

**For the Unity of China  
Under the Leadership of the Workers!**

# Beijing Massacre— Civil War Looms



AP  
Beijing's Tiananmen Square, June 4: slaughter of student rebels by pro-government troops.

Independent [London]  
Enraged by the killing, the defiant populace torched armored military vehicles.

JUNE 6—Chinese Stalinism has provoked a political revolution that may well spell the doom of this bureaucratic, anti-worker regime. The massacre of students and other protesters by the despised Deng regime has brought China to the brink of civil war. The bloodletting, with victims numbering perhaps in the thousands, did not succeed in intimidating the populace. Defiant and heroic, the rebels marched out of Beijing's Tiananmen Square singing the socialist workers anthem, the *Internationale*. They fought tanks with rocks, iron pipes and firebombs. "This tremendous mass movement shows that the Chinese people still have the same

## Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets Must Rule!

old revolutionary spirit," an old Chinese Communist told American television with evident pride.

All over Beijing, roads are littered with burned-out buses and military vehicles. While the regime proclaimed the students "counterrevolutionaries," there are numerous reports of soldiers brought in to repress them breaking into tears when confronted with the masses' anger. Many of the troops abandoned their trucks and armored personnel car-

riers, some even burned them. There have already been clashes between army units which support the youthful protesters and those which support the decrepit Deng regime. A stream of Red Flag limousines removed leading party figures from Zhongnanhai compound, Beijing's Kremlin. Crowds applauded sympathetic troops as they moved into the city to liberate the seat of the Chinese state from the butchers of Tiananmen Square.

The earlier three-week standoff between student protesters and the regime had something of the character of political theater (including a statue of "the goddess of democracy") and pressure politics. But illusions in peaceful reform, in replacing hard-liners with soft-liners, were buried under the corpses in Tiananmen Square. "Our Government is already done with," declared a young worker as he stood, rock in hand, facing the soldiers that fateful bloody Sunday. But what government will replace the corrupt and murderous Stalinist clique? Only a government based on *workers', soldiers' and poor peasants'*  
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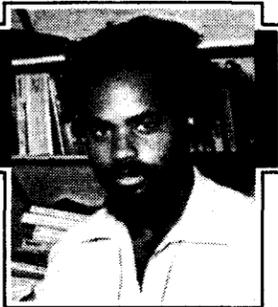
**International  
Communist  
League Launched**



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# From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

## Whose Ox Is Gored?



In this issue, we are pleased to initiate a new feature in WV, a column by Mumia Abu-Jamal, which will appear periodically in this and other newspapers. Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on Death Row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Mumia faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order.

A funny thing happened recently when a Southern State Representative introduced a bill to add a new aggravating circumstance to an existing death penalty statute.

The bill died in committee.

That is News.

When Gallup polls tell us, repeatedly, that nearly 70% of Americans polled support the death penalty, and a group of politicians refuse to enact a law broadening the scope of crimes punishable by death, something is, as they say, in the air.

That "something," by the way, smells pretty rotten.

Even on the heels of the recent *McCleskey* case, where the Supreme Court's majority acknowledged that racial discrimination ("discretion," in the Court's terms) was alive and well in America's cap-

ital punishment schemes, the decision by the Texas legislature to scuttle a bill seeking to broaden its death penalty, gives the clearest possible evidence that death is not a tool to deter crime, but a lever to liquidate the poor, the powerless.

The *Dallas Times Herald*, Feb. 21, 1989 edition, ran a piece, subheaded, "Police... Oppose New Death Penalty."

The article detailed Houston's State Representative Ron Wilson's attempt to introduce a bill making it a capital offense for any peace officer, guard or jailor at a county or state facility to kill a person in custody.

Dallas police called it "unfair."

A top D.A. there opposed the bill, because it "would be like picking on" 'em.

One could probably search the 37 death penalty states in vain for a D.A. who publicly opposes a pro-death bill.

But, then, perhaps it's *this* bill.

A bill making it a capital crime to kill jail detainees would never see the light of day in, say, South Africa.

Did it fare any better in the "land of the free," and "home of the brave"?

Today, well over 1/2 a million people are in this

nation's cages, with more Africans in U.S. jails, than Blacks in South African gaols.

Perhaps this bill may have saved the life of Loyal Garner, the young African father from Louisiana, beaten to death in the Sabine County Jail, in Dec. 1987, whose jailor-assailants were acquitted.

Perhaps such a bill may have saved the life of 27-yr.-old Arnaldo Ortega, a Puerto Rican pummeled to death in the bowels of Jersey's Hudson County Jail, in March 1989, by the infamously racist "Doom Squad."

Then, perhaps not.

History has taught us that it matters little what laws lie written in books, for a system perfracted by racism is still a racist system, its declarations of due process and equality before the law, notwithstanding.

The NAACP Legal Defense Fund's figures for October 1986 show a death row population in Texas of 218.

Of that number, well over 55%, some 122 people, were Black, Hispanic, or Native American. That number has, undoubtedly, risen in the past 3 years, dramatically.

The Lone Star State has decided that its civil servants, even those who kill persons in their custody, will never join that grim number.

From Death Row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, M8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.



### Smash NATO Anti-Soviet Alliance!

Forty years ago, at the onset of the Cold War, the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party exposed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as an imperialist alliance directed against the fundamental gains of the Bolshevik Revolution.



LENIN

The real tip-off on this pact is contained in the speech of another visiting dignitary—Winston Churchill—delivered in Boston four days before the pact was signed. As the climax to his ferocious war-incitation against the Soviet Union, Churchill voiced what is the deepest, if not openly avowed, feeling of all the capitalist rulers in the world. He said: "The failure to strangle bolshevism at its birth and to bring Russia, then prostrate, by one means or another, into the general democratic system lies heavy upon us today."

Thus, it is not merely the present Soviet Union under the police rule of Stalin that is the source of the war-like moves of the capitalist powers. Their mortal hostility flows from their hatred of the Russian Revolution itself, their fear of the Soviet Union as it was in the days of its birth under Lenin and Trotsky....

Indeed, if the imperialists failed to "strangle bolshevism" at its birth, it was not for lack of trying. This "prostrate Russia" of 1917 to 1921, as Churchill describes it, was assaulted by the armies of all the leading capitalist nations, including the United States and Great Britain. The upsurge of their own workers at home prevented at that time the imperialists from wiping out the young Soviet Union in blood.

Instead of being a pact against the alleged "aggression" of the present Stalin regime, the North Atlantic military alliance is in reality the latest and most ominous stage of the long years of planning and preparations to complete successfully the aggression originally launched against the Soviet Union more than three decades ago.

And today, as then, only one force can fail this aggression which is leading directly to a third world war of atomic destruction. That force is the working class of the world.

—*Militant*, 11 April 1949

## Final Appeal for Jalalabad Victims Aid Fund

Since early March, the Cold Warriors in Washington have unleashed the CIA's "holy warriors" in a bloody siege of the Afghan provincial capital of Jalalabad. Now that the heroic defenders of Jalalabad have beaten back the *mujahedin* siege, U.S. imperialism and its Pakistani client state have been thrown into turmoil. On May 25, Pakistan prime minister Benazir Bhutto fired Lt. Gen. Hamid Gul, the head of Inter Service Intelligence, which for the past ten years has served as the CIA's regional quartermaster in doling out *billions* of dollars in high-tech weaponry to the fundamentalist cutthroats. Now Bhutto is coming to the U.S. to discuss a "political solution" with contra-in-chief George Bush. The Spartacus Youth Club at Harvard University has called a demonstration to protest Ms. Bhutto's appearance there on June 8.

In response to an appeal by the Afghan government for a broad campaign of humanitarian assistance, the Partisan Defense Committee and fraternal legal and social defense organizations in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Italy and West Germany under-

took an international campaign under the slogan "No to the veil! Defend Afghan women! Support Jalalabad victims of CIA's cutthroats!" In immigrant communities, at factories, workplaces and union halls, among foreign students, people wishing to express their solidarity with the embattled working people and emancipated women of Afghanistan have donated generously to the campaign. Starting at the massive abortion rights march in Washington, April 9, at May Day events from Barcelona and Copenhagen to Mexico City and Tokyo, over \$37,700 has been raised for the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund.

The siege of Jalalabad has been beaten back, and the international aid campaign has been highly successful. We urge our readers and all defenders of social progress and women's rights to make a final effort to give what they can to aid the civilian victims of the CIA's "freedom fighters." Please send contributions, payable to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013. ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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9 June 1989

Friends of Afghanistan Society



Afghan women mobilize to fight against CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats.

# World Bankers Bleed Poland

# Solidarność/Stalinist Pact Against the Workers

After a humiliating defeat in the June 4 elections, the Polish Stalinist regime has openly appealed for a coalition government with Solidarność. Recognizing Solidarność' "decisive majority" in this "plebiscite," a government spokesman declared: "As a result of this election there arises the issue of responsibility for the Polish state. Somebody has to be responsible for its stability." This is an open statement of political bankruptcy. And what they mean by ensuring "stability" is to clamp down on social struggle in order to pay off the staggering financial debt to the Western bankers. The clerical-nationalist Solidarność leaders have already joined hands with the ruling Polish United Workers Party. But as the consequences of this pact against the workers are being felt, Solidarność itself is beginning to unravel.

Throughout Poland strikers have begun shouting down Lech Walesa, now the country's leading strikebreaker. In Warsaw hundreds of women marched against a new law, pushed by the Catholic hierarchy, which would make abortion punishable by three years in prison. General Jaruzelski praises Adam Michnik, editor of the new pro-Solidarność daily paper, for denouncing the official Communist unions. And the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, where Solidarność originated in 1980, are now slated to be closed down. One section will be leased to an Anglo-Polish capitalist outfit, whose manager declared: "There will be no strike trouble in private yards. We will get the unions out of the yards."

The Polish political world has been turned upside down by the "Round Table" accords signed last March between the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy and the Solidarność "free trade union" bankrolled by the CIA. Eight years ago we branded Solidarność as a company union for the Western bankers. Lech Walesa & Co. hailed Ronald Reagan, sought to dismantle Poland's socialized economy and called for bringing in the IMF, the international bankers' cartel that orders starvation austerity to pay off the foreign debt. Now the Warsaw government has taken up big chunks of this program, in alliance with Solidarność, and Polish workers are paying the price.

The stated basis for the Round Table pact: to create the conditions for "normalizing financial relations with the West." This means shutting down dozens of enterprises, throwing hundreds of thousands of workers onto the streets, selling off state property to private entrepreneurs and foreign multinationals, and doing away with subsidies for food and other necessities. As one of the principal Solidarność negotiators at the Round Table, Bronislaw Geremek, put it, "Not only do we know that the material situation is bad now, but we know that it will certainly get worse" (*Washington Post*, 16 March).

In return for its part in making the material situation get worse, Solidarność was granted jerry-rigged "free elections" to a new, upper house of parliament and 35 percent of the seats in the old Sejm. Significantly, Solidarność'



Walesa and Jaruzelski unite in imposing IMF-dictated "shock treatment" on Polish workers. Silesian copper miners (right) walk out in defiance of government/Solidarność pact.

national campaign manager is a bona fide capitalist, Andrzej Machalowski, while in Warsaw the Industrial Association (a group of private entrepreneurs), as well as the church hierarchy, has a say in choosing Solidarność' candidates.

In any case, all the candidates in this election stand for the International Monetary Fund's *diktat* over Poland. Stalinist managers and Solidarność spokesmen revel in "let them eat cake" rhetoric. Industry minister Mieczeslaw Wilczek, a former bureaucrat turned millionaire businessman, sounds like Margaret Thatcher as he condemns

price subsidies for milk and medicine. Advertising for foreign investment, Wilczek gave an interview in the West German *Der Spiegel* (16 January) proclaiming "Labor in Poland Is Exceptionally Cheap"! And he wants to make it even cheaper, like in Taiwan or South Korea.

While Polish intellectuals and entrepreneurs are trying to launch their parliamentary careers, Polish workers are desperately fighting for their economic survival. The past few months have seen a rash of strikes in defiance of the Jaruzelski/Walesa pact. "The Round Table

won't feed us," chanted striking women textile workers in Lodz. At Warsaw's huge Huta Warszawa steel mill, Walesa implored striking workers: "I beg you, let's put these things off for a moment." Early last month 20,000 copper miners walked off, and went back only after winning a 30 percent wage increase and higher bonuses (of course, these gains will be rapidly eroded by the near 100 percent a year inflation devastating the Polish economy).

The workers are beginning to recognize that Walesa & Co. are traitors to their class. Thus, last March striking postal workers formed their own, independent union and declared:

"Solidarity does not identify with the interests of striking work forces. Driving at an accord with the government, Solidarity is losing the traits of a union and turning into a political movement interested in co-governing the country. "We do not want to be manipulated by the Communist Party and its agencies or be disciplined by Solidarity."

—*Christian Science Monitor*,  
20 March

What these postal workers call the Communist Party is in reality a collection of corrupt, venal and cynical bureaucrats who prostitute everything communism stands for.

The situation in Poland is crying out for a genuine communist (i.e., Bolshevik) party to raise the revolutionary program of canceling the debt to the bloodsuckers of Wall Street and the Frankfurt Börse; for restoring centralized economic planning under workers control, not bureaucratic fiat; for the strict separation of church and state; for free, legal abortion on demand; and for a proletarian political revolution to sweep away the bankrupt Stalinists and establish a government based on the democratic rule of workers soviets.

In the absence of a real communist alternative, the volatile situation in Poland can certainly lead in the direction of counterrevolution. Ominously, the most vocal political opposition to

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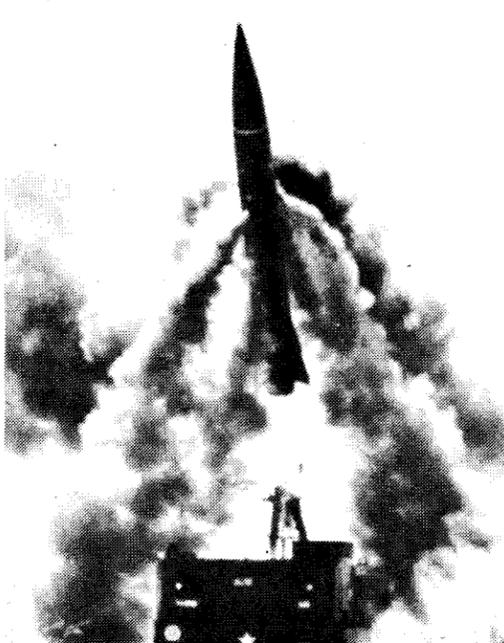


Protest in Warsaw against proposed law, pushed by Catholic church hierarchy, which would imprison women for having abortions.

