesque scramble for the spoils of the mayor's office. All wings of his Democratic Party coalition now speak of the "legacy" of Harold Washington and the new "black empowerment" in Chicago, even as the coalition blows apart. But for the oppressed masses of Chicago, it remains Segregation City, USA.

Even before Washington was officially pronounced dead, the wheeling and dealing to determine his successor began, and the 18 black aldermen split down the middle. Black alderman Eugene Sawyer was put forward by the bloc of racist white aldermen, led by Edward Burke, who figure he will be easier to defeat in a special 1989 mayoral election. Burke and former alderman "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak led the racist "29" white aldermen, who waged endless "Council Wars" against Washington during his first term. Under Daley, Sawyer was one of the "Silent Six," black aldermen notorious for their subservience to the Machine. Another group of black, Hispanic and liberal white aldermen united behind alderman Timothy Evans, a supporter of Jane Byrne in 1983, and like Sawyer (and Harold Washington) a former cog in Boss Richard Daley's Machine. The fight was waged for five days, as memorials to Washington were turned into campaign rallies and aldermen cut deals at the funeral.

Hoping to play kingmaker and enhance his power in the Democratic Party, Jesse Jackson cut short his tour of U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf and flew into town to anoint Evans as Washington's heir apparent. At a memorial meeting held at the University of Illinois/Chicago Pavilion on November 30, Jackson boosted Evans' candidacy as 10,000 chanted "No deals, no deals" against the eleven black aldermen supporting Sawyer. *Sun-Times* columnist Vernon Jarrett told the crowd, "Treat those black enemies like you treat the Ku Klux Klan." Jackson called on Evans supporters to protest at the City Council meeting called to elect a successor the following day.

Sawyer: "Looking Like a Vrdolyak"

The City Council met December 1. Five thousand Evans supporters jammed the balcony and halls, spilling

out into the street. As the black, white and Hispanic aldermen held separate caucuses, the crowd chanted, "Uncle Tom Sawyer" and "Sawyer's in a Cadillac, looking like a Vrdolyak." One sign quoted Harriet Tubman: "Those who return to their slavemasters will die." Half of the black aldermen deserted Sawyer. The *Chicago Tribune* (3 December 1987) described the scene in a caucus room as the bloc of white aldermen worked on Sawyer's backbone: "It was like a football team at halftime," said one Southwest Side alderman who was in the caucus. "We were jumping up and down and shouting 'Sawyer, Sawyer,' and we had him all pumped up."

Near midnight the Sawyer supporters jubilantly announced "We have a mayor," only to have their front man physically collapse when confronted with the angry crowd waving play bribe money and showering him with coins. After another recess to shore him up and wearing a bulletproof vest, Sawyer was finally installed, with 23 white and six black votes, as mayor of Chicago at 4:01 a.m., December 2. The bosses' press is worried Sawyer will be incapable of keeping the lid on black and labor struggle, as Washington had successfully done for five years. The racist, labor-hating *Tribune* demanded the council be fitted for a straitjacket, and editorialized that "Having to jump-start the mayor several times before each tough decision does not bode well..."

The "Legacy" of Harold Washington

Harold Washington campaigned in 1983 on the slogan "It's Our Turn." The popular-front alliance of union bureaucrats, black nationalists and fake-socialists that supported him fostered the illusion that a black face atop the Democratic machine would change life



Harold Washington, after winning 1987 primary victory, flanked by Washington, D.C. mayor Marion Barry (left) and Jesse Jackson.



Newly anointed mayor Eugene Sawyer taunted by crowd of angry black opponents waving play money and chanting, "Uncle Tom Sawyer."

for black and Hispanic Chicago. Washington's victory in the 1983 Democratic Party primary (which in Chicago is the real election) was met with a racist countermobilization spearheaded by the cops. While giving no political support to Washington, we defended his democratic right to rule as mayor, with all the normal prerogatives of the office. Washington's refusal to buckle in the face of stiff racist resistance finally gave him control of the council last year, and enormous popularity among blacks and Hispanics desperate for a way out.

But as we wrote following Harold Washington's first-term election:

"As a Democratic Party mayor of Chicago he has to maintain capitalist law and order. That means, just like Coleman Young in Detroit, he's going to break strikes. He's going to slash social services. He's going to lay off city workers. And he's going to have the racist cops break up protests by trade unionists, blacks and others who can't take it any longer. That's Harold Washington's job."

—"Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago,"
WV No. 328, 22 April 1983

And the bitter truth for Chicago's minorities and poor is that by every measure—jobs, housing, schools, racist cop and Klan terror—Washington's election as mayor did not change the hideous racist oppression. Development boomed downtown and on the lakefront, as public housing continued to deteriorate. Even Lu Palmer, the black activist and journalist who was a key architect of Washington's 1983 campaign, made a damning summation of the "Washington legacy": "The streets were paved and the middle class got their money, but the quality of life for poor people did not change and is not likely to change" (*Tribune*, 29 November 1987). Washington told blacks, Hispanics, Jews and all opponents of the

fascists to "ignore" the Klan's terrorist provocation in Marquette Park in June 1986, where the cops brutally attacked and arrested the anti-Klan protesters.

It didn't take long for Washington to go after the very unions which endorsed his mayoral bid. After the 1983 election, Washington pushed a bill through the state legislature which looted the pensions of the heavily black Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), adding part-time workers and tearing up the contract. Again this year, the ATU tops rammed a rotten giveback contract down transit workers' throats, rather than strike and jeopardize the mayor's re-election. This fall the Chicago Teachers Union struck against the givebacks demanded by the Washington-appointed school board. The mayor's lieutenants, including Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, worked overtime to whip up black parents and schoolchildren against the majority black teachers. And the pro-Democratic Party CTU bureaucracy liquidated the strike over heavy opposition, as the school board laid off 700 teachers to "pay" for a miserable wage increase.

Harold Washington was installed as mayor precisely to prevent the social tinderbox of Chicago from exploding. The Washington popular front kept minorities and all working people chained to their class enemy. And life got steadily worse as Reagan and the Democrats slashed social programs to pay for the anti-Soviet war buildup and enforced their cuts with racist cop terror. Democratic Party mayors, black and white, sit atop the decaying cities, especially in the Midwest rust belt where more than one and a half million workers have lost their jobs in the Reagan years. Official black unemployment is over 20 percent in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Milwaukee, and more



Rally of Chicago teachers striking last September against givebacks demanded by Harold Washington's Board of Education.

Swastika Targets S.F. Minority Firemen

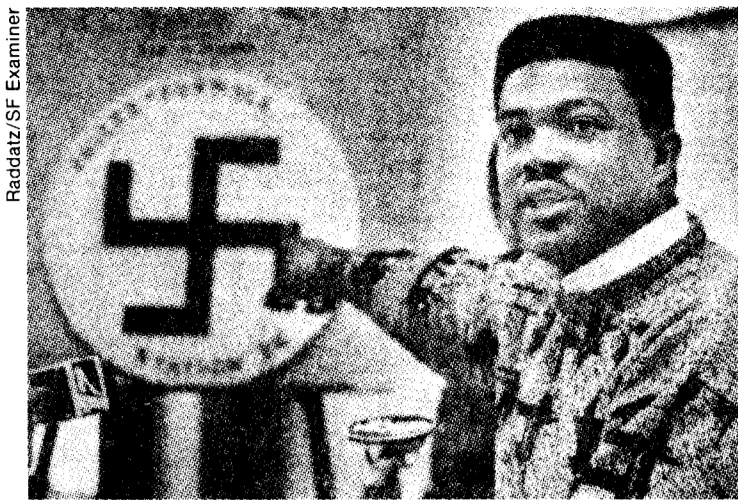
SAN FRANCISCO—On January 4, Mayor Dianne Feinstein was taking curtain calls for her nine years of union-bashing and racism in the service of the bosses. That same day black fireman Walter Batiste and his Asian coworker David Sun came up against the ominous racist signature of the Reagan/Feinstein years. Returning to their office in Station 13, located in the city's financial district, the two fire inspectors found near their desks a large, elaborate plaque emblazoned with a Nazi swastika!

In protest, the SF Black Firefighters Association called a press conference, where Batiste talked about the swastika: "To me, that's the symbol of death. I look at it and I wonder how far the people who put it there are willing to go. I didn't know whether to go and get a pistol. I fear for my life" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 7 January). When Batiste reported the incident to a superior he was told it was "probably meant for Samuels," a Jewish fire inspector in the office!

Batiste said of the Hitler-lovers in the fire department who planted the swastika, "These people are protecting your lives. What happens when they drive up to your house to respond and they see that you are black or Jewish?" Fire chief Edward Phipps brazenly told KRON TV news that the swastika plaque has been around the department for ten years! Then, embarrassed by the outcry over the swastika, Phipps tried to claim he would stop the fascists.

But the swastika incident is only the latest in a series of vile racist and anti-Semitic incidents in the SFFD. In June 1986 black fireman Hugh Smith was called "nigger" by a white coworker.

San Francisco firefighter Walter Batiste exposes Nazi swastika atrocity.



When Smith defended himself and the scandal broke, he was reprimanded. A white captain who covered up the incident was later rewarded with promotion to battalion chief! This past August, another member of the Black Firefighters Association, Charles Johnson, was cut out of a photo of a group of firemen decorated for heroism in a rescue that saved a number of lives.

Last July a Jewish firefighter, Arnold Diem, filed an \$11 million lawsuit against the San Francisco Fire Department and several of its members for harassment. Diem filed the suit after his "fellow firefighters posted swastikas, tributes to Nazi concentration camp doctor Joseph Mengele and photographs of Holocaust victims in public places and on Diem's locker door..." (*Oakland Tribune*, 9 July 1987). Diem filed suit after he was beaten at 4 a.m. by attackers yelling racial slurs and threatening, "We don't need any Jews in this station."

Currently, racists are campaigning against a federal consent decree agreed

to by the city last November. The decree is a settlement of a suit brought against the city and fire department for 30 years of discrimination, and sets minimum quotas for hiring of minorities and women. The largely white firefighters union, Local 798 of the International Association of Firefighters, voted to challenge the plan. Two days before the settlement was announced, a couple of off-duty firemen allegedly threatened and assaulted the training director of the fire department for allowing the recent graduation of black and women rookies.

Eva Paterson, the civil rights attorney who won the discrimination suit, links the recent swastika threat to the November settlement. Paterson told *Workers Vanguard*: "The two inspectors who had the swastika placed by their desks were people who've been very active in protesting the discrimination in the department, were very vocally in favor of the consent decree."

Swastikas and ugly racist incidents pop up in Feinstein's San Francisco like

mushrooms after a rainstorm. The racists take their cue from "Dixie Dianne," who flew the Confederate flag, banner of slavery and race-terror, in the Civic Center, until the SL and Labor Black League for Social Defense tore it down (more than once). Across the country, Democratic Party mayors oversee the heavily black and Hispanic cities, enforcing cutbacks and cop terror as their pals in Congress use the money to fund Reagan's contras.

The San Francisco labor movement, including the firemen (who, unlike the racist union-busting cops, are part of the workers movement), have a vital interest in driving out the fascists that have wormed their way into the unions. What's needed is a leadership of labor that will unleash labor's organized power in class struggle—for its members' livelihoods and for the rights of women and minorities: on the job and in hiring, in housing, education, etc. Even when the courts do order some cosmetic cleanup of discriminatory hiring practices, the state's interest is in asserting state control over labor in the service of union-busting.

As we wrote in defense of firefighter Hugh Smith in 1986, "It will take an integrated, class-struggle leadership of Bay Area labor to clean out the bigots from the station house to the suburbs and crush the KKK race-terrorists" (*WV* No. 416, 21 November 1986). The 1,200 labor, minority and leftist demonstrators who in 1980 stopped the Nazi scum from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday at SF Civic Center gave a taste of labor's power against racism. To unleash that power means determined struggle in the unions and throughout society for a workers party and a workers government. ■

than one-third of all black families live below the federal government's pitifully inadequate "poverty line." Black freedom will not be found in the Democratic Party, it will be won through integrated working-class struggle which uproots the capitalist system.

The Left and Harold Washington

The popular-front left which enthusiastically backed Harold Washington and the Democratic Party in Chicago falsifies both Washington's political history and his record as mayor in order to defend their own betrayals. Washington delivered for the Machine for years, refusing to break even when Boss Daley ordered the police to "shoot to kill" during the ghetto rebellion following the assassination of King in 1968. In 1983 Washington refused to call for integrated housing and school busing, crucial to break the rigid segregation which keeps blacks penned in hellish ghettos. Washington's one open criticism of the Daley Machine—over the brutal murder of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by the FBI and Chicago police—was buried during the 1983 election in order to avoid even a hint of militancy.

But according to the Communist Party (CP), Washington "established his political independence from his first election as state representative in 1965" (*People's Daily World*, 17 December 1987). The CP, so deep in the muck of the Democratic Party that they backed racist Jane Byrne for mayor in 1979, carefully omits any reference to the wave of cop beatings and murder of blacks and the escalating Klan/Nazi terror in Chicago. Installing a black police superintendent has done nothing to stop the reign of terror by the nightriders in blue. Yet out of fear of exposing Washington, the CP didn't lift a finger to aid the successful labor/black defense of bus driver Cassandra Seay and her

family—brutally beaten in their home by racist cops and then framed. Despite the attacks on the ATU, CTU and other city unions, for the *People's Daily World* (2 December 1987) Washington "never compromised the basic interests of working people."

