

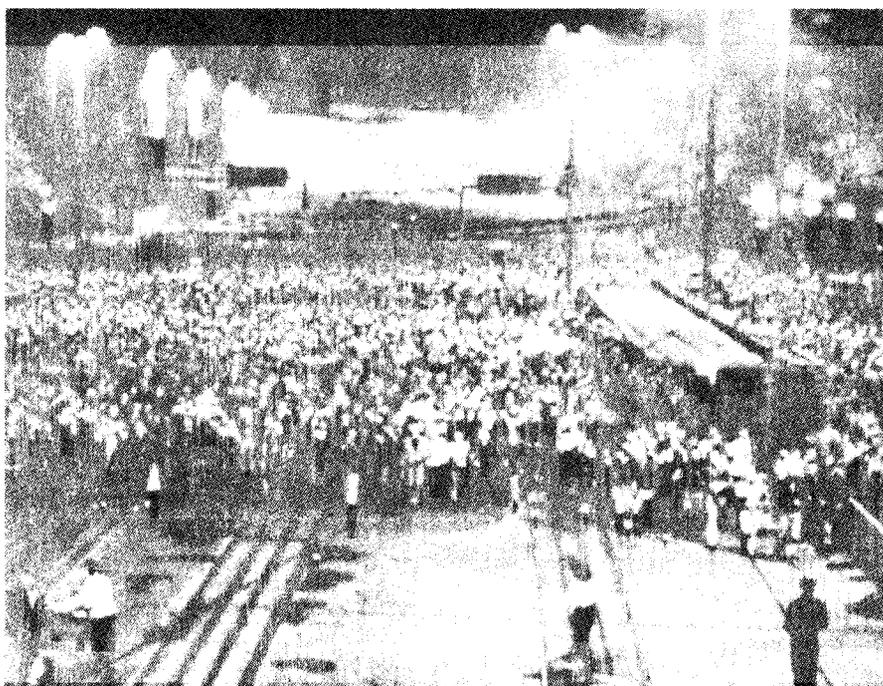
For Lenin's Communism!

East Germany: For Workers Political Revolution!

DECEMBER 19—A political revolution is unfolding in the German Democratic Republic (DDR). The leadership of the ruling Stalinist party is in retreat. Plans are afoot to “dissolve” the Stasi, the hated secret police. Within the army, soldiers councils are beginning to form. Meanwhile, the West German financiers and industrialists are on a hard course toward capitalist reunification of Germany, with the Socialist Party (SPD) acting as their “left” lieutenants, and outright fascists increasingly active in the DDR as the shock troops of capitalist reaction.

An East German workers state under the democratic, internationalist rule of workers councils—*soviets*—could be the springboard for a united red Germany and a Socialist United States of Europe. Reunification of Germany on a capitalist basis under Helmut Kohl's Fourth Reich means bloody counterrevolution, a resurgence of fascism and the danger of a third world war. The stakes are

(continued on page 4)



Der Spiegel

**Mass demonstration in Leipzig, October 9. No to capitalist reunification!
For workers councils, now!**

**How Stalinism Wrecked
The Communist Party of Canada 12**

Partisan Defense Committee

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The State of Pennsylvania wants to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, popular Philadelphia journalist and prominent defender of the black radical MOVE organization, Mumia has fought racist oppression since he was 14. And so he was framed up on charges of killing a cop in 1981 and sentenced to die in the electric chair. Today Mumia, 35, sits on death row in Pennsylvania's Huntingdon prison.

Internationally, a growing defense campaign has declared "Mumia must not die!" From Paris to Los Angeles over 11,000 have signed petitions to save Mumia's life. In Canada, where a section of the ruling class has long wanted to restore the death penalty, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) has collected over 600 signatures at the University of Toronto, the Ontario Federation of Labour's November convention in Toronto and anti-death penalty events.

The Southern Ontario Newspaper Guild, representing 2,800 newspaper and publishing industry workers, wrote to the Pennsylvania government last June: "We are opposed to the death penalty. We view it as murder, no more and no less. Enlightened governments should not sanction this. We appeal to you to prevent the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal." A Canadian prisoners' rights publication, *Bulldozer*, and a Toronto-based anarchist biweekly, *Ecomedia*, have published articles calling to save Jamal's life.

Toronto City Councillor Jack Layton signed the petition, and noted civil-rights attorney Clayton Ruby sent his own protest letter to Pennsylvania's governor. In Toronto, at a November 4 Amnesty International rally against the death penalty Mr. Ruby spoke of the injustices committed during Mumia's trial:

"The trial that took place contained a number of serious frailties. Of the number of jurors who were stood aside or not picked, the overwhelming majority were black and they were kept off the jury by the prosecuting authorities. This is not unusual, this is usual. It is a travesty. One juror, who admitted he was prejudiced, and who was white, was none-



no credit

"Voice of the voiceless"—Mumia must not die!

theless permitted to serve on the jury. And he did. "On the sentencing hearing, which is where the Americans decide life or death in capital cases, the prosecutor raised issues of freedom of speech and used the speech of Mumia against him. They brought up the fact that, 12 years earlier, when a member of the Black Panther Party, he had dared to use the slogan, 'Power to the People'.... They brought it forward as a reason why he should be killed, a reason why the state should kill him. The Court of Appeals for Pennsylvania has sustained that conviction, and pressure is mounting internationally to try to stop that particular state killing."

Mumia Campaign Grows

A hugely successful October 14 rally at Philadelphia's Temple University raised the campaign to a new level of intensity as an overflow crowd of 200 demanded "Abolish the Death Penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Co-sponsored by the PDC and Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson, the rally brought out community activists, trade unionists, students and others who know that the death penalty in the U.S. is nothing less than racist "legal" lynching.

Mumia's wife Wadiya Jamal gave the rally a vivid personal taste of what the death penalty is all about. "What I'm about to display to you is pretty horrible for me to do, but it is an example. This is Mumia's dread[lock] and this is what they

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SPARTACIST CANADA

Newspaper of the Trotskyist League,
Canadian sympathizing section of the International
Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

EDITORIAL BOARD: John Masters (Editor), Jane Clancy, Maria Lianos, Miriam McDonald, Oliver Stephens, Janet Yeung

PRODUCTION and CIRCULATION MANAGER: Russell Stoker

BUSINESS MANAGER: M. McPherson

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

Published quarterly by the Spartacist Canada Publishing Association, Box 6867, Stn. A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6. Printed in a union shop by union labor. Second Class Mail Registration 8161. Return postage guaranteed. ISSN: 0229-5415

Winter 1989/90

Date of issue: December 1989

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Workers Party!

Workers Soviets Must Rule in All Germany!

We print below the text of the statement issued by the *Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands*, German section of the *International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)*, over 200,000 copies of which have been distributed.

Workers throughout the world seeking the rebirth of genuine communism are watching the dramatic events in East Germany. "Russia was the spark—Germany will be the flame," proclaimed a banner, a slogan from the KPD of the '20s, in the massive November 4 East Berlin demonstration. The developments in the DDR [German Democratic Republic] pose pointblank *proletarian political revolution*. This means ousting the Stalinist bureaucracy and erecting in its place *real workers soviets*, like those established in the October Revolution, based on collectivized property. This in turn can be the spark for socialist revolution in the capitalist West.

East Berliners flooded across the border into West Berlin on the night of November 9. Except for a handful all went back. Kohl tried to address a "victory rally" in West Berlin but was drowned out with boos and whistles. When he tried to strike up a chorus of "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles," Brandt, Momper & Co. sang along, but the boos and whistles drowned them out. And an attempted Nazi march on the Brandenburg Gate led by Republikaner *Führer* Schönhuber was turned back by crowds shouting "Nazis out!" East German workers are jubilant that the Wall is coming down, but they don't want a revanchist capitalist reunification.

One placard on November 4 read: "Hungary '56, China '89," and the spectre haunting the bureaucracy was the 17 June 1953 East German workers uprising, the first in East Europe against Stalinist bureaucratic rule. West German revanchists have tried to usurp June 17, and the East German bureaucracy spread the same lies about the uprising. But it belongs to the German working class. On that day East German workers appealed to their class brothers and sisters in the West to rise up against their capitalist masters. At the train station in Halle, workers greeted a train from the West with a banner proclaiming, "We're cleaning house in Pankow [East Berlin], now you sweep out the crap in Bonn." Ulbricht was saved only by Soviet tanks. In any case, what was required then as well as today is fraternization with the Red Army. As Siberian and Silesian miners strike against the ravages of "market reforms," the East German workers can make common cause with their class comrades and be the springboard for proletarian political revolution throughout East Europe and the Soviet Union.

The Red Army crushed the Nazi regime and established a bureaucratically deformed workers state east of the Elbe.

But the resurgence of German nationalism and fascist terror has not been restricted to the West German successor state of the Third Reich. There, the first victims of fascist terror are immigrant workers. And now similar attacks, for example on Vietnamese workers, are taking place in East Germany. Hostility to immigrant workers such as the Poles has been expressed even in the mass protest demonstrations, as in



Ullstein

Mass workers demonstration, Berlin 1918, demands: "All Power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils."

Dresden. Instead, as a banner on November 4 declared, "For Communist Ideals! No Privileges!" This means: *Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers East and West!*

Today a wing of the East German security forces shows its support for revanchist capitalist restoration under the watchword of German nationalism by cloning a new generation of fascist terrorist skinheads and scum, the existence of which the bureaucracy has done its best to deny. A banner of an anti-fascist contingent at the November 4 demonstration read, "Weimar: 160 Nazi Skinheads Organized a Manhunt." Even the perimeter of this massive demonstration was infested with fascists from West and East. Just as Russian

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East Germany ...

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enormous—the choice posed is literally “socialism or barbarism.” But while the massive wave of protests has strongly reflected the weight of the working class in the heavily industrialized DDR and has evidenced a widespread sentiment to defend egalitarian pro-socialist values, the working people are not organized to express their class will in the political convulsions shaking society. We call on the workers of East Germany to form workers councils, now. Time is of the essence.

Today once again, Germany is the key to Europe and the world. All over East Europe, as millions take to the streets demanding democratic reforms, governments resign and are replaced by unstable new coalitions as leaders scramble to keep pace with the spread of discontent and the demands for change. The whole Stalinist “system” is wracked with conflict and collapse, including in the USSR itself.

Stalinist rule is profoundly conflicted, unstable and brittle. The Stalinist system was constructed in the interests not of a new ruling class, but of a bureaucratic caste which arose more than 60 years ago in the USSR as a kind of global middleman between, on the one side, hostile world imperialism and the relentless pressures of its international capitalist market, and on the other side the October 1917 workers revolution, whose international advance had by 1923 been halted for the historical moment. Stalinism has been



English/AP

November 27 Czech general strike toppled discredited Stalinist leaders. Workers soviets must fill vacuum of political power.

poised on that tightrope ever since.

Thus, its “theories” are nothing more than the perversion of Leninist ideals to justify the privileges and rule of a usurping bureaucracy—backed by massive state terror. Without the monstrous apparatus Stalin created of official lies backed by murder, Stalinism is an empty shell of stultifying slogans, an edifice of lies, clichés and self-contradictions. Only its secret policemen can hold it up, and

they are apparently immobilized.

East Europe “Unlocked”

In the deformed workers states today (with the very notable exception of China, where the devastations of “market socialism” have gone very far and where repression took the offensive with the provocative massacre at Tiananmen Square), the apparatus of repression is seemingly in abeyance. A situation that has been effectively locked up for more than four decades has now been unlocked. When the Soviet army smashed Hitler’s might and toppled the pro-Nazi capitalist regimes throughout East Europe, the social systems established from above were workers states in the image of the bureaucratic model which it took Stalin more than ten years to misshape in the USSR. Stalinist power functioned as both a block to capitalist reconquest and a roadblock to real workers power. The process of its shattering which we are experiencing today presents an unprecedented opportunity for the working class to take the leadership of society; in the absence of that outcome, it presents very great perils.