# Resurgent German Nationalism vs. U.S. Cold Warriors

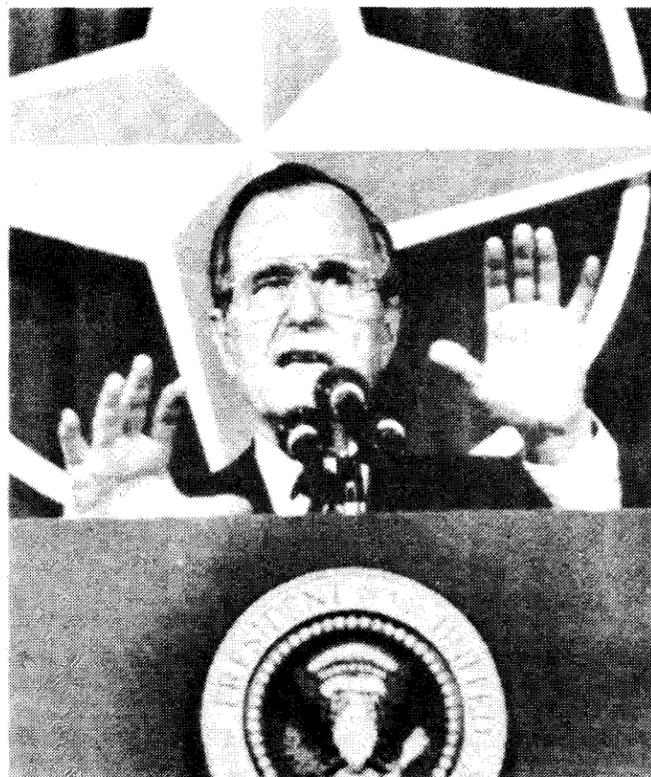


AP/Wide World



Aviation Week & Space Technology

Bonn and Washington clash over "modernization" of short-range Lance missiles, designed to fight "limited" nuclear war in Germany.



AP

## Behind the Rift in NATO

A British journalist asks Margaret Thatcher quite seriously if West Germany is going to stay in NATO. Leading Bonn politicians denounce the "Anglo-Saxon" powers. NATO war games are disrupted, not by anti-nuclear activists, but by ordinary German citizens. A public opinion poll shows over 70 percent of West Germans would like a foreign policy of "equidistance" between the United States and the Soviet Union. When Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev visits West Germany later this month, he is expected to receive a tumultuous welcome. And at the same time that neo-Nazi parties have made striking gains in recent local elections, there is much talk of a "red-green" coalition of the Social Democrats (SPD) and the eco-pacifist Greens taking over the West German government in 1990.

For decades the Federal Republic of Germany has been the linchpin of NATO and the stable core of the capitalist order in West Europe. But the 40th anniversary celebration of the anti-Soviet imperialist alliance in late May threatened to become a battle royal between its two most powerful members. On the eve of the NATO summit, West German president Richard von Weizsäcker gave a speech celebrating 40 years of the federal republic, assertively declaring West Germany is "not a plaything for others." At the Brussels summit, the differences between Washington and Bonn were papered over by an elaborate compromise on "modernizing" the short-range Lance nuclear missile. But already Chancellor Helmut Kohl is coming under fire in the Bundestag (West German parliament) for selling out.

The Lance is no "mini-nuke"; it carries a warhead *six times* as powerful as the A-bomb which incinerated Hiroshima. Now the Pentagon wants to replace it with a pinpoint-accurate missile with a striking distance increased from 80 to 280 miles. This "upgraded" weapon is thus intended to replace the intermediate and "shorter"-range missiles which NATO supposedly agreed to eliminate in the 1987 INF treaty. Far from being a defensive, battlefield

weapon, the "modernized" Lance could hit targets far behind Soviet and East German front line forces. For Cold War generals like former NATO commander Bernard Rogers and his successor John Galvin, this is supposed to be a "war fighting" weapon, a key to their first-strike strategy Airland Battle 2000.

Not surprisingly, Germans call the Lance and similar weapons "German-range" and "anti-German" missiles. The slogan, "The shorter the range, the more dead Germans"—coined a few years ago by Christian Democratic "defense" expert Volker Rühle—has gained near-universal acceptance in the federal republic. As Bonn foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher noted with ill-concealed bitterness, short-range missiles "do not have the range to reach the territory of most of our partners" (*London Independent*, 29 April). Thus the Bonn regime wants to postpone introducing the new and improved Lance pending negotiations with the ever-accommodating Gorbachev to reduce Soviet short-range missiles.

At Brussels Bush sought to sidestep the issue of short-range nukes with a

"bold initiative" for massive conventional troop reductions...by the Warsaw Pact forces. He proposed cutting *ten* Russian troops for every American soldier. Soviet foreign minister Shevardnadze called the proposal "a step in the right direction." Yet Soviet concessions have only emboldened the imperialists, and with economic collapse in Poland and growing nationalist conflicts in the Soviet Union, the vultures gathered in Brussels smelled blood.

Two days later Bush, accompanied by West German chancellor Helmut Kohl, went to Mainz to give a "roll back Communism" speech calling for tearing down the Berlin Wall and "self-determination for the whole of Germany and the countries of Eastern Europe" in a capitalist Europe where Bonn and Washington would be "partners in leadership." Fifty years ago this August, Stalin tried to buy peace with Hitler, to no avail. Because proletarian revolution failed to follow World War II in the West, the imperialists have used the last 40 years to prepare a new Operation Barbarossa. Whatever their rivalries, for them the Enemy Number

One remains the land of the October Revolution.

### Washington-Bonn Axis Unraveling

We have often pointed out that support for disarmament and détente in West Germany does not simply express an understandable longing to prevent war. It also expresses resurgent German nationalism directed against both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. And nothing better unites Germans of all political persuasions than fear of a "limited" nuclear war, that is, limited to German territory. Despite this, until last month Kohl's Christian Democratic (CDU) regime was willing to go along with the Pentagon's plan for modernizing the Lance. But recent elections in West Berlin and Frankfurt were a disaster for the CDU and their coalition partner, the liberal Free Democrats. In both cities neo-Nazis gained sufficient votes (about 7 percent of the total) to give the SPD and Greens a majority.

The election results were not only a symptom of the growing nationalist mood, a repudiation of the NATO loyalty ("Atlanticism") of the Kohl regime. West Germany's vaunted *Wirtschaftswunder* ("economic miracle") has in the last period given way to high unemployment, higher consumer taxes and cutbacks in state medical benefits. Additionally, working people are afraid that the scheduled "full integration" of the Common Market in 1992 will lead to a *leveling down* of West German wages and social programs to some common (lower) European level.

These economic discontents and fears have bolstered the electoral prospects of the reformist SPD. But they have also been effectively exploited by the fascists to scapegoat immigrant workers (Turks, southern and eastern Europeans, North Africans) who do the low-paid, dirty jobs for German capitalism. Defense of immigrants' rights and the struggle for a shorter workweek to combat unemployment are key to smashing the renewed fascist threat in Germany. No less key is combatting the nationalist demagoguery which now permeates West German political life from the



Der Spiegel

West German chancellor Kohl (left) with Mikhail Gorbachev. Bonn's Ostpolitik aims to regain East Europe for German imperialism.

Christian Democrats through the Social Democrats and Greens to the so-called radical left.

Playing to the nationalist mood, Bonn politicians have struck a posture of defiance against the British and Americans. West Germany has also demonstrated its dominant role in continental West Europe by lining up the smaller NATO countries (Spain, Italy, Denmark) behind its position on the Lance dispute. "If anybody is isolated, it is the Anglo-Saxons," boasts Theo Sommers, editor of the influential left-liberal *Die Zeit*.

Why all the *Sturm und Drang* over a squabble that could be easily resolved? After all, for the past 20 years Bonn has generally favored a softer line than Washington in dealing with the Russians. In the early 1970s the Nixon gang feared that the *Ostpolitik* of Social Democrat Willy Brandt was a step toward cutting a separate deal with Moscow. Henry Kissinger wrote in his memoirs: "From Bismarck to Rapallo it was the essence of Germany's nationalist foreign policy to maneuver freely between East and West" (*White House Years* [1979]).

But now the entire West German ruling class seems to be moving in this direction. Much of the heat coming from Washington and London is because they feel betrayed by Kohl, whom they regarded as a staunch NATO loyalist—their man in Bonn. The snotty Tory London *Economist* calls the West German chancellor "jellied Kohl," referring to his spinelessness. Certainly, no one could ever accuse Helmut Kohl of having political backbone. But in his own oafish and wishy-washy way Kohl represents the interests of German imperialism, which are increasingly divergent from those of American imperialism.

Herein lies the significance of the Greens. This is not just a collection of ecology activists, no-nuke pacifists and lifestyle radicals. The Greens are a party of German yuppies, the vanguard of renewed nationalism among the younger generation of the country's educated elite. Even in calling for West Germany out of NATO, the Greens were expressing nationalistic as much as pacifist sentiments. And now the younger elements of the ruling Christian Democrats, that is, the children of the German bourgeoisie, are beginning to speak the same language as the Greens. One such CDU activist told the *Wall Street Journal* (13 March): "We aren't anti-American, but we are less likely to give trust automatically to the Americans the way our parents have. We must become more sovereign."

It takes two to make a fight. The Bush administration has treated the West German government like an exasperated parent cracking down on a rebellious teenager. However, after vowing

not to "back down" over the Lance affair, Bush has come under fire from influential sections of the American ruling class for needlessly driving a wedge between the U.S. and its most important European ally, and for failing to exploit Gorbachev's conciliationism. Senate Armed Services Committee head Sam Nunn, Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Admiral William Crowe, former CIA head William Colby favor at least making a show of negotiating with the Russians. And Paul Nitze, one of the original architects of the Cold War, called Bush's position "crazy" from the standpoint of most Europeans.

### Drang nach Osten, Once Again?

One of the most cogent arguments for Washington to backpedal on the Lance dispute came from rabid right-winger Pat Buchanan: "NATO's crisis is not a crisis of military preparedness: it is a political crisis which will become a disaster if we force down Germany's throat an atomic weapon which is, after all, designed for Germany's defense" (*Boston Herald*, 22 February). Buchanan, who is notorious for defending Nazi war criminals, would be happy to see a powerful reunified German imperialism. But most of the American ruling class, not to speak of the French and British, do not share Buchanan's "Deutschland über alles" sentiments.

Quite the contrary. *Newsweek* (15 May) understated the obvious: "The thought of a united Germany once again

### Ominous rise of German nationalism: the fascist Republikaner Party in recent election rally.



three, many *capitalist* Germanies. But this is hard to arrange in the real world ...and getting harder. As former CIA director Richard Helms put it:

"The splitting of the country after World War II means that the reunification of Germany is, for Germans, The Big Thing. Underneath everything else is the steady current: How are we going to reunite the country? *Glasnost* and *perestroika* have touched that chord,



Foreign workers, leftists march against fascist Republikaner threat in West Berlin.

dominating Central Europe is frightening to Western neighbors and Russia alike." The French writer François Mauriac, a liberal Catholic, once quipped he loved Germany so much he was happy there were two of them. Of course, the American, British and French ruling classes would prefer two,

and you now have a great deal of discussion of the issue. It's going to be absolute murder for NATO and for us and for everyone else."

—*Washington Post* (7 May)

Polls in West Germany show overwhelming approval—in some cases over 80 percent—for Mikhail Gorbachev. At the same time, a poll by the respected liberal *Der Spiegel* indicated that Adolf Hitler's standing has improved among today's West German public: 25 percent viewed the Führer of the Third Reich positively or neutrally. This is not at all an inexplicable contradiction. The German ruling class sees Gorbachev's "new thinking" leading to the *breakup* of the Soviet bloc, thus *reversing* Germany's defeat in World War II. When bourgeois and Social Democratic politicians talk in the Bundestag of an end to the Cold War, of the "de-ideologizing" of East-West relations, they mean the time has come for a reunified Germany to reassert its dominance in Central and East Europe.

In his widely publicized speech on the rift in NATO, Foreign Minister Genscher strongly reaffirmed West Germany's claims east of the Elbe: "The members of the Federal government have sworn on oath to dedicate their efforts to the well-being of the German people. The obligation deriving from

that oath does not stop at the border cutting through Germany." He went on to speak of Germany's "special responsibility" toward Poland, Czechoslovakia and the rest of East Europe. In less highfalutin language a senior Bonn official stated that East Europe "is our historic sphere of influence."

West German capital is preparing for a new *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the east) through the massive economic penetration of the bureaucratically deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. Its trade with and investment in East Europe are greater than all of the other Western imperialist powers combined. For example, over 200 West German firms now operate in Hungary compared to less than 20 U.S. multinationals. Nonetheless, American imperialism, too, believes the time is ripe (or rapidly ripening) for the reconquest of East Europe for "free world" capitalism. The rival Cold War ideologues Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski have both publicized their grand strategies for breaking up the Soviet bloc. The current division in NATO thus *anticipates* the division of East Europe between German and American imperialism.

But there's an old Russian saying about trying to divide up the skin of a live bear. The Soviet workers state—born of the Bolshevik Revolution—remains powerful despite decades of Stalinist degeneration, and Gorbachev's surrendering one position after another in the Cold War. Capitalist restoration in East Europe cannot be achieved through "peaceful" economic means. The ground is now being laid for a bloody civil war and Western imperialist military intervention. The "peace" politics of Genscher, the Social Democrats and the Greens are in reality leading toward war and counterrevolution in Central and East Europe.

When Reagan visited Europe in 1982, he was greeted by large-scale protests, especially in West Germany, against American militarism and warmongering. In a leaflet entitled "The Main Enemy Is At Home!" (*WV* No. 307, 11 June 1982), the international Spartacist tendency stated:

"Today, as in the 1920s, Germany is the key to Europe. The division of Germany into two states of counterposed class character symbolizes the inextricably linked tasks facing the European proletariat... For revolutionary reunification of Germany through socialist revolution in West Europe and political revolution in East Europe!... "Only the workers of the world, who in Marx's words 'have no country,' can establish an equitable and harmonious international division of labor based on socialization of the means of production. The alternatives are nuclear barbarism or revolutionary reunification of Germany in the struggle for a *socialist* united states of Europe." ■



West Germany has the highest concentration in Europe of NATO nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union.

# China...

(continued from page 1)

soviets—as in the Russian Bolshevik Revolution—can save China from descending into anarchy, warlordism and bloody capitalist counterrevolution. For the unity of China under the workers' leadership!

While pro-regime military forces still occupy the center of Beijing, the rest of the city is in the hands of insurgent workers and students: "everywhere in Beijing people reacted to the killings by torching vehicles and creating blockades. The troops only controlled a few major thoroughfares, and elsewhere citizens continued to control the streets" (*New York Times*, 5 June). In the great industrial metropolis of Shanghai, student activists and militant workers have set up barricades using buses, trucks and cars. And a de facto general strike has brought economic activity to a standstill. In the central industrial city of Wuhan workers and students occupy a strategic bridge over the Yangtze River, a crucial transport link between northern and southern China.

