

Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev calls it a "Radical Reorganization of Economic Management." His program, approved last week by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, would dismantle centralized planning. Under the pressure of imperialist militarism and fearing a resumption of economic slowdown, the Kremlin tops have responded with market-oriented reforms internally, while seeking accommodation with Western capitalism. But Russia's current economic troubles are not due to the system of centralized planning and management, the motor force of the Soviet Union's transformation from a backward, overwhelmingly peasant country into a great industrial/military power. Rather, the underlying cause is bureaucratic rule by the parasitic and nationalistic Stalinist betrayers of the Bolshevik Revolution.

According to Gorbachev's program, by the end of 1990 individual enterprises (except in the military sector) will determine what they produce and in what quantities. The centralized setting of prices along with most subsidies are to be gradually done away with. Enterprise managers will be given the right to cut wages and bonuses and to lay off "redundant" workers. Enterprises whose revenues still do not cover costs will have to close.

Summing up these measures, a *New York Times* editorial (1 July) concludes: "Yet another Communist giant, the Communist giant, now sets out to undo the Revolution of 1917 with the Revolution of 1987." This is wishful thinking. It would take more than a new Central Committee directive on the economy to undo the first victorious workers revolution in history—the October Revolution of 1917. It would take a bloody counterrevolution against the determined resistance of Soviet workers and peasants.

However, dismantling central planning, operating enterprises on the basis of market profitability and spawning a new class of petty capitalist entrepreneurs—inevitably producing unemployment and inflation—will strengthen the internal forces of capitalist restoration in the USSR. To arrest and counter such developments, Soviet workers must struggle in the name of an authentically socialist program against Gorbachev's "radical reorganization" of the economy. A real socialist renewal in the USSR demands a proletarian political revolution to oust the Kremlin oligarchy, restoring soviet democracy and recasting the economic plan in the interests of the workers and peasants.

We are publishing below a section,



TASS from Sovfoto

Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev exhorts Soviet oil workers to work harder. Only workers' overthrow of bureaucratic caste can revitalize Soviet economy.

"The Russian Question and Gorbachev," from the Spartacist League's draft national conference document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture," adopted by the SL/U.S. Political Bureau on June 16. The document, while noting that the actual economic changes introduced were not yet significant, observed, "the *direction* of these economic changes is toward greater dependence upon market competition." Nine days later Gorbachev announced the most far-reaching "market-oriented reforms" in Soviet history.

The document also pointed out that under the slogan of *glasnost* (openness) Gorbachev has stated: "There should be no forgotten names or blanks either in history or in literature." This is an explosive question since the *real history* of the Soviet Union has long been hidden by lies and silence. Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and other Bolshevik leaders murdered by Stalin have for decades been treated as non-persons in the USSR. The late Isaac Deutscher stated that as Trotsky's biographer he had to dig the co-leader of the Bolshevik Revolution and founder of the Red Army out "from under a mountain of dead dogs, a huge load of calumny and oblivion" (preface to *The Prophet Unarmed*

[1954]). But now the Soviet intelligentsia is digging at that mountain of dead dogs. The spectre of Trotsky haunts Gorbachev's Russia not only because his historic role in founding the Soviet state has been hidden. It is the *program* of the Trotskyist Left Opposition which offers the *revolutionary proletarian* answer to the corruption, social pathology (e.g., widespread alcoholism) and political and economic malaise which Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin now confront and cannot overcome.

In the absence of workers democracy, the now-dominant section of the Soviet bureaucracy sees the discipline of the market as the only answer to the country's serious economic problems. Thus Kremlin spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov remarked on the CBS News special "The Soviet Union: Seven Days in May" (24 June): "I would like for our workers to learn to work as hard as your workers do."

Even before the recent measures, Soviet workers were increasingly disgruntled over Gorbachev's economic policies. In particular, the prospect of layoffs and unemployment is social dynamite in the USSR. Soviet citizens naturally regard job security as their birthright. (accounts of widespread un-

employment under capitalism are often dismissed as just Kremlin propaganda!). Gorbachev promises that the "release of workers in conditions of the Socialist economy will not bring about unemployment." But if enterprises are free to hire and fire on the basis of market profitability, if government subsidies are largely eliminated, this *will bring about* unemployment in the Soviet Union. Just look at the effects of "market socialism" and self-managed enterprises in Yugoslavia, where the unemployment rate is 14 percent and prices have been doubling every year.

Gorbachev, who is an intelligent politician, knows he cannot simply call for the free play of market forces without inciting massive working-class resistance. So along with economic "restructuring" (*perestroika*) there is also a lot of talk about "democratization"—not the reality but the *semblance* of workers democracy. Here lies a fundamental contradiction. It has been proposed that workers are to elect their own enterprise managers. But what worker is going to vote for a manager who advocates a program of speedup, reintroducing piece rates, widening wage differences and laying off "redundant"

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Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

"Two-Tier" Contract Threatens ILWU

SAN FRANCISCO, July 5—West Coast longshoremen must mobilize to stop the introduction of a deadly dangerous "two-tier" wage structure which threatens the future of their union on the West Coast docks. A tentative three-year contract between the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) proposes to cut wages for "casual" workers up to six dollars below the rate for registered longshoremen. The terms of ILWU International president Jimmy Herman's sellout were reported by the San Pedro *News Pilot* (2 July), and confirmed by an ILWU Local 13 bulletin the following day. If this sweetheart deal goes through, PMA bosses will use it to gut the union hiring hall, endangering the gains longshoremen won in the 1934 San Francisco general strike.

Under the proposed agreement, registered longshoremen will supposedly have their base wage raised from \$17.27 to \$19.43 (as marine clerks currently earn). But this is sleight of hand to cover the elimination of the six-hour day, a historic gain of the '34 strike. (Under the old contract longshoremen worked six hours straight time and two hours overtime.) In reality, there will be a wage freeze for the first year for registered dockers, and measly 40-cent and 50-cent hourly increases over the following two

years. On hearing the terms of the new contract, one angry longshoreman said, "It looks like the union negotiators were in bed with the employers" (*News Pilot*,

conditions have been severely eroded.

The stevedore companies are going to save millions of dollars on this dirty deal. With an aging ILWU member-

nonregistered workers!

As *WV* goes to press this sellout proposal is before the Coast Caucus convening on July 7; from there it goes

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union forged in heat of class struggle—San Francisco general strike of 1934.



3 July). You bet! With this contract Herman is walking the ILWU off the same plank as the East Coast ILA, whose pay scales and working condi-

ship, the "casuals" are the next generation of longshoremen—with no union rights or benefits. And their numbers are dramatically increasing. In Los Angeles, the largest port on the West Coast, there are now 2,500 casuals certified to work in Local 13. This is roughly equal to the entire membership of the Los Angeles local. A permanent caste of second-class workers on the docks is being created and that could easily be turned against the union.

Herman & Co. hope to sell this contract to the older registered longshoremen with sweeteners, like increases in pensions and medical care. But as the *News Pilot* reported: "Employers also have obtained language in the new contract that would eliminate a longtime practice whereby many longshoremen work only four hours for eight hours pay." And the PMA will surely use the contract's new "drug testing" and the provision for firing workers for safety violations to wipe out registered union members and replace them with \$14-an-hour casuals. The companies went into these negotiations demanding an end to union control of hiring. Now Herman is opening the door to destruction of the hiring hall by massive employment of

to the membership for ratification. Particularly with the IBU tugboat workers still on strike against company take-backs, ILWU longshoremen must spike this rotten deal and shut down the coast!

Jimmy Herman is today what the despised ILA president Joseph R. Ryan was in 1934—a toady for the bosses. Just as militants in 1934 refused to let Ryan sink the strike, longshoremen must take control of bargaining and strike action away from the Herman gang. For a militant coastwise strike that links up with rail, airport and trucking workers! Smash the PMA's "two-tier" system and all other union-busting schemes! Register all the casuals into the ILWU, and fight for a sliding scale of hours and wages to provide work for all with no loss in pay!

Labor desperately needs a victory to reverse the defeats we have suffered at the hands of the labor traitors who have sold their soul to the Democratic Party. The ILWU is a powerful integrated union with its hands on the pulse of one of the bosses' key arteries—shipping. Now is the time for some hard class struggle that can dump the Reagan/Meese/Rehnquist gang and bust the union-busters. ■



TROTSKY

Soviet Economy Needs Workers Democracy

Half a century ago Leon Trotsky predicted that Stalinist bureaucratic rule would increasingly arrest the economic development of the Soviet Union. To accelerate Soviet economic development demands restoring soviet democracy, recasting the economic plan in the interests of the workers and peasants, and returning to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution across the globe.