Today the Stalinist parties in East Europe are in a shambles. Last week the Stalinist party in West Berlin (SEW) announced its dissolution while its West German counterpart debates a similar proposal. Has there ever before been such an open confession of utter political bankruptcy? In East Germany today, it is visibly possible for the first time for Trotskyism to win a mass hearing among the working class as the revolutionary alternative to bankrupt Stalinism. A mass revolutionary workers party, modeled on Lenin’s and Trotsky’s party which led the Bolshevik Revolution and ushered in the epoch of international communism, must be constructed in the DDR early on. Already, sinister capitalist forces, from the NATO imperialists externally to indigenous fascist elements, and not forgetting the Social Democracy which is a stalking-horse for capitalist restoration, are moving to take advantage of the vacuum of effective proletarian leadership.

Fascist activity has been on the rise, as indigenous elements are augmented by neo-Nazis from the West. A Jewish cemetery in Weissensee in East Berlin was just defaced for the fourth time this year. Reactionary banners calling for capitalist reunification with the West and even for a return to the borders of the “Greater Germany” of Hitler’s Third Reich have begun appearing with ominous regularity at protest demonstrations in Leipzig and elsewhere. At the same time, thousands of other protesters are adamant in opposing a sellout of the DDR to the Deutsche Bank and Daimler Benz.

Trotskyist Press: A “Collective Organizer”

The International Communist League, through its German section, the Trozktistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), is intervening into the prerevolutionary situation in the DDR. The TLD has issued a public call for the formation of Spartakist Groups, to lay the basis for a new Leninist-egalitarian party. On December 7, the TLD launched *Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz* (Workers Press Correspondence), presently a daily newsletter, to supplement its bimonthly newspaper *Spartakist*, which is now appearing weekly. The first *Arprekorr* front page headlined: “No Sellout of the DDR! Workers and Soldiers Councils, Now!” As we go to



Placard recalls earlier challenges to bureaucratic rule—'53 East Berlin uprising, '56 Hungarian revolution, '68 Prague Spring, Tiananmen massacre. "Mistrust is good."



East Berlin, November 4: "For Communist Ideals—No Privileges" (above), "For a German Soviet Republic—Build Soviets!"



Demonstrator calls "For a New Communist Party!"

press, nine issues of *Arprekorr* have appeared. Each issue includes the short programmatic statement "What the Spartacists Want" (reprinted in this issue of *SC*), centering on the slogans of "Down with Stalinism!" and "No to Capitalist Restoration!"

In taking this step, we recognize, as Lenin said in *What Is To Be Done?*: "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer. In this respect it may be compared to the scaffolding erected round a building under construction; it marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized labour." *Arprekorr* strives to be the voice of the thousands of socialist militants in the DDR seeking the road to authentic communism, "to create a living connection between the SPARTAKIST Groups and the political direction and leadership in the unfolding political revolution."

Thus far the situation continues to be very open. But the polarizations shift and intensify week by week. Those who prevented the drawing of a massive blood line between the regime and the demonstrators in Leipzig on October 9 (when Honecker ordered troops to open fire) bought valuable time for the possibility of a working-class solution. Subsequently, actions by indignant citizens aimed at keeping the Stasi political police from destroying files have generally achieved their point. When, particularly in such a situation, mouthpieces of the big imperialist bourgeoisie like the *New York Times* start running headlines about "VIOLENCE" in East Germany, you better watch out! "Violence right now smells

of fascist provocation," warned the 8 December *Arprekorr*: "Those who want a bloodbath in the DDR are doing the work of the imperialists, ranging from the CIA to the West German Office for the Defense of the Constitution."

Meanwhile, NATO General Secretary Manfred Wörner insists the anti-Soviet military alliance must be ready to intervene in countries experiencing "disorder," while the American and British press seek to paint the DDR as being on the verge of anarchy. *Arprekorr* (15 December) warns of "NATO Threat Against the DDR," adding: "What disturbs the imperialists is not 'disorder' but the possibility of a new proletarian order, a *proletarian political revolution* defending the collectivized property they want to overthrow."

As one way to express concretely the revolutionary internationalist spirit of Leninism, the Spartakist Groups are distributing solidarity statements (in German and in the appropriate languages) to Polish, Cuban and Vietnamese immigrant workers (the text of the Polish appears on page 7). These working people have been subjected to official and social discrimination in a DDR ruled by nationalistic Stalinism. The Spartakist Groups have also reached out in revolutionary unity to the Soviet soldiers stationed in the DDR as the bulwark against NATO imperialism, with "Internationalist Greetings to our Comrade Soviet Soldiers and Officers!"

For a New, Revolutionary Communist Party

At a December 16 conference the ruling Stalinist party of the DDR, the SED, voted to add to its name, "Party of
(continued on page 6)

East Germany ...

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Democratic Socialism." The SED tops now say: "We need a real socialist party in the tradition of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bernstein, Kautsky, Pieck, Thälmann, Lasalle and of course Lenin." This ecumenical throwback to a pre-1914 conception of the "party of the whole class," claiming to encompass everything from authentic revolutionaries to arch-reformists like Bernstein and the "Third Period" Stalinism of Thälmann, will certainly not be a real socialist party and



Spartakist photo

TLD in West Berlin, 1983: Trotskyists defended DDR, Soviet Union throughout Cold War II.

is *definitely* not what the workers of the DDR need.

As the TLD says: the class struggle will not "dissolve" itself just because the demoralized Stalinist bureaucrats have decided to give up the ghost! The workers had better get organized, for their enemies are busy. If the mass sentiments for national unity of the German working people are not to be simply handed on a plate to the outright capitalist restorationists (and to the SPD which presently has the allegiance of many of the West German workers), it is not enough to defensively cling to the DDR and work for "socialism in half a country."

The Stalinists dismiss any possibility of socialist revolution in the West and accept the hegemony of the SPD over the West German workers as an irreversible fact. But, as *Arprekorr* No. 2 (8 December) wrote, "Nothing has done more to chain the West German working class to Social Democracy than the crimes of Stalinism, East and West. Today the SPD/SDP is the spearhead for capitalist counterrevolution." As an immediate task, the TLD calls for mobilization of the organized power of the German working class East and West to crush the resurgent menace of fascism. The call for a workers united front against the neo-Nazis evokes a powerful response, including among thoughtful East German work-

ers disturbed by the massive vote totals raked in by Republican candidates in West Germany and fascist provocations in the DDR. Such urgently necessary mass actions would be a powerful step toward forging the *revolutionary* unity of the German working class.

In an address "To militant SEDers—For a communist party based on Leninist norms," the 13 December *Arprekorr* writes:

"The Stalinists' hypertrophy and abuse of 'democratic centralism' perverts the Leninist party organization into a multi-layered suppression of all real discussion—and particularly of that most frightful of all 'dangers,' that this could lead to a faction.

"There must be a democratic right to form factions and their right to express themselves within the organization."

A Leninist party is democratic and disciplined at its base, with a strictly accountable leadership composed of the best, most devoted and self-sacrificing comrades, not a self-perpetuating clique of privileged overlords.

Many thousands of SED party members, not excluding sections of the leadership, and also not excluding many of those who have recently quit the party in protest, genuinely seek to root out Stalinism and defend the collectivized basis of the DDR against capitalist reabsorption. Addressing delegates to the SED conference, *Arprekorr* No. 7 (15 December) said, "Neither Stalin nor Kautsky! For a Bolshevik Party in the Spirit of Lenin and Trotsky!" The key to victory in the 1917 Russian Revolution lay in the preceding years of Lenin's struggle for a revolutionary vanguard party, forged through a *political split* in the Russian workers movement while seeking the greatest unity of all the workers in struggle against the tsarist autocracy and the bourgeoisie. The highest organizational form of this unity in struggle was the workers and soldiers soviets, where through free, open and even vituperative debate different parties and tendencies could fight for their policies.

Today the political passion of the East German population must be centered on the formation of freely elected councils of workers and soldiers, including their allies in other sections of the population. These soviets will not be like Gorbachev's pseudo-parliamentary Congress of People's Deputies, many of whose deputies are elected on a territorial basis from the atomized mass, but bodies composed of delegates who are elected from the factories, the barracks, the cooperative farms (with students, the intelligentsia, office workers and pensioners represented in an advisory capacity) and subject at any time to immediate recall. That is the meaning of workers democracy; it is the diametric opposite of the Stalinist conception of sanctifying the "leading role" of the Communist Party in a government constitution.

Trotsky wrote that three conditions are indispensable for proletarian victory: the party, the party and once again the party. The forging of a mass revolutionary workers party based on the internationalist legacy of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg is today the key to revolutionary victory in Germany. As our comrades said in *Arprekorr* No. 3 (11 December): "No sellout to the masters of Mercedes Benz and the Deutsche Bank—not a capitalist reunification in a new Reich, but a red soviet Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe!"

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 492, 29 December

Internationalist Greetings to Our Polish Comrades!

The following statement is being distributed by the Spartakist Groups to Polish working people in the DDR. The Spartakist Groups are also distributing statements of revolutionary solidarity, in the appropriate languages, to Vietnamese and Cuban immigrant workers as well as soldiers and officers of the Soviet Red Army in East Germany.

The "Internationalist Greetings to Our Vietnamese Comrades," printed in Arprekorr No. 6 (14 December), notes in part: "Revolutionary workers of the DDR respect deeply the lasting contributions you and your countrymen have made in your victorious struggle against the bloody French and U.S. imperialists.... You have lived and worked in this country, suffering low wages, abuse, miserable housing. A new Germany ruled by the genuine workers soviet democracy of workers and soldiers councils...will extend to you what you have earned: decent pay and housing, social equality, dignity, freedom and honor."

The German workers political revolution hails the heroic traditions of Russian, Polish and German Communism, whose internationalist unity was embodied by Rosa Luxemburg. The fate of these indestructibly linked revolutions is again in the balance.

Polish comrades, you have come to work in the DDR, but you have had to endure chauvinist abuse, low wages, miserable housing. Now special regulations seek to inhibit your free passage and commerce in the country in which you live. You are working people trying to survive and the German working people must not equate the parasitic, proto-capitalist speculators they see around them with the Polish working people. The Stalinist misleaders tried to direct the just outrage at their crimes into nationalist hysteria against you. A new Germany ruled by the genuine workers democracy of workers and soldiers councils—a red Germany which

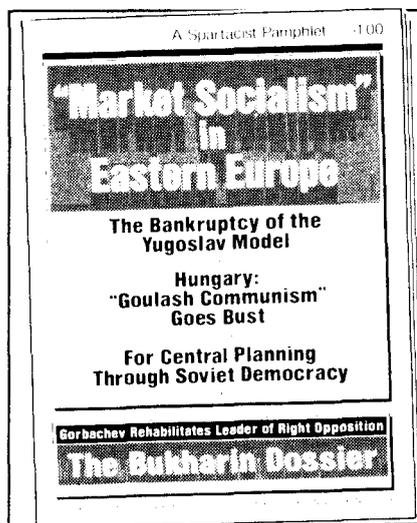
Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht would recognize as their own—will extend to you decent pay and housing, social equality, dignity and freedom.

Join with us to rid the DDR of abusive Stalinism and to defeat those who would bring back the capitalism of Hitler's Third Reich and its successor, Kohl's Fourth Reich. It was Stalinism which sabotaged the German proletariat's ability to defeat the rise of Nazism and annihilated the revolutionary generation of Polish communism, allowing the fascist scourge to spread over Europe. The revolutionary workers of Poland can recall with pride the instances of their heroic resistance to the Nazi terror, not least the valiant uprising by the Jewish masses of the Warsaw Ghetto in 1943.

Today counterrevolutionary Solidarność is seeking to restore capitalism, trying to sell Poland to the West German bankers. The vast mass of the Polish workers, both those betrayed by their "Solidarność" leaders or abandoned to the lies of the official Stalinist trade unions, want to fight and will fight honorably for the just rights of the Polish working people. The outcome of this struggle, perhaps as yet unknown to some of those engaged in the struggle, can only be a renewal of Polish socialism, despising Stalinism and against capitalism.