In These Times, cynical mouthpiece



Flooded West Side housing project—black Democrats in City Hall, but black Chicago still lives in squalor.

of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), admits that under Harold Washington there was "little progress on some major substantive issues"—like education, housing, jobs and health care! Like the CP, they maintain a deafening silence about the racist cop and Klan/Nazi terror. For the DSA, which poured staff into the Washington administration and carried out the donkey work for the Democratic Party, "Washington's legacy of black empow-

erment is by far his most important contribution.... One of Washington's last political acts was in helping to forge a multi-ethnic Democratic slate for county elections that is a model of coalition politics" (*In These Times*, 9 December 1987). The DSA's "model slate" includes state's attorney Richard Daley,

ber 1987) article on Harold Washington claims "Fascism Is Here." Is that why they boycotted the powerful union-centered defense of the Seay family? But the most disgusting line was taken by the Workers League, long-time sycophants of the racist labor bureaucracy. The WL's *Bulletin* (4 December 1987) calls Washington a "stooge" and equally blames Washington and Vrdolyak for "racial splitting tactics"! The WL turns their back on the struggle against black oppression in order to sidle up to the pro-capitalist union tops. This is a gift to the labor fakers and the Democratic Party, who seek to maintain paralyzing racial divisions in the working class.

The "black empowerment" of the DSA, CP and Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition has nothing in common with black liberation. They are only interested in delivering the workers and the oppressed as voting cattle for the capitalist Democratic Party. The Spartacist League stands for *revolutionary integrationism*, the fight for black equality in a *socialist* society. It will take a workers revolution to smash black oppression in this deeply racist country. That revolution requires a united struggle by black, Hispanic and white workers, led by a multiracial vanguard party. When the popular front won in 1983, we told the truth to minorities and working people in Chicago:

"The ugly racist backlash won't be stopped in the voting booth. Working people are under the gun and *something's* going to happen—either powerful class struggles or more racist polarization.... If it is to be 'our turn' to rule for blacks, workers, Hispanics and the poor they must break with the Democratic Party and find within their ranks the class-conscious leaders that can forge a fighting workers party determined to wage *class war* for power. Chicago may be the most segregated city in America but it has a powerful working class with an enormous potential for integrated class struggle." ■

the man who tried to put Cassandra Seay and Callie Bryant behind bars!

The class collaboration of the popular front is mirrored by the idiot sectarianism of Progressive Labor. Disoriented by Washington's popularity among Chicago blacks in 1983, PL alternated between denunciations of the black Democratic mayor as a "social fascist" as dangerous as the Klan, and appealing to Washington to fight unemployment! PL's *Challenge* (23 Decem-

Feds, Finks Convict Kentucky Miners

Defend UMWA Strike Militants!

In an outrageous verdict aimed at the entire labor movement, four members of the United Mineworkers of America (UMWA) have been railroaded on trumped-up federal charges and now face up to 50 years in prison.

On December 17, Donnie Thornsberry, president of UMWA Local Union 2496, his cousin David Thornsberry, Darryl Smith and Arnold Heightland were convicted in an Ashland, Kentucky court of interfering with interstate commerce, conspiracy and firearms violations in connection with the shooting death of a scab coal truck driver near a struck mine owned by Samoyed Energy Company. Another miner, Paul Smith, went on trial for the same charges starting January 11 and the government is expected to seek life imprisonment if he is convicted.

The Samoyed strike took place during the bitter 15-month-long walkout against A.T. Massey Coal Company in 1984-85, also in the Tug River Valley on the border of Kentucky and West Virginia. Samoyed and Massey miners faced massive terror organized by the

coal bosses, and now the government is gunning for the UMWA on the eve of the January 31 expiration of the union's contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA). The UMWA and the entire labor movement must demand: "Free the Kentucky miners!"

For two years Massey, on behalf of fellow union-buster Samoyed, waged a media campaign against "union-paid assassins," while the feds prepared their "case" using the 1984 Crime Control Act, passed as part of the government's "domestic terrorism" scare. The miners were charged under the "air piracy" (!) provision, and another section which was rewritten to include trucks carrying freight in order to target "labor disputes." Four of the men were arrested in early morning raids on their homes by heavily armed feds and cops. All five were denied bail under police-state provisions of the "Bail Reform Act" on the outrageous claim that they were a danger to the community.

The federal frame-up "case" was a sham from the start, based on the "testi-



Victimized Kentucky miners (from left): Donnie Thornsberry, David Thornsberry, Arnold Heightland, James Darryl Smith.

mony" of finks, cops and admitted liars. A key prosecution witness was former Local 2496 vice president Ervin Smith, brother of defendant Darryl Smith. Initially facing the same charges as the other defendants, this fink turned state's evidence in return for a plea bargain. Smith claimed he drove the other miners to the alleged shooting site and picked them up later. But neither he nor anyone else claims to have seen the shooting.

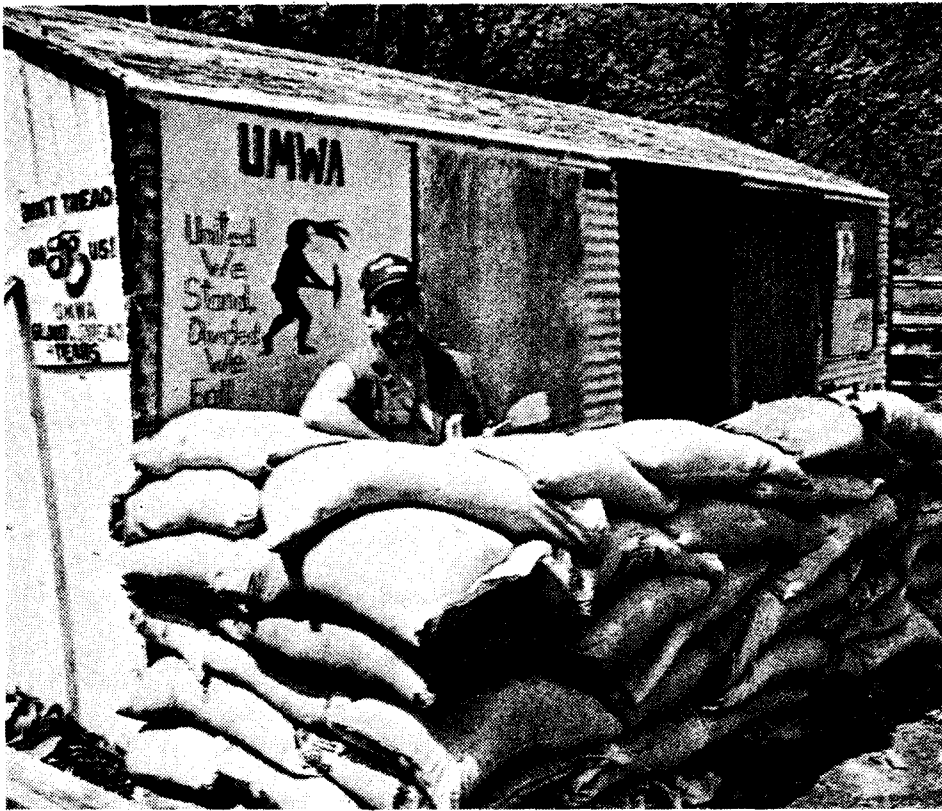
The defense presented records from the company's security force which showed two of the defendants were picketing at the time of the shooting. Another defendant was signing up for unemployment benefits and the fourth was at home. A witness testified he saw the coal trucks shot up some 200 feet from the spot where the state says it occurred. A local detective testified that he knew of coal operators shooting up their own trucks to discredit the strikers. In addition to police and company supervisors, the prosecution presented Donald Tackett, an initial suspect in the case, who was granted immunity and relocated by the government. Tackett and his wife are also claiming a \$50,000 reward Massey paid for a conviction.

Throughout the course of this government frame-up, the union tops have been criminally silent, spitting on the oath taken by every UMWA member which vows "I will never knowingly wrong a Brother or Sister or see him or her wronged, if I can prevent it" (UMWA Constitution). As defense attorney George Howell told *Workers Vanguard*: "It looks like these people have just been cut adrift to float on their own. I really believe that if the union had come forth and had a press confer-

ence and said 'we're behind these men all the way,' that these men are being framed... that would have added some credence to our side."

UMWA president Richard Trumka's betrayal of the Samoyed strikers is part and parcel of his defeatist strategy. Rejecting the union's tradition of industrywide shutdowns, Trumka called for "selective strikes" against companies which refused to sign the BCOA agreement. A.T. Massey was struck when the company refused to recognize laid-off miners' recall rights at its affiliate operations. In December 1985 the NLRB ruled that Massey and its affiliates constitute a single employer. Trumka called off the strike. But two years later, the Massey strikers are still out of work, the scabs are in the mines, and the government is jailing union miners in the Tug River Valley. Needless to say, the Socialist Workers Party has printed not a word of criticism of Trumka's treachery in their misnamed *Militant*.

Now, Trumka is again setting up the union for defeat. Like Arnold Miller, who dragged the union into the courts and labor boards and bowed down before their strikebreaking injunctions, Trumka tells miners to trust in the bosses' state. And the UMWA is paying a heavy price—today there are only 85,000 working miners, and only 40 percent of coal mined is union coal. But with the labor-hating Reagan administration on the rocks, the UMWA can take the lead sparking a long overdue labor offensive. UMWA militants must demand an industrywide shutdown, a standard UMWA contract for every union pit and freedom for the jailed Local 2496 militants. An injury to one is an injury to all! ■



Striker defends picket bunker near Samoyed mine in Canada, Kentucky.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office:

Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston

Box 840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 881-3700

Detroit

Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

Ithaca

Box 6767
Ithaca, NY 14850

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

Madison

Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-6431

New York

Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

San Francisco

Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.

Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

S.F. Demo...

(continued from page 3)

only by the comrades' determined defense.

Soon the anti-communist assault provoked the intervention of a squad of riot cops itching to bust heads. The cops sealed off the reds, with the nationalist goon squad lurking behind the police. We chanted, "Down with anti-communist exclusion!" Several voices on the other side of the wall of cops yelled that there should be one united demonstration, but they were soon overcome by the chants of the PLO nationalists and their camp followers, who included not only the professional tailists of the WWP but also the Communist Party, the pseudo-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League, Freedom Socialist Party, Socialist Action, and one dubious character from the wretched "Bolshevik Tendency."

Our contingent formed up again and resumed chanting. The cop/goon alliance was unable to prevent several Palestinian marchers as well as other demonstrators from buying our press.

Palestinian militants looking for a revolutionary way out should recall the record of Sam Marcy's Workers World. While the Jesse Jackson cheerleaders of the Democratic Party, tonight's exclusion shows again that their "Rainbow Coalition" is red, white and blue—with the blue provided by the cops.

The Marcyites' bottom line is "Uncle Sam to the rescue," and this means more Palestinian blood spilled. When Israel launched its *blitzkrieg* into Lebanon in 1982, the WWP organized a protest calling for "effective U.S. action" to achieve Israeli withdrawal. Reagan provided some "effective U.S. action" all right, by sending in the Marines, followed by the disarming and evacuation of the PLO fighters. The result: the Sabra/Shatila bloodbath directed by Zionist mass murderer Ariel Sharon.

The Spartacist League calls for joint Arab/Hebrew workers revolution to explode the Zionist fortress from within. As our placards read, "Nationalism—Dead End for Palestinians! Zionism—Deathtrap for Jews!" The burning need is for Trotskyist parties throughout the Near East! ■

Yes, Gorbachev...

Peaceful Coexistence With Imperialism Is a Pipe Dream

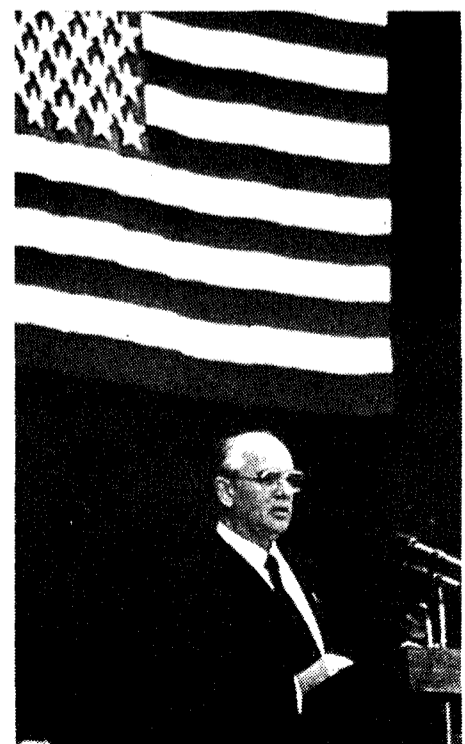
When at last month's Washington summit Ronald Reagan affixed his signature to the INF (intermediate nuclear forces) treaty eliminating medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles in Europe, this fanatically anti-Soviet warmonger was suddenly enrolled in the Stalinist pantheon of "peace-loving" bourgeois politicians. Speaking of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's plan for nuclear disarmament by the turn of the century, foreign ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov said, "By that time some people may [have] thought that it's just a dream, maybe a pipe dream, but as I understand President Reagan also wants to see the world free of this nuclear danger."

Ronald Reagan? The man who announced that he was about to start bombing the Soviet Union "in five minutes," who bankrolls contra cutthroats in Nicaragua and Afghanistan, who invaded tiny black Grenada, who sent the Marines into Lebanon and the Sixth Fleet into the Persian Gulf? From wantonly sending over 200 men, women and children aboard KAL 007 to their deaths in a deliberate overflight of the most sensitive Soviet military installations in the Far East, to the constant incursions into Soviet airspace and territorial waters, Reagan has been staging one deadly provocation after another against the Soviet Union since he took office.

Any "disarmament" agreement with the imperialist warmongers will simply spur the development of new weapons systems, like the "Star Wars" militarization of space. Yes, indeed, as we headlined when Gorbachev first proposed the recent summit (*WV* No. 424, 20 March 1987): "Gorbachev's Pipe Dream: Peace with Imperialism."