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

Behind the question of quality stands a more complicated and grandiose problem which may be comprised in the concept of independent, technical and cultural creation.... Soviet democracy is not the demand of an abstract policy, still less an abstract moral. It has become a life-and-death need of the country.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)



LENIN

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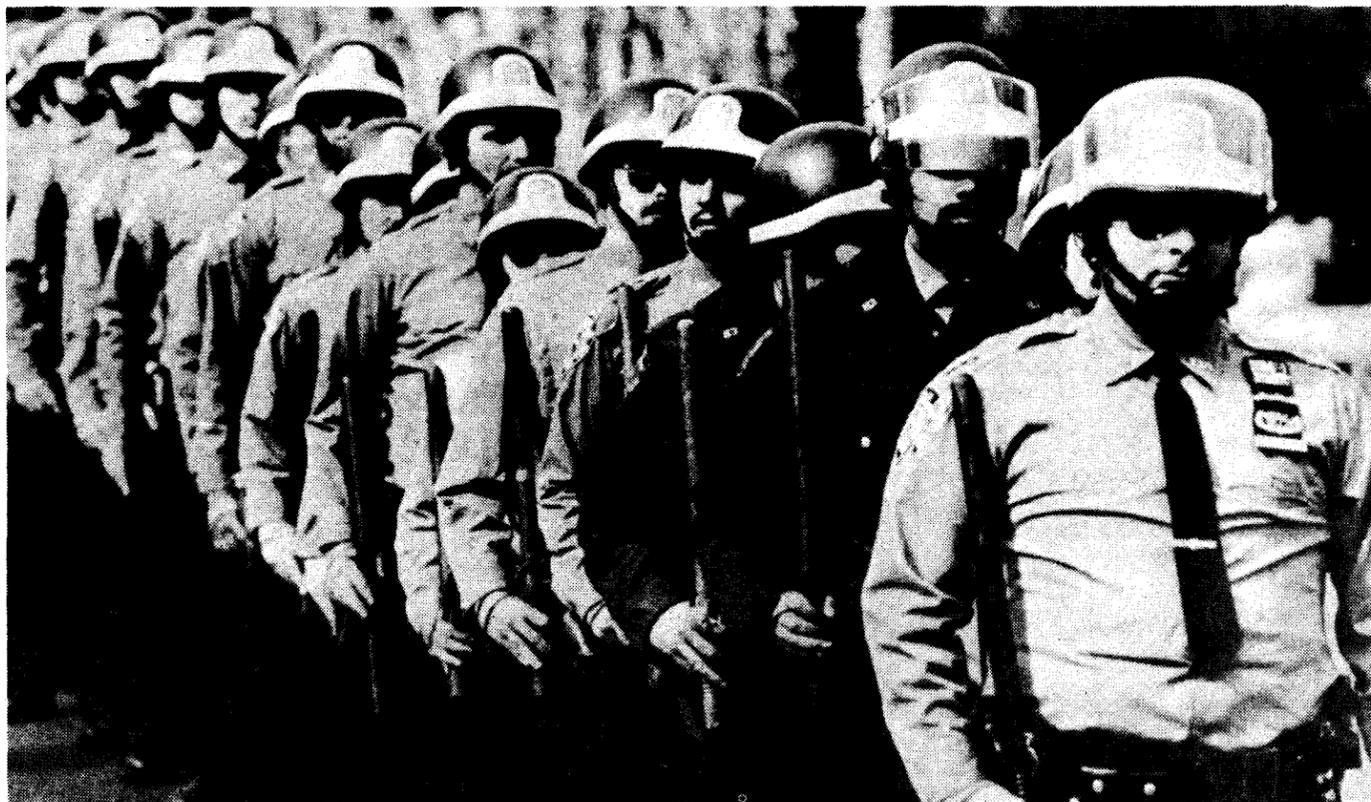
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Red Squad Targets Black Radical "New York Eight"

NYPD Launches "Hot Summer"

For months New York City police commissioner Benjamin Ward has been talking about prospects of a "long hot summer." This was no prediction but a threat, coming from the chief of Koch's killer cops. And now that summer's here, they're carrying it out. After cops shot a black West Indian man in the Bronx June 20, police threatened the angry crowd which gathered in protest, "A lot of you are going to die this summer." Two days earlier, an army of 200 cops conducted a trial run for martial law, cordoning off a two-block area of the Upper West Side and throwing milling pedestrians up against tenement walls where they were searched for drugs. Last week came the *Newsday* revelation of the cops' systematic spying and surveillance of black militants and community leaders. Now the *Daily News* has exposed police preparations for occupying the ghettos and barrios.

The *News* (5 July) broke the story of unprecedented secret "intelligence" and training sessions, involving more than 450 top police brass at eight meetings during May and June. The maneuvers included mock disturbances and "crowd control" demonstrations by mounted police and motorcycle cops in riot gear. In addition, 600 cops from borough task forces received similar training in April. An elite motorcycle unit, the "Night Mobile Response Task Force," is set up to roar into any neighborhood. Most ominously, police spies singled out the radical black nationalist group, the New York Eight, distributing their photos and rap sheets to 75 precincts in NYC! In a racist vendetta launched by the



Biggart/City Sun

Koch's killer cops mobilize to bust heads in black, Hispanic ghettos.

videotaped by the Police Intelligence Division's "black desk." Black commissioner Ward heatedly denied the charge, but admitted a surveillance unit is tracking the New York Eight. So it's no "desk" but an entire war room! Ward also confirmed that plainclothes cops are regularly attending meetings in the black community, taping and taking pictures, but that doesn't constitute

1912, was known for many years as BOSSI (Bureau of Special Services and Investigation). In the '60s the Red Squad placed an agent named Eugene Roberts among Malcolm X's bodyguards. Columnist Murray Kempton wrote in *Newsday* (3 July):

"The only worthwhile information Roberts found to relay on Malcolm X was that his enemies were about to shoot him, a piece of news that BOSSY took with such frozen tranquility that, when the assassins rose up on schedule that Sunday, there wasn't a cop in or near the Audubon Ballroom to inhibit them."

In 1969 Roberts was instrumental in the indictment of the Panther 21 on fanciful frame-up charges of conspiring to blow up the Bronx Botanical Gardens and Macy's among other targets! They were acquitted, but not before spending two years in prison while the NY Panther organization was dismantled.

During the Panther 21 trial, the vast scope of the COINTELPRO/BOSSI infiltration, provocation and entrapment emerged. As a result of a lawsuit filed in 1971 by civil rights attorney Barbara Handschu, the cops were finally ordered in September 1986 (!) to release over a million dossiers compiled by the supposedly dismantled Red Squad. The "Handschu agreement" also set up a special panel which must approve police spying on political groups. This "watchdog group," comprised of two high-ranking police officials and a former federal judge, approved the surveillance of the New York Eight. Whatever they call it, the Red Squad is alive and well and terrorizing New Yorkers.

"Terrence Killing Is Murder"

The cops claim that Terrence Keane was killed in a struggle over a cop's gun after his car sideswiped a police vehicle. They're lying. The June 20 killing stunned the north Bronx community, a working-class Italian and West Indian area near Mount Vernon. An eyewitness told *WV* she saw the two cops, one

on either side of the car, beating Keane with nightsticks: "Terrence never came out. The only time he came out is when they pulled his body out of the car." Black state assemblyman Larry Seabrook asked Ward the obvious question, in a letter released at a June 24 NAACP press conference outside the 41st Precinct: "How was Mr. Keane able to struggle with two officers on either side of the vehicle while Mr. Keane lay across the front seat?"

Predictably, the police found the killing "in the boundaries of department guidelines." But the truth was spray-painted on the sidewalk at the corner of White Plains Road: "Terrence Killing Is Murder." The night Keane was killed, West Indians poured into the streets; tires burned and cops clubbed people, trying to stop them from talking to the press. One Jamaican woman told *WV* she asked the cops what had happened and was answered with a nightstick. She shouted back, "Do you think this is South Africa? I guess that's what you want to implement here. But we'll fight just like they do." The stepped-up police presence and the fallout from the cops' wanton killing has exacerbated racial tensions in an area which had a fair degree of integration.

Things are so bad that Yankees' boss George Steinbrenner felt he could go on national TV and call his chief accountant "black boy"! Bigot Steinbrenner took his cue from the cops. In one recent incident, Andrew Kaufman, a white English professor at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, saw a cop beating two blacks at the Columbus Circle subway station on April 1. "I began taking notes when I saw the policeman hit a man in the head with his radio," he said. Before that the cop slammed the head of one of the men against the wall and kicked his foot out from under him. Three plainclothes transit cops saw Kaufman taking notes, called him "trash" for sympathizing with blacks, arrested him and turned him over to the NYPD who held him for 48

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WV Photo

June 11—Labor and community protest at Harlem Hospital against vicious cop attack on black doctor.

FBI/NYPD three years ago, the group was rounded up and held in South Africa-style "preventive detention," but the jury threw out the case. So now the cops have them on a hit list, *setting them up for the kill*, just as the FBI's COINTELPRO operation called to "neutralize" black leaders in the '60s and '70s. Also targeted were black lawyers C. Vernon Mason and Alton Maddox, and the Revs. Al Sharpton and Calvin Butts.

Newsday (1 July) had already reported that black activists in the city were being tape-recorded, photographed and

"files," he said. And you don't even have to go to a meeting to get on the cops' list. All you need is a radio and a phone. *Newsday* reported that the NYPD had been monitoring call-in talk shows on black radio station WLIB, where protests against police brutality are frequently discussed. Now Ward says this was "stupid" and has been stopped. "Stupid" only because it was discovered.

Ward defended the use of cop infiltrators: "The Police Department has always done that," he said. The cops have a long history of spying, all right. The NYPD Radical Squad, founded in

For Labor/Black/Hispanic Defense Against Racist Terror!

New York Spartacist Forum

FOR INTERNATIONAL CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE!

A Spartacist League forum, "For International Class-Struggle Defense!" held June 19 in New York City gave a taste of what Lenin meant when he wrote that a revolutionary party must be a "tribune of the people." Speakers at the forum were Reuben Shiffman, co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee; Judy Zimmet, of the Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund; Berta Langston, of the Committee to Defend Michael Warshawsky and the Alternative Information Center; Wadiya Abu-Jamal, wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and outspoken supporter of MOVE who has been on death row for five years in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania on frame-up charges; and Lisa Davidson of the Spartacist League speaking in defense of the Vietnamese Revolution.

Ed Kartsen, Spartacist candidate for Borough of Manhattan president in the 1985 NYC elections, underlined in his remarks during the discussion the importance of bringing together "such a diverse group of people—from those who are here to talk about the Vanunu case as well as the MOVE cases—supporting a defense which comes under one umbrella. This is particularly important in this city where Farrakhan and Koch want to set black and Jew against each other. It's particularly important in the United States where you have a black Democrat in bloc with the Ku Klux Klan, such as Andrew Young and the heads of the KKK and



New York City, June 19—Reuben Shiffman of the Partisan Defense Committee speaks at Spartacist forum. Seated, from left: Frank Hunter, Judy Zimmet, Berta Langston, Wadiya Abu-Jamal, Lisa Davidson.

Nazis, working within the Democratic Party. This meeting is a testimony to the need to unite across race lines the entire struggle of the oppressed against imperialist war."