A victory of workers and soldiers soviets in Germany will immediately galvanize the workers of Poland, today faced with starvation austerity measures. Polish comrades: Revive the internationalist heritage of Rosa Luxemburg, link arms in revolutionary solidarity with your German class brothers to help carry forward this workers political revolution. Join the Spartakist Gruppen!

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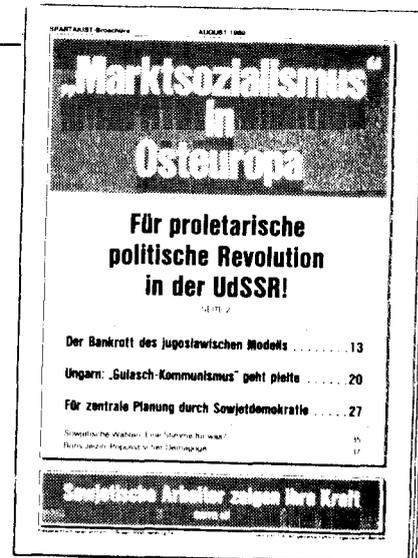
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A pamphlet on the economics of the East European deformed workers states, analyzing Yugoslavia, Hungary and East Germany in the context of Gorbachev's perestroika. The pamphlet considers the history of the ruling bureaucracies' efforts to combat stagnation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

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P.O. Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X6

West Germany
Verlag Avantgarde
Postfach 11 02 31
2000 Hamburg 11



DM 3,— 3 Mark (40 Seiten)

Selections from Daily Spartakist

Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz

11 DEZ 1989

SPARTAKIST

ARBEITERPRESSEKORRESPONDENZ

Die SED steht vor dem Untergang

Für eine leninistisch-egalitäre Partei!

In allerletzten Moment und mit dem Rücken zur Wand ist es dem stalinistischen Herrschaftsbau der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik kaum noch gelungen, eine formale Auflösung aufzuhalten und eine neue Führung zu wählen, die als "Reinigungsaktion" gilt. Was ist die vorläufige SED-Führung wurde eingezogen — neun von insgesamt 25 Politbüro-Mitgliedern sitzen jetzt im Haft.

Inchape verwickelt in eine "Reinigung". Diese Maßnahme ist notwendig, die sozialen Kräftegruppen der herrschenden Bürokratie (Bürokraten, Apparatskriegen, zu verschiedenen Gruppen, die sich als "Reinigungsaktion" bezeichnen) zu zerschlagen. In der ersten Sitzung der Politbüro am 11. Dezember 1989 wurde beschlossen, die SED zu liquidieren und eine neue Partei zu bilden, die alle positiven Kräfte, was die "Reinigungsaktion" betrifft, zu vereinen. Die neue Partei wird eine Partei sein, die die Arbeiterbewegung in der DDR repräsentiert. Die neue Partei wird eine Partei sein, die die Arbeiterbewegung in der DDR repräsentiert. Die neue Partei wird eine Partei sein, die die Arbeiterbewegung in der DDR repräsentiert.

SPARTAKIST

Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz

14 DEZ 1989

SPARTAKIST

ARBEITERPRESSEKORRESPONDENZ

Tägliche ARPREKORR findet großen Anklang

Bildet Spartakist-Gruppen

Die Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz (ARPREKORR) findet großen Anklang. In der DDR sind die Arbeiterbewegungen in den letzten Jahren sehr aktiv geworden. Die ARPREKORR ist eine Tageszeitung, die die Arbeiterbewegung in der DDR repräsentiert. Die ARPREKORR ist eine Tageszeitung, die die Arbeiterbewegung in der DDR repräsentiert. Die ARPREKORR ist eine Tageszeitung, die die Arbeiterbewegung in der DDR repräsentiert.

SPARTAKIST

Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz

15 DEZ 1989

SPARTAKIST

ARBEITERPRESSEKORRESPONDENZ

NATO-Drohung gegen die DDR

NATO-Drohung gegen die DDR. Die NATO hat eine Drohung ausgesprochen, die DDR zu verdrängen. Die DDR hat eine Antwort gegeben. Die DDR hat eine Antwort gegeben.

What the Spartacists Want

This political statement by the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) appears in every issue of the daily Arprekorr.

The Trotskyist League of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), stands in the revolutionary Marxist tradition of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht. We fight for the communist program and ideals of the Bolshevik Revolution which have for decades been perverted and betrayed by Stalinism.

From October 1917 on, capitalism has sought to crush the world-historic achievements of the Russian Revolution. The Stalinist bureaucracy grew out of and fed upon proletarian defeats, notably of the German Revolution. Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" is a nationalist, anti-socialist lie aimed at conciliating imperialism. To this end, the bureaucracy subverts revolutionary struggles internationally and robs the working class of political power at home.

True to the program of the early Communist International, Trotskyism stands for world socialist revolution. We call for proletarian political revolution, the rule of workers soviets, to replace the corrupt parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies who endanger the socialist foundations of the workers states. Defend the historic gains of the working class achieved through the overthrow of capitalism—Defend the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

The enormous economic and political pressure of Western capitalism, abetted by the Social Democrats—heirs of the murderers of Luxemburg and Liebknecht—aims at bloody counterrevolution in East Europe. We Trotskyists oppose a capitalist reunification of Germany. No to a Deutsche Bank republic! Soviet power in the DDR would inspire the

workers of West Germany—For a red soviet Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe!

As proletarian internationalists, we support all anti-imperialist struggles for liberation of workers and the oppressed, from El Salvador to South Africa. We salute the heroic defenders of Jalalabad against the CIA's Afghan cutthroats.

All manifestations of racism and chauvinism must be fought. For workers united fronts to smash the fascists! Full citizenship rights for all foreign workers!

We stand for a planned, socialized economy free of Stalinist bureaucratic parasitism, arbitrariness and national autarky. The basic direction of the economy and society must be decided through soviet democracy. Factory committees must oversee production. Democratically elected consumer cooperatives must oversee the quality and prices of goods.

The issue posed pointblank today is which class shall rule, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The fate of the DDR and every social gain it embodies is at stake. We stand with those members and recent ex-members of the Stalinist SED, as well as numerous others seeking to build a socialist world, who vow that the heirs of Hitler must not expropriate that which, by the workers toil, has arisen out of the ruins.

The key is forging a Leninist-egalitarian party, regrouping all revolutionary internationalist forces in a German section of a reborn Fourth International. Let us begin: build Spartakist Groups, to assimilate the lessons of past revolutionary struggles, to intervene with revolutionary propaganda, to forge a new KPD—a mass communist vanguard party that will lead the German workers in their struggles on the road to power.

To learn from Lenin and Trotsky is to learn to win! ■

Quo Vadis SED?

We reprint below a contribution written for *Arprekorr* No. 3 (11 December) by G. Melt, a supporter.

Yes, the DDR press of 9 and 10 December 1989 is interesting. For example, on pages 3 and 4 of the *Berliner Zeitung* we find a speech by Gregor Gysi, characterized by the RIAS [American radio in West Berlin] as a "reform communist." This is very remarkable in many respects.

First, the SED wants to break completely with the Stalinist system. That is definitely correct. In general, you find a great many anti-Stalinists in the DDR right now.

But now let's see what Mr. Gysi has to say. We read with astonishment that the West European societies, in particular the FRG [West Germany], are not pure capitalist systems like the textbook examples. So what else are they? The twaddle about a "social market economy" in the West was, until now, heard only from the bourgeois parties and their lackeys in the Federal Republic. But now we are witnessing a peculiar transformation of the "Marxist" Gysi. Mr. Gysi, who hasn't ever mastered the basics of Marxism/Leninism, should be urged to look into Lenin's theory of imperialism in depth, right away.

There's more. Mr. Gysi praises the separation of powers in bourgeois democracy, from which, he says, we can especially learn. What outrageous nonsense! Of course we are Marxists, not moralists. Obviously we have a high opinion of the historic achievements of the bourgeoisie in overcoming feudal absolutism, but only in that respect. We give the floor back to Lenin: "Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism is bound to remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor" [*The Proletarian Revolution and The Renegade Kautsky*].

But Gysi, our "Marxist," has also obviously not yet read the book "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky"; and he seems equally unfamiliar with history. For the separation of powers in bourgeois democracy, which he praises so highly, was unable to prevent the collapse of the Weimar Republic and Hitler's coming to power (which, as is known, took place in a bourgeois democratic fashion!) Mr. Gysi's logical conclusion ought to be to ally himself with the Liberal Democrat Gerlach who, after all, frequently calls for "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!" But this slogan of the French bourgeois revolution (1789-1794) which is being mouthed by the acting chairman of our national council means nothing more than: everyone can become a bourgeois. That is just what the "Marxists" of the Gysi stamp want.

The complete break with the Stalinist system may be inscribed on the banner of the "renewed" SED, but first it better be clear what is supposed to be broken with. Stalinism is a program against Marxism/Leninism! It is characterized by a parasitic ruling caste, not just in the party, but also in the state, in the economy, in the planning bodies, in short, in all areas of society. Logically, it also entailed the smashing of the system of soviets (councils). They have not existed

in reality in the Soviet Union since 1927. In Germany, we know that the soviet republic was strangled by the Social Democrats Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske ("Somebody has to be the bloodhound"). There has never been a system of soviets in the DDR. So what do they want to break with? The methods of administrative commandism are merely the logical consequence of the destruction—or the non-existence—of the system of soviets! It also logically followed that democratic centralism, as Lenin understood it, had to give way to a bureaucratic centralism.

The consistent break with Stalinism therefore consists in a re-formation of the SED in the spirit of democratic centralism. Nothing whatsoever is gained by superficial acts like getting rid of the Politburo and the CC. When Lenin was alive there was a Politburo and a CC. At that time, the Bolsheviks had not degenerated, and were revolutionary because they were organized on a democratic-centralist basis and had a revolutionary party program! What is Mr. Gysi pushing for instead? A bit of Lasalle, a bit of Kautsky, a bit of Social Democracy from the period of its degeneration, and all of that garnished with "rank-and-file democracy" modeled on the Greens, and of course neither "a class party nor a mass party." What can become of this nonsense?

Only one option remains for all honest communists: founding a party in the spirit of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. ■

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE FORUMS

For Proletarian Political Revolution! EAST GERMANY IN UPHEAVAL

An eyewitness report from Berlin.
Speaker: John Masters, Editor, *Spartacist Canada*

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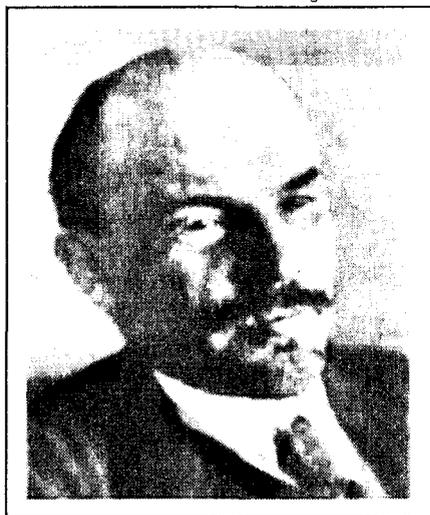
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Friday, January 19, 7:30 p.m.
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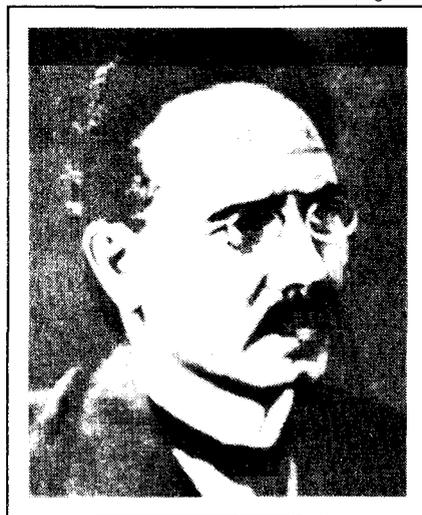
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Help Raise the Banner of Trotskyism in Germany

“The extermination of capitalism, the establishment of the socialist order of society, is possible only on an international scale—but, of course, it cannot be carried out at a uniform pace in all countries. The work has begun in Russia, it must be continued in Germany....”