The crowds kept chanting, "The People's Liberation Army must not fire on the people," and many of the soldiers believe it. The PLA is now *politically split*. The massacre was carried out by one particular military unit, the 27th Army, which was recently transferred from Inner Mongolia to the capital. The 27th has long historic ties to the Deng clique. Its commander is a relative of Chinese president Yang Shangkun, Deng's deputy and a prime mover in the suppression of the students' protests. Significantly, after the bloodbath the 27th Army has acted not as a conquering army but as a *besieged* force. CBS News (5 June) reported:

"The tanks are ranged in a particular formation pointing in all directions. Down below them on the highway, below the overpass, are many trucks full of troops. Now, this is clearly a defensive formation that is set up not expecting attack from unarmed civilians, but from other military units."

The main unit moving up against them is the 38th Army. This is the regular Beijing garrison force and has many ties to the civilian population, especially the students. Beijing University students in the army reserve reportedly spend their summers training with the 38th. It was the 38th Army which for two and a half weeks refused to enforce the martial law ordered by Deng and his hardline premier Li Peng. And now many soldiers of the 38th quite likely have relatives killed in the butchery of June 4.

As China moves rapidly toward civil war, the government has gone into hiding. None of the top leaders have been seen in the past few days. Rumors abound that Deng is dead or dying of cancer, that Li Peng was shot and wounded by a soldier whose relatives were killed in the massacre. The 5 June edition of the Communist Party newspaper *People's Daily* is nowhere to be found and may not have come out at all. An Asian diplomat in Beijing summed it



Thousands of students massed in Tiananmen Square, singing the *Internationale*, demanding democratic rights and an end to bureaucratic corruption.

Chung/Asiaweek

up: "Nobody's in charge, as far as we can tell."

## For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Conditions are exceptionally favorable for the working class to take charge in China. Industrial workers have enormous social weight in the main arenas of struggle, Beijing and Shanghai, as well as Wuhan and Canton. It was the hundreds of thousands of working people pouring into the streets who stymied the regime's attempt to impose martial law. Motorcycle squads of workers reported on troop placements around Beijing. And the mass of soldiers identify with the working people. They, too, are hard-hit by the raging inflation resulting from Deng's market-oriented policies. As a result of government cost-cutting measures, military units have even gone into business for themselves:

"As a consequence, some units have used their trucks to start transportation companies, their repair depots to serve as commercial garages and their hospitals to admit private-paying patients. Sometimes, ill soldiers have even

been turned away to cater to patients who can pay.... This has created wide demoralization."

—*New York Times*, 6 June

In the countryside the poorer peasants resent their wealthy neighbors, the new class of Chinese kulaks spawned by Deng's "free market" economic reforms. And now, to cut down on inflation, the government is paying peasants for grain, pigs and other produce with worthless scrip rather than cash. While the students display more than a little petty-bourgeois elitism, the formation of workers', soldiers' and poor peasants' soviets would *polarize* the student movement, attracting those activists motivated by genuine social idealism.

There are, however, powerful forces in China which could lead to military bonapartism, warlordism and the disintegration of a unified state. After the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1912, rival militarists divided China into their own fiefdoms. In a certain sense the Mao-Stalinist regime perpetuated this pattern with different units in the PLA linked to rival factions and cliques. Furthermore, Deng's market-oriented economic policies have produced enor-

mous regional as well as social inequalities. The provinces on the eastern seaboard have benefited from the concentration of industrial investment and foreign capital, while the peasant hinterland has fallen further and further behind.

Only the working class, under the leadership of a genuine communist vanguard party, can unify China through developing a just, egalitarian and prosperous society. The restoration of centralized economic planning, under a workers and peasants government, is necessary to begin to even out the now enormous regional differences. At the same time, a Chinese soviet government would scrupulously respect the national rights of the non-Han minorities, granting autonomy for Inner Mongolia, Tibet and the Turkic-speaking peoples of Sinkiang.

To secure the internal unity and prosperity of China requires a revolutionary *internationalist* perspective. Deng is now hated in China almost exclusively for his crimes against the Chinese people. But one of his greatest crimes was to ally China with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, an alliance sealed in blood. It was right after Deng's triumphant tour of the U.S. in 1978 that he launched the Chinese army against heroic Vietnam. Beijing has for the past decade been a major arms supplier to the genocidal madman Pol Pot in Kampuchea and the CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan. Yet the "pro-democracy" movement has not denounced these crimes.

A truly communist China would help forge the unity of the world working class and oppressed toilers against imperialism. A first and elementary step is to generously aid the reconstruction of impoverished Vietnam, whose decades-long struggle inflicted the greatest-ever defeat on U.S. imperialism. And Chinese workers must link up with the powerful Soviet working class, whose resistance to Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika can open the road to proletarian political revolution in the USSR. A revolutionary internationalist government in Beijing would also be a tremendous impetus for socialist revolution in Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. To construct a Leninist-Trotskyist communist party in China it is necessary to break workers and radical students from liberal illusions and Stalinist-nationalist prejudices.

## Neither "Pure Democracy" Nor Maoism—For Lenin's Communism

A few days before the massacre Deng's henchman Yang Shangkun declared: "If we fall from power, the Chinese People's Republic will collapse. Then there will be a restoration of capitalism" (*London Guardian*, 29 May). What hypocrisy! These are the men whose proclaimed policy is "building socialism with capitalist methods." These are the men who dismantled centralized planning and eliminated collectivized agriculture, smashing "the iron rice bowl" (guaranteed employment) for

Hires/Gamma-Liaison



Xinhua

Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping with his top generals. Troops originally called out to enforce martial law balked at suppressing the mass protests.



workers and promoting a new class of rich peasants. These are the men who have set up "special economic zones" for Western and Japanese investors to exploit Chinese workers, who lack even minimal trade-union protection. These are the men who have brought prostitution and child labor back to China.

For years Western capitalists have held up Deng's China as a *model* of economic reform for a Communist country. Even after the massacre the London *Financial Times* (5 June) praised Deng's record "of economic reform and the open policy towards foreign capital." Likewise, the *Wall Street Journal* (5 June) wrote that Deng "moved the nation away from the Maoist era of bitter class struggle.... In its stead, China began trying Western-style economic incentives and the rule of law."

At the same time, the Western bourgeois media has lionized the student "pro-democracy" movement, trying to portray it as opposition to Communist rule. Certainly, the students have strong illusions in some kind of pure, classless democracy which many of them seem to identify with America. Thus they erected a large statue of the "goddess of

protesters who denounced the 1949 Revolution, vilified Mao and praised Chiang Kai-shek. When some hooligans splattered paint on Mao's portrait in Tiananmen Square, there was universal outrage and everyone was convinced it was the work of provocateurs hired by Li Peng. Immediately a banner was placed next to the defaced picture, saying "This was not done by the students or the people."

More surprisingly and significantly, in protest marches a number of workers carried portraits of Mao, who was no sympathizer of democracy and freedom. But the founder of "People's China" was held up as a symbol of Spartan virtue and Communist ideals against the corrupt and cynical Deng clique. The London *Independent* (24 May) observed that "while few would relish any return to dogmatic Maoism, the past does offer an appealing if highly romanticized vision for many Chinese: prices were stable, crime was low and unemployment was unheard of."

While idealization of the Mao era by some young workers is certainly understandable, it indicates woeful ignorance of their own history. Mao's Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s was an insane



A. Mondadori

**Armed workers seized Shanghai in 1927. Stalin told revolutionary workers to give up their guns to Chiang Kai-shek, leading to bloody massacre.**

states economically. Others, like the Cold Warriors in Washington, seem to think East Europe is going to fall into their laps. President Bush declares in a press conference, "Communist bureaucrats beware in Poland." (About China, the Pentagon/CIA/White House bunch are more circumspect, fearing they could lose the "invaluable" listening posts on the Soviet border provided to them by Beijing.) The more rabid in this crew, like former Nixon staffer William Safire, proclaim that "Counterrevolution—civil war—is under way," from China to the Soviet Union and beyond (*New York Times*, 5 June).

Civil war is breaking out, but it's by no means all going toward counter-revolution. Washington got a big black eye when it tried to take Jalalabad after the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan. Then Bush declared war on the world's tinniest tinpot dictator, Panama's Noriega, and got nowhere. He's consistently been losing the "peace" war with Gorbachev, barely making it through the NATO summit without a split with the Germans, who would prefer the nuclear holocaust elsewhere. Bush's only known allies are Maggie Thatcher and the Mexican president (who's paying the price in the form of massive political repudiation and rumbling social discontent). And now he's had to cut off military supplies to his Chinese allies.

And while there are plenty of pro-capitalist elements in China, with close links to Chinese capital in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, the current protests are oriented not toward counter-revolution but in the *opposite* direction, feeding off discontent with the pro-capitalist economic policies of the Deng regime. They promised consumer goods and delivered...but only for the privileged petty-bourgeois layers. Having sown the wind, they're now reaping the whirlwind of political revolution. A

Beijing Commune was taking shape in Tiananmen Square. And moreover—unlike East Berlin 1953, the 1956 Hungarian workers revolt or the 1968 Prague Spring—it is a political revolution without the presence of the Soviet army and the complicating factor of perceived national oppression.

The central weakness of the Hungarian uprising was the absence of a Leninist communist party to lead it. As we wrote in our article, "Political Revolution in Hungary—Ten Years After" (*Spartacist* No. 8, November-December 1966), "a revolutionary party in Hungary would not only have assumed the task of leading the Hungarian workers to state power, but, as a section of a disciplined *international* party, would have assisted in the vital work of preparing and leading insurrections in other European countries." And in another article in the same issue on Mao's "Cultural Revolution," we noted:

"The destruction of Maoism in China, at the hands of the proletariat, will open the door to the victory of the exploited masses of Asia and it will accelerate the revolutionary struggle in Viet Nam, India and Japan. In turn, workers' governments in these countries, particularly in industrially advanced Japan, can help China to break out of its present viciously limiting circle of economic development."

The Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was based centrally on an urbanized, class-conscious industrial proletariat led by a communist vanguard party uniting advanced workers with Marxist intellectuals. The Chinese Revolution was based on a peasant (i.e., petty-bourgeois) army led by declassed intellectuals like Mao and Deng. From its inception the Maoist regime had a petty-bourgeois *bonapartist* character, trying to balance above all classes in Chinese society. Thus it requires another revolution for the working class to achieve *political power*. That revolution has now begun. ■



**Demonstrators in Shanghai, May 19. Industrial proletariat of Shanghai is key to perspective of workers political revolution.**

democracy," modeled on the American Statue of Liberty, and provocatively placed it opposite the huge portrait of Mao Tse-tung hanging in Tiananmen Square. Some student activists appealed to the Bush White House to pressure the Deng regime to "democratize" China.

Since the massacre, many supporters of the "pro-democracy" movement abroad have campaigned for the U.S. and other imperialist powers to launch a diplomatic and economic war against China. A group of Chinese exchange students in the U.S. wrote an open letter to Bush saying that the Chinese Communist Party had turned into an "evil fascist dictatorship" (*New York Times*, 5 June). One member of this group even stated that "Chiang Kai-shek wasn't so bad." Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang was a bloody military dictatorship which cruelly oppressed China's workers and peasants in the service of Wall Street. Thus the cult of "pure democracy" could develop into an ideological basis for capitalist counter-revolution and imperialist subjugation.

However, in the minds of Chinese students and even more so the workers, a desire for democracy coexists with intense patriotism toward the People's Republic of China. The naive belief that the People's Liberation Army would never fire on the people was itself testimony to the depth of support to the 1949 Revolution. For the first time in the 4,000-year history of the Chinese state, the working people of China did *not* view the army as an instrument of brutal oppression and exploitation.

Western journalists have found *no*

economic adventure—backyard steel furnaces—and ended in total collapse and widespread starvation. The destructive frenzy of the Cultural Revolution—a decade-long, convulsive factional struggle within the bureaucracy—took many times more lives than the massacre in Tiananmen Square. When Deng ousted the Maoist "Gang of Four" in 1976, Chinese society, especially the intellectuals, welcomed him. Students affectionately greeted him, "Hello, Xiaoping," using his given name.

In both China and the West, Mao and Deng are viewed as polar political opposites. But they represent only *different wings* of Chinese Stalinism, two sides of the same coin, as it were. The crimes of both Mao and Deng have the same root cause: the *bureaucratically deformed* nature of the social revolution which triumphed in China in 1949. But those whose vision is limited to the blinkered outlook of the Stalinist bureaucracy look at the present convulsion in China and see only a "counter-revolution." Thus Sam Marcy's Stalinoid Workers World Party declares the students "an instrument for the bourgeois opposition." And they praise "the restraint shown by the leadership of the Communist Party of China," gushing: "Not one shot has been fired." Try again next week, Sam.

#### For a Trotskyist Party in China!

The imperialist bourgeoisies are salivating over recent developments in the Soviet bloc. Some, like the West Germans, are seeking to undermine the deformed and degenerated workers



Henriette/AFP

**Workers' motorcycle contingent enters Tiananmen Square. Growing involvement of workers in mass protests poses prospect of Beijing Commune.**

# International Communist League Launched

It is with pride tempered with a sober assessment of our responsibilities that the Spartacist League/U.S. announces our adherence to the newly founded International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), previously the international Spartacist tendency. The SL/U.S. is thus the disciplined U.S. section of the ICL. Fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky, Lenin's companion in arms and founder of the Red Army, proclaimed the creation of a new International to carry forward the authentic Leninist program abandoned and besmirched by the Communist International under the sway of J.V. Stalin and his anti-revolutionary bureaucratic clique. The ICL today fights to reforge the Fourth International.

In the shadow of the approaching second imperialist world war, Trotsky observed with increasing urgency that the objective preconditions for world proletarian revolution were overripe, but what was lacking to uproot decadent capitalism on the world scale and establish a socialist world order was an authentic revolutionary leadership at the head of the proletariat. The spread of the barbarism of fascism and the oncoming world war were not the only deadly dangers confronting the workers of the world at that crucial moment; posed also was the question of the very survival of the Soviet Union and the remaining gains of October.

Today once again, those who struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation in what is unquestionably a period preparatory to war still confront that same excruciating crisis of leadership, but in a different situation. The contradictions of Soviet society and the problems of the Chinese revolutionary struggle, both brilliantly analyzed by Trotsky, have exploded with pent-up force. In the capitalist countries, the working class certainly lacks the level of socialist consciousness and organization it possessed in the 1920s and 1930s. The legacy of Stalin's reign of terror inside the Soviet Union, and of the repetitive betrayals of crucial revolutionary opportunities, has been the massacre of pro-Communist militants from China to Spain to Greece to Chile to Iran. Stalinism has created millions of anti-Communists and the general level

of identification of human progress with the idea of communism stands at a relative low point. Yet as the workings of capitalist imperialism create millions of new subjective communists across the globe, the absence of genuinely communist leadership is acutely felt by many and the program of Leninist inter-

seek greater autonomy from their poorer neighbors, but also nourished by decades of the bureaucracy's Great Russian chauvinism—threaten to dismember the homeland of the October Revolution. The slogan of "free elections" and the agitation for "national independence," particularly in the Baltic

socialism" are clearly shown in Eastern Europe. In Poland, the Stalinist bureaucracy's gross economic mismanagement and heavy-handed repressiveness opened the road for workers' grievances to be channeled into a reactionary-clericalist company union on behalf of the "free trade union" CIA along with the Western bankers and the Vatican. Every leader of Solidarność is and has been since 1981 a traitor to the working class on behalf of NATO imperialism. Today the Polish regime and Solidarność are selling the country to the IMF and are prepared to allow the historic centers of the proletariat—the Lenin Shipyard workers, the miners of Upper Silesia—to be dismembered. The Stalinist schema of "national autarky" has come home to roost—Down with the Stalinist nationalists in Moscow and East Berlin who allow the imperialist world market to regulate the terms of trade between "fraternal socialist" trading partners; reforge the historic link between the German and Polish proletariats through proletarian political revolution!