Certainly there are many sinister agencies of various governments, from the Mossad to the FBI, who would have liked to see that this meeting never hap-

pened. A team of union members and SL supporters served as ushers to ensure the democratic rights and safety of all those in attendance. In the days before the forum we heard that the so-called "Bolshevik Tendency" was trying to organize a "contingent" against the meeting. This dubious outfit of embittered quitters from the SL has staged a

series of provocations against our public meetings, including coming with a clanking "tool kit." When the BT contingent showed up at this forum and were told that they would be searched before being admitted to the meeting, they refused to attend.

We print below edited excerpts from speakers at the forum.

Frank Hunter, Forum Chairman

Certain cases shape and condition entire periods of history. A defining case for the communist movement was that of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a member of the French general staff who, on October 15, 1894, was framed up, convicted and imprisoned on Devil's Island for charges of high treason—spying for the Germans—in a wave of anti-Semitism that swept France. There were many French socialists who refused to defend Dreyfus on the grounds that it was just a squabble amongst the bourgeoisie. Others, both in the socialist movement and the radical bourgeois movement, not only defended Dreyfus but won his freedom from Devil's Island. As Lenin counseled in *What Is To Be Done?*, communists must be "able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects." As Trotskyists, the Spartacist League takes this position as its own.

Judy Zimmet, Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund

Mordechai Vanunu is the courageous Israeli nuclear technician who now faces the death penalty in Israel for his spectacular exposure of the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal. (See "Freedom for Mordechai Vanunu!" WV No. 429, 29 May, which features an interview with Judy Zimmet.)

I would like to thank the Spartacist League for their support right from the



Judy Zimmet

beginning. Also, your group has ventured into territory that other people do not want to dare approach. You're supporting an issue that is very important, that deals with principles, and from my personal experience I have found the way the world works through my involvement with trying to help Motti [Mordechai Vanunu]....

Motti is currently in isolation and he is being charged with espionage, treason and the passing of secrets to an enemy at time of war. These are trumped-up charges. His main hope right now is that he would like an open trial. However, the Israeli government wants to keep everything closed. Since

Motti can't be here, I'd like to read to you a few passages from his letter, number 20, from May 19:

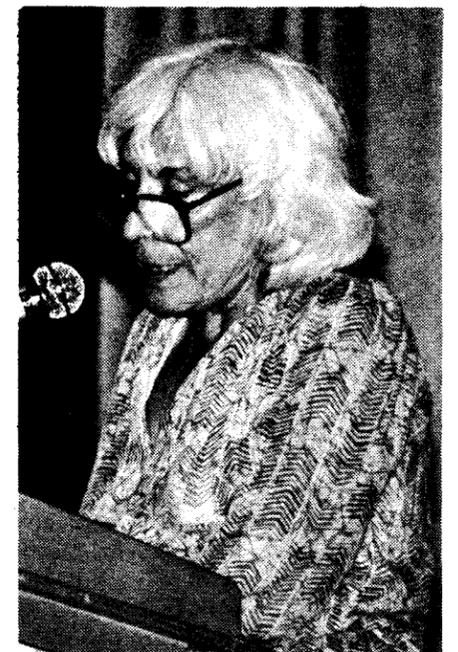
"I can blame this government, not as they want to blame me. I blame them that they are the traitors on this country, on human beings, against international laws and I can prove it in the trial. And I can justify what I did. I am not stupid. If I was not sure for what I did I would not have done it. Now the people here, they concentrate on my life and not on the nuclear subject and that's what the Shin Bet [Israeli secret police] wants. ... I did what I believe is good to do for peace and safety on this earth. I'll be free and I can continue my life and my best to help human beings. This country, they believe in power and war. They want to kill more and more. By this blood they convince themselves that the whole world is against them."

Berta Langston, Committee to Defend Michael Warshawsky and the Alternative Information Center

The Alternative Information Center was closed down in a Gestapo-style raid by the Israeli police last February in Jerusalem. Michael Warshawsky, the Center's director and a prominent Israeli leftist, faces up to 23 years in prison on outrageous charges brought under the draconian "Emergency Defense Regulations" and the "Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance."

The Alternative Information Center in Israel is a Jewish and Arab collective that regularly puts out a biweekly newspaper called *News From Within* in order to call the world's attention to the kinds of oppression that the Israeli state was inflicting on the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. When the Alter-

native Information Center was raided, the police seized all the equipment, confiscated it, sealed the premises and arrested six members of the staff. Although five were released within 48 hours, Michael Warshawsky, who is the director, was held for two weeks in soli-



Berta Langston

tary confinement. Since this was the first time such an act had been taken against a Jew, there was protest within Israel.

The initial charges were that they were terrorists. It was a complete figment of one Shin Bet officer's testimony. The charges now against Warshawsky include rendering typing services to a prohibited organization!

It's become evident that the Center was closed down because it was a vital source of information. For example, a week before the raid the Alternative Information Center held a demonstration, distributed and circulated a petition, called press conferences about Vanunu. It would not have hit the Israeli press at that point otherwise.

Wadiya Abu-Jamal

Ona MOVE and good evening. Both Mumia and I thank the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee for inviting me here today and



WV Photo

Wadiya Abu-Jamal

also those of you who came out for the information. The theme of tonight's gathering is to concentrate on how this corrupt empire is causing mayhem all over the world. But as Mumia often says, "It's only one earth." If I were to ask you to name a town where the state has murdered 300 people, what would you answer? Belfast, Soweto, many others? Then why not the "City of Brotherly Shove," Philadelphia? Consider this: between 1971 and 1981 the cops in Philly shot 700 people. In that same ten-year period, 300 of these people died

as a direct result of that campaign of terror. Three hundred people, just think of that incredible number—85 percent were blacks and Puerto Ricans, mostly blacks.

On December 9, 1981, Philadelphia cops tried to add my husband's name to their deadly roll call. He became one of the 700 shot, but thank god, not one of the 300 killed. And because they failed in the street, they took it to the next phase—the courts. The same courts that my husband spent his professional life exposing. The same courts that have never, ever convicted one cop for literally murdering hundreds of people—poor folk. Because Mumia fought and still fights for his alleged constitutional rights to select his own jury, to conduct his own defense, in his own way, he was expelled, ejected, removed from these courts.

In Philadelphia, with cops on the take, judges on the take, a mayor stained with mass murder, politicians neck-deep in scandal, where is a just man to be found? Who will act in a just way? Remember, Philadelphia: 300 people killed—not one arrest of a cop for murdering ever. Remember, Philadelphia: nine MOVE people jailed for over 100 years each, allegedly for killing one cop. Is this justice? Remember, Philadelphia: at least eleven men, women and babies bombed and burnt to death—not one cop or politician charged with these murders. Is this justice? Remember, Philadelphia: Mumia Abu-Jamal shot, beaten, both on the streets and in the hospital, sentenced to death while innocent of the crime he was accused of by this system of mass murder and mayhem.

Is this justice? I say no! I say, hell no! I say the only justice we can find is the justice we can fight for. I say true justice is organizing to return Mumia to his family and his role as the revolutionary journalist he is. Mumia was the spokesman for the oppressed, the outcast, the coatless, the homeless, victims of state terror, the rebels against this system of insanity, the people trampled in the dust by this rotten system. Yes, Mumia was the voice of the voiceless. So let us struggle with Mumia as though it were our



UPI

Philadelphia, 8 August 1978: 600 cops lay siege to MOVE house (above). Black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal (right) is on death row in racist frame-up. For his courageous exposure of kangaroo court trials of MOVE, he himself was framed on charges of murdering a cop. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal—Free all the MOVE prisoners!

Revolutionary Worker



very own struggle, for truly it is. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and all political prisoners!

Lisa Davidson, Spartacist League

We're here tonight to speak out in defense of the victims of the organized repression of the capitalist state. An entire people, the Vietnamese, were victims of this repression, and for 40 years fought a heroic battle against the French, the Japanese and finally the American imperialists. Today, 12 years after their victory, they're still imprisoned in desperate poverty, a legacy of those long years of imperialist war. Today Vietnam is reportedly the fourth poorest country in the world. There is a deliberate policy on the part of imperialism and its allies to bleed Vietnam white, a vindictive embargo, continual hostile military encirclement and attack—China from the north acting as imperialism's proxy, and in Kampuchea Vietnamese military forces stand between the Cambodian people and the genocidal maniac Pol Pot.

The fear of another Vietnam permeates the ruling class, the fear of popular opposition to a Central American invasion and especially the fear of the effect of an invasion on the combat troops who are so heavily black and Hispanic. Today the reformist left on Central America echoes the view of the ruling class with their slogan "No More Vietnams." We hail the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution as our victory, as the victory of those everywhere who oppose injustice and class exploitation.

Reuben Shiffman, Co-Chairman, Partisan Defense Committee

The causes that we rally for tonight certainly exemplify the Reagan years. Eight rotten years of social reaction at home, fueled by an imperialist war drive abroad. In this deeply racist country, the MOVE bombing stands out as bearing the signature of the Reagan years. We are honored to have provided a plat-

form for their grief and their righteous anger immediately after this hideous crime.

Mordechai Vanunu exposed not just the existence but the massive scale of Israel's Doomsday Machine, which targets not only every Arab capital but the USSR itself. Vanunu's exposure underlines the urgency and provides perhaps a little more time for the international working class to disarm the capitalist rulers before they plunge us all into thermonuclear annihilation. All humanity owes this man a debt of gratitude. We hail his courage and applaud those—like Michael Warshawsky—who have come to his defense inside the Zionist fortress. Which I might add is not easy. Although separated by two continents and an ocean, the cause of this Sephardic Jew who converted to Anglicanism and the black non-conformists of MOVE are one!

While favoring every effort in the courts on their behalf, we cannot leave their fate to the repressive institutions of the bourgeois state. What is needed to win the freedom of Vanunu, Ramona Africa, Mumia and all of the MOVE prisoners and all of the victims of racist terror is an international campaign of mass protest which brings to bear the power of the organized labor movement. The Partisan Defense Committee stands in the tradition of the International Labor Defense, founded by James P. Cannon in 1925. It fused the Wobblies' tradition of militant class-struggle non-sectarian defense with the internationalism of the Bolshevik Revolution, a revolution not just made for the Russians and the oppressed peoples of the tsarist empire, but for the workers and oppressed of the world.