Thus declared Karl Liebknecht in November 1918. But the movement toward socialist revolution in Germany was crushed by the Social Democrats and later sabotaged and perverted by the Stalinists. This led to Hitler's bloody victory, as a prelude to World War II and the imperialist Cold War. Today we are seeing a historic opportunity to raise the banner of genuine communism in the industrial heartland of Europe. The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)—committed to continuing the work of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg—is now engaged in an intense campaign to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party in all of Germany.

With the increasing polarization evident in East Germany, as ultrarightist forces raise their heads ever more openly, these efforts take on added urgency. Thousands of pro-socialist militants in the DDR, including members and former members of the Stalinist Socialist Unity Party (SED), are reading and discussing the revolutionary literature being distributed by our comrades of the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD).

Over 12,000 pieces of literature were sold to delegates at the SED conference in East Berlin on December 16-17, including 9,000 copies of the daily *Arprekorr*. With the new SED leadership pushing to implement market-oriented economic “reforms,” delegates were receptive to the TLD

pamphlet “‘Market Socialism’ in Eastern Europe,” which lays out a program for effective central planning based on soviet democracy. There was also considerable interest in the new issue of the TLD's *Spartakist* featuring “For a Red Germany in a Socialist Europe!” which deals in detail with economic problems confronting the DDR today.

Over 14,000 copies of the now weekly *Spartakist* were sold in the ten days up to December 17, in addition to a total of 244,000 copies of the daily *Arprekorr*. Our comrades have also been distributing key writings of Trotsky, including *Lessons of October* and *The Revolution Betrayed*. A new German edition of the quadrilingual organ of our international tendency, *Spartacist*, featuring “Trotskyism: What It Is Not—and What It Is,” is now available.

The TLD is fighting to forge nuclei of Trotskyist militants in East Germany through the formation of Spartakist Groups. The 18 December *Arprekorr* carried a statement of aims by the recently founded Spartakist Group of East Berlin, and distribution networks for *Arprekorr* and *Spartakist* are active in a number of other cities in the DDR. The Spartakist Groups have also been active in distributing solidarity appeals to Vietnamese, Polish and Cuban immigrant workers and to Soviet soldiers and officers stationed in the DDR. The groups are also participating in demonstrations called to protest the visit of West German chancellor Helmut Kohl and his designs for a reunified capitalist Fourth Reich.

To carry on this vital work entails heavy financial support from all the sections of our small international organization and from the many non-party supporters and friends who

Workers Soviets ...

(continued from page 3)

workers must smash Pamyat, workers/minorities in East and West Germany had better organize to crush these vermin now!

A demonstration of 50,000 SED [Socialist Unity Party] members in East Berlin on November 10 demanded "No sellout of the DDR," for "real plans," and "return to Lenin." Stalin gave central planning a bad name. The East German economy is the most successful in Eastern Europe. Workers may chant "Gorby, Gorby, help us." But by and large they reject Gorbachev's "perestroika" and "market socialism," which have bred increasing misery and national conflict from the Balkans to the Baltic and Caucasus. East German workers are not about to surrender the social gains they have won. Attempts to form a Solidarność-style anti-Communist "free union" have fizzled.

Workers in the DDR have followed attentively the strikes against perestroika of Soviet miners. The factory committees the miners have organized are the *core of real workers soviets*, which are *the key* if economic planning is to be controlled by the working class. Although tremendous ferment exists in the plants, the working class remains politically atomized, e.g., there have as yet been no strikes, which would immediately be *political*. Workers councils must be established at the point of production with control over quantity and quality. Computerized input-output analysis (developed by Russian-born economist Leontief) can permit investments in line with the democratically controlled growth of investment and consumption.

When the Wall started coming down on Friday [November 9], the West German stock market went up, because Frankfurt bankers and their SPD [social-democratic] front men are dreaming of bleeding East Germany dry the way they have Poland and Hungary. To defend collectivized property and to attack the world market, East Germany needs a stable, readily convertible currency (e.g., based on the gold standard like the Soviet *chervonets* in 1923). However, an isolated revolutionary East German workers state would still be threatened by the power of cheap commodities, as Marx warned.

There can be no genuine socialism in half a country facing an economically far more powerful imperialist neighbor. From the podium of the massive November 4 demonstration writer Stefan Heym was enthusiastically received when he said, "Socialism, not Stalinist but the real thing,

which we want to finally build, for our benefit and that of all Germany, is unthinkable without democracy." The defense of collectivized property in East Germany requires its extension to the West. That means the expropriation of the Frankfurt bankers by proletarian revolution in the West—to which immigrant workers are key. We Trotskyists call for the *revolutionary reunification of Germany* through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution in the East. Because of the strategic weight of Germany in Europe, reunification, if it is not to recreate an imperialist behemoth, a Fourth Reich, can only be as part of a *Socialist United States of Europe*.

The huge protest demonstrations, impressive in their discipline, remain dominated by petty-bourgeois forces like Neues Forum and the Social Democrats (SDP). On November 4, Neues Forum called for "free elections" supervised by the UN, i.e., by imperialism, while the SDP, just like Helmut Kohl, called for a return to a "market economy." When the [West German] SPD and their hangers-on talk about "democratic socialism" they mean "democratic" counterrevolution, of which the SPD intends to be the general staff. While Kohl was booed down, Brandt and Momper were cheered. The Social Democrats are the main danger for East German workers.

The International Communist League and its German section, the Trozktistische Liga Deutschlands, uphold the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the social gains of the October Revolution and its extension from East Berlin to Havana against imperialism and internal counter-revolution. In contrast, the social democrats faking as Trotskyists such as Ernest Mandel and the Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter [followers of the dubious David North] surrender these gains at every point they are challenged. They backed Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid in 1981 and opposed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against imperialist-backed clerical reaction in 1979.

To date no left opposition has surfaced within the SED. Yet there have been expressions of support for real communism in the DDR, such as the signs on November 4 calling "for a new communist party." As in 1953, what is lacking today is a proletarian internationalist vanguard party fighting for power. Forging such a party requires returning to the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky! Hail Rosa Luxemburg, the greatest founder of German Communism, murdered by the Freikorps at the behest of the SPD leadership! The German Revolution, East and West, needs a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party! ■

have responded to our fund appeal. The sale of these impressive quantities of Trotskyist literature in East Germany is costly not only because of printing costs but because we are charging parity prices in the DDR (a publication priced at 1 DM in the West sells for 1 DDR Mark in the East), in keeping with the low wages and living costs in East Germany (and in contrast with some West German groups who have been demanding DMs for their literature, as if everyone in the DDR has access to Western hard currency!).

Our campaign for funds to help carry forward the vital work of building a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Germany has been met with a broad response among sympathizers and

others, including veterans of the Trotskyist movement, who recognize the historic opportunity for proletarian political revolution posed in the DDR. Two friends from British Columbia sent a generous contribution and a note: "Not since the early 1930's have we known such hope as we have in you and in the unfolding events in Eastern Europe. Perhaps here is presented the Achilles heel to bring the monster down! Go your best licks—our hearts are with you!"

Your contribution is urgently needed to carry forward this crucial internationalist work. Make donations payable/send to: Trotskyist League, Box 7198, Station A, Toronto Ont. M5W 1X8. Earmark for: "Lenin-Liebkecht-Luxemburg Fund" (or simply "3-L's Fund"). ■

From Bolshevik Internationalism to "Socialism in One Country"

How Stalinism Wrecked the Communist Party of Canada

The world-wide crisis of Stalinism has had profound ramifications for the Communist Party of Canada (CP). Shaken by world events, and having ousted the old-guard William Kashtan leadership, the CP now calls for "full Party-wide debate to examine the influence, if any, of the legacy of Stalinism on our Party..." (Central Committee resolution, published in *Forum*, Communist Party Discussion Bulletin, No. 1, July 1989).

Yet, in its opening contribution to the discussion on party history the Central Committee firmly upholds the heart of Stalin's program, hailing "the historic and heroic road of socialist construction in one country." The theory of "socialism in one country" is the very antithesis of Lenin's revolutionary internationalism and the Bolsheviks' struggle to overturn the rule of imperialism. It provided the "ideological" justification for the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped the political power of the Russian working class and betrayed revolutionary struggles around the world.

The CP leadership, incapable of coming to grips with this decisive fact, can only reduce Stalinism to "a denial or lessening of inner-Party democracy,...the substitution of conceited, manipulative, devious, and paranoid behaviour...[and] dogmatic formulations...." In this respect, even Khrushchev was more forthright on Stalin's crimes. Having for decades followed every twist and turn of the domestic and foreign policies of Stalin and his heirs, the CP leaders cannot provide answers to the profound questions shaking the membership as Stalinist rule shatters from East Berlin to Prague and Sofia.

Mikhail Gorbachev says there must be no "blank pages" in history. Two generations of Canadian CPers know only falsifications, not least from the pen of Stalin's man, Tim Buck. Many now wonder just *what* to believe. In truth, there is a good and proud history of communism in this country, which was *wrecked* by Stalinism. In the following articles we trace the fight of two of the early CP's most respected founding leaders, Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald (see page 17), to defend Lenin's program of proletarian internationalism against the rise of Stalinism.

The Communist Party of Canada started out in 1921 to make workers revolution. With modest but real roots in the working class the CP's founding cadre saw themselves as the Canadian battalion of the Communist International. Inspired by the Russian Revolution, they sought to build the same kind of Bolshevik Party that had led the world's first

proletarian seizure of power. The program adopted at the 1922 founding of the Workers' Party (the legal wing of the then-underground CP) declared:

"The Workers' Party recognize in the Russian revolution the first section of 'the world revolution.' Basing its policies on the international character of the revolutionary struggle,



Forward

The Communist Party was founded as instrument of workers revolution. Among its first leaders were (left to right): William Moriarty, Tim Buck, Jack MacDonald and Maurice Spector.

it will strive to make the Canadian labour movement an integral part of the revolutionary movement of the world... Further recognizing that the Communist International is the only real centre of world revolutionary activities, the Workers' Party will strive to rally the workers under the banner of the Third International."

—quoted in Ian Angus, *Canadian Bolsheviks* (1981)

Active in the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike and other class battles that shook the Canadian rulers following the carnage of World War I, the founding core of the party regrouped the advanced elements of the labor movement and left-wing splits from the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the Socialist Party of Canada. In particular, thousands of foreign-born workers—Finns, Russians and Ukrainians who had escaped the repression of the tsarist and Austro-Hungarian empires—flocked to the new party.

Maurice Spector and the Early CP

Maurice Spector was 23 when, at the CP's founding convention in 1921, he was elected to the temporary Central Committee and the editorship of *The Communist*. Born in 1898 near Odessa in the Ukraine to Jewish parents and

brought as an infant to Canada, Spector joined the Social Democratic Party's youth organization in 1914, and in 1916 began writing for its paper *Canadian Forward*. In 1918 as editor of the University of Toronto student newspaper *The Varsity*, his article denouncing World War I as an imperialist war defied wartime censorship laws and shocked this elite bourgeois institution—he was removed from the paper and nearly expelled from school. When still in the SDP he campaigned for affiliation to the Third, Communist International (Comintern) with Lenin and Trotsky at its head.

From the inception of the Communist Party Spector was a valued central leader. The Workers' Party elected him party chairman and made him editor of *The Worker*, a post he held until 1928. With party secretary Jack MacDonald, Spector was chosen as a delegate to the Comintern's Fourth Congress in 1922, the last Congress held in Lenin's lifetime, and the last in which political debate was free and uninhibited.