CPUSA: Hail Gorbachev, Tail Democrats

A month before Gerasimov's remark, the Communist Party USA lashed out



Mikhail Gorbachev talks "peace" with warmonger Reagan.



Lenin addressing Red Army troops on the way to revolutionary war against Pilsudski's Poland, 1920.

at our headline with a typically Stalinist amalgam aimed at equating revolutionaries who demand Soviet vigilance against imperialist war threats with imperialists who want to wage anti-Soviet war. In a piece nominally dealing with bourgeois Sovietologists, Political Bureau member Jim West managed to sneak in the following smear:

"The degree to which the anti-Soviet campaign against *perestroika* [restructuring] has been brought to a fever pitch by these sovietologists can be gauged by that hoary old professional anti-Soviet 'Marxist,' Sidney Hook, who has no hesitation to quote, approvingly, Alexander Hague [sic]: 'There are some things worse than war.'

"With these words, Hook gives the essence of the position of the Trotskyites whose sheet, *Workers Vanguard* blazes the headline 'Gorbachev's Pipe Dream: Peace with Imperialism'."

—Political Affairs,
November 1987

Needless to say, West put a "blank space" where the rest of our headline declared: "Defend the Soviet Union Through World Revolution!"

For the CP the very idea of a Marxist organization forthrightly standing for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against their own imperialist ruling class—much less, fighting for international socialist revolution—must boggle the mind. For these "Communists," communist revolution in their own country is the biggest pipe dream of all! Since the days of Earl Browder and Roosevelt's New Deal, the CPUSA has been hooked on the idea that Communism is nothing but "Twentieth Century Americanism," and defense of the Soviet Union means prattling on about "peace" while campaigning for anti-Soviet Democrats at election time.

During the Reagan years, they've gotten, if anything, worse. When KAL 007 was shot down, the CP's *Daily World* (2 September 1983) headlined "Soviets

Deny Downing Plane" even as Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov was holding news conferences to expose Reagan's criminal provocation. A year later CP general secretary Gus Hall told the *New York Times* (2 November 1984) that counter-revolutionary Polish Solidarność—a dagger aimed at the Soviet heartland by Western imperialism and the Vatican—was "a positive step." In 1986, Hall insisted in Moscow that Gorbachev come to the United States no matter what provocations the Reaganites cooked up. When Gorbachev asked, "Do you suggest that I come to your country without conditions?" Hall replied, "Without conditions" (*New Times*, 24 March 1986). He positively wanted the Soviets to crawl to Reagan.

And when Gorbachev finally came to Washington, the CP's Jim West crowed inanely, "If Ronald Reagan didn't believe in Santa Claus before, he will now," adding, "Reagan can understand now why Santa Claus wears a red suit" (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 December 1987). Gorbachev's Christmas gift to the discredited Reagan: agreeing to the "zero option" deal so unfavorable to the Soviets that it had been designed by the Reagan administration to be rejected; backing off the Soviets' earlier insistence that a prerequisite for any disarmament agreement was a halt to U.S. testing of the first-strike "Star Wars" program; and virtually offering to hand Afghanistan to Reagan's mullah terrorists on a silver platter.

When we warned against the possibility of such concessions following the Reykjavik summit a year ago, West denounced "Trotskyites" who "betray the struggle for disarmament," adding: "To them, the Soviet opposition on principle to the export of revolution and its advocacy of peaceful coexistence from Lenin's day on, is betrayal and

capitulation to capitalism!" (*People's Daily World*, 7 November 1986).

Regard with "Extreme Suspicion"

Such crude falsification of Lenin's revolutionary internationalist views may wash with the CPUSA's pacifist constituency, and it certainly sufficed for Stalin, whose doubters ended up in the Lubyanka or worse. But within the Soviet Union today, Gorbachev's campaign for *glasnost* (openness) has encouraged many, including serious young people, to go "back to Lenin" to scrutinize and study his teachings. Thus a recent "round table" discussion entitled "October Revolution, Peace, Peaceful Coexistence" in the *Moscow New Times* (9 November 1987) could not simply retail hackneyed lies about Lenin. Semyon Rostovsky, a participant in the October Revolution, when asked how he would have reacted to someone talking of "peaceful coexistence" at the time, replied with refreshing succinctness: "I would have regarded him with extreme suspicion."

Glasnost necessitates a more "sophisticated" approach by Stalinist ideologues to rewriting Lenin. *Izvestia* political commentator Alexander Bovin stated in the same discussion:

"It is a popular and simplistic misconception that at the time of the October Revolution Lenin had a ready-made theory of peaceful coexistence, and that all that remained to be done was to apply it in the conditions formed after the October Revolution. This bears no relation to how Lenin's ideas really evolved...."

"At the time of the October Revolution Lenin and the Bolshevik Party clearly expected the Russian revolution to detonate a worldwide revolution. At that time this was the only possibility envisaged by Lenin. This is borne out not by isolated utterances but by the whole logic and totality of his pronouncements in that period."

In fact, this is borne out by checking every reference to "peaceful coexistence" in the index to Lenin's *Collected Works*. Bovin continues, "It was only the development of events, the failure of the revolution to occur in the West and the new situation in which the young Soviet republic found itself isolated—it was only this that made our Party take a different look at things."

That party was no longer Lenin's, but Stalin's. The "different look" came with the bureaucratic political counterrevolution in 1924 and was codified in the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." The corollary was that an isolated "socialist" state could coexist with world imperialism for an indefinite period. Did Lenin's views "evolve" on this question? Here's what Lenin had to say:

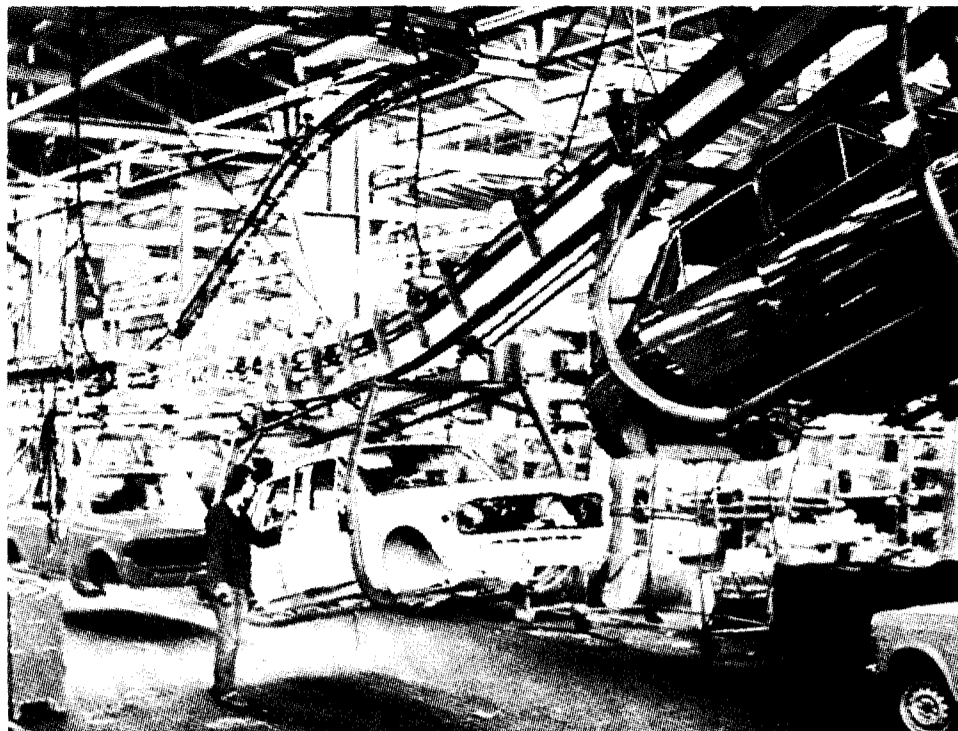
• **March 1918**, in the Resolution on War and Peace, passed at the Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) that discussed the signing of the Brest treaty: "The Congress considers the only reliable guarantee of consolidation of the socialist revolution that has been victorious in Russia to be its conversion into a world working-class revolution." Lenin amended the resolution: "Furthermore, the Congress lays special stress on the authority granted to the Central Committee to denounce at any moment all peace treaties concluded with imperialist and bourgeois states, and also to declare war on them."

• **March 1919**, at the Eighth Congress: "We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states, and it is inconceivable for the Soviet Republic to exist alongside of the imperialist states for any length of time. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end comes there will have to be a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states."

• **December 1920**, in a speech to party activists in Moscow: "I said that we had

continued on page 13

"MARKET SOCIALISM" IN EASTERN EUROPE



Yugoslav Review



Der Spiegel

Auto plant in Serbia (left). Serbian chauvinists in anti-Albanian march in Belgrade (right). Economic inequality fueled by "market socialism" has exacerbated regional and national divisions, threatening to tear Yugoslavia apart.

The Bankruptcy of the Yugoslav Model

The following article is the first of a projected series on the increasing role of market relations in the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe.

PART ONE OF THREE

As of New Year's Day 1988, a majority of factories and other enterprises in the Soviet Union began operating on the basis of market competition. "Self-management" is now all the rage in Russia. Announcing a radical restructuring (*perestroika*) of the economy last June, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev called for "full profit-and-loss accounting and self-management of the basic links of the national economy." A few months later a manifesto issued by the newly formed unofficial Federation of Socialist Clubs called "to switch the economy to self-management," even demanding that the state "lease the social means of production, such as factories and workshops, to collectives of self-managing enterprises."

What we are seeing in Russia is a convergence between reform-minded Stalinism and the liberal prejudices of much of the intelligentsia. If Gorbachev renounces what bourgeois Sovietologists call the "command economy," it is because the Kremlin bureaucracy can no longer command the productive effort of Soviet workers and managers. Within the Stalinist framework of building "socialism in one country," the bureaucrats see no alternative but to subject workers and enterprise managers to the discipline of the market, putting the ruble in command. For leftist intellectuals in groups such as the Socialist Clubs, self-management is viewed as a step toward freeing society from the deadening hand of the *apparatchiks*, allowing the masses to participate in economic decision-making.

However, enterprise self-management is *not* the road to workers democracy and socialism. Socialism means a democratically administered, centrally planned, egalitarian and internationally organized economy. Before the rise

of Stalinism practically no one who considered himself a socialist disputed these fundamental principles. The program of "market socialism" is basically a product of liberal Stalinism. Enterprise self-management and self-financing is the road to economic chaos. It generates unemployment and inflation, widens inequalities within the working class and throughout society, creates dependency on international bankers, intensifies national divisions and conflicts, and enormously strengthens the internal forces of capitalist restoration. Just look at Yugoslavia!

The Yugoslav Road to IMF Austerity

The ghost of Marshal Tito might find ironic satisfaction in hearing Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin voice the same formulas he did after breaking with Stalin in 1948. The Yugoslav leader declared:

"The transfer of the factories and mines etc. to management by workers' collectives will prevent the infectious disease known as bureaucracy becoming en-

demic in our economy....

"Well, therein lies our path towards socialism, and it is the only right way since it is a matter of the withering away of the functions of the State in the economy. Let the Cominformists [Moscow-line Stalinists] bear in mind that their slanderous uproar cannot darken our well-lit path of building socialism."

—Josip Broz Tito, *Selected Speeches and Articles 1941-1961* (1963)

Today, after four decades, the "Yugoslav path of building socialism" has led to an unemployment rate approaching 20 percent, an inflation rate approaching 200 percent a year—the highest in Europe, East or West—and a savage austerity program dictated by the world bankers' cartel, the IMF (International Monetary Fund). And the economic crisis has enormously intensified national conflicts which threaten to rip the Yugoslav federation apart. Last fall, the defense minister, Admiral Branko Mamula, declared, "The crisis is approaching the point at which the integrity of the country and

the existing social system may be endangered" (London *Financial Times*, 25 September 1987).

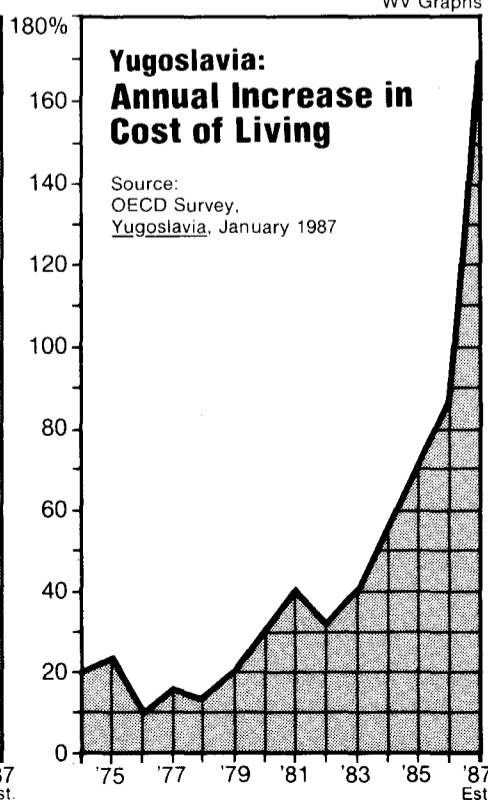
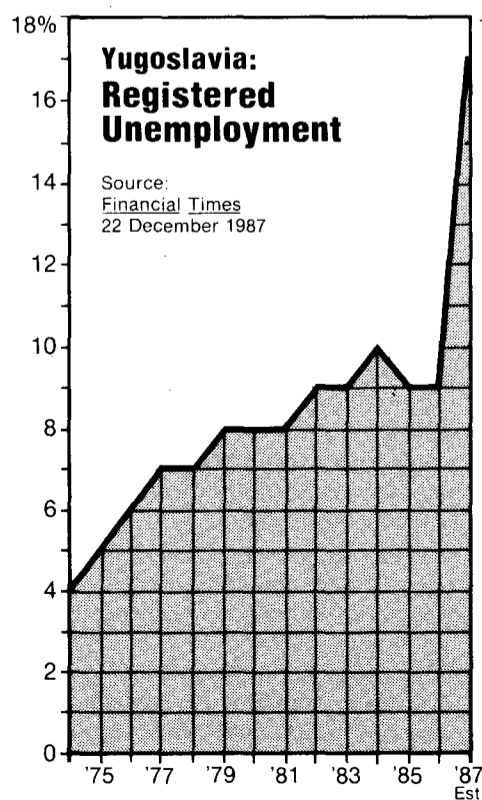
Between 1981 and 1985 real earnings per worker fell 20 percent, fixed investment by 40 percent. To halt this slide, in late '85 the Belgrade regime moved to stimulate the economy through expansive fiscal and monetary policies. The predictable result: hyperinflation as skyrocketing prices reached an annual rate of 140 percent in early 1987. The dinar fell through the floor of the foreign-exchange market, Yugoslavia teetered on the edge of international bankruptcy. To roll over the country's nearly \$20 billion in foreign debt, the IMF demanded the kind of shock treatment it usually prescribes for Latin American juntas.