In China, a fully fledged political revolution has begun. What began as a student upheaval around vague demands for greater democracy was embraced by the working people of Beijing who came out into the streets seeking by their massive numbers to block the unleashing of troops against the demonstrators. Some units fraternized with the crowds; other units were brought in to shoot down the people. Tremendous resentment has been building among the salaried people against the beneficiaries of "building socialism with capitalist methods"—a full-fledged NEP. The only progressive solution lies in the unity of China under workers' leadership. And this immediately poses pointblank the need for a revolutionary, a Leninist-Trotskyist, party.

Stalin and Mao and all the pygmy Stalins and Maos have done everything they could to make "communism" a code-word for murdering your own people and trying to get little concessions from imperialism by being its cat's paw, as the Chinese have been America's agent militarily against Vietnam. In part, illusions in "Western democracy" among the Chinese students stem from the misidentification of militant communism with Maoism—i.e., economic primitivism and "barracks socialism," the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. At the same time, the student protesters are singing the *Internationale*.

## Decadent Imperialism Has Been Given a Breathing Space

Today the capitalist world remains marked by the decomposition of the short-lived "American Century": having emerged as the dominant capitalist power after the devastation of Europe and Japan in World War II, Washington's "new world order" quickly unraveled, beginning with the Chinese Revolution and America's consequent embrace of its former enemy, Japan, as a bulwark against the spread of revolution in Asia, continuing with the Cuban Revolution and underlined by the dirty, losing war against the peasants and



Banner of newly founded International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) raised at annual Lutte Ouvrière fête, Paris, May 1989.

nationalism can be put forward with great impact.

## The Homeland of October Is in Grave Danger—All Power to Workers Soviets!

Under Gorbachev we have witnessed an attempt to "restructure" the Soviet economy in the direction of encouraging powerful forces toward capitalist restoration, combined with a "diplomacy" of apparently limitless appeasement of imperialism which is being paid for in blood in Afghanistan (although the *mujahedin* siege of Jalalabad has evidently been thrown back, much to the dismay of American policymakers and the Pakistani annexationists), and which has devastating implications as well for the working people from Nicaragua to Southern Africa to Indochina. Now within the USSR, national antagonisms—spurred by the recent "reforms" termed "market socialism" which encourage the richer republics to

states, in this context can be nothing but a transparent cover for the program of capitalist restoration. Should nationalist unrest spread to the Ukraine, this would be extremely ominous. The anti-Semites of the Russian nativist "Pamyat" fascists have grown dangerously, protected by elements of the bureaucracy. Today, the continued existence of the bureaucratic caste, the heirs of Stalin, constitutes a more immediate and direct threat to the conquests of October than ever before: what is posed is nothing less than civil war. Only through the return to the working people of their state, through the rule of *soviets* (councils of workers and soldiers), can the egalitarian consciousness (the idea that nobody should live off the exploitation of the labor of others) which remains deeply ingrained in sections of the Soviet working masses be mobilized in decisive struggle to uphold the gains of October.

The effects of what is termed "market

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Подписные поступления

**The struggle for the continuity of Lenin and Trotsky's communism: The Bulletin of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninist); founding issues of American Trotskyists' Militant (1928) and Spartacist (1964).**

Special Monthly Organ of the Opposition Group in the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

**The MILITANT**

For the Russian Opposition!

Against Opportunism and Bureaucracy in the Workers Communist Party of America!

A STATEMENT TO AMERICAN COMMUNISTS BY JAMES P. CANNON, MARTIN ABERN AND MAX SHACHTMAN

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**SPARTACIST**

NUMBER 1 FEBRUARY-MARCH 1964 10 CENTS

**WITCH HUNT IN THE SWP**

Trotsky Section

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party expelled five members of the party's left wing minority at a press in New York City at the end of December. The five expelled supporters of the SWP Revolutionary Tendency are Steve Mages, James Robertson, Geoffrey White, Lawrence Ireland, and Lester Harper. The Party Political Committee had expelled them two months earlier on the grounds that a Central Committee investigation had revealed that Robertson, Ireland, and Harper had expressed "damning" written opinions privately within their own tendency. The accused had written that the SWP had ceased to be a revolutionary party and had become capitalist and that it was responsible for the economic crisis in the United States.

those opposing and protecting the PC action were: Myra Tabor, Wain, several from the party's vice-presidential candidate, Arne Swoback, a founding leader of American Trotskyism, together with many members of his tendency across the country; prominent party members such as Jack Wright of Seattle and Wendell Phillips from Southern California; the Washington Phoenix group; several party branches including New Haven and Seattle.

Two strong reactions fell in the party are reported.

# SPARTACIST

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"GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION"

## MAOISM RUN AMOK

The Red Guards, bearers of Mao Tse-tung's thought, instruments of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have answered their critics: "Revolutionaries are Monkey Kings, their golden rods are powerful, their supernatural powers far-reaching and their magic omnipotent, for they possess Mao Tse-tung's great invincible thought. We wield our golden rods, display our supernatural powers and use our magic to turn the old world upside down, smash it to pieces, pulverize it, create chaos and make a tremendous mess, the bigger the better! We must do this to the present revisionist middle school attached to the Tsinghua University, make rebellion in a big way, rebel to the end! We are bent on creating a tremendous proletarian uproar, and hewing out a proletarian new world!"

And *Peking Review* (9 Sept. 1966), the authoritative foreign-language political organ of the Chinese government, approves.

### Bureaucratic Dangers

Such grotesqueries are symptoms of the dangers a bureaucracy, once its power is consolidated, poses to any workers state. When such a bureaucracy attempts



MAO'S HEAD floats down the Yangtze while Stalin's has come to rest on a Budapest street.

"Not a single one of the tasks of the 'bourgeois' revolution can be solved in these backward countries under the leadership of the 'national' bourgeoisie, because the latter emerges at once with foreign support as a class alien or hostile to the people. Every stage in its develop-

**Front page of Spartacist, 1966: From its inception our tendency has fought for authentic communism against the betrayals of Stalin and Mao and all the little Stalins and Maos.**

workers of Vietnam. Now beset by sharp trade rivalry with Japan and the demands of resurgent German imperialism to assume its "rightful" place as the leader of capitalist Europe, American capitalism has become the world's biggest debtor nation; its essential industrial plant decays while its exports increasingly center on raw materials and agricultural products. At the same time this wounded capitalist colossus maintains its ambition to police the world from Latin America to the Persian Gulf, while possessing a nuclear arsenal which could destroy the world a hundred times over.

The resurgent bourgeois anti-Sovietism of the 1980s, inaugurated by Jimmy Carter's hypocritical "human rights" crusade and escalated under the unashamed Cold Warriors of Reagan/Bush/Thatcher, highlighted the timidity and demoralization of the "left." Also standing out sharply are the criminal passivity of the trade-union "leaders" who, confronted by sharp attacks on the workers' living standards and working conditions, continue seeking to eschew the traditions of mass militant struggle which built the unions; the craven subservience of the "black elected officials" to the racist ruling-class establishment whose only program for jobless black youth, welfare mothers, the homeless amounts to genocide; and the bankruptcy of the "liberals" who have largely abandoned the pretense of concern for the workers and poor. Today the communists, whose aim is the proletarian conquest of state power and the reconstruction of society on a new basis, are at the same time the most consistent defenders of the ideals of the Enlightenment and the gains of bourgeois revolution: the right to bear arms; the separation of church and state—against the imposition of religious fundamentalism as a political program; against censorship, whether by "creationists" seeking to ban the teaching of evolution or "anti-pornography" feminists or the burning of Salman Rushdie's "blasphemous" novel; against the racist death penalty; for the liberation of women. In Britain, where the bourgeois revolution was early and uncompleted, we say: Down with the monarchy, the aristocracy, the established churches—For a voluntary association of workers republics in the British Isles! In Japan, where the bourgeois revolution came late and from the top down, we demand the abolition of the emperor system—For a Japanese workers republic!

### War and Revolution

Lenin, in his work on imperialism as the epoch of capitalist decay, showed that the system of class relations had now become (as Marx had analyzed) a barrier to the development of the productive forces, leading to inter-imperialist rivalry and war to redivide the world's spoils. The first imperialist

world war brought unprecedented suffering and mass slaughter of the working people and revealed most of the Socialists of the Second International to be cowardly chauvinist tails on the imperialist ambitions of their "own" ruling classes. But defeat in war can be the mother of revolution, and Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who had built up a hard revolutionary party and broken sharply from the social-patriots, were able to transcend their own inadequate theoretical formulas (which had denied the possibility of proletarian revolution in backward Russia) and thereby to lead the small but militant Russian working class to the taking of state power, on the basis of an internationalist program. This historic conquest on behalf of the workers of the world led straight to the foundation of the Third (Communist) International, which was able to expose the "socialist" pretensions of the respectable reformist gentlemen of the Second International and win the allegiance of advanced workers and subjectively revolutionary militants on every continent.

But the international revolutionary wave which swept up the working masses from Germany to Bulgaria receded and was thrown back; the failure to extend the Russian Revolution, particularly the failure of revolution in Germany with its powerful working class, left the young Soviet workers state isolated. Trotsky summed up the causes and future implications of the playing out of that cycle of revolutionary struggle in his *Lessons of October*.

In the USSR, under conditions of extreme poverty and demoralization,

with the working class decimated and exhausted by the Civil War, the way was open for a conservative bureaucracy to arise as a parasitic excrescence upon the working class. By 1924, this bureaucratic caste had acquired self-consciousness and a program: the self-contradictory dogma of "Socialism in One Country"—the antithesis of the Leninist outlook of internationalism which had animated the revolution. Predicated on the illusion that it was possible for an isolated Soviet workers state to survive and coexist with capitalist imperialism over an extended period, this program in Stalin's hands meant the destruction of the Communist International as an instrument of revolution and ultimately led straight to the murder of all the leaders of the Bolshevik Party. In place of soviet democracy was created a monstrous apparatus of bureaucratic control: first by the Stalinized party, then by the Stalin faction, and finally by Stalin backed up by a small handful of cronies, after the purge trials wiping out all the Bolshevik Old Guard.

Beginning with Khrushchev's 1956 "secret speech" and carried forward with new momentum under Gorbachev's *glasnost*, the heirs of Stalin in the Kremlin have been forced increasingly to acknowledge the crimes of Stalin: the brutality of forced collectivization, the deportations and executions of oppositionists, the purge of the Red Army on the eve of World War II. In part a reflection of the emergence of a new generation of Soviet leaders lacking personal responsibility for Stalin's dirty deeds, and of the growth of a new layer

of Soviet academics and bureaucrats embarrassed by the transparent mendacity of official Soviet history, Gorbachev's *glasnost* is mainly a response to the intractable problems of the Soviet economy. The call for "openness" in political discussion is centrally intended as an adjunct to *perestroika*, or "restructuring" of the economy in line with market forces, and much of the debate has as its not-so-secret agenda the refurbishing of the reputation of Nikolai Bukharin and the economic program of the Right Opposition.

Yet the Gorbachevites have been unable to prevent the raising in the discussion of the archetypical "blank space" of Soviet history: the figure of Leon Trotsky. Even as Stalin's heirs seek to replace their discredited lies with new and different distortions, the question of Trotsky is potentially explosive, for—unlike Bukharin, Stalin's bloc partner until 1929—Trotsky led a fight against Stalin and the epigones, aimed at restoring the domestic and international policies pursued by Soviet Russia to a Leninist course. The policies which Trotsky fought for from 1923 until his murder by Stalin's assassin represented the Leninist alternative to Stalin, the "gravedigger of revolution." Today Trotsky's road is the only means for the survival of the Soviet Union.

Beginning in 1923, Trotsky and his supporters of the Left opposition sought to address the problems of the devastated Soviet economy through policies aimed at reconstituting an industrial proletariat and overcoming the divisions between city and countryside through a perspective of industrial growth. They predicted that Bukharin's program of "socialism at a snail's pace," implemented by Stalin, would enormously strengthen forces toward capitalist restoration, eventually compelling the ruling clique to adopt measures proposed by the Left. This is what happened, but instead of the Left's policy (voluntary collectivization with the incentive of mechanization of agriculture), Stalin's version was the now-infamous brutal forced collectivization.

It is unquestionable that, even under bureaucratic leadership, the Soviet planned economy made tremendous progress and a modern country was forged in formerly backward Russia. Nonetheless, even after 50 years Trotsky's brilliant analysis of the Soviet economy and society in his *Revolution Betrayed* (1937) remains the touchstone for understanding Russia today. Only the Trotskyist perspective of proletarian political revolution to reverse the political dispossession of the working class by the privileged bureaucratic

*continued on page 10*

## SPARTACIST

**An Organ of Revolutionary Marxism**

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# IGL Launched...

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caste can unleash the creativity and productivity of the Soviet working people and regulate the problems (e.g., heavy industrial investment vs. consumer goods, egalitarianism vs. "material incentives," centralized planning vs. local control, and the problem of quality) which have bedeviled the Soviet economy recurringly and have re-emerged in sharpened form today.

Rejecting the suicidal dogma of "Socialism in One Country," the Left oppositionists in the 1920s struggled to reassert the perspective of international extension of the revolution as the only effective answer to the isolation and capitalist encirclement of the first workers state. Events in China, where Stalin's opportunistic subordination of the Communists to the treacherous bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek led to the beheading of a powerful revolutionary struggle, confirmed Trotsky's warnings. But while some of Trotsky's cothinkers believed this vindication would lead to gains for

who loyally carried out his dictates, up to and including the murder of Trotskyists, believed all the while that they were fighting for socialism.

In 1933, the Trotskyists constituted themselves as the International Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninist) in recognition of the imperative need for an authentically communist new International, the Fourth International. Trotsky rightly foresaw that the menace of German fascism would lead in a straight line to war against the Soviet Union. As the inter-imperialist rivalries and alignments of the upcoming war took shape, the Trotskyists struggled against time to break the Stalinists' hold over the advanced workers. The Fourth International was founded in 1938 on the basis of the document, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (the "Transitional Program"), and the perspective put forward in "War and the Fourth International" (1934) of uncompromising revolutionary defeatism toward all imperialist combatants, including those aligned with the USSR, combined with revolutionary defensism of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The launching of the Fourth Interna-

success in putting over the lie that World War II in the Allied imperialist nations was a struggle of liberation—that it was a great battle against fascism and for a better world. In the context of the mass popular revulsion against fascism, Stalin's policy of the Popular Front—the alliance with "democratic" imperialism—prevented the growth of mass antiwar sentiment paralleling the massive radicalization of World War I. The lie was successful; a war fought so that U.S. imperialism could emerge as the predominant imperialist power, the capitalist "world policeman" which rained death down on Vietnam for two decades after Dien Bien Phu, was popularly accepted as a war of the people against fascism.