Through most of the 1920s MacDonald and Spector were together the undisputed axis of leadership in the Canadian Communist Party, at the head of a cadre of disciplined and talented revolutionists. Where MacDonald was the orator and organizer, Spector was the party's theoretician and propagandist. Yet by 1931, Spector, MacDonald and most of the founding Communists were gone, driven out. And the CP no longer fought for the principles of working-class revolution on which it was founded. What happened?

“Socialism in One Country”

With the triumph of Stalin's faction at the Thirteenth Conference of the Russian Communist Party in January 1924, the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled and the purposes for which the USSR was ruled had all changed. In 1922 Lenin had wanted to wage a struggle against growing bureaucratism in Russia, and in 1923 he proposed that Stalin be removed as General Secretary. But by 1924 the bureaucracy, with Stalin as its head, had stolen political power from the proletariat. This *political counter-revolution* grew out of the defeat of socialist revolution in Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary and the impoverishment and isolation of the world's first workers state.

Whereas once the Bolsheviks had declared that Russia “can arrive at socialism only through the world proletarian revolution” (Program of the Young Communist League, 1921), in 1924 Stalin was proclaiming the exact opposite. Against Lenin's understanding that the October Revolution had to be *extended* in order to survive, Stalin touted his theory of “socialism in one country” which held that backward and isolated Russia had the “necessary and sufficient” prerequisites for the independent construction of a “complete socialist society.” According to Stalin the problems of Russia “*can be entirely overcome* on the basis of the inner forces of our revolution, whereas comrade Trotsky and the Opposition think that these contradictions and conflicts can be overcome ‘only on an international scale, on the arena of the world-wide proletarian revolution’” (*Pravda* No. 262, 12 November 1926).

Indeed, the Bolshevik-Leninists, led by Trotsky, asserted the perspective, which was Lenin's, of international extension of the Russian Revolution as the only effective answer to isolation and capitalist encirclement. Stalin, representing at bottom a nationalist reaction against the fight for interna-

tional socialist revolution, found it necessary to bureaucratically suppress, then exile, imprison and ultimately physically exterminate not only the Soviet Left Opposition, but all the surviving members of Lenin's Bolshevik Central Committee who had made the Russian Revolution.

The Third International was founded as the necessary



Manitoba Archives

Winnipeg General Strike, 1919. Thousands of militant workers joined early Canadian CP.

instrument to ensure “the victory of the world proletarian revolution, which will free mankind from the yoke of capital and the eternal menace of new imperialist wars, which are inevitable under capitalism” (Lenin, “Letter to the Workers of Europe and America,” January 1919). Stalin had no need for such an instrument. As Trotsky noted:

“The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state *if only there is no intervention*. From this there can and must follow...a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention, as this will guarantee the construction of socialism, that is to say, will solve the main historical question. The task of the parties in the Comintern assumes, therefore, an auxiliary character; their mission is to protect the U.S.S.R. from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power.”

—*The Third International After Lenin* (1928)

Indeed, in every country the Communist Parties were transformed from parties seeking *their* October into organizations looking to collaborate with their own bourgeoisie in the service of Stalin's foreign policy.

But just as the Russian Left Opposition fought Stalin, so did his drive to destroy the revolutionary Communist Parties meet strong resistance around the globe. Communist leaders and working-class cadre from America to France to Greece joined the fight to continue Lenin's road. The central leaders of the Chinese CP, party founder Ch'en Tsu-hsiu and chief theoretician Peng Shu-tse, were won to the International Left Opposition amid persecution and slander. The fate of the Polish party, which protested the first anti-Trotsky campaign in 1923, is indicative of Stalin's anti-Bolshevik methods: first he killed the central leaders, later he liquidated the entire party.

The Canadian party also refused for some time to bow to Stalin and condemn Trotsky. Canada was (and is) a relatively marginal imperialist country, hardly at the forefront of the
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CP ...

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Kremlin's concerns. But this party, too, was forcibly rendered the reformist tool of Stalin's foreign policy through massive purges and the liquidation of its program. Yet for close to three years in the mid-1920s, while most parties in the Comintern were denouncing Trotsky on instructions from Moscow, the CP held back. That they did so is centrally due to Maurice Spector's leadership. A key reason for his unwillingness to become Stalin's creature was the impact of the defeat of the German Revolution of 1923.

After the brutal suppression of the Spartacist uprising in 1919 and the ill-considered "March Action" of 1921, by late 1923 Germany was once again approaching a revolutionary crisis. Trotsky fought hard to push the German CP (KPD) leadership to prepare for and lead a proletarian seizure of power, but Stalin wasn't interested and Zinoviev, then head of the Comintern, permitted the German party to dawdle. At the critical moment the KPD, in the midst of million-strong upheavals, refused to give leadership and withdrew from the struggle, the most disastrous outcome possible.

The Comintern leadership attempted to brush off the third failure of the German Revolution as a mere episode. But Spector, who was a witness to the events, having been sent to Germany to report for the Canadian CP, understood



no credit

Comrades in arms: Leon Trotsky, founder and leader of Red Army, with Lenin on second anniversary of October Revolution.

otherwise. He wrote bitterly, "After the expectations the party had aroused in the masses by its proclaimed will to power and preparedness to assume the initiative against a counterrevolutionary stroke, a possible defeat would not have had so catastrophic an aftermath as this retreat without a struggle."

Spector probably didn't know it, but at the same time Trotsky saw the German events as a dangerous sign. The "triumvirate" of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin attempted to scapegoat the KPD leadership as *solely* responsible for any errors. Trotsky, however, in his *Lessons of October* (1924),



Labor Challenge



Labor Challenge

Trotskyists James Cannon (left) and Maurice Spector took up fight for Bolshevik internationalism.

drew a parallel between the fatal passivity in Germany and Zinoviev/Kamenev's October 1917 public opposition to the Bolsheviks' plan to seize power. The Russian Revolution succeeded because Lenin fought against the conciliators' policies, from February through to October, in order to ensure that the Bolshevik Party led a proletarian insurrection to seize state power. The German Revolution failed because the lessons of the Russian October had not been brought to bear on the German party. And this failure was centrally the responsibility of the Comintern leadership and the "triumvirate," who were now covering up history to obscure their real role.

"Having achieved the revolution," Trotsky wrote, "we seem to have concluded that we should never have to repeat it.... Such an approach—though it may be subconscious—is, however, profoundly erroneous, and is, moreover, narrow and nationalistic. We ourselves may never have to repeat the experience of the October Revolution, but this does not at all imply that we have nothing to learn from that experience. We are a part of the International, and the workers in all other countries are still faced with the solution of the problem of their own 'October.'" The key, he emphasized, is a steeled revolutionary leadership, like Lenin's Bolshevik Party, determined to fight for power in every capitalist country.

Standing Fast Against Stalin's Diktats

The "triumvirate" reacted to Trotsky's *Lessons of October* as if branded with a hot iron. Stalin declared the key task of the 1925 Fifth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern (ECCI) to be the eradication of "Trotskyism" in the Comintern sections. Dutifully, delegate after delegate rose to condemn "Trotskyism." But *one* refused: the Canadian delegate, William Moriarty. He had cabled Toronto for instructions and received a reply from Spector, unanimously endorsed by a meeting of the Canadian CP leadership:

"The Executive Committee is not convinced on the basis of evidence obtained, that the Comintern is actually menaced and confronted with a system constituting Trotskyism.... We are of the opinion that the prestige of the Comintern has not been enhanced here by the bitterness of the anti-Trotsky attack."

Only one CP Executive member in Canada showed an early eagerness to join Stalin's purge campaign. With no know-

ledge of the issues (Stalin suppressed Trotsky's writings), Tim Buck demanded from Edmonton that his vote be recorded against Trotsky.

The Comintern was quick to denounce the "ideological confusion" in "our Canadian brother party." They warned that "by this attitude towards Trotskyism the Central Committee...has completely isolated itself in the Communist International." Nevertheless Spector's cable was printed in *The Worker* (along with the Comintern's letter), and the leadership's position was overwhelmingly endorsed at the CP's 1925 party convention. The membership, including those foreign-born workers who had known of Trotsky's contribution since early 1917 when he served on the editorial board of *Novy Mir* in New York, refused to line up behind Stalin and condemn unheard the organizer of the Red Army, the man who with Lenin had led the Russian Revolution.

It wasn't until November 1926, almost three years after the anti-Trotsky campaign began, that the first article supporting Stalin appeared in the Canadian CP's press. That article was penned by Tim Buck, taking advantage of a temporary appointment as editor of *The Worker* while Spector was absent on party assignment. Weeks later, in Moscow for the 1926 Seventh Plenum of the ECCI, Buck reveled in the ritual denunciations of Trotsky and described "the elation, the sense of discovery, that was inspired" after drinking up Stalin's falsifications of history (Tim Buck, *Lenin and Canada* [1970]). He eagerly branded Trotsky's Left Opposition as "either madmen or flippant adventurers," and declared "The CP of Canada unequivocally repudiates the proposal of the Opposition bloc" (quoted in Angus).

Buck returned to Canada and started to line up the Canadian party, putting before the Central Executive Committee a motion against Trotsky and for "socialism in one country." Spector alone voted "No." But in spite of his growing isolation in the leadership, Spector retained great authority in the party. He was re-elected to the Central Executive Committee with the most votes of any candidate. He was also chosen fraternal delegate to the February 1928 plenum of the U.S. Communist Party and later that year delegate, again with MacDonald, to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. No one could have anticipated it at the time, but these events were to prove crucial in the international struggle against Stalinism.

While in New York for the U.S. CP plenum Spector met with James Cannon, one of the founders of the party and leading representative of American Communism, and learned that he too was unhappy with the developments in the Soviet Union and the Russian party. Both were deeply troubled by Trotsky's being driven into exile in Alma Ata, and by the persecution of the Opposition. Because a program cannot be built simply upon doubts, neither leader knew exactly how

to proceed. The answer, however, came at the Sixth Congress held in Moscow.

For Lenin! Against Stalin!

As delegates from their respective parties both Cannon and Spector were put on the Program Commission, which, as Cannon later said, "turned out to be a bad mistake" for Stalin. Trotsky, expelled from the Russian party, had written a fundamental theoretical document entitled "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals" (later published as *The Third International After Lenin*). In it he painstakingly laid bare the consequences of the theory of "socialism in one country": Stalin's policy of class collaboration internationally which helped derail the 1926 British General Strike and subordinated the Chinese Communist Party to the bourgeois Kuomintang, resulting in the 1927 Shanghai massacre of tens of thousands



Canadian Dimension

no credit

In the Canadian CP, Tim Buck (right) carried out Stalin's campaign to purge Left Oppositionists from Communist International.

of communists. And he underscored the mortal danger that the growing Stalinist bureaucracy—"the expression and the instrument of the pressure exerted by the non-proletarian classes upon the proletariat"—represented to the Soviet Union and the Communist International. Only a return to the road of Marx and Lenin, the path of international class struggle, could secure the future of the Soviet Union through the victory of proletarian revolution around the world.

Through a bureaucratic slip-up this document was translated and handed out to members of the Program Commission. And for Cannon and Spector, it was a revelation, the political analysis that transformed their doubts about Stalin into a program of revolutionary opposition. As Cannon later described it:

"We let the caucus meetings and the Congress sessions go to the devil while we read and studied this document. Then I knew what I had to do, and so did he. Our doubts had been resolved. It was as clear as daylight that Marxist truth was on the side of Trotsky. We made a compact there and then—Spector and I—that we would come back home and begin a struggle under the banner of Trotskyism."

— *The History of American Trotskyism* (1972)

Stalin's agents knew that something had gone amiss when
(continued on page 16)

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CP ...

(continued from page 15)

both Cannon and Spector absented themselves from the vote to condemn the Left Opposition. They tried to cajole Spector with an offer to meet the "Great Leader," Stalin himself. (Spector, understanding he was at some personal risk, refused the "honor.") The secret police interrogated Spector and investigated Cannon. Nevertheless the delegates elected Spector to the Executive Committee, the first Canadian to hold office in the Comintern's highest body.