The ILD together with the International Red Aid rallied millions from Shanghai to San Francisco for Sacco and Vanzetti, for revolutionaries subjected to white terror in Eastern Europe, for besieged Nicaragua when the U.S. Marines went in in the late '20s. The PDC and SL defense work has been forged in a hard period, not unlike the

continued on page 10



Landau/Jerusalem Post



Arad/Newsweek

Mordechai Vanunu gagged by Israeli police on way to Jerusalem court (above). Vanunu faces death penalty for exposing Israeli government's giant nuclear arsenal. Motti wrote: "I did what I believe is good to do for peace and safety on this earth."

Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

(continued from page 1)

workers? And if workers can elect their managers, they may demand to elect the higher-ups as well.

Thus, the Gorbachev regime is permitting and even encouraging dissent and criticism of the status quo while introducing economic policies detrimental to the workers' material interests and repugnant to their collectivist and socialist consciousness. That creates an explosive combination which can blow away the parasitic Kremlin bureaucracy and restore the Soviet Union as a bastion of workers democracy and vanguard of world socialist revolution.

[Subheads in the following document are by *Workers Vanguard*.]

"The Russian Question and Gorbachev"

The paralysis of the Reagan regime parallels and to some degree interacts with the emergence of a new, highly competent and reform-minded leadership in the Soviet Union. In the media and American bourgeois political circles the contrast is made between the

bor discipline through anti-alcoholism/anti-absenteeism campaigns as well as widening wage and income differentials. *Three*, Gorbachev has expressed a strong desire to improve relations with Western (and Japanese) imperialism, indicating a willingness to make greater concessions than his predecessors in the Kremlin, especially to secure arms control.

The Gorbachev regime is not an aberrant development in the Soviet Union. Rather it is a response to the mounting *objective* pressures upon the Soviet bureaucracy since the mid-1970s, centrally matching the massive military buildup of U.S. imperialism, during a period of *decelerating* economic growth. Additionally, the Gorbachev regime reflects the recrudescence of a Soviet intelligentsia both overlapping but also to some degree alienated from the bureaucracy.

Gorbachev, like Andropov before him, has sharply condemned the stultifying complacency and fatuous self-congratulation as well as the rampant corruption and nepotism of the last Brezhnev years. These attitudes in part reflected the genuine accomplishments of the first decade of the Brezhnev era. Between 1965 and 1975 the Soviet



Raymer/National Geographic

Soviet people have achieved a dramatic rise in living standards since devastation of World War II, but in recent years economic growth has slowed.

link of the economy.

For the past decade and a half, switching to *intensive* economic growth, through retooling and modernizing the existing industrial plant, has been a standard theme in official Soviet economic pronouncements. However, this confronts a fundamental obstacle in the *microeconomic effects of bureaucratic parasitism*. Managers routinely hoard labor and waste raw materials, sacrifice quality to meet the quantitative plan targets, understate actual capacity and resist innovation and risk-taking. No less a debilitating effect of bureaucratic rule is the workers' slack attitude toward labor discipline, captured in the joke common throughout the Soviet bloc: we pretend to work and they pretend to pay us.

At a time when resources were needed to modernize the aging Soviet industrial plant, the Kremlin leadership sharply cut back the rate of investment to match the rapid U.S. military buildup under Carter and Reagan. The planned growth of investment fell from 7 percent a year in the early '70s to 2 percent a year in the first half of the 1980s. However, the Soviet Union clearly could not continue to maintain its military strength at the cost of economic stagnation.

From the standpoint of the Soviet bureaucracy, there are only three alternatives. One is to sharply cut back living standards to create an additional surplus for both investment and military spending. No element of the bureaucracy has to date advocated or apparently contemplated such a policy. Two is to reduce military spending. There appears to be a consensus within the Soviet leadership that a major reduction depends upon "arms control" agreements with the West. Hence, the Kremlin, especially under Gorbachev, makes this its primary aim in dealing with Washington and the other NATO capitals. The third alternative is to increase labor productivity by one means or another.

Andropov, during his short period of leadership, attempted this not through structural changes in the economy but through purging especially corrupt and incompetent managers and officials and by countering slack work discipline through anti-alcoholism/anti-absenteeism campaigns. Such policies have been credited for the moderate improvement in Soviet economic growth over the last few years, but the economic effects of such campaigns are inherently limited and short-term.

The anti-alcoholism campaign ex-



Turnley/Newsweek

Soviet leader with rabid warmonger Reagan. Gorbachev's pipe dream: peace with imperialism.

lazy, ineffectual and dull-witted Reagan and the energetic, able and highly intelligent Gorbachev. More substantively, significant sections of the American bourgeoisie and its allies believe Reagan incompetent to negotiate advantageously with Gorbachev, who appears decidedly more willing than his predecessors in the Kremlin to make major concessions to imperialism for the sake of "peaceful coexistence."

Under the watchwords *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring), the two-year-old Gorbachev regime has effected dramatic changes in the Soviet Union. From the White House basement to cafeterias in Moscow factories, people are asking: what does it all mean, where is Russia going?

Schematically, the current developments in the Soviet Union can be broken down into three major components, which Gorbachev and his supporters regard as integrally linked. *One*, there is a genuine *liberalization* of political and intellectual life marked by an outpouring of criticism and dissent within both the bureaucracy and intelligentsia; the relaxation of censorship and publication of long-suppressed works; the freeing of some political prisoners (there weren't many); renewed attacks on the historic crimes of Stalin; and a purge of the bureaucracy, including at the highest levels, for corruption and other violations of legality. *Two*, there is a strenuous effort to accelerate economic growth by increasing the rate of investment and by strengthening la-

Union simultaneously achieved a rough strategic nuclear parity with the U.S., which was bogged down by the Vietnam War, and increased the living standards of its citizens by around 50 percent. Additionally, the Kremlin was able to massively subsidize East Europe, Cuba and various Third World client states.

Behind the Economic Slowdown

Beginning in the mid-1970s things began to go badly for the Soviet bureaucracy. U.S. imperialism partly recovered from the effects of the Vietnam War and began a major military buildup aimed at restoring nuclear first-strike capability. At the same time, the Soviet Union was experiencing a sharp decline in economic growth. The period 1977-1982 marked the worst economic performance in the post-World War II history of the USSR.

Historically, the growth of Soviet industrial development has been what Western bourgeois economists call *extensive* growth, constructing new factories and increasing the labor force to match. During the 1970s, 80 percent of Soviet industrial investment went into new construction compared to only 50 percent in the U.S. By the early 1970s the Soviet Union (except for the Central Asian republics) began to experience a serious labor shortage. Drawing workers from the countryside into the industrial workforce only further weakened agriculture, the weak



Yevgeni Khaldei

Red Army liberated Europe from nightmare of Nazi occupation. Soviet soldiers hoist red flag from Reichstag, Berlin, May Day 1945.

presses more than simply economic calculation on the part of the Kremlin leadership. There is a genuine concern about the moral debilitation of Soviet society. Within the Communist Party, including its higher ranks, there are ascetic Communists (Andropov and Mikhail Suslov were notable) who willfully do not drink or collect fancy foreign cars like Brezhnev did. Such attitudes are shared and appreciated by a wide spectrum of the intelligentsia.

Resurgence of the Intelligentsia

Gorbachev's new course is more than a conjunctural response by the Soviet leadership to increasing pressure from imperialist militarism amid mounting economic difficulties. It also reflects the changing *social environment* in which the bureaucracy itself exists. After the Bolshevik Revolution, Stalin's purges and the Hitlerite invasion, there has re-emerged in Russia a substantial intelligentsia with considerable social weight. The technical intelligentsia wants to modernize the country even if this entails driving the workers harder and making the concessions necessary to secure economic cooperation with Western capitalism. The intelligentsia resents the philistinism of the typical party boss and is repelled by the drabness of official culture. They are embarrassed and also perhaps envious that leading artistic figures (e.g., Brodsky, Baryshnikov, Rostropovich) emigrated to the West. Gorbachev has set out to overcome the alienation by the apparatchiks of the intelligentsia, including among elements of the "dissidents" and émigrés.

While there is presently no known tendency within the Soviet intelligentsia which aspires to revolutionary Marxism, the present intellectual ferment and openness could lead elements of the intelligentsia back to authentic Bolshevism. In this respect the most positive aspect of *glasnost* for us is the *critical re-examination* of Soviet history. "There should be no forgotten names or blanks either in history or in literature," Gorbachev stated last February. There has been a spate of new and previously suppressed books and films about the crimes and failures of Stalin. Even more significant is the renewed attention to the old Bolshevik leaders killed by Stalin. A play about the treaty of Brest-Litovsk scheduled to open in Moscow, presenting Trotsky and Bukharin as historical figures—i.e., as leaders of the Communist Party—constitutes clear repudiation of the Moscow Trials' shameful fabrications. Lenin's Testament has been publicized for the first time (although it has long been available in the *Collected Works*). The new edition of the Soviet encyclopedia *The Great October Socialist Revolution* to be published next fall will include for the first time such figures as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Radek.

Gorbachev and his supporters have denounced Trotskyism not as a dis-



Bolshevik Revolution gave power to the working class. Putilov factory workers elect delegates to Petrograd Soviet, 1920.

guised form of counterrevolution but as ultraleftism. Thus intellectuals who consider themselves to the left of Gorbachev, especially on international questions, may well be drawn to Trotskyism as they are given to understand it.

Potential for Worker Resistance

While Gorbachev's course has been generally and warmly welcomed by the Soviet intelligentsia, the working class has been far from enthusiastic if not outright distrustful. And, for good reason. Before Gorbachev took power in the Kremlin in 1984, there was much speculation in the West that he would introduce sweeping market-oriented reforms along the line of Kadar's Hungary and Deng's China. Gorbachev himself has spoken of the need for "radical" and even "revolutionary" changes in the economy. However, to date the economic changes have been quite modest, far less significant than those introduced by Brezhnev/Kosygin after they ousted Khrushchev in the mid-'60s. The main economic changes thus far have been making legal and therefore taxable individual and family entrepreneurship (e.g., handymen, taxi drivers); granting the 20 industrial ministries and over 70 industrial associations and large enterprises the right to conduct foreign trade; and most recently widening income differentials between workers and technical intellectuals, and reintroducing piece rates, only now based upon quality.