Nonetheless the victory of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc was conditional. It was the Red Army which had smashed Hitler's Wehrmacht; moreover, Hitler's East European puppets had all made a mad dash for the nearest American headquarters, leaving behind a power vacuum which the occupying Soviet army quickly filled. The victorious imperialists had to divide Europe with Stalin.

The war devastated the small forces of the Fourth International—having

sionist current—having passed through a period of vicarious guerrillaist/pro-Stalinist enthusiasm which included hailing the massacre of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, then having gone for "Eurocommunism" and Soviet dissidents, and in a big way for the Solidarność devotees of Marshal Pilsudski (the bonapartist founder of modern capitalist Poland)—are in a position to do some harm as vociferous apologists of those demanding "national liberation" for the Baltic republics. In their mouth, "Trotskyism" is made out to be some kind of latter-day left social democracy.

The bourgeoisie is celebrating in anticipation of the "end of Communism." The Stalinist bureaucracies have indeed reached the point of terminal crisis. But their crisis is because they are opposed to everything communism stands for. The national antagonisms in the Soviet Union, the revolt in China, arise in response to "market socialist" policies that are counterposed to centralized socialist planning. The bureaucratic stranglehold over political and cultural life, the appeasement that has emboldened imperialism—these are not communism, but its antithesis.

## An International Program Mandates International Organization

"By its very nature opportunism is nationalistic, since it rests on the local and temporary needs of the proletariat and not on its historical tasks. Opportunists find international control intolerable and they reduce their international ties as much as possible to harmless formalities... on the proviso that each group does not hinder the others from conducting an opportunist policy to its own national taste.... International unity is not a decorative facade for us, but the very axis of our theoretical views and our policy." (Leon Trotsky, "Defense of the Soviet Republic and the Opposition," 7 September 1929).

From the time of our tendency's inception as a left opposition within the Socialist Workers Party in the early 1960s, we have recognized that national isolation must in short order destroy any subjectively revolutionary formation, not least one subjected to the pressures of operating in the heartland of world imperialism, the United States. We stand proudly on our record of 25 years of struggle for authentic Trotskyism and are working on documenting it archivally and historically. In January 1974 an interim Conference centered on European work and perspectives, with participation of comrades from seven countries, was held in Germany. The document which formed the programmatic basis for the Conference accepted the "responsibility to struggle actively for the constitution as soon as possible of a democratic-centralist international Spartacist tendency."

In July 1974 the "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" announced the constitution of a nucleus for the early crystallization of the international Spartacist tendency, to be governed under the principle of international democratic centralism. The document sharply attacked the federalist practices of competitors claiming the mantle of Trotskyism, noting that Pablo's political heirs of the "United Secretariat" and the Healyite "International Committee" "have chronically mocked the principles of internationalism and of Bolshevik democratic centralism as their different national groups or nationally-based factions have gone their own way—ultimately in response to the pressures of their own ruling classes."

In particular the "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" noted the revisionists' invocation of the U.S. government's Voorhis Act as a convenient excuse for anti-internationalism. The Voorhis Act, passed in 1940, sought to massively inhibit international political affiliation

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Novosti

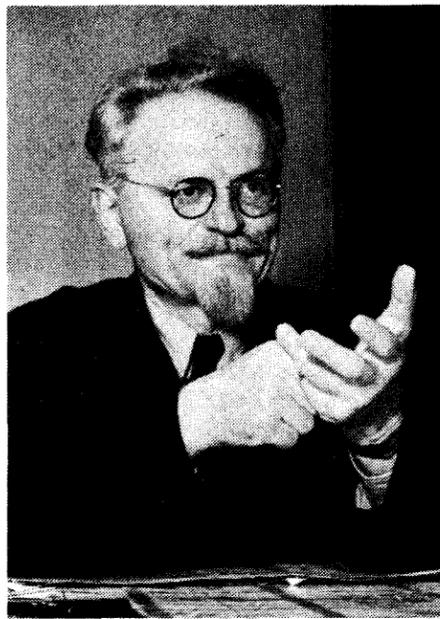
the Left, Trotsky observed that whereas a successful Chinese revolution would have increased the class consciousness and confidence of the Russian and international proletariat, the setback of revolutionary struggle would only strengthen Stalin's hold.

The International Left Opposition, constituted in 1930, after Trotsky had been exiled from the USSR, considered itself a forcibly externalized faction fighting to return the Third International to a revolutionary course. But when Hitler's Nazis were coming to power in Germany in 1933—based on the bourgeoisie's fear of revolution by the powerful, pro-socialist German working class—the Stalinists refused to fight. Nor did this disaster precipitate any fundamental struggle within the Communist Parties internationally. The Trotskyists declared that the Third International could not be reformed. Especially with the promulgation in 1935 of the "People's Front" policy—the systematic perspective of an alliance with the parties of so-called "democratic" imperialism—the conclusion was inescapable: there was no place for revolutionists in the Stalinist Communist Parties. In place of Lenin's revolutionary International had been consolidated a powerful anti-revolutionary apparatus as a new obstacle to revolution, more disciplined and effective than the old social democracy. The false identification of Stalinism with Bolshevism provided Stalin with dedicated political agents throughout the world; only Stalin and perhaps a half-dozen cronies (who these were changed over time) knew what it was all about. Millions

tional was opposed by some, like Isaac Deutscher, who argued it was premature. Trotsky insisted that, on the contrary, the second imperialist world war would, like the first, provoke social convulsion throughout the capitalist world and a new wave of international revolutionary struggles. And he predicted that the brittle system of Stalinist rule in the USSR, which had arisen as an accommodation to the breathing space for the imperialist world order secured by the failure of the post-WWI revolutionary wave, would itself crack under the impact of the new world war or soon thereafter.

The validity of Trotsky's predictions was in fact confirmed by the Red Army's initial collapse in the face of Hitler's invasion, as well as by the turbulent social conditions in Western Europe at the war's end. In Italy and Greece, naked treachery by the Stalinists was needed to militarily and politically disarm the leftist Resistance forces and hand power back to the capitalist class (however, Tito's partisans in Yugoslavia refused to commit suicide—they led a peasant-based indigenous revolution to victory and established a bureaucratically deformed workers state). In France the Stalinists endorsed "national reconstruction" to re-establish a stable bourgeois regime. Trotsky's insistence on the need for revolutionary leadership was tragically confirmed by the results of its absence: the Stalinists, who emerged stronger than before in Italy and France based on their resistance to the Nazis, were successful in deflecting revolutionary struggle.

Central to that outcome was Stalin's



Leon Trotsky (above), co-leader of October Revolution, founder of the Red Army, fighter against Stalinist usurpation of the revolution.

geared up for battle against fascism and war, they were in effect militarily defeated. The physical obliteration of the Left Opposition in the USSR was completed by the assassination of Trotsky in Mexico by a Stalinist agent in 1940. Large numbers of Trotskyist cadre in Europe and Asia were wiped out by war and repression. The decimation of the most promising young Trotskyist leaders was a factor in the emergence of a revisionist current within the FI in the early 1950s. So was the passivity of the American Socialist Workers Party, a relatively strong party nourished by close collaboration with Trotsky, and located in a country insulated from the real carnage of the world war.

The revisionist current, led by the impressionist Michel Pablo, abandoned the perspective of workers revolutions in order to become for a time entrists into and political tails of the CPs. Worshipping the accomplished fact of Stalinism's continued existence, they had decided it would endure perhaps for "centuries" and they therefore decided that a "new world reality" would compel it to play a "roughly revolutionary" role, obviating the need for Trotskyist parties. Within a couple of years, Russian tanks were crushing the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. Today it is very clear that the CPs play no such revolutionary role in the world, while the bureaucratic caste of Stalin and his heirs has brought the Soviet Union itself to the threat of civil war, and a political revolution has begun in China. Trotsky's expectation of a terminal crisis of Stalinism is as alive as today's headlines.

Today the representatives of the revi-

# Poland...

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the Jaruzelski/Walesa deal comes from the rabidly anti-Communist Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), which claims the mantle of Marshal Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of interwar Poland. Students inspired by the KPN carried the slogan "Bolsheviks to the Morgue" as they demonstrated in Krakow last month. KPN führer Leszek Moczulski, who declares "We will fight Communism, we will fight the Soviet Union," boasts that recently the flow of Solidarność activists into his organization has been "massive."

To combat Pilsudskiite nationalism, the Polish working class must return to the internationalist tradition represented by Rosa Luxemburg, Poland's greatest revolutionary socialist. Luxemburg greeted the 1917 Russian Bolshevik Revolution as the only way forward for the workers of Poland and throughout the world:

"...the Bolshevik tendency performs the historic service of having proclaimed from the very beginning, and having followed with iron consistency, those tactics which alone could save democracy and drive the revolution ahead. All power exclusively in the hands of the worker and peasant masses, in the hands of the soviets—this was indeed the only way out of the difficulty into which the revolution had gotten; this was the sword stroke with which they cut the Gordian knot, freed the revolution from a narrow blind alley and opened up for it an untrammelled path into the free and open fields."

—The Russian Revolution (1918)

## The Road to the Round Table

However, due to the absence of Bolshevik-type parties elsewhere, the political turmoil unleashed by the first imperialist world war failed to produce victorious workers revolutions outside Russia. The isolation of Soviet Russia grew with the defeat of the Red Army before Warsaw in 1921 by Marshal Pilsudski's forces, heavily aided by French imperialism. And it was sealed with the defeat of the German October two years later. Isolated and surrounded by a hostile capitalist world, the Soviet Union underwent a *bureaucratic degeneration* personified by the rise to power of Josef Stalin. Thus the Soviet Army which in 1945 liberated Poland from the nightmare of the Nazi occupation was no longer the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky. As a defensive response to Western imperialism, with the onset of the Cold War the Stalinists expropriated the Polish bourgeoisie and established a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

In 1956 and again in 1971, Stalinist rule in Poland was shaken by workers' uprisings. Seeking to buy off the combative Polish proletariat, during the 1970s the "liberal" Gierk regime promised an "economic miracle" while mortgaging Poland to the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt Börse. When the regime imposed a moderate austerity program to repay its foreign debt in the summer of 1980, a massive strike wave swept Poland, giving rise to Solidarność. Although Solidarność drew on workers' legitimate grievances against the bureaucracy, its leaders from the beginning looked to reactionary Pope John Paul Wojtyla's Vatican.

At its first national congress in September 1981, Solidarność consolidated around an anti-Communist program couched in the language of "free world" imperialism—"free elections" in Poland, "free trade unions" throughout the Soviet bloc. While almost all so-called leftists in the West joined with Reagan and Thatcher in chanting "Solidarity with Solidarność," the international Spartacist tendency raised the alarm: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!"

As Poland stood on the brink of civil war in December 1981, the military,



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Poland's revolutionary Communist tradition: Rosa Luxemburg and the "Three W's"—Adolf Warski, Henryk Walecki and Wera Kostrzewa of the early Polish Communist Party.

under General Jaruzelski, launched an effective coup checking Solidarność' bid for power. The near-bloodless suppression of Solidarność indicated a certain popular disillusionment with Walesa & Co. Noting the Polish Stalinists "were forced to take measures defending historic gains of the proletariat," we insisted that only a communist opposition could defeat Solidarność politically—repression could only arrest the situation, not address its causes.

During the next few years the underground Solidarność leadership campaigned for imperialist economic warfare against Poland and openly came out for the restoration of capitalism. A 1985 program demanded a "free market" solution to the economic crisis complete with a Warsaw stock market (see "Solidarność Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland," *WV* No. 406, 20 June 1986). We documented how this "trade union" was liberally supplied with American dollars channeled through the AFL-CIO ("Solidarność' Dirty Dollars," *WV* No. 458, 29 July 1988).

At the same time, Poland's socialized economy was being crushed and disintegrated under the weight of its Western debt, which has climbed from \$27 billion in 1981 to \$38 billion today. Desperate to secure hard currency by any means, the Jaruzelski regime has encouraged hundreds of thousands of

Latin American-style "shock treatment"—wholesale bankruptcies and massive unemployment, starvation and homelessness.

But Jaruzelski & Co. understood that this would encounter desperate working-class resistance. In explaining the background of the Round Table accords, the well-informed British journalist Timothy Garton Ash noted, the "interior minister presumably drew on police intelligence reports about rising popular discontent and the danger of an explosion" (*New York Review of Books*, 15 June). It was Poland's top cop, interior minister General Czeslaw Kiszczak, who was the main architect of the deal with Solidarność. Caught between the ruthless demands of their imperialist creditors and the threat of explosive resistance by a hostile and desperate population, the top echelons of the Stalinist bureaucracy are trying to abdicate. Hence the call on Solidarność to take "co-responsibility" for the state.

The Jaruzelski/Walesa accords have not brought political stability to Poland. Quite the contrary. They have further fractured the Stalinist bureaucracy while discrediting Solidarność in the eyes of many workers. In fact, the official trade unions, led by old-time Stalinist hacks, have actually gained some credibility by demagogically denouncing Solidarność for selling out to

introduced legislation (drawn up by lawyers appointed by the National Bishops Conference) to repeal the 1956 laws which permit abortion in case of medical or economic hardship. The relatively liberal abortion laws are one of the remaining gains of the "de-Stalinization" period. Today, the Catholic hierarchy is demanding a total ban and a three-year prison term for women convicted of having an abortion and up to five years in prison for doctors who perform the operation.

As one pro-abortion activist observed, such a cruel measure is *worse* than the laws which existed under the fascistic "regime of the colonels" in the late 1930s. It would also swell the prisons to the bursting point, since estimates of the annual number of abortions range from 400,000 to more than one million. Abortion, which costs the equivalent of \$10, is the main means of birth control in a country where, thanks to the church, contraceptives are almost non-existent. Furthermore, the severe housing shortage makes it very hard for young couples to raise several children even if they want to.

The church hierarchy's assault on abortion has further discredited and to some degree split Solidarność. Walesa didn't hesitate in branding abortion "murder." But his social-democratic sidekick Jacek Kuron squirmed under questioning, declaring "I am for the protection of life," but adding that he opposed imprisoning women for abortion. The issue has unleashed a storm of popular anger against the church previously unthinkable in Poland. Reporting on a pro-abortion march last month, the London *Financial Times* (11 May) noted that "for the first time in many years, Warsaw heard anti-clerical slogans chanted in good faith, as the march went past the residence of Cardinal Josef Glemp, leader of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland."