The Stalin faction declared that Trotskyism was "finally liquidated" at the Sixth Congress, but instead, thanks to Cannon and Spector, the Congress marked the vital international extension of the Opposition. As Cannon wrote: "The movement which then began in America brought repercussions throughout the entire world.... Trotskyism, officially pronounced dead, was resurrected on the international arena and inspired with new hope, new enthusiasm, new energy.... In the darkest hour of the Opposition's struggle, they learned that fresh reinforcements had taken the field across the ocean in the United States...."

Cannon and Spector knew that they would be driven out of the parties they helped found and lead as soon as they openly began to fight for the Left Opposition. Indeed their time was short. Just a few weeks after returning from Moscow, Cannon and his supporters were expelled in the U.S., sparking a witchhunt in which members were required to back the expulsions without hesitation or themselves be expelled. In Canada Spector refused to endorse Cannon's expulsion and was suspended. Asked whether he was prepared to "wage an aggressive campaign against 'Trotskyism,'" he replied: "I am prepared to wage an aggressive campaign for Leninism."

In his statement Spector pointed to the "retardation of the World Revolution, the relative stabilization of Capitalism, the defeats in China, Germany, Great Britain, Bulgaria, etc." as factors leading to the theory of "socialism in one country." This theory, Spector said, "has nothing in common

with Lenin's conception of the revolutionary character of the present epoch.... From the economic point of view it is a Utopian mirage for which neither Marx nor Engels nor Lenin are responsible, and the program of the Comintern will never be a completely correct guide to the revolutionary movement unless it breaks with this theory." Proclaiming "Long Live the Communist International! Long Live the Proletarian Revolution!" Spector was immediately expelled, and together with Cannon and others began the struggle to reimplant Lenin's internationalism in North America.

In his seminal book on the nature of Stalinism, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), Trotsky noted that:

"...the less the policy of the Kremlin preserved of its former internationalism, the more firmly the ruling clique clutched in its hands the rudder of the Communist International. Under the old name it was now to serve new ends. For the new ends, however, new people were needed."

In Canada, Stalin's "new people" consisted of the likes of Tim Buck. In the two-year period following Spector's expulsion some 75 percent of the CP's members were expelled or driven out. By 1931 Buck was in firm control, and he was to remain in power longer than any Stalinist leader outside the Soviet bloc!

"The People's Front": The New Betrayal

Within five years of the Sixth Congress, in March 1933, the German CP along with the Social Democrats, jointly commanding the allegiance of millions of workers, allowed Hitler to come to power without resistance. Following this world-historic defeat for the proletariat, not a single criticism of the German party's criminal policy, laid down by Stalin, came from the parties of the Comintern. Trotsky declared that the response of the Comintern to the victory of fascism in Germany was qualitatively the same as the betrayals of the parties of the Second International who supported their "own" imperialist rulers at the opening of World War I. It was now once again necessary to build a new, revolutionary International.

That the Comintern had become a hollow shell, irrevoca-



Basil Blackwell Inc.

Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile demonstrate on anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, 1928. The center banner, with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky, proclaims: "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

bly lost to revolution, was compounded and confirmed by the 1935 promulgation of the "People's Front" policy under which the interests and revolutionary struggles of the working class were betrayed (not least in Spain) to a systematic alliance with the parties of so-called "democratic imperialism." The Trotskyist Left Opposition founded the Fourth International in 1938 to carry on the program of Lenin's Comintern. Stalin, formalizing reality, in 1943 announced the dissolution of the Third International.

Like the First World War, the Second was a decisive test for those claiming to be revolutionaries. The Trotskyists understood that this was again at bottom an inter-imperialist conflict to redivide the world for plunder. Like Lenin during World War I they were revolutionary defeatists in all the imperialist countries; at the same time they stood for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the surviving conquests of the October Revolution. They fought for *class struggle* against the imperialists combined with international working-class defense of the USSR against imperialist attack.

For the CPs internationally, World War II was the "Great Patriotic War Against Fascism" and class struggle was treason to the war effort. Faithfully parroting the Stalinist line, "Tim Buck's Party" declared "Total War" on strikes. They expelled their Japanese-Canadian members, joining the racist hysteria and persecution whipped up by the government. In 1945 they hailed the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Throughout, and indeed after, the war they remained staunch allies of Liberal prime minister William Lyon MacKenzie King.

The Workers' Party of Canada had declared that its "general programme" was "To work for the overthrow of capitalism and capitalist dictatorship by the conquest of political power, the establishment of the working class dictatorship and of the workers' republic." Toward that aim they had played a prominent role in the militant class struggle of the Cape Breton coal fields, had defended and recruited thousands of foreign-born workers and were irreconcilably opposed to imperialist war. Less than two decades later the CP, now increasingly known as "Tim Buck's Party," bore absolutely no relation to the program of communism.

The Fight for Communism Today

Today, the imperialists herald the "death of communism"; but Stalinism is the antithesis of genuine communism, the communism of Marx and Lenin. More than 50 years ago Leon Trotsky foresaw the unraveling of the Stalinist bureaucracy because he understood the tremendous contradictions and antagonisms that were the basis of its rule. The bureaucracy simultaneously acts as a transmission belt for imperialist pressures on the workers state while being based on the socialized property forms of that state.

In Poland today the Stalinists share power with the openly counterrevolutionary Solidarność, but the Polish workers are desperately resisting the Chilean-style economic "shock treatment" which the government is trying to impose on them. In East Germany thousands of members and ex-members of the Stalinist SED and others have demonstrated for a return to Lenin while bitterly opposing the idea of reunification with West Germany on a *capitalist* basis. And in the Soviet Union, where Gorbachev's market-oriented

(continued on page 19)

"Moscow Jack"

Leader of the militant 1919 Toronto metal workers strike, President of the Canadian Labour Party (Ontario section), Executive member of the Toronto Trades and Labour Council—in January 1921 Jack MacDonald publicly declared himself a Communist. The *Toronto World* reported that in his speech at the Labour Temple MacDonald "strongly defended the dictatorship set up in Russia by Lenin and Trotsky...and he hoped to



Jack MacDonald: First CP National Secretary, broke with Stalinism, joined Trotskyists.

organize groups in Toronto, which would spread until Canada was a communist country." Five months later, as a delegate of the Toronto branch of the underground Communist Party of America (CPA), MacDonald and 21 others founded the Communist Party of Canada (Section of the Communist International).

Elected to the first temporary Central Committee MacDonald went on to be elected the first National Secretary of the Workers' Party and then of the CP itself. "Scotch as a granite crag," the bosses' press dubbed him "Moscow Jack" for his dedication to the Russian Revolution. "We want the world for the workers," MacDonald declared, "and we are going to have it."

Born in Falkirk, Scotland on February 2, 1888, MacDonald was early on an activist in defense of the working class. He belonged to the Socialist Party and sat on the executive of the Social Democratic Federation. At age 22, he became President of the Falkirk Workers Federation, and remained so until he emigrated to Canada in 1912. He rapidly became one of the most sought-after and featured speakers at rallies of radical workers and socialists. Proclaiming his solidarity with the Bolsheviks, MacDonald vehemently opposed the imperialists' invasion of Russia, and he campaigned for the freedom of militant workers witchhunted by the Canadian government after the Winnipeg General Strike.

MacDonald brought with him into the then-underground Toronto CPA branch men and women who

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“Moscow Jack” ...

(continued from page 17)

played a prominent role in the early years of the Canadian Communist Party, including Tim Buck, Fred Peel, Robert Shoemith, Joe Knight and Sarah Knight. In splitting from the reformist Independent Labour Party, MacDonald declared, “I believe it is the duty of class-conscious Socialists to form Left wings affiliated with the Third Internationale,” and under his influence many others responded to his call. Throughout the 1920s, wherever workers struggled against the capitalists, CP National Secretary Jack MacDonald could be found, organizing solidarity strikes, campaigning on behalf of imprisoned militants, proclaiming the necessity for socialist revolution.

MacDonald represented the Canadian CP at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922 and stood as a candidate in the June 23 Ontario provincial elections. Just after, the government tried to silence him, hauling him up on “sedition” charges for his prominent role in the Nova Scotia miners strike that summer. But a jury acquitted him, and spiked the government’s attempts to behead the party.

In November 1928 when Tim Buck moved to expel Maurice Spector, MacDonald voted in favor, much to his later regret. Buck & Co. knew that MacDonald was the key remaining party leader with independent authority, and so targeted him next for elimination. But significant groups within the CP rallied for MacDonald and against Buck. Finally isolated within the leading bodies by Stalin’s hand-picked agents, MacDonald resigned as National Secretary in July 1929. Buck then came under sharp attack from some graduates of Stalin’s “Lenin School,” like Stewart Smith, for failing to drive MacDonald completely out of the party he had played such a crucial role in building. In January 1930, Buck wrote this illuminating “confession”:

“During this time we were in the position where we had to choose between a measure of conciliation with MacDonald, or wrecking the Party. And we chose wrongly. We chose conciliation with MacDonald.”

In March the Buck/Smith leadership suspended MacDonald, but in the face of a general outcry at their bureaucratic maneuvering, this was overturned. When Buck & Co. then demanded that MacDonald “explain” himself in May, MacDonald forthrightly refused. Finally, in November

Subscription Drive Success

Congratulations to all the comrades for making the 1989 *Spartacist Canada/Workers Vanguard* subscription campaign a success. Hard work and persistence brought in 355.5 points, 15 percent over the quota of 310. Special congratulations to this year’s individual champion, comrade Glenn in Vancouver who netted 65 points, and to Peter in Toronto with 53.

This year’s sub drive coincided with the reestablishment of a Trotskyist League branch in Vancouver, historically a center of proletarian militancy in North America. The Vancouver comrades, assisted by visiting comrades from the Spartacist League/U.S., sold 115 points, capping their drive October 13 with a well-attended public forum titled “For Workers Political Revolution in the USSR!”

Comrades in Toronto focused on sales at the University of Toronto campus, where the lessons of last spring’s Chinese worker/student upsurge were a major talking point. Regional work included a visit to the Northern Ontario nickel-mining town of Sudbury, where single issues and subscriptions were sold at mine entrances and door to door in a working-class neighborhood. TL comrades were also pleased to assist the SL/U.S. with its subscription drive in Detroit. In Montreal, students from several universities, both French- and English-speaking, were among our new subscribers. We were pleased that more than a third of the 53 points sold there represented subscriptions to *Le Bolchévique*, monthly newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France.

We welcome our new readers. And if you haven’t yet subscribed to the only genuinely Marxist press in North America, do it today!



- \$2/4 issues of *Spartacist Canada*
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- \$4/3 issues of *Women and Revolution*
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1930 Stalin's agent Fritz Heckert wired an ultimatum that MacDonald "must openly admit" his "right opportunist position" and agree to "carry on resolute struggle in deed...against the Lovestoneites as well as Trotskyites." "Failing to accept these conditions," said Heckert, "means expulsion from the party." A man of decency and self-respect, MacDonald refused to "confess" at Stalin's command, and what was now "Tim Buck's Party" announced MacDonald's expulsion in January 1931.

But the Stalinists couldn't destroy Jack MacDonald and drive him away from the cause of Communism, as they did with so many others. In May 1932 MacDonald declared:

"I have become convinced that the position, program and general criticism of the 'Left Opposition' under the brilliant, untiring and courageous leadership of Comrade Trotsky are fundamentally correct; and that the Left Opposition is the historical bearer and custodian of true Marxist-Leninism.... "I reject the theory of national socialism—of socialism in one country—evolved in the struggle against Trotsky in 1925, as contrary to all the teachings of Marx and Lenin."

The two historic leaders of Communism in Canada, Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald, once again came together in the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party.