While modest in scope, the *direction* of these economic changes is toward greater dependence upon market competition. Within the framework of Stalinism there is an inherent tendency toward economic decentralization as an *alternative to workers democracy*. Since



Kamaz truck factory near Moscow: last December workers protested against cuts in their bonuses due to their managers' production incompetence.

managers and workers are not subject to the discipline of soviet democracy, a section of the bureaucracy sees subjecting the economic actors to the discipline of the market as the only answer to the Soviet Union's serious economic problems.

A leading Soviet manpower expert, Vladimir Kostakov, maintains that layoffs of redundant workers are necessary to improve labor productivity. The Gorbachev regime itself identifies more rapid economic growth with increasing inequality. A recent television program presented an imagined debate between a young Gorbachev reformer and an older, conservative apparatchik. The latter argued that things aren't that bad and then said, in any event, "People would prefer to live equally in poverty, rather than unequally in wealth." Many workers are bound to ask, why can't we have *both* wealth and equality as is promised us by our country's official socialist doctrine?

Gorbachev's *perestroika* not only goes against the immediate material interests of most workers but also affronts their deep reservoir of collective feeling. At the same time, the regime's call for *glasnost* permits a degree of organized dissent against

official policies. Thus last December workers at the Kamaz truck plant east of Moscow protested against cuts in production bonuses, arguing that they were being penalized for the faults of management. The present situation in the Soviet Union is probably more favorable for the emergence of an *independent* workers movement than at any time since the 1920s.

Prague Spring 1968, Moscow Spring 1987

In its internal dynamics the present situation in the Soviet Union bears a resemblance to the 1968 Prague Spring. (Perhaps it is more than a biographical accident that Gorbachev's roommate at Moscow University in the early 1950s was a young Czech Communist, Zdenek Mlynar, who later became one of the leading architects of the Prague Spring.) After a period of economic stagnation, there was a linkage between a section of the Czechoslovak intelligentsia and a modernizing section of the bureaucracy against the old-time Stalinist apparatchiks, secret policemen and trade-union functionaries. There were proposals to close uneconomic plants and to make labor more plastic.

Initially, the Czech workers, through their bureaucratized trade unions, *opposed* the Dubcekite reformers since they did not want labor to be plasticized. They were satisfied drawing down a not very good wage while doing nothing. But then the issue of soviet democracy came into play, and sections of the workers began to realize that the parasites who were sitting on top of their "trade unions" could be dumped, that maybe they could get something fundamentally better than the status quo. There was a historical moment—not

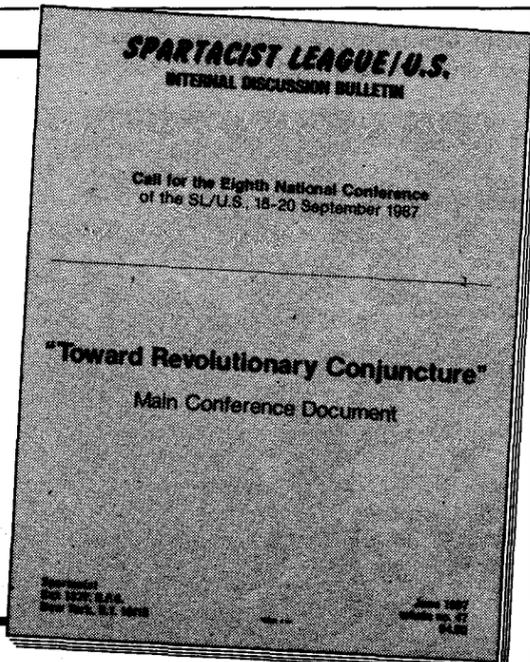
very long—in which the censorship, secret police and the rest of the Stalinist ruling apparatus was embarrassed and paralyzed. It was fear of an incipient proletarian political revolution which caused the Soviet-bloc armies to invade Czechoslovakia and put a stop to the Prague Spring.

Compared to Czechoslovakia in 1968 the divisions within the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy today are far less sharp and the popular response far more passive. Thus the present liberalization could well gradually give way to a conservative restoration, as happened with Khrushchev's "thaw" in the mid-1950s. But there is also in the dynamic of the situation the potential for a Soviet version of the Prague Spring. The Soviet army has been reliable in suppressing working-class unrest (Hungary 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968). However, in the face of an incipient proletarian political revolution within Russia, the army might well split, with some units (both ranks and officers) going over to the soviets, other units supporting the existing Kremlin regime. It would look perhaps more like a civil war, with the armed forces already in place, than a revolution. (A variant of

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You are reading a section of the Spartacist League's draft document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture."

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Gorbachev's Russia...

(continued from page 7)

this was sketched in Craig Thomas' novel *The Snow Falcon*.)

For Soviet Victory in Afghanistan!

The fundamental difference between what is now happening in Russia and the Prague Spring is that the Soviet Union is not Czechoslovakia. Gorbachev's policies are very much directed at improving relations with Western imperialism. For the Kremlin tops are genuinely frightened of nuclear war and in this they reflect the mass sentiment of the Soviet people: a deep-seated, desperate desire for peace. However, the nationalistic and parasitic bureaucracy translates the justified fear of war into a détentist outlook that is groveling, absurd and self-defeating.

Gorbachev has indicated he is prepared to go further to secure "peaceful coexistence" than his predecessors in the Kremlin. Addressing the international celebrities who assembled for the Moscow "no nuke" conference last February, he declared:

"Before my people, before you and before the whole world, I state with full responsibility that our international policy is more than ever determined by domestic policy, by our interest in concentrating on constructive endeavors to improve our country."

Georgi Shakhnazarov, a senior official in the CPSU's Socialist Countries Department, has stated that "political ends do not exist which would justify the use of means liable to lead to nuclear war." The implication of this position is that the Soviet Union should not seriously confront or challenge U.S. imperialism anywhere on any issue.

While Shakhnazarov's is an extreme expression of the Gorbachev line, the perception among the imperialist bourgeoisie, including sections of its far right wing, is that the current Kremlin regime is softer, more capitulatory on international questions than its predecessors. Thus Arthur Hartman, who recently completed a five-year stint as Reagan's ambassador to Moscow, believes:

"The Soviet leadership is preoccupied with their domestic situation. Our relationship is colored highly by the Soviet reactions to what they really have to do internally. And I think basically what they would like to have now is a period of calm. And therefore, there could well be opportunities for serious negotiations in a variety of fields."

—New York Times, 29 March 1987

Above all, Washington aims to pressure the Kremlin to capitulate in those armed conflicts it considers *proxy wars* with Russia: Afghanistan, Vietnam/Cambodia, Angola and Nicaragua. For U.S. imperialism, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, on the southern border of the USSR, is a *key test* of Gorbachev's "sincerity."

For his part, Gorbachev has called Afghanistan "a bleeding wound" and stated: "We should like, in the nearest future, to withdraw the Soviet

troops...." In this same speech, given at the 27th Congress of the CPSU in February 1986, he denounced "revolutionary war" as "Trotskyite" and "Left Communist" heresy. These remarks were presumably directed at those elements in the Soviet bureaucracy less ready to abandon Afghanistan and perhaps also more supportive of the Vietnamese in Cambodia and the Cuban forces in Angola.

The main obstacle to the Gorbachev regime extricating itself from Afghanistan is finding an acceptable, face-saving compromise. The nature of Afghan society and the savage civil war it generated precludes establishing a stable, "nonaligned" regime in Kabul which would honor agreements with Moscow. It is impossible to envision the Finlandization or Austrianization of Afghanistan.

From the standpoint of the protection of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan must be won. It is an organic component of the already assimilated Soviet Central Asia. This is *why* the bureaucracy has found itself, against its will, so deeply involved and so unable to extricate. We must demand, in consonance with all Soviet peoples, that this nettle be firmly grasped. To promise war here for a generation is to conclude that war in a few years. To temporize is to



Lochon/Gamma

Soviet forces land at Kabul airport, December 1979. Spartacists hailed Soviet intervention against Islamic counterrevolutionaries.

protract it and leave endless opportunities for imperialist provocation. It is also important, as Soviet victory is seen as inevitable, that effective means be used to facilitate the return and integration of the millions of the pathetic, murderous, backward emigration in Pakistan. Victory in Afghanistan!

Defend the USSR Through World Revolution!

More generally, Gorbachev's apparently greater willingness to make concessions to imperialism has *not yet been tested*, for the imperialist bourgeoisie has yet to offer anything of value to the Kremlin in return. However, we must warn of the possibility of new deals, even if their concrete nature cannot now be predicted, between Washington and Moscow at the expense of revolutionary and national liberation struggles around the world.



Planeta Publishers Photos

Extend social gains of Bolshevik Revolution to Afghanistan! Woman computer technician in Soviet Central Asia (left); enslaved Afghan women under the veil (right).

From our standpoint, the Gorbachev regime in the Soviet Union represents a highly *contradictory* development. Internally, the combination of *glasnost* and *perestroika* produces a more favorable condition for the emergence of left-wing currents among the intelligentsia and of an independent workers move-

all to give U.S. imperialism capacity for an effective thermonuclear first strike against the USSR. This has been accompanied by a virulent anti-Soviet propaganda campaign, as well as an aggressive policy of military provocation aimed at the Soviet Union.

During this period the SL/U.S. has indeed faced the Russian question "pointblank." Our principled unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, from Afghanistan to Central America to opposition to the capitalist-restorationist Polish Solidarność, has given us a very high profile indeed in this period of disgraceful capitulation by the fake-left to the bourgeoisie's rampant anti-Sovietism. After Reagan & Co. sent over 200 helpless airline passengers to their deaths aboard the Korean Air Lines 007 U.S. spy provocation, the SL/U.S. and international Spartacist tendency waged a virtual campaign of propaganda documenting the U.S. government's lies and incidentally underlining the flinch of the CPUSA. Our forthright Soviet-defensist propaganda on Afghanistan, Poland, Vietnam, KAL 007, "détente," etc. has brought our small French section to the attention of a layer of advanced workers as "the Trotskyists who defend the Soviet Union."