So last spring the Yugoslav Stalinists froze and even rolled back wages while raising the prices of consumer goods between 25 and 60 percent. In response some 150,000 workers in over 1,000 enterprises walked out (see "Yugoslavia in Turmoil," *WV* No. 429, 29 May 1987). Coal miners in Labin, Croatia struck for two months, by far the longest strike in Yugoslavia's postwar history. Faced with working-class resistance of this magnitude, the regime backed off a bit by announcing a 90-day price freeze for certain basic necessities. In November wages were frozen again in the face of even greater price increases—over 30 percent for bread, 100 percent for milk, 70 percent for electricity, 60 percent for rail travel.

Gorbachev and his advisers are, of course, well aware that the Yugoslav economy is a total mess, in every way far worse than Russia's. But Leonid Abalkin, a leading architect of *perestroika*, still holds up Yugoslavia as a model:

"... Mr. Abalkin points to the reaction of Soviet citizens who visit Yugoslavia. They are awed there, he said, by the vast selection of sausages even though they cost four or five times more than back home.

"You know, meat consumption per capita in Yugoslavia is lower than in the Soviet Union," he observed. "But there is a sense of abundance. If I want, I can always come and buy it, as much as I want, without a line. It's not simple to



WV Graphs

create that feeling here, but if we succeed it will have a colossal psychological effect."

—*New York Times*, 4 July 1987

The long lines for consumer goods in the Soviet Union have nothing to do with centralized planning per se. For years the Kremlin bureaucracy has tried to create the *illusion* of rapidly rising incomes by increasing money wages faster than production. The result is *suppressed inflation* with people waiting for hours to buy at official prices, alongside a flourishing black market at far higher prices. Yugoslavia, by contrast, is an extreme case of *unsuppressed inflation*.

Workers Management or Bankers' Management?

Despite the economic collapse, Belgrade officials continue to proclaim that the Yugoslav system uniquely empowers the working class. At the very time he was announcing the IMF-dictated austerity program, Yugoslav prime minister Branko Mikulic reiterated: "We are convinced that Yugoslavia has no future without self-management. The meaning of workers self-management is, indeed, that the workers themselves make decisions" (*Der Spiegel*, 23 March 1987).

Do the Yugoslav workers really manage? On paper the workers councils are masters of the enterprise. In reality they seldom exercise mastery. The English bourgeois economist Harold Lydall sees the Yugoslav experience as proof positive of workers' universal incapacity to manage:

"The management of a modern enterprise, even one of medium size, is a complex and specialized task, or group of tasks, requiring the full-time attention of a management team of specially qualified people. The ordinary worker can no more take responsibility for managerial decision-making than he can perform a surgical operation, write a symphony, or play in a champion football team."

—*Yugoslav Socialism: Theory and Practice* (1986)

This is, of course, the standard apologia for class rule. The lower orders are deemed too ignorant, too narrowly self-interested to govern society: that is a task for the qualified elite.

Yugoslav workers have enough sense of responsibility and economic savvy, however, to strike against the ruinous austerity prescribed by the ever so qualified savants of the International Monetary Fund. If these same workers do not exercise their nominal power at the enterprise level, it is because the enterprises themselves are *impotent*. Their major decisions on production, pricing, investment, etc. are dictated by the forces of market competition on the one hand and the banks on the other.

The banks have become the real power in the Yugoslav economy. During the 1960s fixed investment financed by bank loans increased from just 5 percent to over 40 percent by the end of the decade. Since then, according to the former head of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, Ivo Perisin: "The decision-making power of Yugoslav banks (most of them small institutions by objective standards) continued to grow, with the economy becoming more and more dependent on them and their credits and falling deeper and deeper in debt" (Radmila Stojanovic, ed., *The Functioning of the Yugoslav Economy* [1982]).

Nominally Yugoslav banks are controlled by the founding enterprises, communes (municipal governments) and the like. In reality they are creatures of the local and regional bureaucracies, although they sometimes play the role of Frankenstein's monster. An enterprise which falls afoul of the banks will find its loan requests rejected, its outstanding loans called in and its credit cut back.

The strategic power of banks in Yugoslavia is by no means an accident. Finance is the Achilles' heel of self-management and of the anarcho-

syndicalist model in general. An enterprise cannot be financially self-sufficient; it is dependent on a long and fragile chain of payments. It receives supplies from numerous firms on various terms of credit. Some suppliers are in other countries, thus involving the enterprise in foreign-exchange transactions. An enterprise, in turn, sells to numerous customers in the domestic and world markets on various terms of payment. Market relations thus make financial intermediaries the strategic link between producing units. It is entirely within the logic of "self-management" that the world bankers' cartel, the IMF, has a greater say in the Yugoslav economy than all of the workers councils together. Only centralized management can enable the workers to democratically decide the direction of the economy.

National Conflict and Decentralization in Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav experience is extremely relevant to Gorbachev's Russia, and not simply because the current general secretary of the CPSU is talking about shifting the economy over to self-management. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia are both multinational, federated states. In Yugoslavia the national configuration is politically represented by six republics and two autonomous provinces.

The nationalities question has been at the heart of the politics of "self-management." The social pressure for ever greater decentralization has come *not* from below—from workers in the shops—but from the bureaucracies in the richer republics, Croatia and Slovenia. The economic effects of devolution have in turn given rise to virulent



Workers council meeting in Yugoslav factory—"self-management" is a sham. For central planning based on workers democracy!

national resentment in the poorest regions, especially in Kosovo, where the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia is concentrated.

Leading Belgrade politicians now speak of "two Yugoslavias"—one in the north, the other in the south—and warn of the "Lebanonizing" of the country. The *New York Times* (1 November 1987) recently reported:

"Portions of southern Yugoslavia have reached such a state of ethnic friction that Yugoslavs have begun to talk of the horrifying possibility of civil war in a land that lost one-tenth of its population, or 1.7 million people, in World War II."

That fear of civil war was heightened when last September an Albanian conscript went berserk with a machine gun in an army barracks, killing five fellow soldiers (all Slavs) and wounding several others. After four decades of "market socialism" and "workers self-management," the historic gains of the Yugoslav Revolution are now at risk.



Problems of Communism

Yugoslav federation made up of six national republics, two autonomous provinces.

The Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia was forged in the Communist-led resistance to the Nazi German occupation during World War II. The strength of Tito's partisans lay in the fact that they fought for a resolution of the Balkan question on an *anti-nationalist* basis. Tito himself was a Croat while the ranks of the Communist movement were predominantly Serbian and Montenegrin. With myriads of nationalist groups—monarchist Serbian Chetniks, fascist Croatian Ustashi and quislings of every South Slav nationality—participating in genocidal slaughter, workers and peasants came to know they were safe when partisans with the red star on

of liberalizing measures of which the most significant was self-management of the enterprises. Most Yugoslav workers doubtless welcomed this measure, because it gave them some protection against bureaucratic abuse in the workplace. For a number of years, however, the rhetoric of self-management far exceeded the reality. Enterprise managers continued to be chosen by the local party and government bosses. More fundamentally, the economic surplus remained concentrated in the hands of the state. In the late 1950s less than 10 percent of gross profits were retained by the enterprises; the rest was transferred to the government through taxes, interest payments on assets and other charges.

Roughly half of all investment in new plant and equipment was financed by the federal government. The Tito regime used these investment funds to narrow, to some degree, the vast economic differences between Yugoslavia's nationalities. Investment per worker was far higher in the poorest regions—Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo—than in the most developed republics of Croatia and Slovenia. The effort to use the centralized control of investment funds to redistribute the country's productive resources triggered a nationalist backlash in Croatia and Slovenia, formerly provinces in the old Austro-Hungarian empire.

In the late '50s Vladimir Bakaric, the veteran Communist boss of Croatia, launched a campaign for "de-statization" of the economy. By this Bakaric meant that the economic surplus generated in Croatia should remain in Croatia. The means: increasing the financial autonomy of the enterprises. Thus, the movement to increase the economic surplus in the hands of the enterprises expressed a resurgence of nationalist centrifugal forces in Yugoslavia. A British historian of postwar Yugoslavia notes that the "de-statization" campaign of the late '50s marked the point "that the Yugoslav 'national question,' relatively dormant since the war, again became Yugoslavia's central question" (Dennison Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment 1948-1974* [1977]).

The Bitter Fruits of "De-Statization"

The market-oriented "reforms" of the 1960s radically shifted the locus of economic power. The share of fixed investment financed by the government fell between the early and late '60s from over 60 percent to less than 10 percent! Thus began the stripping away of the economic power of the federal (central) government, so that by 1980 a prominent Yugoslav economist, Zoran Popov, could write that "the republics and

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Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 9)

provinces are almost exclusively in control of economic policy. The consistent implementation of this arrangement in the practical development of the system has made our system inflexible, sluggish and inefficient." Many tourists in Yugoslavia have experienced this inflexibility and inefficiency for themselves. Whenever a train crosses the border from one republic into another, the locomotive has to be changed!

The decentralizing measures of the '60s also radically altered the way in which the Yugoslav economy interacted with the world capitalist market. In 1967, enterprises were allowed to retain



Eupra

a portion of the foreign exchange which they earned. Since then the scramble over foreign exchange has been a major source of regional/national and inter-enterprise conflict, at times leading to outright economic warfare. For example, in 1980 a producer of x-ray film in Croatia, the only domestic supplier in Yugoslavia, demanded an increased foreign-exchange quota. To put pressure on the federal government, the enterprise cut back shipments of x-ray film to the other republics. In hospitals throughout Yugoslavia x-ray examinations had to be postponed.

Market competition between enterprises has produced stark inequalities at all levels of Yugoslav economic life. Even within the same republic, for example, Slovenia, some workers receive two and a half times as much as others doing the *same kind of work*. In the country as a whole these differences are significantly greater. A machine operator in one enterprise might receive four times as much as his counterpart in a less profitable enterprise. These income differences have nothing to do with the diligence of the individual workers or competence of the respective enterprise managements. The main factor determining enterprise profitability is the *age* of its plant, whether it is technologically up-to-date or obsolete. "Market socialism" *violates* the elementary principle, shared by trade unionists as well as socialists, of *equal pay for equal work*.

While grossly unequal pay for equal work doubtless causes resentment among individual workers, it is the stark inequalities between regions which now threaten to rip apart the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. Slovenia enjoys a standard of living comparable to neighboring Austria's, while conditions in Albanian-populated Kosovo more closely resemble Turkey. The decentralizing measures of the '60s widened this gap. In the late 1970s resources per capita in Kosovo were less than 30 percent of those in Slovenia; resources per capita in Macedonia were less than half those of Slovenia. The economic collapse of the '80s has hit hardest the poor-

est regions. While the unemployment rate in Slovenia is still less than 2 percent, in Kosovo it is over 35 percent! No wonder many Albanians are violently hostile to the Yugoslav federation as it is presently constituted and managed.

The Soviet Union is far from free of Great Russian chauvinism and national conflict. But it is instructive to contrast Soviet Central Asia with south Yugoslavia. Two generations ago the Turkic-speaking peoples of the Central Asian republics were nomadic herdsmen, separated from European Russia by a vast social and economic gulf. However, centralized planning and management on the basis of collectivized property has enabled the USSR to appreciably narrow that gulf. Uzbek machine operators in Tashkent receive the same wage



George Skragin/Belgrade

Josip Broz Tito forged pan-Yugoslav anti-Nazi partisan movement, transcending national antagonisms through revolutionary struggle.

rates and benefits as their class brothers in Leningrad. Social programs in Central Asia are on the standard Soviet scale. Collective farmers in Central Asia receive relatively favorable prices for their main crops. Furthermore, the central Soviet budget has earmarked additional funds for the Central Asian republics.

However, Gorbachev's market-oriented "reforms" will *reverse* these equalizing policies and *divert* resources back toward European Russia. Two American experts on the Soviet economy employed by the U.S. Congress, John P. Hardt and Richard F. Kaufman, write:

"Gorbachev's policies seem to favor the western regions of the Soviet Union as opposed to Central Asia, East Siberia, and the Far East. For example, the industrial modernization program defers new construction and emphasizes renovation of existing facilities, most of which are located in the developed, largely Slavic regions of the European Soviet Union."

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

Despite rapid progress in recent decades, rural Soviet Central Asia remains the poorest, most backward section of the USSR. The main reason is the concentration of the Turkic-speaking population on collective farms where their labor productivity is very low.