In 1936, aged 48, Jack MacDonald retired from active, organized political activity, but he remained committed to Marxism until his death on November 8, 1941. An honest man, MacDonald did not pretend to be a brilliant theoretician, but he knew which party and which program stood for Bolshevism. As he wrote in 1932:

"This statement is made in support of the Left Opposition after thoroughly probing all doubts and reservations, slowly, calmly and deliberately. I make it with the sincere hope that any influence I may have with the workers, through my association with and work in the working class movement in this country, may lead the advanced workers to a critical examination of the Communist movement today, in all its ramifications, theoretical, organizational, strategic and otherwise; and to an examination of the literature and theoretical position of the Left Opposition and particularly to the works of Trotsky. "From this I am convinced there will inevitably come again another 're-arming' of the movement—a re-establishment of the advance guard of the international working class movement, on the solid bed-rock of the theories of Marx and Lenin." ■

The MILITANT
 For the Russian Opposition!
 Against Opportunism and Restoration in the Workers (Communist) Party of America!

Специальный номер о Московском процессе
 Выйдет осенью — Октябрь 1936 г.
БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ ОПОЗИЦИИ
 (БОЛЬШЕВИКОВ-ЛЕНИНЦЕВ)
 Bulletin de l'Opposition (Bolsheviks-Leninists)

Московский процесс -- процесс над Октябрем



SPECIAL ANTI-FASCIST STRIKE NUMBER
THE VANGUARD
 Organ of the International Left Opposition of Canada
 Volume 1, No. 3 TORONTO, JULY 1933 Price 2 Cents

Strike Against Hitlerism July 11!

Fascism, Social Democracy and Stalinism Support Joint Council's Call for Two-Hour General Strike against Fascist Terror Stalinites and the United Front



Carrying forward the Leninist program internationally: American, Russian and Canadian Trotskyist press of the '20s and '30s.

CP ...

(continued from page 17)

reforms have spawned petty capitalist parasites and a deadly rise of national antagonisms, workers have become ever more hostile to perestroika as dramatically revealed in the coal miners strikes. Workers political revolution, linked to socialist revolution in the imperialist West, is the only road forward for the working people.

Early Canadian CP leaders Maurice Spector, Jack MacDonald, Malcolm Bruce, Max Armstrong—all continued their struggle for Marxism by breaking with Stalin and his acolyte Tim Buck and joining the Trotskyists. Today, the Trotskyist League of Canada shares the revolutionary optimism of Cannon, Spector and the Left Opposition which impelled them to reject Stalinism. In declaring our adherence

to the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) we wrote last fall:

"We take our stand on the authentic communist tradition of the Bolsheviks who made the Russian Revolution. We choose the communism that had Lenin as its greatest teacher in the imperialist epoch. We choose the communism of Lenin's comrade Trotsky, who beginning as early as 1923 understood the main lines of what needed to be done. We choose the communism that Stalin utterly betrayed as he deliberately destroyed the Third International. We choose the communism of a new Fourth International that will do away once and for all with the exploitation of man by man and establish a socialist society based on a new vision of the continual expansion of human freedom in all spheres: in politics, economics, culture and in every aspect of personal life."

—"International Communist League Launched," SC No.76, Fall 1989 ■

Mumia Abu-Jamal ...

(continued from page 2)

intend to do to Mumia—to burn him, destroy him until he's no more." With these words, Wadiya set Mumia's dreadlock aflame.

To know the case of Mumia is to understand the racist character of the death penalty in America. We see not only the arbitrary cruelty of state terror, but the inherent racism of its application. His case is a symbol of the death penalty, and the fight to save his life is the fight against the state's institutionalized racist murder called capital punishment. Because the death penalty is part of racist class oppression in America, the fight to abolish it once and for all means mobilizing the forces of working-class power, fighting for all the oppressed. As PDC co-chairman Charles Brover told the rally, "The systematic oppression—the joblessness, the hopelessness—which is at the root of the crime and punishment cycle *cannot* be solved this side of a social revolution."

Effective legal and social defense means relying on working-class and minority strength. This rally continued the



WV photo

At October 14 Philadelphia rally Wadiya Jamal sets Mumia's dreadlock aflame, symbolizing what the state wants to do to him.

spirit of November 5, 1988, when the PDC-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization prevented the KKK and skinheads from carrying out their racist terror in Philadelphia. Over 100 trade unions and officials supported that action, and many have continued to lend their support to Mumia's cause, and for the abolition of the death penalty. In bringing together people and organizations with differing views who stand together against the death penalty and for the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the October 14 rally was an example of the forces needed to win, in Philadelphia and internationally.

The call to save Jamal's life is spreading. In Belgium the

magazine *de Nar*, in West Germany the alternative daily *taz* and the Amnesty International group AGIPA-PRESS, in France the MRAP (Movement Against Racism) and the Black American Database have joined the campaign. In Paris 1,100 petition signatures were collected at a July 8 demonstration by supporters of the Comité de défense sociale (CDDS) and the reggae music group Rising Soul. Rising Soul, at the head of the demo, interspersed their music with calls to the crowd to support Mumia's case. Over 2,000 leaflets describing the case and nearly 100 copies of *Le Bolchéviek* (newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France) were distributed. Anti-imperialist youth, Maghrebin (North African) workers, and supporters of the Communist Party of France signed the petition, and a number of demonstrators took copies to circulate among their co-workers.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is uniquely *the* political prisoner on death row in America today. Like the Scottsboro Boys—nine black youths framed on charges of raping two white women and sentenced to death or long prison terms in the 1930s—the fight to save Mumia's life can become the focus for a powerful struggle against racist injustice, especially but not only in North America.

In the U.S. the PDC's history of principled class-struggle defense is more than a decade long. The PDC in Canada bases itself on this honorable history and pledges to fight on behalf of the oppressed both here and internationally. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Trotskyist League. To those who have worked with us, and to those who are new to the PDC: subscribe to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*; help the work of the PDC by giving a monthly sustaining donation. Join the struggle *now* to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal! Make his cause yours!

Send protest letters and petitions to: Governor Robert Casey, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Contact the PDC for petitions, speakers and posters. Send your urgently needed donations to "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal" c/o the PDC, P.O. Box 314, Station B, Toronto, Ontario M5T 2W1.

* * * * *

Defend Dr. Henry Morgentaler!

The Nova Scotia government is continuing the vicious persecution of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, courageous fighter for women's rights. On March 5 he faces 13 charges of violating the Medical Services Act which prohibits abortion and eight other medical services from being performed outside approved provincial hospitals. A survivor of the Nazi death camps, Dr. Morgentaler faces fines of up to \$50,000 per charge if convicted. Ten years ago he was imprisoned, suffering a heart attack. Today he is a symbol of struggle against the right-wing anti-woman fanatics and anti-Semites.

It was largely due to Dr. Morgentaler's efforts that, two years ago, the federal Supreme Court threw out the previous national anti-abortion law. Yet with each provincial legislature able to set its own guidelines, accessible abortions remain a myth for women in vast areas of the country, particularly for poor and working-class women. Now the federal government has introduced a new bill to make abortion a crime, providing near unlimited scope for "third party" intervention, like the hideous persecution of Chantal Daigle.

The Partisan Defense Committee sent the following pro-

On "Tilt" by State Design

by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Harry Washington shrieks out of an internal orgy of psychic pain: "*Niggers!! Keep my family's name outcha mouf! Ya freaks! Ya filth! Ya racist garbage! All my family believe in God! Keep your twisted Satanic filth to Y'all self! Keep my family's name outch'all nasty mouf!!*"

I have stopped the reflexive glance down in front of Harry's cell. For now, as in all the times in the past, I know no one is out near his ground-level cell—I know Harry is in a mouth-foaming rage because of the ceaseless noises echoing within the chambers of his tortured mind.

For Harry, and I, are among the growing numbers of Pennsylvanians on Death Row, and Harry, because of mind-snapping isolation, a bitterly racist environment, and the ironies, the auguries of fate, has begun the slide from depression, through deterioration, to dementia.

While we both share the deadening effects of isolation, and an environment straight outta the redneck boondocks, Harry, like so many others, has slipped. Many of his tormenters here (both real and imagined) have named him, "Nut," and describe him as "on tilt." Perhaps the cruel twists of fate popped his cork—who can say? A young Black man, once a correctional officer, now a Death Row convict. Once he would wear the keys, now he hears the keys, in an agonizing

wait for death.

The conditions of most of America's Death Rows create Harry Washingtons by the score. Mix in solitary confinement, around-the-clock lock in, no-contact visits, no prison jobs, no educational programs by which to grow, psychiatric "treatment" facilities designed only to drug you into a narcoleptic coma, ladle in hostile, overtly racist prison guards & staff, add the weight of the falling away of family ties, and you have all the fixins for a stressful psychic stew designed to deteriorate, to erode one's humanity. Designed, that is, by the state, with full knowledge of its effects.

The notion, that human "progress" is marked by "an evolving standard of decency," from the less civilized to the more civilized, from the more restrictive to the less restrictive, from tyranny to expanding freedom, dies a quick death on the rocks of today's Rehnquistian courts.

Indeed, what other court could make the Republican-controlled, Southern-Harlan-Fuller Court of the 1890s seem positively "radical" by comparison?

Harry continues his howlings and mindless mutterings of rage at no one in particular. More Harrys are on the way, thanks to torturous conditions akin to psychic pressure-cookers with the setting on "high."

It is telling about America, and America to come. ■

test to Nova Scotia Attorney General Thomas J. McInnes: "We condemn the continuing persecution of Dr. Henry Morgentaler. Abortion is a simple medical procedure that is between a woman and her doctor. It has no place in the Criminal Code and should be freely available at no cost to any woman who wants it.

"We demand that all the charges against Dr. Morgentaler be dropped and that the injunction on his Halifax clinic be lifted."

Send contributions to: Morgentaler Defence Fund, Box 247, 238 Davenport Rd., Toronto, Ont. M5R 1J6.

* * * * *

Stop West German Racist Expulsion of Gypsies!

The West German state continues its racist deportations of foreign-born workers and refugees. This past autumn, Gypsies of the Roma and Cinti groups were threatened with mass expulsions—the largest since the Federal Republic was founded 40 years ago. On October 2, several hundred Gypsies, among them many children, were beaten up by the Hamburg police and driven out of the former concentration camp of Neugamme where they had set up tents to protest this persecution.

Joining with fraternal defense organizations in West Germany and the U.S., the PDC sent this urgent protest to the mayor of Hamburg:

"Hitler tried to exterminate the Roma and Cinti people. Now your police attack them as they protest at Hitler's concentration camps. The Third Reich killed half a million

of the Roma and Cinti. Today the Third Reich's self-proclaimed successor state threatens to expel the survivors and their children, while welcoming thousands of 'dropouts' from the GDR.

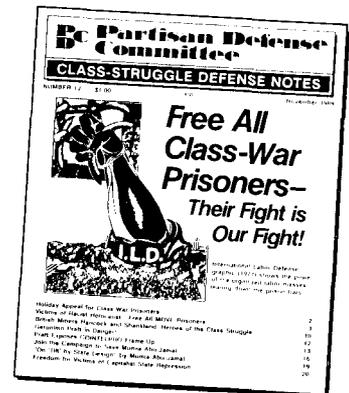
"We add our voice to those working-class organizations and defenders of democratic rights around the world who protest your racist attacks. We demand: Stop the expulsions of the Roma and Cinti! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!" ■

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Remember Bay of Pigs, Remember Vietnam—

U.S. Imperialism, You Lost!

U.S. Steals Panama, Again!

We print below a leaflet protesting the U.S. invasion of Panama, issued by our comrades of the New York Spartacist League on 21 December. The Mulroney government in Ottawa, having recently joined the Organization of American States (once aptly dubbed the U.S. "Ministry of Colonies" by Che Guevara) was quick to endorse Washington's assault. Once again, as over Vietnam and the 1986 terror bombing against Libya, the Canadian imperialists prove to be the U.S.' loyal junior partners.