American imperialism's military program aims to break the will of the USSR, extracting counterrevolutionary concessions from the Soviet bureaucracy. However, this program has now brought the U.S. and indeed imperialism internationally to the brink of a major crisis. The present conciliatory tack of Gorbachev and Co. is thus doubly stupid and dangerous—both the best evidence that Gorbachev represents simply another variation of Stalinism, historically anti-revolutionary and committed above all to "socialism in one country," and also an imperative argument for a Soviet section of a reformed Fourth International to lead a proletarian political revolution to defend the gains of October and pursue a course of revolutionary proletarian internationalism. ■



moscow NEWS
24 May 1987

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A BOOK

ON THE HARM DONE BY BLANK WALLS

I USED to give lectures fairly often at the Vladimir Ilyich Plant in Moscow. One day, I was going down the stairs together with my listeners after a lecture and answering their questions. One was about my impressions of the postwar congress of the Communist Party of Germany, which I attended, and about German



No "blank walls" in Soviet history? *Moscow News* (24 May 1987) still removed Trotsky (next to Lenin, saluting) and other Bolshevik leaders from historic photo (right) taken on second anniversary of October Revolution.



L.Y. Leonidov

WORKERS VANGUARD

Young Spartacus

Chapel Hill: 2,000 Say

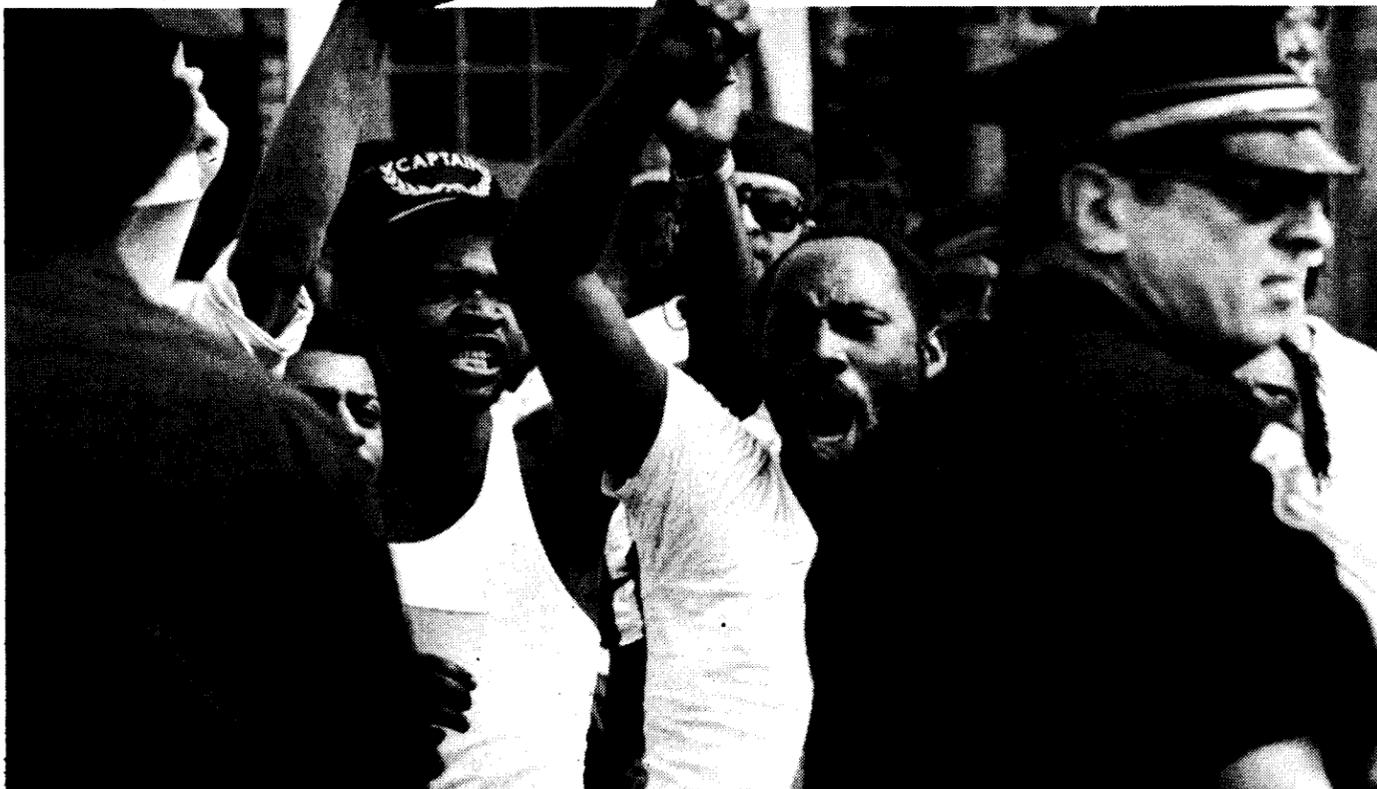
"KKK Has Got to Go!"

North Carolina Students Protest

Two thousand students and young people turned out in force to protest the racist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan as they marched in Chapel Hill, North Carolina on Sunday, June 14. These hooded murderers armed with guns, knives and a stun baton had strutted through nearby Durham earlier that same day where 100 anti-Klan protesters organized a "silent vigil" on the steps of the Durham post office. But in Chapel Hill, despite pleas by community leaders to stay away, an angry, integrated crowd lined the Klan's route. When the KKK scum marched into downtown, hundreds swung in alongside and behind them, jeering and chanting, "Murderers!" "Bigots!" and "Hey, hey, make my day—get out of Chapel Hill, KKK!"

One protester managed to hit "imperial wizard" Virgil Griffin with an egg. The Klan was forced to cut short its "recruitment rally" as the outraged anti-Klan protesters moved in at the end of the march. As the Klansmen scurried into their cars, they were surrounded by protesters who blocked their exit. It was only the intervention of the police, who cleared an alleyway for the Klan, that freed these cowardly "Christian Knights" from the encircling ring of their intended victims.

One participant told *Young Spartacus*: The Klan "were definitely, totally intimidated. A lot of people thought these folks are going to be intimidating themselves, but in this particular situation they were totally intimidated." As the badly shaken Klansmen hightailed it out of town, hundreds of protesters converged on a group of Klan supporters who had been lurking in a parking lot across the street. As the police attempted to rescue the Klan-lovers, a group of young black men began taunting the police (many of whom were black) for



Wendy Walsh/North Carolina Independent

Anti-Klan protesters confront racists in white sheets and their bodyguards in blue along Franklin Street, Chapel Hill.

protecting the Klan. The cops threw one of the protesters to the ground and hauled him off to jail. Two other militants face charges for throwing eggs at the Klan. The Spartacus Youth Clubs demand: Drop the charges against the anti-Klan militants!

Chapel Hill, home of the main campus of the University of North Carolina and known as "Communist Hill" in the backwaters of rural North Carolina, has a reputation for being an oasis of liberalism and tolerance in a deeply reactionary state. The Klan figured that if they could march unmolested through Chapel Hill on their statewide recruitment drive, like-minded racists would join their ranks to terrorize blacks, union organizers and minorities. Beneath its paper-thin liberal skin, Chapel Hill oozes with the rotten legacy of the unfinished business of the Civil War. "Silent Sam," the statue of the Confederate soldier that stands on the UNC

campus, is a daily reminder to black students that they are "second-class citizens" at this elite public university. How apt—and satisfying—that the imperial wizard was humiliated in the shadow of this monument to the slavocracy.

In a school year marked by an unprecedented wave of racist assaults in schools north of the Mason-Dixon line, it's no accident that racist incidents are on the rise at a university known as the "mind of the South." Last year, a gang of racist coeds terrorized a black woman student in Conner dorm, and a black student's door in Morrison was defaced with a Nazi swastika. Less than 9 percent of the UNC student body are minority students. Beverly Greer, a professor who specializes in African studies, is but one of many black faculty members denied tenure in recent years.

North Carolina is one of the most "open shop" states in the country. Ra-

cism and union-busting go hand in hand, and the Klan is on active duty for the textile mill bosses to help smash organizing drives and pit black and white workers against each other. The five Communist Workers Party members who were gunned down in broad daylight by the Klan and Nazis in Greensboro in 1979 were union organizers at Cone Mills and fighters against racism. Under capitalist "justice," their killers never received a jail sentence and are free to stalk the streets today, wreaking racist terror.

As in Radford, Virginia, a smaller college town where 500 students blocked the path of the Klan last September, the protest in Chapel Hill was apparently an unorganized outpouring of anti-Klan indignation. A "peace march" for racial harmony was organized by the black student group to urge students to stay away from

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CHICAGO

Chapel Hill...

(continued from page 9)

confronting the Klan. Marching from the center of campus, students joined townspeople at the First Baptist Church. But even some of these ignored the barrage of advice and joined the 2,000 anti-racists waiting to "greet" the Klan on Franklin Street.

Dale McKinley, a member of the campus group "Action Against Apartheid," told *Young Spartacus* that passers-by got caught up in the militant spirit of the protest. Students clustered around his group's banner reading "KKK-Helms-Reagan Get Out of Chapel Hill-North Carolina-USA." As the Klan marched down the street, the protesters poured off the sidewalks and kept up a din of chants and jeers that drowned out the Klan for the entire duration of the march. The police were unsuccessful in shoving people back onto the sidewalks.



Wendy Walsh/North Carolina Independent

KKK, parading for genocide with banner of slavery and flag of imperialism, was drowned out by students chanting "Make my day—Get out of Chapel Hill, KKK!"

The Klan paraded with both the banner of the Confederacy and the American flag. In the South, the diehard segregationists formerly eschewed the "Yankee" flag. But the stars and stripes is not the emblem of the victorious anti-

slavery forces but the bloodsoaked rag of racist imperialism. Mark Twain's suggestion after the U.S.' bloody suppression of the Philippine insurgency in 1890 that the field of stars in the American flag be replaced with a skull and

crossbones is particularly apt for a flag the murderous Klan is proud to wave.