A genuinely socialist (i.e., internationalist) policy on the national question calls for not only transferring productive resources to the Central Asian republics but also promoting the voluntary migration of Turkic-speaking people to the labor-short areas in European Russia, the Ukraine and Siberia. This would not only benefit the Turkic peoples but would raise labor productivity in the Soviet Union as a whole. Such a policy would require occupational retraining for millions of people, massive housing construction, establishing multilingual schools in the major cities of European Russia and similar measures. In short, the economic integration of the numerous nationalities making up the USSR is possible only on the basis of centralized plan-

ning and management, workers democracy and a struggle against national inequality.

Behind the Economic Collapse

For two decades spokesmen for the "Yugoslav road to socialism" could and did point to one of the highest growth rates in the world. During the 1950s industrial production advanced 9.5 percent annually, in the '60s over 8 percent a year. However, this impressive economic performance was by no means proof of the superior virtues of enterprise self-management.

In the 1950s Yugoslavia enjoyed an advantage unavailable to the Soviet-bloc states: subsidization by U.S. imperialism. After Tito broke with Stalin in 1948, Washington regarded the

not dinars. As a result the balance-of-trade deficit jumped from \$1.6 billion in 1973 to \$7.2 billion in 1979. At the same time, the depression and subsequent stagnation of the West European economy sent a *quarter million* Yugoslav workers back home by the end of the decade.

The unemployment rate soared from 3.5 percent in the early '70s to 8.5 percent in the late '70s. In one important respect self-management has a *greater* built-in tendency to generate unemployment than does capitalism. The goal of a self-managed enterprise is not to maximize profits, much less output, but *profit per worker*. If a Yugoslav enterprise can increase its output by, say, 10 percent by spending a million dinars on new equipment *or* by spending half a million on new equipment and the rest on taking on more workers, it will always choose the *first* alternative. The system is strongly biased against young workers first entering the labor market.

Established enterprise workers councils, however, have had a certain political clout. If the market had been allowed to operate freely, hundreds of enterprises would have folded in the late '70s. To forestall this the Tito regime had recourse to inflationary finance and massive foreign borrowing. Firms running in the red were merged with profitable firms or pumped up with bank loans.

How the system operated was exposed by the Agrokomerc scandal which shook Yugoslavia last fall. The management of Agrokomerc, a huge food-producing firm, was closely linked to Bosnian party boss Hamdija Pozderac, one of the most powerful politicians in the country. Over several years Agrokomerc dumped on Yugoslav banks *nearly a billion dollars* in promissory notes backed by *nonexistent* assets. When the financial house of cards finally collapsed, Agrokomerc head Fikret Abdic exclaimed: "Everybody in Yugoslavia has been doing it, so why is Agrokomerc being victimised when we were only trying to get funds to complete some of our big projects?" (*Economist*, 5 September 1987).

Indeed, everybody in Yugoslavia has been doing it for years. As a result, the inflation rate tripled during the '70s, reaching 30 percent by the end of the decade. The inflation ruined Yugoslavia's export competitiveness. To pay for necessary imports, the Tito regime turned to the loan sharks of the Frankfurt bourse, City of London and Wall Street. Foreign debt increased *ten-fold* during the '70s, from \$2 billion to \$20 billion. As Yugoslavia entered the 1980s, it was living on borrowed time.

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

Marshal Tito's death in 1980 removed both a powerful symbol of Yugoslav unity and an authoritative political leadership. It signaled the passing of the

Belgrade regime as a semi-ally against Moscow. In the first decade of the Cold War Yugoslavia received roughly a billion dollars in largesse from Uncle Sam. At the same time, Yugoslavia was running large balance-of-trade deficits with the West. Without the U.S. aid, balance-of-payments constraints would have retarded its economic growth.

In the early 1960s U.S. aid dried up, but Titoist Yugoslavia found another source of foreign exchange: exporting surplus labor to the West European Common Market, especially to West Germany. At its peak, just before the 1974-75 world depression, migrant workers amounted to 12 percent of Yugoslavia's total labor force. And the money they sent back to their families and returned home with amounted to 40-50 percent of Yugoslavia's earnings from the export of industrial and agricultural products.

The economic collapse of the 1980s had its origin in the world capitalist crisis of 1974-75. The quadrupling of oil prices engineered by the Seven Sisters/OPEC cartel greatly increased Yugoslavia's import bill, payable in dollars

Soviet university students in Kalmyk ASSR in southern steppes. Centralized planning and management has dramatically narrowed gulf between backward regions of USSR and European Russia.



Planeta Publishers

Beats Hammer and Sickle into Plowshare

Ernest Mandel: La Guerre Est Finie

PARIS—There were 400 people in the overcrowded meeting hall last November 3. Apparently the entire Parisian LCR (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire) had come, as well as a number of ex-members. They came to listen to Ernest Mandel, principal spokesman of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) and economics specialist, speaking on the financial crash. In his speech, the good professor was true to form, long on statistics and short on program, once again discovering that "nothing will ever be the same."

After laying out an abundance of detail on the world economic situation, Mandel opined that it is heading for a catastrophic recession, the American Democrats and European social democrats will adopt neo-Keynesian policies, and the two working classes which have long been silent, the U.S. and Soviet, will certainly enter the arena. He criticized Gorbachev's program of market-oriented "restructuring" of the Soviet economy (how soon he forgets the USec's panegyrics for Polish Solidarność and its call for "enterprise autonomy"), concluding that the Kremlin leaders' policy of *glasnost* and *perestroika* is pregnant with explosive contradictions.

During the discussion period, Mandel easily dismissed the "state capitalists" of Socialisme International (followers of Tony Cliff's British SWP), remarking that "even a baby" could see the difference between the economies in the West and the East. A speaker for the Ligue Trotskyste de France, French section of the international Spartacist tendency, noted that Mandel "forgot" one possible recourse of capitalism seeking to solve its financial crisis: a war to reconquer markets, war against the

Soviet Union and the deformed workers states.

Mandel responded that "as usual it's the Spartacists who ask the right questions even if it's only to come up with the wrong answers." The "wrong" answer was the LTF comrade's call to defend the USSR. "War is impossible," Mandel said, because in the nuclear age it would be suicide for the capitalists themselves. Of course, he added, there are always some crazy fringe elements. You mean there isn't a single capitalist government in the world crazy enough to want war with the Soviet Union, or maybe two? How many nuclear-armed nuts does it take to start a world war? When does quantity turn into quality? And what about the madman in the White House who believes, literally, in the Biblical prophecy of Armageddon?

A second LTF comrade pointed to the imperialists' desire to regain a first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union: look at Reagan's "Star Wars," the Pentagon's games of nuclear "chicken" off Kamchatka, the numerous "proxy" conflicts (Nicaragua, Libya). After World War I, as well, there was a feeling that "war is impossible," but that didn't prevent a second imperialist slaughter. This really got the neo-pacifist Mandel going. "It's not '39 anymore," he replied. "Ever since nuclear energy, and not just the A-bomb, war is impossible." But wasn't World War II fought after the discovery of nuclear power? Didn't the U.S. atom bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

For Mandel, the danger of war doesn't exist because "the masses will oppose it." But, professor, "masses" don't press the button. He dismissed Lenin's call for turning the imperialist war into a civil war with a cute joke:



James Long

MX missile, part of U.S. first-strike war plans.

"Just try the slogan, 'turn thermonuclear war into civil war!'" Even "the Soviet comrades" have understood this, he went on, and "no longer think that a war is 'winnable.'" In the face of the nuclear threat it is all the more urgent to smash the imperialist warmongers through socialist revolution *before* the conflagration breaks out. But after

repeatedly asserting that war is impossible, Mandel appeals to the reason of the imperialists with the pacifist slogan, "We must stop wars."

When the LTF comrades intervened, it was notable that there weren't any of the usual whistles and other disruptions from the LCR. Are we witnessing a "Gorbachev effect" on the USec, as they switch from "solidarity with Solidarity" to jump on the "peace and disarmament" bandwagon? But with every "new world reality," for the Mandelites, the more things change, the more they stay the same. Ever since the political destruction of the Fourth International, Mandel & Co. have latched onto a multiplicity of "vanguards": the European Stalinists, Algerian nationalists, Cuba, students, Mao's Red Guards, the anti-Soviet "Eurocommunists," the Sandinistas, even Khomeini's "Iranian Revolution" and Mitterrand. The axis around which they gyrate is rejection of the need for a Trotskyist vanguard party with a program to lead the working class to victory over capitalism.

But after a quarter century of searching for the elusive "new," "mass," "broad" vanguard, you wonder why you exist. And indeed, last year Alain Krivine offered to dissolve the LCR in a presidential campaign for ex-Communist Party "renovator" Pierre Juquin. ("The LCR Wants to Die to Be Born Again Better," was the headline of *Libération* [6 March 1987].) Krivine told the weekly *L'Événement du Jeudi*, "Trotskyism is decidedly a word that I don't like," reminiscent of American SWP leader Jack Barnes' remark that "Trotskyism as such doesn't have much value as a term." Certainly not to them. For these aging '68ers, *la guerre* is just about *finie*. ■

generation which had made the Yugoslav Revolution by overcoming the age-old blood feuds of the Balkans. They were succeeded by political midgets pursuing the most parochial and short-sighted interests. As one dissident intellectual put it: "We live under a pluralist oligarchy, or better, eight oligarchies." Any republic can veto federal legislation for a year. The president of the federal government is rotated every year on a regional basis, one of Tito's most ill-fated legacies. Even within the framework of Stalinist rule the current Yugoslav bureaucracy has shown itself criminally and perhaps suicidally irresponsible.

The musical-chairs government in Belgrade has become little more than collection agents for foreign loan sharks. By putting the economy through the wringer, they squeezed out \$18 billion since 1981 for the bankers of Frankfurt, London and New York. And now the bankers are demanding further austerity measures which would make the past few years look like *la dolce vita* by comparison. Last summer the Belgrade regime, under pressure from the IMF, adopted a law eliminating all state subsidies and other aid for money-losing enterprises. Oskar Kovac, minister in charge of economic relations with the West, stated:

"There will be firms that will clearly have to go. I only hope it will not take such dimensions that it will cause serious social unrest. But even with that risk we must go ahead."

—*Washington Post*, 21 July 1987

Going ahead, the first round shut down 800 firms with 200,000 workers. If the law is stringently carried out, every fourth worker in Yugoslavia will be thrown onto the streets.

The bankruptcy of the "self-managed

economy" has enormously intensified the centrifugal forces in Yugoslavia. Last summer the house organ of the international financiers, the *London Economist*, titled an article on Yugoslavia "A Lebanon in the Balkans?" The imperialist hyenas are beginning to smell blood, salivating at the thought of the breakup of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, that would undo the revolution and turn Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, etc. into neocolonies of international capitalist finance. The wealthier regions of the north resent the economic burden of the impoverished south. Bozo Kovac, editor of Slovenia's leading daily newspaper, boasts: "Capacity in Slovenia is better utilized and managed than in the south."

The *London Independent* (8 October 1987) reports: "There is much political daydreaming of secession from the South Slav federation, which the 1.5 million Slovenes are inclined to see as a pure drain on their hard work and more European way of life." If secession is a daydream for the Slovenes, it is an angry cry among the Albanians. The Kosovo question exploded in 1981 with Albanian student protesters demanding that the autonomous province be granted the status of full-fledged republic. Today the more extreme nationalists are demanding "an ethnic Albania that includes western Macedonia, southern Montenegro, part of southern Serbia, Kosovo and Albania itself" (*New York Times*, 1 November 1987). In recent years much of the Serbian minority has left Kosovo, driven out by the rising tide of Albanian nationalism and the deep economic depression.

The situation in Kosovo inflames all the national passions in Yugoslavia. The *Economist* (18 July 1987) noted: "Few people outside Yugoslavia have been

paying much attention to Kosovo. But if the trouble there is not solved, it could rattle the whole of Yugoslavia." Recalling the effects of the assassination of an Austrian archduke by a Serbian nationalist in Sarajevo in 1914, which sparked WWI, it noted that "local conflicts in the Balkans have a nasty way of developing into wider ones."

Titoist Stalinism has not and cannot achieve a lasting solution to the national problems of Yugoslavia. For example, the Albanian population of Kosovo should have the right to unite with their national brethren across the border in Albania. The Macedonians should have the right to become part of Bulgaria. Such policies would go a long way toward defusing the current national antagonisms within Yugoslavia, laying the basis for a genuine socialist federation of the Balkans within a Socialist United States of Europe.

Writing over a decade ago on "The

National Question in Yugoslavia" (*WV* No. 110, 21 May 1976), we warned:

"Now even the great achievements of the Yugoslav revolution—the overthrow of capitalist property relations and the overcoming of bloody national conflicts which wracked bourgeois Yugoslavia—are themselves threatened by the bureaucracy's fostering...of centrifugal forces. The conditions are being accumulated for a bloody civil war...one which may well be cloaked in the form of a 'national liberation' struggle. This is the legacy of Titoism, of Stalinism 'with a human face.' It is the legacy that the working masses must overcome by constructing a Trotskyist vanguard party capable of carrying through a workers political revolution to oust the Tito bureaucracy and thereby create the conditions for international extension of the revolution."

Today, as the bankruptcy of "workers self-management" fuels resurgent national antagonisms, this program offers the only genuine path to socialism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Afghanistan...

(continued from page 1)

stockings, they shot at their legs" (London *Guardian*, 5 January). As one Islamic fanatic declared at the anti-Communist orgy in Pakistan, "We are Afghans and we do not allow women to come out. Women have no opinion in determining the future of Afghanistan" (*New York Times*, 28 December 1987). Today a majority of students at Kabul University are women, and 15,000 women serve as soldiers and commanders in the Afghan army. The withdrawal of Soviet troops would mean they face the prospect of hideous slaughter.