The war-crazed maniacs in Washington are at it again. Ever since Teddy Roosevelt sent the Marines in to rip away a piece of Colombian territory and create Panama as an American neocolony in 1903, the American rulers' line has been, "It's ours. We stole it fair and square." Now Bush, egged on by the Democrats after the miserable coup fiasco last fall, has invaded Panama again, for the *thirteenth time this century*.

The latest invasion comes ten days before the first stage of the Panama Canal Treaty was supposed to be implemented, which was eventually to have handed over control of the canal to Panama. Now, after the media's whores spent the last 24 hours filling the airwaves with hopeful speculations that Noriega would be heading for the welcoming arms of Fidel Castro or Daniel Ortega, U.S. troops—in a naked war provocation—have surrounded the Nicaraguan and Cuban embassies in Panama City. *U.S. troops out of Panama, now—all of them!*

More than 24,000 American troops are tearing up Panama City in order to "restore democracy." Hundreds of civilians have been killed, whole neighborhoods—mostly working class and poor—have been burned to the ground by American tanks and mortar fire, young kids are shot down in cold blood by the Yankee invaders—that's what the White House calls "Operation Just Cause." Ever since they got creamed by the Vietnamese workers and peasants, the Pentagon has tried to pick out victims they could beat without taking casualties, like the racist invasion of tiny Grenada (total population 113,000). So while the U.S. helicopter gunships are good at shooting down defenseless civilians from the air, they haven't even managed to take control of Panama City after two days of heavy bombing, much less to capture Noriega. The American government has even put a \$1 million bounty on his head. The Washington mob, which incidentally is the world's biggest drug-runner, makes Murder, Inc. look like a church charity.

President Bush says that General Noriega is not a nice man. Bush ought to know; when he ran the CIA Noriega was a prime "asset" in all kinds of sinister deals for years. Noriega never claimed to be Mother Theresa, but then he never invaded the U.S. to impose his president either. Washington, with the Democrats taking the lead, openly proclaims its "right" to overthrow or assassinate any foreign leader it doesn't approve of (see "Bush Unleashes 'the Company,'" *Workers Vanguard* No. 491, 8 December). The U.S. capital-

ists claim supersovereignty over the whole of the Western Hemisphere because of the "Monroe Doctrine," which stated that whenever the British fleet would let them, the American government could do anything it wanted in Latin America—and did. Now the "war on Communism" has a new language: the "war on drugs" has become the chosen excuse for military adventures overseas. We wrote last year that the "war on drugs" was "particularly intended at re-establishing American 'manifest destiny' over Latin America"—and that means, first and foremost, crushing Sandinista Nicaragua and rolling back the Cuban Revolution ("U.S. 'Drug War': License for Global Terror," *WV* No. 453, 20 May 1988).

The vindictive American capitalists are still economically strangling Nicaragua and Vietnam too while they make secret and hypocritical deals with China's Stalinist leaders. And while we're on the subject, the U.S. should get the hell out of Guantanamo Bay!

The American ruling class has also tried to extend the Monroe Doctrine to Libya and Lebanon and other small, easily accessible places. Old fashioned honest liberals used to call it "dollar diplomacy." But it ain't as easy as it used to be. The American troops got blown out of Lebanon. And it sure didn't work when an American embassy went missing in Iran (which is remote, large and filled with millions and millions of hostile people). It asserts some god-given claim to police the whole world—it, with its lies and arrogance, is called American imperialism, and we say down with it!

American working people: the U.S. government's war on Panama, on the Nicaraguan people, on the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions is part and parcel of the same government's fight to lower your wages and rip up your unions. They give you the "war on drugs" as a ready stand-in for the war on communism and the war on sex, all of which—with suitable patriotic and vacuous religious mumbling—are meant to give the mass of people a mainline shot of idiocy. And let's not forget the strychnine of racism that they mix in to that heavy dose of reactionary crap.

It's long past time this arrogant, racist ruling class got what was coming to it—and it's going to take the American working people to do it. Down with Bush/CIA International Murder, Inc.! *U.S. get your bloody hands off the world!* ■

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE CLASS SERIES

TORONTO

**Wed., Jan. 24: Civil War in El Salvador—
Workers to Power!**

**Wed., Feb. 7: The Fight for Black Freedom—
Lessons of the U.S. Civil Rights
Movement**

**Wed., Feb. 21: Smash Apartheid! For Workers
Revolution in South Africa!**

All classes will be held at 7:30 p.m. at the International Student Centre, 33 St. George St., north of College on the University of Toronto campus.

Racist Police ...

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on a joint Metro/OPP drug raid.

Within hours of the shooting of Sophia Cook—i.e., before the cops' inept lies about a "struggle" with "armed" criminals could come undone—new Metro Toronto Police Chief William McCormack summoned black community leaders to his office to urge "extreme restraint." McCormack ordered the OPP "inquiry," and saw to it that Sophia Cook was declared "not a suspect" in the alleged auto theft. Officials at Toronto General Hospital disgracefully played along with the boss cop's PR blitz, downgrading Cook's condition from "serious" and denying there would be any permanent injury—even as her doctors were placing her back on oxygen and publicly predicting she would never walk again.

McCormack capped this charade with a personal "courtesy" visit to Sophia Cook's family. His ostentatious display of "concern" had only one purpose: to pre-empt an explosion of black anger such as followed the cop murders of Lester Donaldson and Wade Lawson in 1988. McCormack made clear that his visit was "not an apology," and that he did not consider Constable Durham an "accused person." But if this posturing disoriented some, it did not prevent protests. McCormack's participation in grotesquely cynical celebrations of Toronto's "Year of Racial Harmony" a few weeks after the shooting drew jeers from scores of outraged blacks and other anti-racist militants. Supporters of the Trotskyist League and Partisan Defense Committee joined the angry protesters outside police headquarters on November 8 and 15.

Black activist Lennox Farrell spoke a plain truth when he said: "There will be another shooting—the police are sufficiently trigger-happy and have insurance from the prosecution to continue what they've done in the past—and the result will not be any different" (*NOW*, 7-13 December). Farrell and others demand an "independent civilian review agency" to restrain the racist thugs in blue. But such a call can only be based on the liberal illusion that the cops will obey "the people." It is not "the people" whom the cops are sworn to serve and protect, but the racist, labor-hating and reactionary *capitalist ruling class*.

Stop Racist Cop Terror!

The police are the hired guns of the bosses' state. Today they have set themselves up as judge, jury and executioner on city streets across North America, gunning down black people and other minorities from L.A. to Montreal, from Washington to Winnipeg. And they've made it deadly clear that neither independent investigations nor civilian reviews, neither eyewitnesses nor unintended survivors of their racist atrocities, will hinder them.

On December 7, in a chilling display of the cops' contempt for even nominal legal restraint, Sophia Cook's would-be assassin strode into a Toronto court flanked by dozens of armed, uniformed "supporters." The same day, black activist and community leader Dudley Laws was arrested "for unpaid parking fines." Laws is a prominent organizer of protests against racist cop terror in Toronto. Along with lawyers Clayton Ruby and Charles Roach, he has been fingered by Police Association president Art Lymer for "stirring up

hatred against the force" (*Toronto Sun*, 8 December). Last January the sinister Lymer publicly warned that if black people continue to seek elementary justice, "violence is going to be provoked against them, and...their life is going to be put in danger." Lymer's decision to "name names" today is even more ominous. The Trotskyist League protests



SC photo

Toronto, November 15: Partisan Defense Committee joins demonstration protesting racist police shooting of Sophia Cook.

this open incitement to cop/vigilante violence against black and civil-rights activists. Hands off Laws, Ruby and Roach!

As the Toronto cops seek free rein to terrorize the city's working people and minorities, it is the working class which must be mobilized to frustrate their lethal designs. In Chicago in 1987, two black women, Cassandra Seay and Callie Bryant, were brutally beaten and arrested after five white cops invaded their home. The cops then tried to frame Seay and Bryant for battery, resisting arrest and obstruction. But they didn't count on Cassandra being a member of the Amalgamated Transit Union. Mobilized by supporters of the Spartacist League/U.S. and other ATU militants, Cassandra's brothers and sisters brought the might of organized labor to bear to smash the frame up and force the dismissal of charges.

Mass protest action centered on Toronto's powerful, integrated unions—transit, steel, auto—would give the capitalist rulers pause and make their badge-toting gun thugs think ten times before shooting another black youth. But nothing short of working-class revolution can stop police terror for good. There must be no illusions that the cops can be "reformed." They are the fist of the capitalist state—racist in its foundations, armed to the teeth, the overwhelming source of violence against blacks, the poor and the working people. It will take a revolutionary workers movement, leading all of the oppressed in a fight for *power*, to put an end to the nightmare of violence and open the road to freedom for black people and all the oppressed. ■

Police Paralyze Young Black Mother **Racist Cop Terror in Toronto**

Sophia Cook lies in a Toronto hospital paralyzed from the waist down. A young black woman, just 23 years old, a computer student with a two-year-old son, Sophia was in a car driven by an acquaintance last October 27 when the cops pulled it over. As the car's other occupants fled, Sophia sat alone in the passenger seat with her seatbelt buckled. Metro constable Cameron Durham shot her in the back.

Sophia Cook is the third Toronto-area black to be cut down by a police .38 in the past 18 months. Outrageously, after weeks of "investigation" by the Ontario Provincial Police, the thug who shot Sophia in cold blood was charged with "careless use of a firearm," a minor weapons offense. But this was *attempted murder!* On hearing of the charge, Sophia Cook wept with frustration. Her lawyer, Clayton Ruby, responded with angry irony: "Careless use of a firearm is a charge I know well. I've defended dozens of them. It's the charge that gets laid when kids shoot off BB guns in the backyard" (*Globe and Mail*, 5 December). Ruby has filed a million dollar lawsuit on Sophia Cook's behalf. She should collect every penny. As for the thug Durham, throw him into Kingston Pen and let him rot.

The cops claimed that the car in which Sophia was shot—described as a "steel-gray Toronado, with a sunroof and two cellular phone antennas"—had been "reported stolen." In Toronto, "reported stolen" has become the police code word for "fire at will." They used the same "justification" when they murdered 17-year-old Michael Wade Lawson a year ago. But as any black worker with a decent job can attest, a car doesn't have to be stolen to draw the attention of the state's licensed killers—just new, or fast, or "expensive-looking." For Metro's racist cops, a black man behind the wheel of a nice car is either a thief, a pusher or a pimp—to be approached with weapon drawn and blown away at the first twitch.

Metro police are making full use of the hypocritical and racist "war on drugs" as their warrant for wholesale terror. The shooting of Sophia Cook took place just blocks from the heart of the Jane-Finch corridor, a heavily black and working-class community which for months has been the main target of an escalated police campaign of drug sweeps, arbitrary searches, evictions and brutal beatings. Black homes are hit with "crack house" raids carried out in classic



Henry Stancu/Toronto Star



no credit

Sophia Cook (inset), victim of Metro cops' war on black population. Police are armed fist of capitalist state.

Gestapo style. The Toronto black newspaper *Contrast* (1 November) noted bitterly that Sophia Cook "is not the first Black woman to have had a gun pointed at her by the Police":

"Other Black women, living in Ontario Housing, report that they realized their homes were in the grip of a drug raid when they were awakened from sleep by police standing over them with guns drawn.... [Their homes] are often left in shambles by a force, answerable for its actions, only to itself; a force able to advertise its 'Cops are Tops' on Becker's Milk jugs that Black people, too, purchase."

Entire black neighborhoods—Jane-Finch, Lawrence Heights, Flemingdon Park—have been turned into combat zones where "legal" rules of engagement do not apply. In October 1988, 26-year-old Michael David Ferguson, a Jamaican immigrant, was ambushed by three white men as he waited for a friend in front of a housing project. As they punched and kicked him senseless, one screamed "Pull the gun out, put it in his mouth and blow the mother-----g n-----r's brains out" (*Toronto Star*, 17 November). The attackers were not psycho skinheads—they were *cops*

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