In the context of a string of racist atrocities across the country, from Howard Beach to Forsyth County, the anti-racist stand by students and others in Chapel Hill is welcome news. *Young Spartacus* would like to hear more from participants in this action. We believe anti-racist youth must be won to support a revolutionary party. Racism is deeply rooted in this country's history. The Civil War was itself a social revolution which ended chattel slavery but did not fulfill the promise of black equality. Another revolution, led by the working class, is required to truly fulfill that promise by smashing the capitalist system. Capitalism in its decay, which has placed in the White House a demonstrated liar on an open program of racist reaction, union-busting and anti-Soviet war, spawns the fascist bands. The Spartacus Youth Clubs want to organize anti-racist activists around a program to put an end to the system which nurtures fascist violence. ■

NYPD...

(continued from page 3)

hours, dragged and beat him in the stationhouse (*New York Times*, 26 June). Kaufman is suing the city for \$24 million.

The police in NYC's ghettos and barrios act like they're in occupied military zones. Meanwhile, they try to divide blacks and Hispanics. The director of the NYPD "Anti-Bias Unit" claims Hispanics are not targets of racial attacks in New York (*El Diario*, 30 June). Yet of 24 people killed by the cops in 1986, twelve were black, nine were Hispanic. Jury selection has begun in the trial of two young Hispanic women charged with "assaulting" a squad of at least nine transit cops last December when the women came to the aid of a friend who was being robbed on the IRT in the Bronx. And on July 5 three Hispanics were brutally beaten by a mob of 20 whites screaming racial epithets in the Ozone Park section of Queens.

With New York City on the edge, the situation cries out for a massive mobilization of the integrated workers move-

ment to put a stop to the racist terror against the black and Hispanic populations. But who will lead such a struggle? Certainly not the wretched pro-capitalist labor "leaders" who may (rarely) pull out the ranks on Labor Day or for toothless anti-apartheid marches, but turn a blind eye to the rampaging racist cops in NYC while chaining the workers to the Democratic Party. And even those black leaders on the cops' hit list are trying to police the ghettos for NYC rulers. Sonny Carson and members of the New York Eight have organized "Black Men Against Crack," whose vigilante squads play into the hands of Reagan's drug witchhunt. Al Sharpton competes with the Guardian Angels on the subways. And the Revs. Calvin Butts and Herbert Daughtry appear on recruiting posters for the NYPD!

In Reagan's America and Koch's New York, a class-struggle leadership is urgently needed to mobilize the social power of labor at the head of all the oppressed to stop the racist terrorists in and out of uniform. Last December following the hideous racist lynching of black worker Michael Griffith in Howard Beach, the SL issued a statement: "Mobilize Labor and Minorities to Stop

Hands off the New York Eight—Stop racist vendetta against black radical group!

New York Magazine



Racist Attacks!" Transit militants called for integrated union defense squads to patrol the streets and fought for the TWU to "take the lead in mobilizing NYC labor in staging a powerful demonstration of opposition to and hatred of the racist killers throughout this city." Today it is more urgent than

ever to forge a fighting unity of the oppressed minorities—a majority of New York City's population—with the social power of organized labor. A multiracial vanguard party must be built to lead the working class to power and sweep out the capitalist system which breeds racist terror. ■

Forum...

(continued from page 5)

period the ILD went through. During the very bitter and historic confrontation between the British miners and the Thatcher government, the PDC in the United States and throughout North America raised over \$23,000 for the miners. And now, in part thanks to the aid we brought to the British miners, they have taken up the case of former Black Panther Geronimo Pratt, who has been robbed of 17 years of his life for serving the cause of the oppressed. Already, I understand, three miners' locals have sent telegrams on his behalf.

Concretely posed by every one of

these issues is the defense of the Soviet Union from U.S. imperialism, the need to return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky in the Soviet Union and throughout the deformed and degenerated workers states. We need a party in this country and internationally to accomplish these goals. We encourage you to work with us in the areas of work where you see a common concern. If you believe that our program and the things we stand for represent the future for a society that you want to live in, an alternative to the barbarism and the threat of nuclear annihilation on this planet, then we encourage you to join with us. For the Rebirth of the Fourth International! *Zur Wiedergeburt der Vierten Internationale!* ■

Haiti...

(continued from page 12)

In response to mounting government repression, the CATH called a general strike for June 22 and 23 based on a series of defensive demands and a call for increasing the minimum wage to \$6 per day. The bourgeois opposition denounced the general strike as "counter-productive" and a "provocation." The wretched Haitian Communist Party opposed the demands of the general strike as "maximalist" and as a distraction from "the most important political problem," namely organizing elections (*Haiti Observateur*, 26 June). But the strike was 90 percent effective. In response the regime ransacked CATH offices and arrested seven of its leaders.

In the last years of "Baby Doc" Duvalier's U.S.-backed dictatorship, while reformists and the bourgeois opposition called vaguely for a "popular government," the Trotskyists of the Spartacist tendency proclaimed, "*A bas Duvalier, pouvoir ouvrier!*" (Down with Duvalier, workers to power!). Events since the tyrant's fall have amply demonstrated that the Haitian masses' lot has not been improved by "Duvalierism without Duvalier." Today a coalition of 57 varieties of "opposition" groups, prominent among them former World Bank official Marc Bazin, is "discussing various combinations of civilians and military officers" as an alternative to the CNG (*New York Times*, 5 July). But the working people

will not be served by another junta beholden to the imperialist bankers and "Tonton Sam."

Haitian workers in the heavily proletarian diaspora, from Montreal to Miami, have played a vital role in organizing the militant CATH. They are also key to forging an internationalist communist vanguard, built on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Such a party would combat illusions in building "socialism" (or even bourgeois democracy) in this dirt-poor half an island. It would extend the struggle to the Dominican Republic, where Haitian sugar cane workers have labored in virtual slavery. And fighting for a reformed Fourth International, it would be part of the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist centers of North America and West Europe. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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Dump Reagan...

(continued from page 12)

its own army, air force, diplomatic agents, intelligence operatives and appropriations capacity." A secret government, certainly, but not run by Oliver North and Fawn Hall. The tracks lead straight to the Oval Office, yet as the Moscow *New Times* (1 June) noted, "the Democrats are bending over backwards not to attack the President." So with His Majesty's "loyal opposition" protecting the Imperial Presidency, the cover-up goes on.

And sensing weakness in the Democrats' knees, Reagan once again gave the finger to Congress by proposing Nixon Watergate crony Robert Bork to replace retiring justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr. on the Supreme Court. Liberal Democrat Kennedy said that "Robert Bork's America is a land in which women would be forced into back-alley abortions, blacks would sit at segregated lunch counters, rogue police could break down citizens' doors in midnight raids, schoolchildren could not be taught about evolution, writers and artists could be censored at the whim of government and the doors of the federal courts would be shut on the fingers of millions of citizens" (*Washington Post*, 2 July). Sounds a lot like present-day America to us. Meese and his crooked "Justice" Department need Bork not only for his reactionary politics but also for his pliant application of the law to the crimes and cronies of the presidency. And let's not forget Chief Justice Rehnquist himself, appointed by that pardoned escapee from multi-felony charges, Richard Nixon, whose portrait still hangs on Rehnquist's private chamber wall. Who believes this man could have anything to do with "law" or "justice"?

Replacing the "moderate conservative" Powell with the gung-ho New Rightist Bork would decisively make it the Reagan/Meese/Rehnquist court, finally tipping the scale in a series of 5-to-4 decisions that have upheld some vestiges of individual rights. The "original intent" crowd want to wind back the clock to the days when slavery was constitutionally sanctioned. And Bork is a living symbol of bonapartist appetites—it was he who carried out Nixon's infamous order to fire Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox in 1973, resulting in the infamous "Saturday night massacre." Ex-Marine Bork was reportedly deeply influenced by the University of Chicago school of "free market" economics as implemented in such "free world" bastions as Pinochet's Chile.

The Reagan gang would love to give a Pinochet-style "shock treatment" to the American judicial and political system. And they certainly won't get much resistance from the cowed Congress. The Democrats just swallowed it when Contragate General Richard Secord blithely announced that "the covert operation was designed to be concealed from Congress." And no one batted an eyelash when North's secretary Fawn Hall blurted out the White House position: "Sometimes you have to go above the written law." Just about everyone (excepting the craven *New York Times*) has concluded that Attorney General Meese's dramatic November 25 press conference was a cover-up to shift the spotlight from Reagan to North. But rather than calling for impeachment, the Democrats only want to put Colonel North in jail for 30 days for buying snow tires with government funds.

Nevertheless, the drawn out Iran/Contragate investigation is taking its toll on the White House, creating a regime crisis for the ruling class. "Reagan's Ability to Lead Nation at a Low," moaned the *New York Times* (28 June). For the first time he is on the defensive, with polls indicating under 30



Reuters

Reagan's "national hero" Oliver North (left) helped plan for military overthrow of constitutional government. Fawn Hall, his secretary, headed White House basement shredding corps.

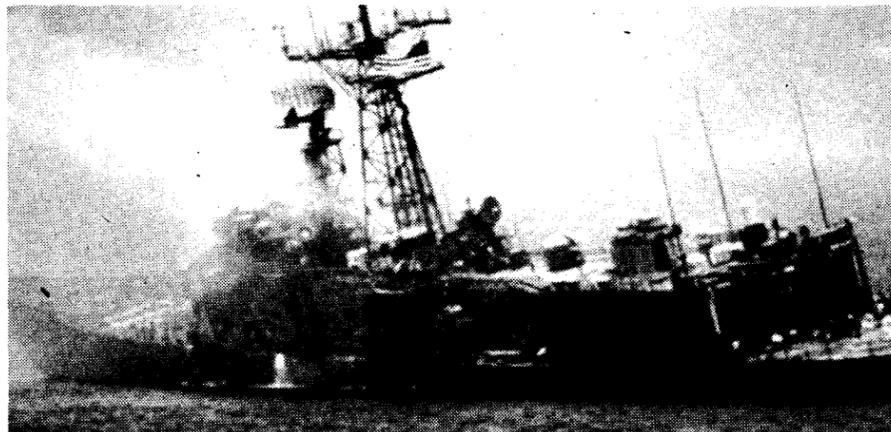


Ficara/Newsweek

percent think he's telling the truth. His "memory lapses and rambling discourses are no longer a source of friendly jokes, but one of concern," the *Times* reported. He even uses cue cards in meetings with Republican Congressional leaders. A Reagan partisan, defending him from the charge of depression, commented lamely: "I even saw him do a cowboy doodle the other day, and I haven't seen him do that in years." *Newsweek* (13 July) commented: "this presidency, already in decline, is now essentially history."