One group of protesters, described by the West Berlin *Tageszeitung* as "non-party communists," marched under the slogan "Stop clericalism." Even some women Solidarność supporters participated, criticizing Walesa & Co. for being "too much in the hands of the Church." Many Solidarność activists are critical of Glemp and the bishops for weakening their electoral support. The strong backlash over abortion has put the Catholic hierarchy on the defensive. At a recent news conference church spokesman Sławomir Siwek angrily railed at reporters:

"Why is it that this issue has become the focus of this intense campaign against the church in Poland and even abroad. At times it seems that this question of abortion has become the sole issue in the first weeks of the election campaign, and that the whole dispute between the government and opposition has been forgotten and everyone is focusing on the church."

—Washington Post, 19 May

The latent anti-clericalism revealed in the present struggle for abortion rights indicates a vital basis for rebuilding a real communist party in Poland, especially among women workers and radical intellectuals. Such a communist party would demand that Polish women

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WV Photo

As Solidarność geared up in fall 1981 for attempt to grab power, Spartacist League/U.S. demonstrated: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!"

Polish workers and intellectuals to work in West Europe or Third World countries. Permanent and accelerating inflation has so undermined the value of the zloty that the American dollar is increasingly the medium of exchange in the Polish People's Republic.

The 1986 Polish economic "reforms," inspired by Gorbachev's perestroika, have accelerated the privatization of the economy, spawning a new class of millionaire businessmen. Many of these private entrepreneurs, like industry minister Wilczek, are drawn from the ranks of the bureaucracy. Many more bureaucrats function as silent partners in Poland's capitalist outfits and joint ventures with foreign multinationals. Meanwhile, the IMF was demanding that Poland subject its economy to a

the government! The *Washington Post* (7 April) projected that Solidarność "may find itself politically squeezed between its perceived alignment with a relatively sluggish economic reform program pursued by the party leadership under Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and the populist appeals to frustrated workers by the hard-line communist unions."

## Defend Abortion Rights in Poland!

While Solidarność is being discredited by its support for the IMF-dictated economic "shock treatment," the authority of the Catholic church has been weakened by its campaign to imprison women who have abortions. Last February Catholic deputies in the Sejm

# ICL Launched...

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through "registration" requirements intended to paralyze political organizations. Already in 1953, when the SWP was still adhering to "orthodox Trotskyism" but shrinking from waging an aggressive international fight against Pablo, they cited the Voorhis Act to justify their passivity in the international arena which had facilitated the rise of impatient young impressionists like Pablo: in his May 1953 speech, "Internationalism and the SWP," the party's leader, James P. Cannon, said that after 1940 "We no longer belonged to the Fourth International because the Voorhis law outlawed international connections. Our role, therefore, could only be advisory and consultative" (*Speeches to the Party*).

Our 1974 "Declaration" charged: "The 'Voorhis Act' with its patently unconstitutional and contradictory provisions has never been used by the government—only the revisionists." We cited the United Secretariat's evasion of our appeal against expulsion from the Socialist Workers Party: the USec's Pierre Frank replied to us on 28 May 1965: "... we call your attention first of all to the fact that the Fourth International has no organizational connection with the Socialist Workers party and consequently has no jurisdiction in a problem such as you raise."

Our 1974 "Declaration" also quoted, from a 1974 SWP internal bulletin, a particularly explicit SWP formula for nationally limited political responsibility:

"The Socialist Workers Party proclaims its fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International but is prevented by reactionary legislation from affiliating to it. All political activities of members of the SWP are decided upon by the democratically elected national leadership bodies of the SWP and by the local and branch units of the party.... There are no other bodies whose decisions are binding on the SWP or its members."

Our document cited as well the assertion of national autonomy by the sinister "International Committee" of Gerry Healy, whose American publicist, Tim Wohlforth, wrote in his 1972 pamphlet, "Revisionism in Crisis":

"With the passing of the Voorhis Act in 1940 the SWP was barred from membership in the Fourth International by law. Ever since that time the SWP has not been able to be an affiliate of the Fourth International. So today its relationship to the United Secretariat is one of political solidarity just as the Workers' League stands in political solidarity with the International Committee."

And we quoted our response to Healy in 1966 when he sought to suppress an opponent's pamphlet by claiming it would render his U.S. supporters as well as ourselves vulnerable to the Voorhis Act:

"The Voorhis Act is a *paper tiger*—never used against anyone and patently unconstitutional. For the Justice Department to start proceedings against a small group like ours... would make the government a laughing stock, and Healy knows this. He is aware that for years the SWP has hidden behind this very act to defend its own federalist idea of an International."

The first delegated international conference of the international Spartacist tendency was held in Britain in 1979. Over the following decade, the development of the sections, particularly in Europe, and their cohering of leaderships has become an increasingly important component in shaping the international tendency. Now looking back at the pressures to which a decade of Reaganite bourgeois reaction has subjected our American organization, we must believe that if our tendency had not achieved significant international extension, the SL/U.S. would have become an eccentric and disintegrating American sect.

Today, our small forces confront very high stakes. The achievements of the international Spartacist tendency, now the ICL, are modest: our militant labor/black mobilizations against fascist provocations in the United States—an expression of our consistent understanding that the fight against racial oppression is key to the American work-

ers revolution—have been warmly greeted, as have other legal and social defense initiatives of the Partisan Defense Committee and cothinkers internationally; we have protested every move by U.S. imperialism against the Latin American masses, and raised funds for Nicaragua; among some layers of the Communist movement in West Europe we have become known as "the Trotskyists who defend the Soviet Union"; our forthright championing of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, under the slogan, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Extend Social Gains of October to Afghan Peoples," was grudgingly admired by elements of the Western CPs which were seeking to resist the "Eurocommunist" drift toward greater social-democratic accommodation with one's "own" ruling class. Recently, our offer of an international brigade to fight the CIA's *mujahedin* "holy warriors" after Gorbachev's cowardly withdrawal and, when that offer was declined, our publicity and fundraising campaign for the civilian victims of Jalalabad met with surprising support from women and from Muslim immigrants and other minorities in many countries, as well as among Stalinist milieus. Our defense of the program of "permanent revolution" for those vast areas of the world deformed by imperialist domination—i.e., that the proletariat, independent of the weak and cowardly bourgeoisie and counterposing a vision of social emancipation to the ideologies of nationalism (particularly the nationalism of the majority), must take power to achieve even those democratic tasks formerly associated with bourgeois revolutions—has won us a hearing among oppressed national minorities.

Revolutionary regroupments on the program of Leninist internationalism are the means to resolve the disproportion between our small forces and our task. The heirs of Stalin manifestly lack the capacity to defend the Soviet power, of which they have been simultaneously the parasitic defender and the counter-revolutionary disorganizer for 65 years. Yet to the same measure that they have

brought "communism" into disrepute thanks to the crimes they have committed in its name, they have also reduced their ability to manipulate the allegiance of dedicated pro-Communist workers throughout the world. No longer can a Stalin and his half-dozen conscious accomplices wield "monolithic" parties as instruments of class-collaborationist treason in the name of "building socialism."

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.

We must believe that, failing sudden working-class upsurge against the conditions of capitalist decay, the reforging of a communist Fourth International, built of authentic communist parties on every continent, will be arduous and often dangerous. But this is the only road forward for all of humanity. Yet as we seek to bring this program to bear among the world's workers and oppressed, we must recognize that the possession of the technology of nuclear holocaust by an irrational imperialist ruling class foreshortens the possibilities: we probably do not have much time.

But experience, not least bitter negative experience, can also be a powerful and accelerating teacher. We had better follow the precepts and practices of such comrades as Lenin and Trotsky. Thus we could cut short by months or years the time required for the necessary rearmament of the communist movement. ■

# Poland...

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receive free abortion on demand and also free contraception on demand. Against Pope Wojtyla and the inheritors of the Inquisition, the watchword of the Polish proletariat must be: Separation of church and state!

## For Trotskyism in Poland!

For years the Cold War battle cry "Solidarity with Solidarność" united Reagan, Thatcher and Mitterrand with the overwhelming majority of Western self-styled leftists. These leftists, especially the myriad pseudo-Trotskyists, denied or tried to obscure the fact that

Solidarność was the principal agency for imperialism in Poland. Yet even published figures show that between 1985 and 1988 Solidarność received more money (\$3.6 million) from the CIA-front National Endowment for Democracy than did any other "free trade union" in the world (*International Labour Reports*, May/June 1989). And Walesa and his cohorts publicly demonstrated that their "comrades" in the West were the most right-wing politicians this side of fascism. Last fall Walesa embraced Britain's Iron Lady in the Gdansk shipyards while Solidarność supporters chanted "Viva Thatcher!"

Now as Walesa and Jaruzelski are dancing together to the IMF's tune, Western leftists find it embarrassing to sing that old "Solidarity with Soli-

darność" refrain. So various fake-Trotskyists have taken to glorifying the small Polish Socialist Party (Democratic Revolution) (PPS-RD). The United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel fills its publications with pages of documents from the PPS-RD. The British Workers Power group declares that the PPS-RD "could represent an historic gain for the world working class if its left wing can become the nucleus for forging an independent Polish internationalist workers' party" (*Workers Power*, May 1989).

But what is this supposedly potential nucleus for "an independent Polish internationalist workers' party"? Formed in 1987, its founding declaration stated that the new party stands closer to Pope Wojtyla's "social teaching" than to Marxism. Today, the PPS-RD has organized a bloc with Pilsudskiite anti-Communists of the KPN and the "Fighting Solidarność" group to oppose the Round Table accords. Moczulski's KPN stands to the right of Walesa, Kuron & Co., while "Fighting Solidarność" shares Walesa's program for "free market" capitalist exploitation in Poland.

Workers Power admits the reactionary nature of the PPS-RD's allies. It also notes that some of the party's activists want to resurrect the old PPS of Josef Pilsudski and even defend Pilsudskiite anti-Semitism. Nonetheless, Workers Power hails the PPS-RD because it refuses for now to negotiate with Jaruzelski. "The job of Trotskyists is to directly participate in its debates so as to ensure that the PPS-RD does not become a pro-capitalist and nationalist party," Workers Power concludes. But

what are ostensible Trotskyists doing in a party that requires such a debate?

Polish Trotskyism must be rebuilt on the *anti-nationalist* traditions of Ludwik Warynski's Party Proletariat, and of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania led by Luxemburg and Jogiches, as well as the early Communist Party led by the "Three W's" (Warski, Walecki and Wera Kostrzewa). The internationalist traditions of Polish Communism were so strong that Stalin had to repeatedly purge successive leaderships, and in 1938 dissolved the entire party. Stalinism managed to wipe out this Marxist heritage, installing a regime of opportunists and careerists in postwar Poland. And the Polish working class has not—yet!—reappropriated its own revolutionary socialist traditions.

There is no progressive solution to Poland's crisis within the framework of nationalism and Stalinism. Only a proletarian political revolution can liberate Poland from the bloodsuckers of Wall Street and Frankfurt because only a revolutionary workers government can affect the *international conditions* to counter imperialist retaliation. Only from the standpoint of socialist internationalism can Polish workers effectively appeal to Soviet workers, who have their own reasons for opposing and resisting Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika. At the same time, revolutionary workers in Moscow, Warsaw and East Berlin would have the moral authority to appeal to workers in West Europe and the United States to overturn capitalist rule. Forward to workers soviets in Poland! Forward to a Socialist United States of Europe! ■

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# Coal Miners Strike...

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miners have been on strike since January 23. The company refuses to sign the UMW pension plan, instead offering retired miners a pittance of \$1,000 a year. And the management is out to eliminate the union safety committee in the mine. This is a life-and-death struggle—without the safety committee there will be many more dead and crippled miners, who labor in one of the most dangerous jobs in the world.

The Pittston strike is labor's cause. In the first weeks of the strike, hundreds of miners were arrested as they blockaded entrances to Pittston's mines and coal processing plants in southwest Virginia. After company thugs viciously ran down union pickets outside the Moss No. 3 preparation plant in Russell County on May 2, Trumka called off efforts to stop the scab coal trucks, in favor of government "mediation" in New York. But the Pittston bosses and their state are out for blood.



Labor History Archives, Wayne State University

## Coal miners face off against troops during 1920s coal wars.

In late May, as the union resumed civil disobedience tactics at Pittston facilities, coal company judges handed down hundreds of thousands of dollars in fines against the UMW for "blocking the company's interests." On May 27, six busloads of miners were arrested at Moss No. 3, which rakes in over \$1 million a day for Pittston. Virginia governor Gerald Ballies hired on extra state prosecutors to handle the arrests, and is spending \$1 million a month for the army of state troopers that has invaded the coal fields.

In the last week of May, 1,100 strikers were arrested, including the 2,000th miner arrested since the strike began—a wheelchair-bound retired miner who had his health care cut off by Pittston. As we go to press, three leading UMW organizers of the Pittston strike were jailed on contempt of court charges

for refusing to halt the mass sit-in demonstrations.

## Coal War Country

The marches leading up to the Charleston rally invoke the miners' history of militant class struggle against the coal bosses. Marchers from Logan will spend a night on Blair Mountain, an area where one of the bloodiest chapters in the history of the American labor movement was written in the coal wars of 1920-21.

During the years of World War I the United Mine Workers, for the first time, had succeeded in organizing the Fairmont and Kanawha coal fields in West Virginia, but had had little success in Logan, Mingo and McDowell counties. The coal companies' hired thugs terrorized union members and sympathizers. UMW organizers who entered the area were driven out or killed.

The film *Matewan*, by director John Sayles, powerfully depicts the UMW's fight to bring the union to Mingo County, forging class solidarity between the West Virginia miners and the black and immigrant workers brought in by the coal bosses to try to break a strike.

The film closed with the murder of pro-union men by company detectives in January 1921, but the struggle continued.

That summer, 10,000 armed miners set out to march through Logan County to Mingo and McDowell. When the marchers reached Blair Mountain they were attacked by company goons, county deputies and the U.S. Army. President Harding sent the famed Billy Mitchell light bombing squadron to Blair Mountain to drop bombs on the miners. In the bloody coal wars which followed, over 50,000 striking miners were evicted and the union was driven out of Mingo County.

Last August over 300 UMW members and sympathizers marched to Matewan to unveil a monument to those slain by the infamous Baldwin-Felt detectives. UMW Local 1440 member Ken Bowers, who participated in the memorial march, stated, "the history of the early mine wars is important, and it is history that repeated itself during our strike against A.T. Massey" (*UMW Journal*, December 1988).

## Trumka's "Selective Strike" Disasters

Like the Massey strike, the Pittston and New Beckley strikes are being run as part of UMW president Richard Trumka's strategy of "selective strikes." Isolated groups of miners are left to go it alone against the coal barons backed up by the arsenal of the capitalist state. The UMW bureaucracy is playing by the bosses' rules, pushing civil disobedience and "corporate campaign"-style consumer boycotts. They are pleading

with profit-hungry banks and stockholders to "do right" by the miners. Begging the likes of Chase Manhattan—owned by Rockefellers who have rivers of coal miners' blood on their hands—spells certain defeat for the miners.

But the class-collaborationist gimmicks of Trumka are not going down well with all miners. A striker, Henry Combs, said, "Our representatives tell us, 'Don't resist arrest.' They don't want any violence out of us altogether." Combs added, "It does get aggravating when you see your [union] brother being carried off by the hair of the head" (*Roanoke Times & World-News*, 30 April).