Not only Afghans will die. For Washington, Afghanistan was the opening shot of the second Cold War, a global drive to "roll back" supposed "Soviet expansionism." Democrat Carter's "national security" czar Zbigniew Brzezinski stood at the Khyber Pass in a U.S. Army jacket and pointed an automatic rifle at Afghanistan. Republican Reagan took aim at Sandinista Nicaragua and soon was bankrolling contra mercenaries from Central America to Southeast Asia. In his second term this became the "Reagan doctrine" of attacking the Soviet "evil empire" on its



Soviet Central Asian troops, part of Red Army combatting feudalist cutthroats in Afghanistan.

of State George Shultz is demanding that they also *cut off all aid* to their erstwhile Afghan allies, while insisting that U.S. arms and aid to the Afghan rebels will continue until the Soviets are gone.

Intensify the War— Mop Up the Mullahs!

On ABC News' "This Week with David Brinkley," Soviet foreign ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov pro-

Soviets was like is on their side." But as the Kremlin has restricted social reforms in Afghanistan, U.S.-armed *mujahedin* (holy warriors) have even begun to strike across the border into Tadjikistan.

At Moscow's urging, the authentically Afghan People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) regime has tried to conciliate the rebels. Agrarian reform was cut back, all ceilings on land ownership for the feudal landlords and Islamic clergy were lifted, the mullahs were exempted from taxation. Education for girls was made "voluntary" instead of compulsory. In November PDPA leader Najibullah called a *loya jirgah*, bringing in tribal and religious chiefs. In the name of Allah and "Islamic consciousness," the red star was removed from the Afghan national seal and the country was renamed the Republic of Afghanistan, dropping the "Democratic" because of Communist connotations. As Najibullah was appealing for a "political solution" by holding out the prospect of Soviet withdrawal, the guerrillas responded with rocket blasts that shook the meeting room.

The only "political solution" that will benefit the Afghan masses is for the Soviet army to intensify and finish the war by mopping up the Afghan contras. This sentiment is evidently shared by many in the Soviet Union, notably within the army. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (5 November 1987), recent issues of the Soviet defense ministry newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star) have featured articles complaining that the unilateral cease-fire declared by Kabul last year allowed the rebels to regroup and rearm, shooting down civilian airliners "right and left" while Afghan troops returned to their bases and Soviet troops were made to hold their fire.

Over the past year, the U.S. has shipped more than 600 Stinger surface-

to-air missiles to its Afghan mercenaries. While some were sold to the Iranians and used against the U.S. in the Persian Gulf, the imperialists claim the Stingers together with British Blowpipes are taking down an average of one Soviet helicopter gunship a day, while making it impossible for Soviet fighter jets to fly close support. Referring to the Soviet MI-24 helicopters which were key in wiping out guerrilla strongholds in Afghanistan, one *mujahedin* leader boasted: "For nine years the dragon ruled the skies over Afghanistan. Now the dragon is dead." The solution is simple, and McDonnell Douglas has it—the "Black Hole Infrared Suppression System." As advertised in the December 1987 issue of *Scientific American*, the Black Hole system makes helicopter exhaust "so cool it is ignored by heat-seeking missiles."

Carrying Out Their Internationalist Duty

The real barrier to Soviet victory in Afghanistan is not on the military front. As one senior Reagan official admitted, even armed with Stingers "a possibility of a resistance victory... there never has been." An article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (22 December 1987) noted that the Soviet military "knows that the Red Army cannot be defeated by the *mujaheddin*," and "there has been a sharp improvement in the [Afghan] army's performance." This was demonstrated at the end of December in the successful drive by Soviet and Afghan troops to break the guerrilla siege of Khost, just a few miles from the Pakistani border, disrupting a key arms route and killing over 2,000 rebels. A U.S. government official carped: "The Soviets are showing they still have the firepower to go anywhere they want." So they do. The obstacle is political.

Gorbachev has called Afghanistan a "bleeding wound." But it has been the Kremlin Stalinists' efforts to strike a deal with the mullahs and their imperialist godfathers which have needlessly prolonged the war, allowing the U.S. to keep the blood of Soviet soldiers flowing. Much is made of opposition to the war within the Soviet Union, turning a tiny protest in Moscow (eight protesters carrying signs demanding "Withdraw Soviet Troops from Afghanistan") into a major event. But the most common demand reported in demonstrations of Afghan war veterans and letters to the Soviet press is not for withdrawal but *recognition* of the valiant internationalist contribution by Soviet youth.

There have been increasing demands to build a monument in Moscow to commemorate Soviet soldiers fallen in battle against the CIA's Afghan contras. In a letter to *Pravda*, the father of

A BLACK HOLE THAT HELPS MILITARY HELICOPTERS ESCAPE HOT PURSUIT.

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Scientific American

fringes. Journalist Bob Woodward reports of his conversations with CIA chief William Casey:

"He was interested in taking one back from the Soviets—a visible, clean victory.

"Where can we get a rollback?" Haig had asked.

"I want to win one," the president had said."

—*Washington Post Magazine*,
27 September 1987

Even after the Iran/Contra fiasco the Reaganauts are hoping to "win one" in Afghanistan. But they can't unless the Kremlin hands it to them.

Reaganites and Democrats alike have insisted on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan as the key test of sincerity for Gorbachev's "peace" drive. Nowhere is the futility and danger of trying to appease the war-crazed U.S. rulers clearer. While the Soviets were talking of pulling out, Reagan was in the Oval Office promising his Afghan contras that U.S. aid will *increase*. In the aftermath of the Washington summit, the White House decided to turn up the heat:

"Administration officials... have concluded that a tough stand by the United States can probably force further compromises from the Soviet Union on the timing and manner of its proposed troop withdrawal."

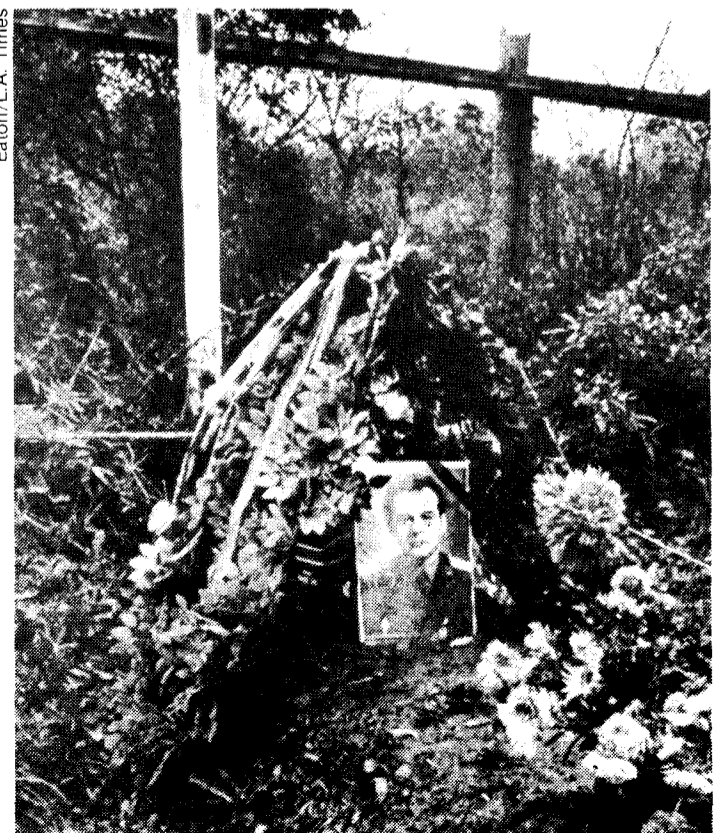
—*New York Times*,
15 December 1987

Now that the Soviets have promised to be out by the end of the year, Secretary

claimed: "We are going to withdraw, and the process of national reconciliation will take place, and you will have a nonaligned Afghanistan; nonsocialist, also" (*Washington Post*, 14 December 1987). The idea of "Finlandizing" Afghanistan is pure illusion. The most minimal bourgeois-democratic measures, such as a modest land reform, provoked a savage feudalist backlash. Even bringing back the king, deposed in 1973, as the Soviets are seeking, won't restore a stable, pliant buffer regime. As for the program of "national reconciliation" with the *mujahedin*, it would have been easier for Lenin's Bolsheviks to form a coalition government with the tsarist Black Hundreds, who look downright liberal compared to the Afghan cutthroats!

The possibility of bringing this land of feuding tribes, opium smuggling, bride price and religious obscurantism out of the Middle Ages is directly tied to the achievements of Soviet Central Asia. Many of the initial Soviet troops were in fact Tadjik, Turkmen, Kirghiz, Uzbek and Kazakh soldiers from just across the border. The *Toronto Globe and Mail* (5 February 1987) noted, following some nationalist riots in Kazakhstan, that the threat of Islamic fundamentalism in the USSR "is limited by relative economic comfort in the central Asian republics. While religious commitment and population trends ring ominously, the memory of what life without the

Moscow grave
of soldier killed
in Afghanistan.
Honor Red
Army heroes!



Eaton/L.A. Times

Pipe Dream...

(continued from page 7)

passed from war to peace, but that we had not forgotten that war will return. While capitalism and socialism exist side by side, they cannot live in peace: one or the other will ultimately triumph—the last obsequies will be observed either for the Soviet Republic or for world capitalism." The last statement was first published in 1923, near the end of Lenin's life.

How Gorbachev "Reads" Lenin

Given the overwhelming authority of the founder of the Soviet state, Gorbachev and the rest of the Soviet bureaucracy must turn to Lenin to justify their own program of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, cynically playing on the Soviet peoples' deep-felt desire for peace. At the signing ceremony for the INF treaty in Washington, Gorbachev said:

"Not all Americans may know that at the height of a world war, the very first step taken by the Soviet Republic born in Russia in 1917 was to promulgate a decree of peace."

—Washington Post,
9 December 1987

In the first place, the peace decree—aimed at putting an end to the bloody war then raging—came *after* the proclamation of Soviet power, where Lenin said: "It is clear to everybody that in order to end this war, which is closely bound up with the present capitalist system, capital itself must be fought." He concluded: "Long live the world socialist revolution!" Moreover, the peace decree was addressed not only or primarily to the capitalist governments but to the workers of other countries who, "by comprehensive, determined, and supremely vigorous action, will help us to conclude peace successfully, and at the same time emancipate the labouring and exploited masses of our population from all forms of slavery and all forms of exploitation." Does this bear the slightest resemblance to Gorbachev's appeals to warmonger Reagan?

The Bolshevik government never denied the need to make diplomatic and economic deals with the imperialist powers as long as they existed, but it never sought to foist illusions on the



masses that this would produce anything but a short-term truce. In his recent book, *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*, directed at bourgeois "opinion-makers" in the West, Gorbachev explains how "we draw inspiration from Lenin... 'reading' his works each time in a new way.... More than once he spoke about the priority of interests common to all humanity over class interests." One would have to "read" Lenin in a profoundly "new" (i.e., "classless") way to ever find the Bolshevik leader counterposing the interests of humanity to those of the revolutionary proletariat.

According to Gorbachev, "Clausewitz's dictum that war is the continuation of policy only by different means... has grown hopelessly out of date." Gorbachev differs not only with Clausewitz but with Lenin, and not on the question of subsequent technological developments. Behind the Stalinists' futile search for "peaceful coexistence" with the likes of Reagan (or his Democratic alter egos) lies a reformist denial of the possibility of proletarian revolution to overthrow the imperialist bourgeoisies. Gorbachev expresses this explicitly. Where Lenin argued repeatedly that one or the other system *must* triumph, Gorbachev insists: "No one can close down the world of socialism, the developing world or the world of



Gus Hall's stars-and-stripes CPUSA hails "détente" with U.S. imperialism.

developed capitalism." Where Lenin argued that war under imperialism was inevitable, Gorbachev insists it is impossible:

"At the 27th CPSU Congress [in 1986] we clearly 'divorced' the revolution and war themes, excluding from the new edition of the Party Program the following two phrases: 'Should the imperialist aggressors nevertheless venture to start a new world war, the peoples will no longer tolerate a system which drags them into devastating wars. They will sweep imperialism away and bury it.' This provision, admitting, in theory, the possibility of a new world war was removed as not corresponding to the realities of the nuclear era."

In his 1916 work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin insisted, "what means other than war could there be *under capitalism* to overcome the disparity between the development of productive forces and the accumulation of capital on the one side, and the division of colonies and spheres of influence for finance capital on the other?"

The imperialist powers are *driven to war*—first and foremost against the Soviet Union—in order to reconquer that vast market for capitalist exploitation, and to stamp out the legacy of the October Revolution. It would certainly be *irrational* for the imperialists to launch a nuclear war which might eradicate all humanity, but capitalism is an

irrational, outmoded system—and it finds leaders to suit. From Nixon's infamous "madman theory," aimed at convincing the Vietnamese he would nuke them, to the Reaganauts' "nuclear chicken," the imperialist rulers have proven themselves eminently capable of enveloping the world in a nuclear holocaust.

Certainly the peoples of the world, and not least the Soviet peoples, yearn for peace. But no matter how many scraps of paper the capitalists sign, no matter how many revolutions the Stalinists lay on the bargaining table—from the Greek and Italian workers at Potsdam to Afghanistan and Nicaragua today—the imperialists will wage war so long as they retain power. The fate of humanity rests in the hands of the revolutionary proletariat. It will take a proletarian political revolution to sweep out the Stalinist usurpers and again implant in the Kremlin the beacon of Leninist internationalism.