U.S. Up the Persian Gulf?

Yet Reagan is still in the White House, and still commander in chief of the U.S. armed forces; he still has his finger on the nuclear button. It's 19 months to go and counting. Moreover, instead of handing the affairs of state over to the White House chief of staff and serving



U.S. Navy

Crippled frigate USS Stark last May in Persian Gulf: 37 dead seamen are latest victims of Reagan's criminal adventurism in the Middle East.

out his term under a Baker regency, says the *Times*, "Mr. Reagan is using the same kind of confrontational approach he has used in the past." He's daring the Democrats, vetoing the highway bill, nominating Bork, seeking a showdown over the budget. And by sending in the Navy with orders for a hair-trigger response, he's challenging Khomeini's Iran to a shootout in the Persian Gulf. *Newsweek* reports the Democrats' concern that "Reagan might be tempted into military adventurism: historically, the most reliable of all presidential restoratives has been a shooting war somewhere."

Now Reagan has agreed to provide Navy escort for "re-flagged" Kuwaiti oil tankers. The Pentagon isn't exactly enthusiastic. "It would be stretching it to say that the Chiefs were in on the decision, or even asked their opinion on it," a bitter admiral confided to the *New York Times* (29 June). For the last decade, American military planners have insisted that the lesson of the Vietnam debacle is to avoid getting involved piecemeal in a major war lacking clear objectives and without public support. And what does Reagan do? First in Lebanon and now in the Persian Gulf, the White House sends in U.S. forces to act as sitting ducks, on the theory that "projecting power" and "showing the flag" is enough to intimidate the natives. Over the USS Stark fiasco, as one Washington columnist put it, the U.S. showed the flag and they shot it down. Now what?

The Reagan gang is living in a fan-

tasy world. They dream of running the Near East and India like the old British raj and restoring the tsar to the throne of Russia. Last month, after the U.S. first offered Maverick missiles to the Saudis and then backed off in response to Congressional pressures, an exasperated Pentagon "senior official" complained: "Are we going to continue to be engaged east of Suez or are we going to follow the British?" (*New York Times*, 13 June). So what do the ex-Marines running Washington intend to do—establish an American protectorate in Persia, open the Khyber Pass, reconquer the Baluchis and seize Japan?

And they dream of running the U.S. like Pinochet's Chile. We have previously reported the existence of a secret Reagan administration plan, under National Security Decision Directive No. 52, issued on 6 April 1984, calling for proclaiming a state of emergency

ton refuses to face facts, and Reagan & Co. still yearn to invade Nicaragua and "project U.S. power" in murderous local wars that could trigger World War III.

Impeachment Is Not Enough!

The bourgeoisie clearly hopes they can get rid of Reagan through the normal electoral process, but things could come apart long before then. Leave it to the fake "left" to try to resolve the bourgeoisie's problem. The rad-lib *Guardian* (10 June) wants "a mass campaign calling for Reagan's impeachment," in order to "stiffen some congressional spines"—and, by the by, enhance some Democratic election campaigns. Likewise with the ultra-reformist Communist Party USA, which hails the framers of the Constitution for providing checks and balances to "prevent a dictatorial concentration of power." But first prize in electoral cretinism must go to the Internationalist Workers Party, followers of the recently deceased Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno, who proclaim: "Force Reagan, Bush and the Cabinet to Resign!" and "Call Special General Elections Now!" This would be wretched reformism in a parliamentary system like Britain's. In the U.S., with its built-in bonapartism, it is ludicrous: it would be about as easy to organize a socialist revolution.

The workers and oppressed can benefit from this ruling-class crisis only if the moment is seized for sharp class struggle against the years of takebacks and racist attacks. As stated in the draft conference document of the Spartacist League/U.S., "Toward Revolutionary Conjunction":

"With Reagan now discredited and certainly hated the likelihood is that the coming period will see some truly oppressed and disgruntled section of society begin to probe and struggle. Yet if the Reagan administration is in some disarray, the American bourgeois state has neither ceased to exist nor stopped working."

While the reformists seek to channel mass protests back into electoral channels, revolutionaries call to dump Reagan/Meese/Rehnquist and forge a workers party to replace the rule of capital with a workers government. ■



WV Photo

Angry hotel workers strike in New York, 1985. For labor struggle to dump Reagan & Co.: Break with the Democrats—Build a workers party!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Party!

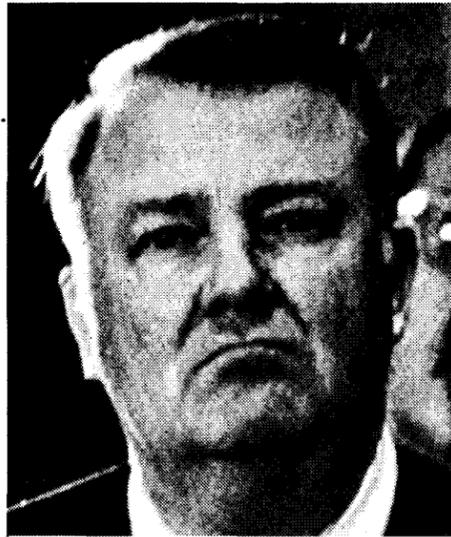
Dump Reagan, Meese, Rehnquist!

JULY 6—He's guilty as hell, even by the lights of the American rulers' own Constitution. Ronald Reagan was at the center of a conspiracy systematically and deliberately thwarting the will of Congress, violating U.S. laws left and right, exporting state-sponsored terrorism, running guns, trafficking in drugs, plotting murder—all in the name of fighting the Soviet "evil empire." Revelations in the Iran/Contra scandal keep piling on the evidence, but as the Congressional hearings tell the tale there's a big hole in the center. This void is supposed to be filled by Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, portrayed by his lawyer as "your ultimate Marine," who "wants to step forward and take the spears in his own chest" in order to save the administration. In other words, a willing fall guy.

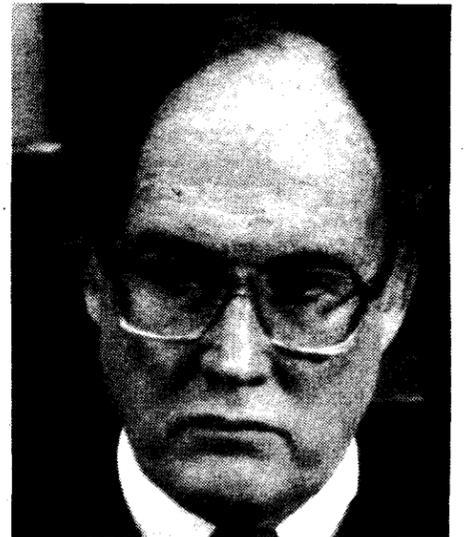
Now, on the eve of North's testimony before Congress, it is revealed that he drafted an elaborate "contingency plan" to impose military rule on the United States. According to an article by *Miami Herald* reporter Alfonso Chardy, "The secret plan called for suspension of the Constitution, turning control of the government over to the



Souza/White House



AP



Regan/Camera 5

Three racist pigs: Reagan, Meese, Rehnquist.

Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), appointment of military commanders to run state and local governments, and the declaration of martial law in the event of such a crisis as nuclear war, violent and widespread internal dissent or national opposition to a U.S. military invasion

abroad" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 July). "Abroad"—like Nicaragua. The plan, drafted in 1984, was part of an executive order to be held within the National Security Council until needed.

"It is not known whether Reagan signed the plan," writes Chardy. Just like it is "not known" if Reagan knew

about the Iran-contra arms ploy—not known to those who don't want to know. Senate investigating committee chief counsel Arthur Liman wrote of a "secret government-within-a-government, operated from the Executive Office Building by a Lt. Col., with

continued on page 11

Down with the Junta—Workers to Power!

General Strike Paralyzes Haiti

JULY 5—For the past two weeks, general strikes have shut down Haiti, and opponents of the ruling junta promise more to come. Facing the most sustained mass protests since the dictator Duvalier fell in February 1986, the army has officially admitted to killing over 20 people and wounding hundreds more. The real toll is much higher. After the National Government Council (CNG) of General Namphy blatantly violated its own "democratic" constitution and outlawed the left-wing Autonomous Federation of Haitian Workers (CATH), the Haitian masses are insistently demanding, "Down with the CNG!" But what shall replace it? The bourgeois "opposition" in Port-au-Prince and the junta's U.S. patrons are haunted by the spectre of revolutionary social struggle that could spread throughout the Caribbean.

The current confrontation resulted

from the rapid organization of the Haitian masses since the fall of Duvalier. Unions have struck for wage increases; the government responded by closing many factories and the HASCO sugar refinery. As IMF "free market" policies destroy the precarious agricultural economy, flooding the country with cheap imported food, peasants have seized and burned truckloads of rice. The army has repeatedly intervened in strikes, and shootings are common. The hated Tonton Macoutes secret police are still active and have even organized their own political party. In this situation of sharpening class antagonism, 15 additional U.S. military advisers arrived in Haiti on May 8 to "train" the army. A young Haitian worker told the *New York Times Magazine* (21 June): "The Duvalierist system was not uprooted. Only the top of its head was cut off."

continued on page 10



Jean-Bernard Diederich

Port-au-Prince: Haitian masses rise up against U.S. puppet regime.