As a striking New Beckley miner told *Workers Vanguard*, summing up recent UMW strikes from Massey to Pittston, Trumka's "selective strike" strategy "has slit our throats." He's right, and many other UMW members certainly think the same way. It was only after the entire UMW was pulled out of the mines in a five-day "memorial strike" that the fight against Duke Power's Brookside, Kentucky operation in 1974 was finally won. Miners must break with Trumka's disastrous strategy, and bring out the power of the entire UMW to defend and win the Pittston and New Beckley strikes!

## Defend the Kentucky Miners!

The bitter defeat of the A.T. Massey strike in 1984-85 was the direct result of Trumka's "selective strike" strategy which left them twisting in the wind. And not only has the industrywide contract been abandoned by the UMW tops, but five Kentucky miners railroaded in the bosses' courts for defending picket lines during the A.T. Massey strike have been left to rot in prison by the UMW bureaucracy. Four of these union brothers, Donnie Thornsby, David Thornsby, Darryl Smith and Arnold Heightland, are serving 35-45 years in the Ashland, Kentucky prison. Last December the UMW International withdrew strike benefits from Donnie Thornsby's family, forcing them onto welfare.

A fifth miner, Paul Smith, was acquitted of the same federal "terrorism" and "conspiracy" charges a year ago, but he now faces a murder charge in state court in Kentucky. Smith's appeal against this double jeopardy was denied on April 7. Now he faces a possible death sentence if he is convicted. Free all the Kentucky miners!

Trumka has brought Jesse Jackson to the coal fields to bolster his "corporate campaign" and civil disobedience tactics, telling miners to lie down like sheep before the company wolves. Jackson and Machinists president "Wimpy" Winpisinger, who is sabotaging the Eastern strike, will be featured speakers at the Charleston rally. And acting as lawyers for Trumka and the UMW bureaucracy are some fake-leftists like the Socialist Workers Party with their



WV Photo

## Trumka and Democrat Walter Mondale at 1983 UMW convention.

misnamed *Militant* newspaper.

SWP supporters actually voted for Trumka's rotten 1988 UMW contract, and the *Militant* has been silent on Trumka's role in the betrayal of the Kentucky miners. Needless to say they have no strategy to offer as an alternative to the sellout deals by Trumka, but then again the SWP also supported to the hilt the government's man, Arnold Miller, in 1972. That's why both they and the Communist Party's *People's Daily World* (who also backed Miller in 1972) stuck with Miller as he suppressed wildcat strikes, year after year, and when he became the most hated man in the coal fields during the 1977-78 110-day coal strike.

The real story of that powerful rebellion by the UMW ranks is told in the *Workers Vanguard* pamphlet, *The Great Coal Strike of 1978* (see ad on this page). And *WV* has continued to tell the truth:

"Trumka, like Miller and Church before him, has chopped away at the miners' militant traditions, chaining the union to the capitalist courts and the bosses' Democratic Party. Fifteen years of these 'reformers' in the Labor Department's pocket together with the union-busting of the Carter and Reagan years have decimated the UMWA, the oldest and once the most powerful industrial union in the U.S."

—*WV* No. 447, 26 February 1988

Everyone from the coal bosses to the ranks of the UMW knows that there is no lack of courage or determination among the Pittston miners: in the words of miner Ronnie Mitchell, "How do you intimidate a man who spends his day putting his head between two rocks?" The burning question is *leadership*. To win the strikes at Pittston and New Beckley, UMW militants must demand an industrywide strike and a standard union contract at every union pit. Union caravans pouring into Charleston on Sunday should be pouring into southwest Virginia to send the Pittston gun thugs packing. Pull out the entire UMW now! Victory to the Pittston and New Beckley strikers! ■

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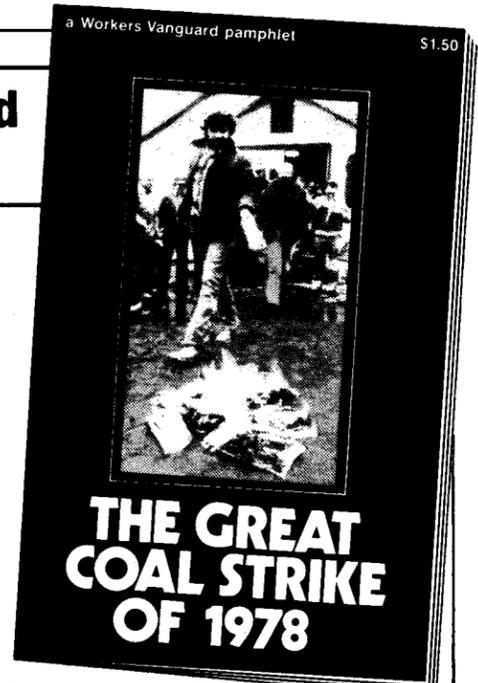
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# "Drug War"...

(continued from page 16)

District. Brandishing assault rifles, they ordered residents to haul their beds, sofas and TVs out onto the street where they were soaked in a downpour. The hit teams were part of a Special Operations Group imported from a "paramilitary training center" in Camp Beaugard, La. "The SOG units are trained to handle civil disturbances, anti-terrorist strikes and other hazardous missions" reported the *Washington Post* (16 May). Mayor Marion Barry even went in person with eviction orders, rousting 16 people from their apartment into the street. It was the capital of the USA, but it looked like Crossroads township under the apartheid whip.

"In South Africa, you have black men in the work camps and the women in the Bantustans. Here we have the black men in prison and the women in the projects," a black psychologist told ABC-TV commentator Ted Koppel in a special April 27 *Nightline* "town meeting of the air" on "D.C.—Divided City." The District of Columbia council even ordered a curfew banning youth under 18 from city streets after 11 p.m. without a pass. A judge blocked the city from enforcing this measure putting black youth under virtual house arrest, saying it "gives me the chills." Thereupon the council passed another "anti-loitering law" targeting "drug zones." From "Gangland L.A. to Murder Capital D.C.," the media and government are pushing the drug war as a "law and order" crusade. But increasingly black people are seeing it for what it is—racist state terror.

## Racist Rulers Want to "Take Back" D.C.

It's no accident the drug war has been launched first in Washington, D.C. In this 70 percent black city, "home rule" was not won until 1974. Even this token democratic measure sticks in the craw of the racists on Capitol Hill, who still hold veto power over the city government. Republican Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire complains of "blood



Perkins/Washington Post  
**Paramilitary U.S. Marshals invade D.C. living rooms in "anti-drug" mass evictions of black people.**

reported the *New York Times* (21 March). Congressman Stan Parris, ranking Republican on the House D.C. Committee, wants a federal "public safety director" to take over the city's police and fire departments, prisons and courts. Rudman is preparing bills to federalize the police and establish a "federal constabulary" to police the District like a colonial possession.

A small city of 630,000, Washington is already crawling with cops. Most cities have two cops for every 1,000 people; Washington has three times that many. And over and above the 3,950-strong Metropolitan Police Force, there are 3,000 "special" cops guarding everything from the president to the museums to the mall. Now a special "Metropolitan Area Task Force" on drugs is being established, drawing in agents of the DEA, FBI, U.S. Marshals, Defense Department, U.S. Attorney's Office, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau, Customs Service, Park Police, and state and local police agencies from Maryland and Virginia.

entrenched crime mafia. This "left a vacuum for independent drug operators who are now killing one another over turf in the new and profitable drug trade." District police chief Maurice Turner said the cops had "arrested 43,000 people last year" and bluntly added:

"Eventually the turf will be divided, they will go out and sell their drugs, people will pay their drug bills on time, and we're not going to have all these shootings that we have. What more do you want us to do?"

When Barbara Bush says "everyone" wants to "get our city back," she's referring to the *bipartisan* consensus over the drug war. Architects of the project are "new right" ideologues like Jack Kemp and William Bennett. Housing secretary Kemp is pushing legislation to evict entire families from housing projects when one member is declared a "drug suspect." His pet project is to condo public housing, "selling" off apartments to residents, i.e., to kick out the poor. Bennett is a protégé of Boston University's ultrarightist president John



running on the streets like some third-world capital." And from the White House, Barbara Bush declares, "Everyone in Washington is ready to get our schools back, get our city back." When William Bennett declared D.C. the "test case" in the war on drugs, he didn't even invite black mayor Barry. As columnist Dorothy Gilliam wrote in the *Washington Post* (13 April), "William J. Bennett believes his sobriquet 'drug czar'—or maybe he misheard and thought they were saying 'plantation master'."

In his inaugural address, after all the rhetoric about a "kinder, gentler" America, Bush called for a "new intolerance" toward drugs. What does this "intolerance" mean for Washington? Bush is floating the idea of "bringing in the National Guard under federal command, or using regular military forces,"

Military intelligence agents have been assigned and the D.C. National Guard is being mobilized to "help" local cops with infrared night-vision goggles and heavy weapons.

They're saying "D.C." stands for "Dodge City." Washington had a record 372 murders in 1988, and in the first three months of 1989 that rate has already more than doubled. When Congressional racists whipped up hysteria about how the city's reputation as "Beirut-on-the-Potomac" might scare away tourists, Mayor Barry responded grotesquely, "Outside of the killings, we have one of the lowest crime rates in the country." This shows why Marion Barry won't be around much longer. But the mayor had a point. A *New York Times* (28 March) article linked the soaring murder rate to the absence of an



AP Photos  
**Washington, D.C. housing projects resembled a South African township as Mayor Marion Barry personally supervised dumping of black tenants' possessions.**

Silber, and won his spurs running Marine recruiters through BU student protesters' picket lines. As Reagan's education secretary, Bennett's department tried to stop the history of the Holocaust from being taught in the schools. Now as Bush's drug czar he proposes to use a new federal law calling for the death penalty in certain drug-related murders to override the D.C. ban on capital punishment.

But if the Reaganite new rightists are running the show, the Democrats are running point in the PR department. Jesse Jackson, who boosted Nancy Reagan's "Just Say No" to drugs campaign, had hopes of being appointed America's top narc in a Democratic administration. In his '88 presidential primary campaign, Jackson was feared and despised by the "mainstream" Dem-

ocratic pols who wanted to go all out in racist appeals to bring back "Reagan Democrats." Now with Mayor Barry besieged with corruption charges, the ruling class is looking for Jackson as black front man in the nation's capital. This would also conveniently take Jackson out of the '92 presidential race. So a *New York Times* (3 May) editorial cynically urged, "Run, Jesse, run."

## Civil Liberties Under Assault

"Mandatory I.D.s. Confiscating people's property. Throwing entire families out of their homes. And all without due process. No, we're not talking about a totalitarian state. It's happening here in America."

—Ted Koppel on ABC-TV's *Nightline* (18 April)

The "war on drugs" has little to do with stopping drug trafficking, and a lot to do with the regimentation of American society. Drug testing has become pervasive throughout industry, particularly in transportation, as a witch-hunting device to keep organized labor in line. Any accident on the rails or in the air and the first thing they do is haul in the whole crew for testing—letting the bosses off the hook for faulty equipment and deadly working conditions. It's part of an all-sided assault on privacy. The Supreme Court recently upheld the DEA's practice of randomly picking out people at airports who fit the "drug courier profile"—like paying for a ticket in cash or staying in Miami less than 48 hours. And now the Nielsen TV ratings have developed a "people meter" that can scan anything from your living room to airports "looking for known terrorists"... or anyone else.

So they've been gearing up the apparatus of legal repression. A prime example is the new California Street Terrorism Enforcement and Protection Act, under which parents can be held responsible for "gang-related crimes" of their children. A Los Angeles woman, Gloria Williams, was hauled away in handcuffs on the grounds that she supposedly "condoned" the membership of her 15-year-old son in the "Crips" street gang. The "proof"—a blue headband (the Crips' "colors") and snapshots of a birthday cake with icing that read "Happy C Day" (because the Crips avoid any mention of the letter "B," associated with their rivals the "Bloods"). "I did all I could to help my son," said Mrs. Williams, an assembly line supervisor in an electronics plant, who took a course in "parenting" and enrolled her son in an alternative education program. But the cops preyed upon her concern to entrap her into discussing her son's problems, and using these "admissions" they busted her (*Los Angeles Times*, 31 May).

Vowing to "take back the streets by taking criminals off the street," in late May Bush unveiled a \$1.2 billion program to hire more cops, federal agents and prosecutors, and build new jails. The prisons are overflowing, and hundreds of thousands more people will be incarcerated. The *Economist* (22 April) reported that the U.S. will have *one million* people behind bars by the end of 1989, double the number ten years ago, and the federal prison population is expected to "double or triple" over the next dozen years. The main reason is "some fairly horrendous sentences... on people who possess or sell drugs." Already *over half* of all federal prisoners are convicted of drug-related charges. And particularly in big cities, minorities are overwhelmingly the ones victimized. In New York City, for example, *91 percent* of all inmates are black or Hispanic.

With the shortage of prison space, the authorities' "solutions" for where to put the prisoners are increasingly grotesque. Republican Bush wants "tent prisons" on former military bases. Preparing for a summer surge in arrests, liberal Democratic New York governor Cuomo proposes to hold up to 3,000 prisoners in gymnasiums. Cuomo also plans to use house arrest, with "an automatic dialing machine that calls the pris-

oner's home at random times and matches the voice that answers to the prisoner's recorded voiceprint" (*New York Times*, 3 June). In New York City, in addition to the hundreds of prisoners being stowed on barges, they've converted the former men's shelter on Ward's Island into a prison, and a homeless shelter in the New Lots section of Brooklyn is being turned into a 200-bed jail.

In the interests of beefing up a "strong state," the ruling class has seized upon the "drug crisis" to militarize America. National Guard units were called in last spring to patrol the Texas and Florida borders, and are being mobilized in ten states to "support" local police operations, including with helicopters, to "interdict" drugs. The Reagan/Bush regime's purported interest in stopping drug traffic is patently absurd. These people are up to their noses in cocaine trafficking—that's what they used to grease the whole Iran/contra operation. In the ABC-TV special on "Divided D.C.," one black participant said:

"You get your airplanes, you go over to your other countries, you bring drugs back, you put them in these black neighborhoods. . . . Don't try to put the blame on all black people. We don't own no airplanes, buses, trains. The U.S. gov-

ernment statistics. Officially, the unemployment rate of blacks last year was 11.8 percent, two and a half times the rate for whites. But when you add in the "hidden unemployment" of those who have given up looking for work and those forced to take part-time jobs, according to Urban League figures the black jobless rate soars to 21 percent. Among black youth (16 to 19 years old), barely *one quarter* (26.9 percent) *have any kind of job at all*, full or part-time. Almost half of all black children grow up in poverty. And this has barely changed over the past decade and a half.