Lenin's Bolsheviks demarcated the only road to ending the threat of imperialist war: worldwide socialist revolution. Far from eradicating that threat, nuclear weapons in the hands of the bloodthirsty U.S. imperialists have only made more urgent the task of the powerful American working class—to destroy American capitalism before it destroys the world. ■

Sergeant Yuri Shevchenko, who died in Afghanistan, asked why his son's heroic sacrifice could not be inscribed on his gravestone: "Why can't it say that he died carrying out his international duty in Afghanistan? What are we ashamed of?" (*Pravda* monthly English edition, October 1987). Beholden to the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," Gorbachev & Co. are "ashamed" of anything that smacks of revolutionary internationalism, because it stands in the way of pursuing their reactionary illusion of "détente" with the imperialists. At the 27th Communist Party congress in 1986, Gorbachev denounced any concept of "revolutionary war" as "Trotskyite" heresy.

Meanwhile, the war-crazed psychos in the White House are exporting counterrevolutionary wars around the globe, and the Afghan rebels have received the biggest subsidies. Over the past year they were reportedly bankrolled to the tune of \$660 million—six times what the Nicaraguan contras got—and in 1988 this is scheduled to rise to \$1 billion. The Democrats have out-Reaganned Reagan in boosting the cause of the bloodthirsty Afghan "freedom fighters," for here they see a perfect opportunity to bleed the Russians without the overhead of direct U.S. intervention and the dread spectre of "another Vietnam." Texas Democratic Congressman Charles Wilson has demanded that the administration up the ante by shipping 2,000 Stingers to the Afghan guerrillas as well as long-range mortars for use against Soviet airfields

and military camps.

Any hope of peacefully coexisting with this crew of Cold Warriors is ludicrous. A *Wall Street Journal* (8 December 1987) editorial argued that Gorbachev's intentions to pull out of Afghanistan could not be honorable because "he hasn't said much about getting out of Eastern Europe"! Now there is recollection of the claim that Wrangell Island, right off the Soviet Arctic coast, belongs to the U.S. because 14 Americans for the Lomen Reindeer & Trading Co. were trappers on the island more than 60 years ago! In 1924 they were removed from the island by the Soviet ship *Red October* and sent back to Seattle. Now Jesse Helms is claiming Wrangell and four other nearby islands as property of the U.S. of A.—next thing you know, they'll be claiming Sakhalin island and the Kurils for Japan, and Kamchatka Peninsula and Vladivostok to seal off Russia in the Far East. And where would this stop? Where did it stop in 1918—nowhere! The Soviet Red Army stopped it.

The U.S. imperialists seek to destroy and dismember the Soviet Union not through ludicrous land claims but by economic pressure, destabilization and war, to overturn the revolutionary gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and restore "free market" capitalist exploitation. The USSR is too strong militarily and the loyalty of the Soviet peoples too deep to risk a direct assault right now. So they attack on the periphery of Soviet power. Pledging to pull Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, Gorbachev

& Co. are not only sacrificing the lives of millions of Afghans on the altar of "détente" but leaving the Soviet Union open to imperialist provocation and attack on this crucial southern flank.

Only total Soviet victory over the mullahs can bring peace and the prospect of national and social liberation for the peoples of Afghanistan. To

carry out what many in the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution, rightly see as their internationalist duty in Afghanistan requires a proletarian political revolution in the USSR against the Kremlin oligarchy to restore the revolutionary internationalist traditions of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. ■

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Shachtman...

(continued from page 2)

academic Burnham simply denounced Marxism and quit. The ridiculous Dwight MacDonald left soon afterward. Shachtman stuck to his revisionist political course, elaborating the theory that the Soviet Stalinists constituted a ruling *class* of a new type ("bureaucratic collectivist" rather than capitalist). But thanks to the departure of the right wing from Shachtman's organization and from the terrain of ostensible "Trotskyism" generally, the center of gravity of the WP was nonetheless to the left of the original petty-bourgeois opposition.

Shachtman managed, more or less, to reabsorb Abern's clique (though Abern continued his cliquist maneuvering until his death in 1947). Meanwhile, the United States entered WW II and the WP sent those of its youth who weren't drafted into the war industries, where they developed a small base in the proletariat (Harvey Swados' 1970 novel of the Shachtman movement, *Standing Fast*, provides a sense of this). The WP is best characterized as left-centrist during this period. While their *Stalinophobic* theory of the USSR paved the way for Shachtman's reconciliation with U.S. imperialism as a lesser evil to "Stalinist totalitarianism," the WP, unlike the reformist social-patriots of the Communist and Socialist parties, *did not support* the U.S. side in WW II. They claimed to stand for a supposed "third camp"—against both Stalinism and imperialism. Claiming to be a better Trotskyist than Trotsky, Shachtman got a kick out of opposing the SWP *from the left* on occasion, and was able to do so effectively at times, for example over the question of China in World War II and in opposition to the SWP's so-called "proletarian military policy" (PMP).

At the end of the war the Workers Party entered into unity negotiations with the SWP. But once again Shachtman capitulated to those on his right and let the unification fall through. (This did not stop Irving Howe and his coterie from quitting anyway—they went on to found *Dissent* magazine.) The WP's left wing (the Johnsonites) split and fused with the SWP, while the SWP's right wing (Goldman-Morrow) split and fused with the WP. Meanwhile the WP youth returned from WW II and typically went to grad school on the GI bill. The Cold War set in and



Monad Press

Leaders of then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party at National Committee plenum, 1938. Clockwise from top left: Felix Morrow, James Cannon, Max Shachtman, George Clarke, James Burnham, Nathan Gould, Martin Abern.

the WP moved right, in 1948 changing its name to the Independent Socialist League (ISL).

But, to contradict Rick B. and Bob Z., the ISL remained in the "third camp" during the Korean War. They condemned "the ravishing of Korea by the two imperialist rivals" and *opposed* the introduction of U.S. troops (as they opposed introduction of U.S. troops into Vietnam in 1954). While this is a far cry from the revolutionary position of military defense of the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states against imperialism, it does not constitute "despicable social patriotism." Shachtman wrote, "it is impossible for a socialist to support American capitalism in the war." At the same time, he was flirting with the idea of supporting the imperialist side under the condition that it should have some kind of labor cover, as he argued (in "Socialist Policy and the War, Part II") for "*transforming the imperialist war into a democratic war*" through the installation in the U.S. of a British Labour Party-type government.

If Shachtman had supported U.S. imperialism in Korea it would hardly have shocked the political public when he came out in support of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April 1961. How would Bob Z. and Rick B. explain the fact that the SP youth group at Berkeley had put up signs advertising Shachtman as the main speaker at a rally *against* the Bay of Pigs invasion? The social-democratic Berkeley youth were shocked when Shachtman, the

night before his scheduled campus appearance, endorsed the CIA's attempt to crush the Cuban Revolution, and they withdrew his invitation to speak at the campus.

When a section of the Shachtmanite youth went into opposition in the 1950s, they were able to quote Shachtman's early WP documents (for example, on the PMP) against him. Shachtman *evolved* into a social-patriot, he wasn't born one. While Shachtman liquidated the ISL into the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation in 1958, the left wing of his youth organization came over to the authentic Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the gains of the October Revolution. They joined the SWP, forming the nucleus of the early Young Socialist Alliance. By the way, they produced a pretty good document on Shachtman's political evolution—Tim Wohlforth's 1957 pamphlet *What Makes Shachtman Run?*

By 1958 Shachtman's liquidationist course was apparent even to his bloc partners in the Socialist Party (SP). Maurice Spector, a former Canadian Trotskyist, was a leader of the SP's left wing, active in pushing the merger with the ISL. Spector finally quit the SP before the merger was carried through, saying:

"When Max gets in he's going to go so far to the right that you won't believe it.... I'm an old Trotskyist. I know the signs. I can't go on with Max in the party."

—quoted in Maurice Isserman, *If I Had a Hammer...*

Spector knew what he was talking about. Shachtman went on to openly support U.S. imperialism's attempt to drown the Vietnamese Revolution in blood. Evidently he also supported Richard Nixon in 1972 (driving even the reluctant Michael Harrington to break with him). But Max Shachtman died a professed socialist, having also spent some years as a professional imperialist pimp. This is a *contradiction*; if such contradictions didn't exist, everyone in the world claiming to be a socialist would be a member of the same party.

Why are Bob Z. and Rick B. so eager to paint Shachtman as something akin to the loathsome swine Jay Lovestone? We have no idea what political agenda they are pursuing, but their anti-dialectical approach knows no sense of proportion. They cite Max Shachtman as the "inventor of modern anti-communism." In 1940? Is this dumb hyperbole meant to be amusing?

During his last decade, Shachtman was at work on a history of the Comintern which he never completed. The comments on Stalin which he offered to Constance Ashton Myers in 1972 were far from being offhand remarks. According to Myers, Shachtman said his reasons for following Trotsky in 1928 were "all bunk" and he explicitly supported Stalin's policy in China:

"Stalin was no reactionary, he was for the permanent revolution, but he was just cooler, playing for time. By no means did he sell out to the Chinese bourgeoisie in any true sense. Hogwash. If he 'sold out' to the Chinese bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek, he was just maneuvering for time."

We were pretty tentative in our own letter; we only have the one source, and she could have gotten it all wrong, sure. But Shachtman was a consummate political impressionist and he *had* been immersed in Comintern history for a decade. One thing is for sure, we'll never get the straight scoop from the remnants of his organization now in the Shankerite AFT bureaucracy.

But as long as we are asking, there is one more thing we'd like to know about. According to Charles Curtiss (*James P. Cannon as We Knew Him*), Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, and Max Shachtman had one last private meeting in Los Angeles in 1972, just before Shachtman died and two years before Cannon did. What did they talk about? A question beyond Rick B. and Bob Z., who think they have all the answers. But we'd like to know. ■

La Prensa...

(continued from page 2)

commander of the revolutionary Southern Continental Army, instructed his commanders to "strike terror into the hearts of our enemies." In speaking of a raid against loyalist supporters he said the raid "made a dreadful carnage of them, upward of 100 were killed and most of the rest cut to pieces. It had a most agreeable effect upon those disaffected persons of which there are too

many in this country" (*The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism*, E. Herman and N. Chomsky, 1979). Colonists who refused to swear that "the war of the colonies was just and necessary" and promise loyalty to the revolution were subject to loss of legal rights, voting rights, the right to bear arms, in addition to exile, confiscation of property, and prison. Most states enacted a travel ban on British loyalists and eight states exiled prominent British sympathizers. But it's doubtful that many of the insurrectionary colonists spent a good deal of time fretting over the loss of democratic rights endured by those who wanted to keep them under the yoke of British colonialism. As the American revolutionaries said back then, "Freedom is only for those who believe in it."

Sincerely,
Glenn S.

P.S. The Western media is always making a big deal out of the refugees fleeing from Communism but the American revolution produced the same phenomenon. During or immediately after the revolutionary war roughly 100,000 loyalists fled American repression. This included thousands of "boat people" who fled to Canada in panic when the British Army withdrew from New York. The stream of refugees continued all the



Vail/Reuters

Counterrevolutionary La PrenCIA being shut down by the Sandinistas, June 1985.

way up to 1798, nearly a quarter of a century after the revolution began. By percentage the American revolution produced *more* refugees than any Communist revolution of the 20th century, with the lone exception of Cuba. Indeed, by percentage twice as many people fled from Washington and Jef-

erson as did from either Lenin or Mao. Reagan & Co. have also made a big deal about the Sandinistas' supposed lack of respect for the borders of their neighboring countries. In fact, the U.S. invaded Canada twice, once during the revolution and once during the War of 1812. ■

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Cop Terror...

(continued from page 16)

turned the inner cities into a killing floor, wantonly executing black men in the street. Black women and children are gunned down by the police in their homes, like 67-year-old infirm Eleanor Bumpurs in the Bronx or 5-year-old Patrick Mason in Orange County, California.

And the racist terrorists out of uniform take the cue. As Martin Luther King Day approaches, there have been threats of racist KKK provocations in Forsyth County, Georgia, Raleigh, North Carolina and by a fascist Estonian in Queens, New York. Last year after a Klan attack on MLK Day civil rights marchers in Forsyth County, Atlanta city councilman Rev. Hosea Williams led thousands into the lily-white racist enclave, hemmed in on all sides by the Georgia National Guard. Such faith that the armed might of the Confederate state of Georgia will "protect" blacks against racist terror is positively suicidal! When Atlanta cops shot down 38-year-old Vietnam veteran Eddie Lee Callahan last September, Williams called to "get rid of some rotten apples." Yet Williams has praised the Atlanta police as the best big city department in the nation and led songs with refrains of "We love the police."

After Forsyth County, many establishment black leaders sought to deflect blacks away from struggle against racist terror. Giving a populist theme to his Democratic Party presidential bid, Jesse Jackson says:

"Our struggle is shifting.... Our challenge 20 years ago was to end racial violence. Tonight our challenge is to end economic violence. Civil rights and racial violence were black and white, but economic violence knows no color, no sex or religion."

—quoted in *Public Employee Press*, 11 December 1987

Racial violence has not ended—it's rampant and growing in Reagan's America and the triggermen are the cops. But whether establishment or "maverick," these black politicians preach reliance on the bourgeois state.

New York at the Flash Point

In New York, cop terror and racist atrocities have brought the city to the flash point. Official racism emanating from the White House and Koch and the cops' rampaging racist terror on the streets led straight to the December 1986 lynch mob murder of black construction worker Michael Griffith in Howard Beach. Since then, there has been one racist atrocity after another. Even according to official statistics there were 500 "bias" incidents in 1987, nearly double the number in 1986. At least 18 blacks and Hispanics died at the hands of Koch's cops last year. And since the Howard Beach verdict December 21—in which three of the killers were convicted of manslaughter, not murder—there have been at least 30 reported racial attacks.