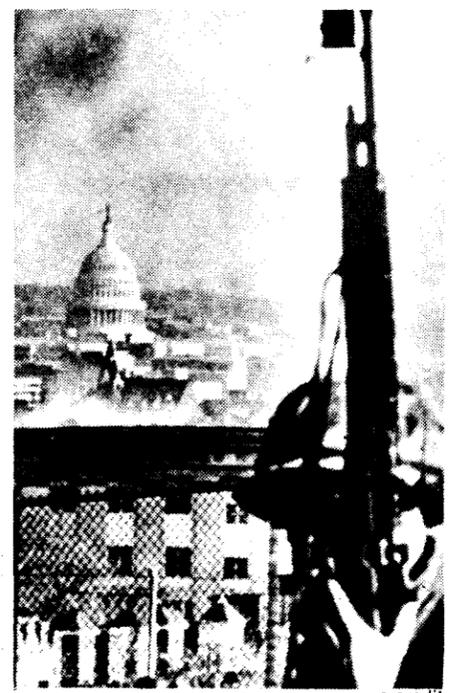
Moreover, economic indicators only begin to describe the desperate condition of black America. The statistics on black mortality are shocking. The leading cause of death among black men between 15 and 34 is homicide. Black life is short, and getting shorter, at both ends of the scale. Comparative infant mortality rates for blacks are *twice* as high as for whites. And while overall life expectancy for whites rose to 74.8 years in 1986, for blacks it is falling, to 69.4 years. The main causes of increased death for blacks are, in order, AIDS, homicide, influenza and pneumonia. AIDS is increasingly becoming a black and Hispanic disease, and thousands of

California, the state legislature just passed a bill banning so-called "assault" weapons, including 23 makes of rifles, as well as several kinds of handguns and shotguns. The ruling class is using the "war on drugs" to push its program of "gun control" for the oppressed—trying to keep the monopoly of arms in the hands of the state. With black people caught in the crossfire of the drug wars, the authorities want to keep them defenseless—so they become the "mark" for both cops and crooks. Meanwhile, the U.S. Marshals who carried out the mass evictions in Washington last month stormed into the projects with the very semiautomatic rifles they want to prevent civilians from having for their protection.

Laws which criminalize drugs and hound those who use them are inherently reactionary: their aim is to regiment the population, victimizing the victims. Moreover, they manifestly don't reduce addiction or drug-related crimes. A spokesman for the National Center on Crime and Delinquency in San Francisco recently noted, "Now there are more arrests, longer sentences, mandatory drug terms. As the sentences have gotten tougher and tougher, we haven't seen any drop in crime rates" (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 May). Police terror will not eradicate the social pathology of ghetto oppression, the cycle of crime and drug addiction, which is rooted in the bedrock of entrenched poverty, joblessness and hopelessness produced by this racist system. And it is a rotting system: you can see the decay of American capitalism just by looking at any ghetto from Southeast Washington to the South Bronx to South Central L.A.

The scourge of massive drug addiction among ghetto youth is fundamentally a reflection of the hopelessness of their situation. It's axiomatic for Marxists that this will only change when social reality fundamentally changes, opening a road to black survival. History has shown how quickly what are seen as "intractable" manifestations of social oppression are reversed in the presence of real opportunities. For instance, the question of illiteracy which had been forced upon blacks since slavery. After the defeat of post-Civil War Reconstruction, this was a keystone of Jim Crow segregation, where the poll tax and the literacy test were deliberately thrown up to deny blacks their rights. But when workers were needed during World War II, blacks were attracted from the South, classrooms were set up in conjunction with war industries and literacy skyrocketed in months.

Today's astronomical high school dropout rate and functional illiteracy of vast numbers of black youth reflect the



Troops occupied D.C. ghetto in April 1968. Once again, America's inner cities face threat of martial law.

abandonment of inner city education by the ruling class, which sees the ghetto population as expendable. Their "program" is to bottle up the youth in the inner city and seal it off: they're even floating plans to fence off the black and Hispanic areas of Williamsburg (Los Sures) in Brooklyn! In Newark they're literally demolishing housing projects built only a generation ago, on the grounds that they're drug-infested crime enclaves. But where are the poor people to go? Into the streets to join the millions of homeless. And once again, we're hearing calls for the military occupation of the ghetto, as the government sees the spectre of black upheavals such as rocked this country from 1964 to 1968.

Twenty years ago the bourgeoisie had a two-pronged program—naked state terror and co-optation. Alongside the troops imposing martial law in the ghettos and the FBI's COINTELPRO war against black radicals, there were the poverty programs to distribute a few crumbs to minorities and install a few "black faces in high places." Programs like Head Start for preschoolers actually worked, and were soon canceled. A small window of social mobility was opened for a layer of petty-bourgeois blacks, who have since left the ghettos altogether. But today, with mammoth budget deficits due to war spending, there is no pretense of social reform. The bourgeoisie has a one-pronged program to spear black unrest: massive repression. Today more than ever, the only road to black survival and genuine emancipation is through socialist revolution. ■



Bush and his point men, Attorney General Thornburg and drug czar William Bennett (right), get set to wage war on the ghettos.

ernment plays a great big part and it's called genocide in America, and that's what it's about."

### Genocide in America

In response, *Nightline* host Koppel asked, "What William Bennett proposed, how does that come down to a genocide plan?" A woman replied, "It seems that blacks are expendable here." A man said: "Homelessness. Don't only talk about drugs. Look at New York City. I used to live down in the subway. I could take you to Grand Central Station where you got people down underneath the subway eating rats. It's racial. It's number one racial because the white man in America, he's saying, 'I'm tired of helping these black people. Let them kill themselves.'" This is a nationalist perception, but about America's *white capitalist rulers*, it is certainly true.

The black ghettos, once maintained as holding pens for what Marx called the "reserve army of labor," are now reduced to rubble. Today the inner cities have become a dumping ground for an entire population which post-Vietnam capitalist America no longer "needs." A cover story in *U.S. News & World Report* (10 April) titled "Dead Zones" noted, "Whole sections of urban American are being written off as anarchic badlands. . . . Unmaintained public housing is literally crumbling, and garbage piles up obscenely in vacant lots." But "the economics of crack undid these neighborhoods more than its chemistry. When cocaine, long considered the rich man's drug, suddenly became available in \$5 crack rocks," it created "an industry that generates tens of billions of dollars all by itself. . . . Adam Smith's invisible hand of capitalism never worked better."

In the total devastation of the inner cities, it's a basic question of economics. Where else is the money going to come from when there are no jobs? The sheer enormity of the poverty, the joblessness and hopelessness is masked by

desperately poor minority victims wither away in public hospitals or on the streets. For many racists, AIDS is the "final solution" to black unemployment. And as we wrote of the new "Welfare Reform Act" of 1988:

"Genocide is what this new 'workfare' is all about! Millions of single mothers on welfare who refuse to take a job—any job, anywhere, at any starvation wage—will be cut off without a cent, literally left to starve. Suspected fathers are supposed to be hounded down through genetic 'paternity' tests to have their wages garnished. . . . not welfare reform, it's a plan to turn the ghettos into vast cemeteries—because there are no jobs to get."

—"Genocide U.S.A.,"  
WV No. 463, 21 October 1988

### Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Crack, the harsh, cheap, highly addictive cocaine derivative, has indeed become a terrible scourge in the black community. As a result, many black people have bought the anti-drug crusade. As the money for drug treatment and rehab centers is minuscule, while funds for cops and prisons soar, the government's racist drive is increasingly being understood for what it is. The *Black American* (11 May) headlined, "Government's War on Drugs: Let's Kill Blacks." Still, in their desperation many blacks look to misleaders—like Jesse Jackson or the racist demagogue Louis Farrakhan, whose Black Muslim "Dope Busters" are now patrolling the "Mayfair Mansions" housing project in Washington, D.C. where blacks have been terrified by the violent drug trade. But the effect of these vigilantes (and others, like the Guardian Angels) is at best to move the drug markets to another block, while imposing their own brand of paramilitary "enforcement" on the neighborhood.

The centerpiece of Bush's new "anti-crime" package is a move against semiautomatic rifles, allegedly the weapon of choice of drug dealers. And in

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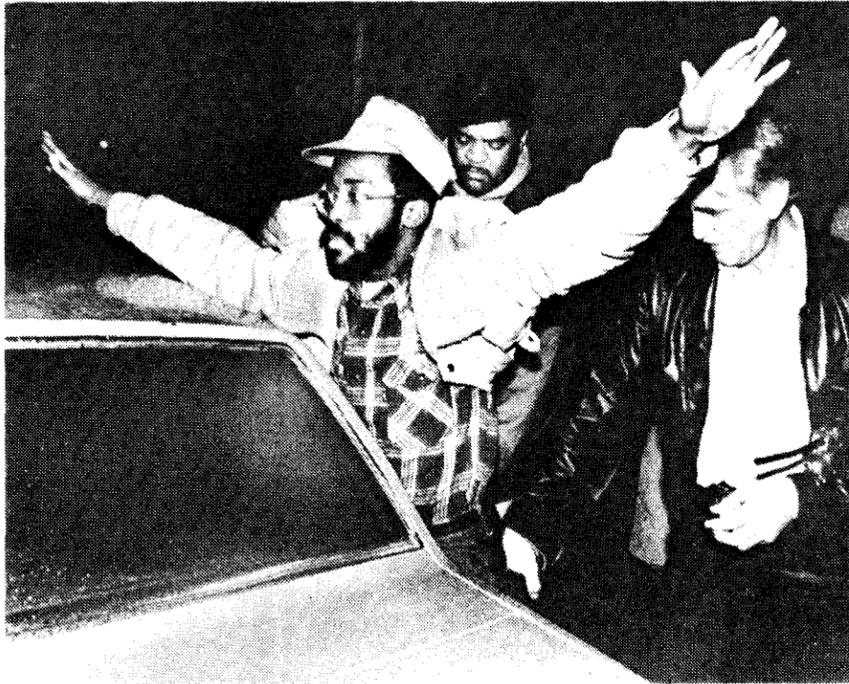
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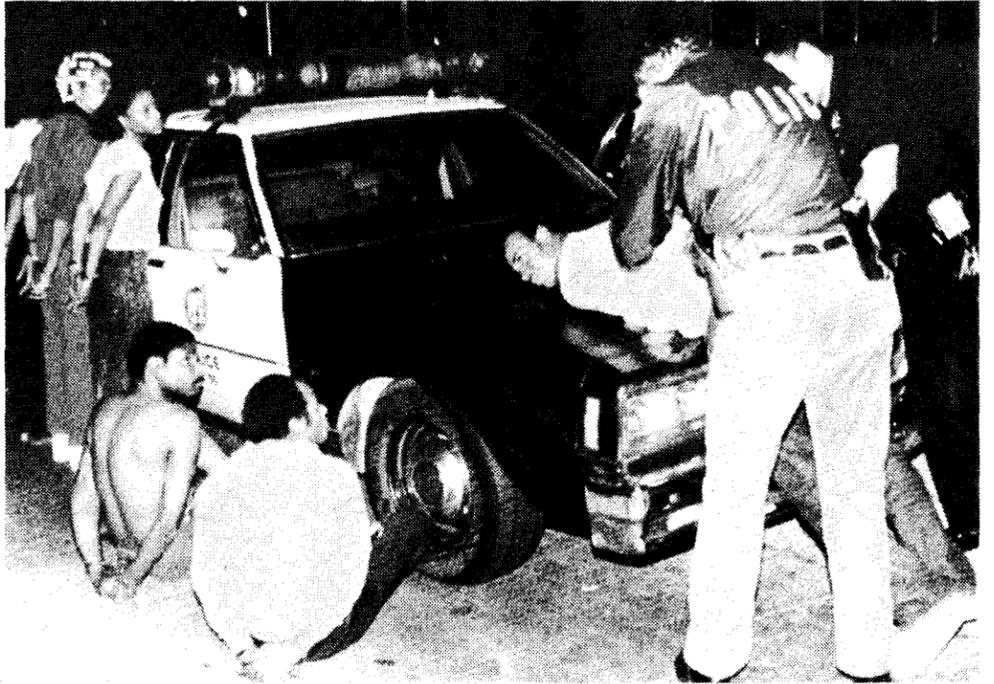
# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Mass Arrests, Mass Evictions, Concentration Camps for Black Youth

# Bush's "Drug War" Targets Black America



Downing/Newsweek



Pizac/AP

Tens of thousands of blacks rounded up, from Washington, D.C. (left) to Los Angeles (right), as cops use "war on drugs" to terrorize the ghettos.

Under the guise of a "war on drugs," they're trying to run America's inner cities like a police state. SWAT teams sweep through housing projects daily, paramilitary "task forces" carry out mass evictions of "drug suspects" and their families. Increasingly, calls are heard for deploying the National Guard and federal troops to patrol ghetto "war zones." President Bush wants to lock up 70,000 overwhelmingly minority youth in tent prisons on vacated military

bases. His "drug czar" William Bennett calls for "boot camps," really concentration camps where thousands of "users" will be subjected to "psycho-correctional therapy." Ultimately, it's a plan to put black America under martial law.

It's happening across the country.

• **Atlanta:** Elite "Red Dog" police units in blue jumpsuits, yellow ascots and flak jackets, armed with sawed-off shotguns, conduct "jump out" opera-

tions, assaulting "suspected drug dealers" on the streets.

• **East St. Louis:** Illinois State Police patrol the devastated city at night.

• **Chicago:** Black people must now show "passes" to enter public housing.

• **Los Angeles:** Twenty thousand youth were rounded up last year in "anti-gang" dragnets, now their mothers are jailed for "parental responsibility" under a new California "street terrorism" act.

• **New York City:** TNT paramilitary cops kick in doors from Queens to the Bronx, Harlem almost explodes when residents say narc squad police pushed a "drug suspect" off a sixth-story tenement roof to his death.

In Washington, D.C. mass evictions of hundreds of black tenants began on the morning of May 15. An elite force of 50 black-uniformed U.S. Marshals stormed into living rooms across the

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## Victory to Pittston Strikers— Pull Out the UMWA! Coal Miners March for Strike Solidarity

Thousands of coal miners and other trade unionists, with their families and supporters, are converging on Charleston, West Virginia on Sunday, June 11. The United Mine Workers (UMW) and West Virginia state AFL-CIO rally at the State Capitol will come after marches through the Appalachian coal fields. "This is to muster support for the two largest strikes in the country—Eastern Airlines and the UMW," said a march organizer, referring to the current battle of coal miners against Pittston Coal Company. Miners on strike against New Beckley Coal Company will join with Pittston miners from Logan and march into Charleston. Miners are expected from as far away as Pennsylvania and North Carolina.

For over two months now, nearly 1,700 UMW workers have been locked in battle with the Pittston Coal Company. At stake is the existence of their union—Pittston is out to break the UMW. The company, which last year earned almost \$50 million in profits from miners' sweat and blood, pulled out of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) in January 1988, refusing to sign the standard contract. Pittston then cut off medical benefits to 1,500 retirees, widows and disabled miners. Finally, after being kept on the job for 14 months without a contract, the 1,700 UMW miners at Pittston struck on April 5.

At New Beckley Coal in Beckley, West Virginia, 250

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Ron Skeber/Coalfield Progress

Pittston strike support rally April 30 in Wise County, Virginia.