On December 29, Alfred Sanders, a 39-year-old black man, was gunned down in a hail of eleven bullets while surrounded by four white cops in the Laurelton section of Queens. The cops claimed that Sanders, a bus maintainer and member of the Transport Workers Union, lunged at them with a knife. But at least five witnesses told the *Daily News* (31 December 1987) that Sanders' hands were in the air and that he never threatened the police. The black weekly *Amsterdam News* (January 9) quoted an eyewitness who said, "I overheard Sanders tell the officers that they were only concerned about white justice, and boom they began to shoot at him." At Alfred Sanders' funeral January 8, his union brothers from Coliseum garage came out to pay their respects to this latest black victim of the NYPD.

Meanwhile, NYC mayor Koch has been fanning the flames for racist terror. At a City Hall press conference he said: "I don't think black New Yorkers fear an attack by white New Yorkers." Tell it to Steven and Sylvester Lamont, two black brothers who were savagely attacked in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn on Christmas night by a white mob screaming "This is our Howard Beach!" When several hundred demonstrators, overwhelmingly black, marched through Bensonhurst January 2 to protest, the racists were out in force screaming "Go



Young Spartacus
Spartacist youth join protest against attacks on black and Jewish students, Madison, November 6.

back to Africa!" "KKK!" and "Howard Beach!" Many carried signs reading "Whites Unite" and waved Confederate and Italian flags. The racist mob formed a gauntlet as the blacks marched up Bath Avenue. Between them were up to 1,000 of Koch's killer cops, on foot, motorcycles, horseback, rooftops and in helicopters.

This was a trap for the black marchers, and the confrontation could only embolden the racist losers of this impacted white enclave. The demonstration was led by black preachers Al Sharpton, Herbert Daughtry, Timothy Mitchell and attorneys Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason. They knew the howling bigots would be waiting in Bensonhurst—in fact they were counting on it (as well as on the massive police presence). So while the deadly NYPD is running wild in the ghettos, as Koch pushes New York City toward race war, the city's "militant" black leaders feed into this by seeking a losing racial confrontation. *What's needed is a massive show of force led by a fighting, integrated labor movement that would strike fear in the racists' hearts.*

They're also playing into Koch's hands as they spew out anti-Semitic filth. At a December 28 rally in Brooklyn supporting black educator Adelaide Sanford in the ugly ethnic wrangling over the new school chancellor, black activist priest Lawrence Lucas compared the Board of Education to "the Knesset in Israel." By this poisonous demagoguery the black "leaders" threaten to spark a racial confrontation like the one whipped up during the 1968 NYC teachers strike. And while racist pig Koch plays for the Howard Beach and Bensonhurst vote, this "activist" coalition is dealing in the same coin of Democratic Party ethnic politics. At the Sanford rally, attended by assemblyman Roger Greene, NYC black politicians announced a summit meeting January 15 to map strategy "to get out the black vote in the 1988 presidential primaries and the 1989 mayoral election in which they hope to unseat Mayor Koch" (WBAI, 5 January).

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The black bourgeois politicians seek to become the slave drivers on Reagan's

plantation. They appeal to the state, the main instigator of racist violence, calling for "special prosecutors" and more black cops. Revs. Daughtry, Lucas and others actually appeared on a recruiting poster for the NYPD! They want more black mayors, like Harold Washington...or Wilson Goode, the Philadelphia black Democratic "mayor of murder" who ordered the cops to bomb the black MOVE commune, killing eleven, including five black children. The Spartacist League calls for a program of integrated *class struggle* against racist attacks. And even as assaults on oppressed minorities have escalated, there have been some important examples of genuine labor/black mobilizations which have helped stay the hand of the bloody killer cops.

When Chicago cops invaded the home of black bus driver Cassandra Seay last July 21, viciously beating her and terrorizing her children and mother, and then arresting Cassandra on trumped-up charges, they didn't count on her being a member of a powerful union that could fight back. Militants in the integrated Amalgamated Transit Union organized to defend Seay with a protest campaign, mobilizing their union brothers and sisters to fill the courtroom at every hearing. And they won—on December 23, Cassandra and her mother were found innocent of every bogus charge brought against them by the Chicago cops. Two years earlier, hundreds of ATU members massed in front of police headquarters and successfully squashed the racist frame-up of driver David Johnson. Such actions are but a small taste of the power labor could wield.

Beginning under Democrat Carter and escalating with Reagan in the White House, racist terrorists have become increasingly emboldened. At Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979 Klan and Nazi gunmen carried out a broad daylight massacre killing five leftists, blacks and labor organizers. But the next month, when the fascists tried to "celebrate" their obscene

murders in Greensboro with a "victory" rally in Detroit, this was put to a stop by a labor/black mobilization of several hundred auto workers, other trade unionists and community youth. This was the first of a series of *labor/black mobilizations* initiated by the Spartacist League which kept the KKK off the streets of the big Northern cities.

But behind the hooded racist terrorists, and frequently wearing blue uniforms under their white sheets, stand the badge-toting racists who are *licensed to kill*. The Kluxers and Hitler-lovers are only the auxiliaries—the *capitalist state* is the overwhelming source of violence against black people. The Greensboro massacre was carried out with the active complicity of local, state and federal police agencies, from supplying the guns to leading the caravan of death. And in the big cities of America the cops are organized on a military basis to occupy the ghettos, from Los Angeles with its SWAT squads, "Blue Thunder" attack helicopters, tanks, battering rams and choke holds, to New York City with stun guns and "Emergency Service" death squads. So when it comes to stopping the likes of the LAPD or NYPD, many militants will ask, "You and whose army?"

It will take a revolutionary workers movement, leading the mass of oppressed blacks and Hispanics from the ghettos and barrios, in a victorious struggle for *power*. To forge that "red army" requires a political struggle, to break the workers and minorities from the Democratic Party which is no "lesser evil" but the main instrument for binding the oppressed to their oppressors, and from the racist, pro-capitalist union tops. Our fight must be to build a multiracial, class-struggle workers party that can lead the difficult battles on the road to the socialist revolution, which alone can put an end to racist terror forever, making possible black freedom in an egalitarian society where the lynch rope and riot stick are relics of a prehistoric past. ■

Black Family Defeats Police Frame-Up

Victory Party

Callie Bryant and Cassandra Seay Win!



**Sweet Georgia Brown, 9335 S. Stony Island
Manhattan Room (Lower Level)**

Saturday, Jan. 23, 7 p.m.

Greetings from

Kevin Quirk, member ATU Local 241, Chicago Labor Black Struggle League
Jackie Breckenridge, ATU International Vice President
Homer Reed, ATU Local 241 2nd Vice President
Ed Clarkson, *Workers Vanguard*
Mark Kelly, for the Partisan Defense Committee

**Complimentary Buffet
Cash Bar
No Cover**

Music by Sam Chatman

CHICAGO

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Cop Terror Stalks Black America

It was a chemically pure case of the violence against black people which permeates this racist country. It happened in the small Southern town of Hemphill, Texas but it could have been Anywhere, USA. The *New York Times* (6 January) told the chilling story:

"Early Christmas night Loyal Garner Jr. said goodbye to his wife and six children in nearby Florien, La., hopped in his pickup truck and headed with two companions to retrieve a friend's automobile just across the border in Texas.

"Two days later he was dead, his swollen, bloodied features almost unrecognizable after a night in the Sabine County Jail in this East Texas town of about 1,500 people."

Just after crossing the Texas line, Garner was stopped by the local police, who charged him with drunk driving. The white cops say he refused to take a breathalyzer test, so they threw the three black men in jail. There Garner and his companions banged on the bars, asking to make a call to their families.

Two deputies entered the cell and started beating Garner. They dragged him to a room down the hall; his friends could hear his moans as the beating continued. Later he was dumped back in the cell, his shirt soaked in blood, his face battered. He spent the night lying on the ground. The next day he was taken to the hospital where he died on December 27.

If Loyal Garner had so much as one drug bust, the cops would have gotten away with it entirely. But he had no police record, he drove a truck for the county and was liked by just about everybody in Sabine Parish, Louisiana. "To put it mildly, I think Junior Garner was one of the finest men I ever met in my life, white or black," said a white friend. So this time three cops have been charged. But for "civil rights" violation, not for murder.

The Cops Are the Perps

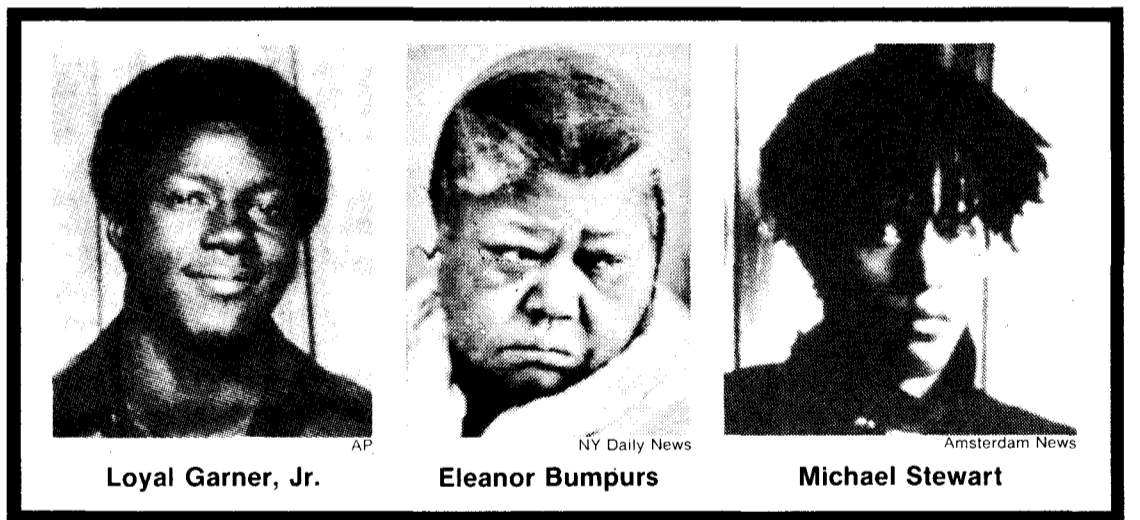
Black people in America receive mixed signals. There are areas of formal equality. The Supreme Court struck down school segregation; the army is now integrated; after the Civil Rights Act, Jim Crow is supposed to be dead. And in some circumstances, you're allowed to act like the formal equality is real. Until you find yourself in a situation where the real racist rules apply. Loyal Garner made a horrible mistake. He thought he had rights; after being arrested, he thought he could ask to make a phone call. That mistake was fatal.

Cop terror against black people in America is not an "excess," it's a calculated program. It is the way U.S. capitalism resolves the contradiction between the assertion of some formal equal rights and the need to forcibly segregate a huge impoverished black population at the bottom of society. After his home in East Elmhurst, Queens was bombed on 14 February 1965, Malcolm X spoke that evening in Detroit about the experience of black people in



Jaydie Putterman/Rosalynde Lesur

NYPD thugs maul black victim (above). Across the country, racist cops have license to kill. Workers revolution will avenge victims of racist cop terror.



Loyal Garner, Jr.

Eleanor Bumpurs

Michael Stewart

America with police brutality: "...any Negro in the community can be stopped in the street. 'Put your hands up,' and they pat you down. Might be a doctor, a lawyer, a preacher or some other kind of Uncle Tom, but despite your professional standing, you'll find that you're the same victim as the man who's in the alley." Denied the right to carry a carbine to defend himself, one week later Malcolm was shot dead.

The killing of Loyal Garner "presented an unsettling glimpse of life and justice in the isolated backwoods of East Texas," wrote *Times* reporter Peter Applebome. But it happens every day on the streets of America's big cities, North and South. And it's the cops, the "duly constituted authorities," who are everywhere the main perpetrators of racist murder.

• *Indianapolis*: "The shooting death of a 16-year-old boy has emotions running high in this city's black community, which doesn't accept the official police account that Michael Taylor killed himself in a police patrol car while his hands were cuffed behind his back" (*Chicago Tribune*, 2 October 1987).

• *Memphis*: "Four white police officers were relieved of active duty pending the investigation into the shooting death of Robinson in front of his home as his mother and sister and neighbors watched. The man was apparently attempting to commit suicide by stabbing himself with a 12-inch butcher knife when he was shot ten times by police, witnesses said" (*Call and Post* [Cleveland], 15 October 1987).

• *Washington*: On December 14, black D.C. policeman James Gordon was shot and killed by the police in his Prince George's County home. After a neighbor reported a burglar, a white cop came busting in and blew away a black man he saw in the house—the owner. Gordon was the sixth person killed by cops in the D.C. area in a five-week period.

In capitalist America black people are supposed to be able to drive a Mercedes or shop the Miracle Mile in L.A., if they can afford it. But just try it. In December 1983 three members of the Harlem Globetrotters were doing their Christmas shopping at a jewelry store in a posh suburb of Santa Barbara,

California. The next thing they knew, the cops had yanked them out of a cab, forced them to lie spread-eagle in the middle of the street with drawn pistols in their faces. The police later said they had "followed proper procedures," and simply mistook the slender, towering basketball stars for some husky guys more than a foot shorter who had robbed another jewelry store earlier! They were blacks who weren't "in their place." Just like Mets pitcher Dwight Gooden, who was pulled over, choked and beaten by the Tampa police in December 1986, because the sight of a black man in a silver Mercedes stuck in the cops' craw.

With black America in conditions of intensified permanent depression for the last decade and a half, the prison population has skyrocketed (quadrupling in New York State from 1972 to 1987). There are now almost 2,000 people on death row, 41 percent of them black. And now the sluice gates have been opened wide for the legal bloodbath. But the cops don't wait for the electric chair or the lethal injection, they've

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