

## Polish Rail Strike Challenges Solidarność "Shock Treatment"

As we go to press, it is reported that the Polish rail strikers have suspended their strike for two weeks. However, none of the issues have been resolved. The *New York Times* (29 May) headlines, "Walesa Settles a Rail Strike, but the Workers Remain Discontented."

Also on Tuesday, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France demonstrated outside the LOT Airlines office in solidarity with the rail strikers during the visit of Polish prime minister Mazowiecki to Paris. Our French comrades carried signs declaring "IMF Bleeds the Working Class from Poland to South Africa," and "The Workers Must Fight Capitalist Restoration in Poland, the DDR and USSR!"

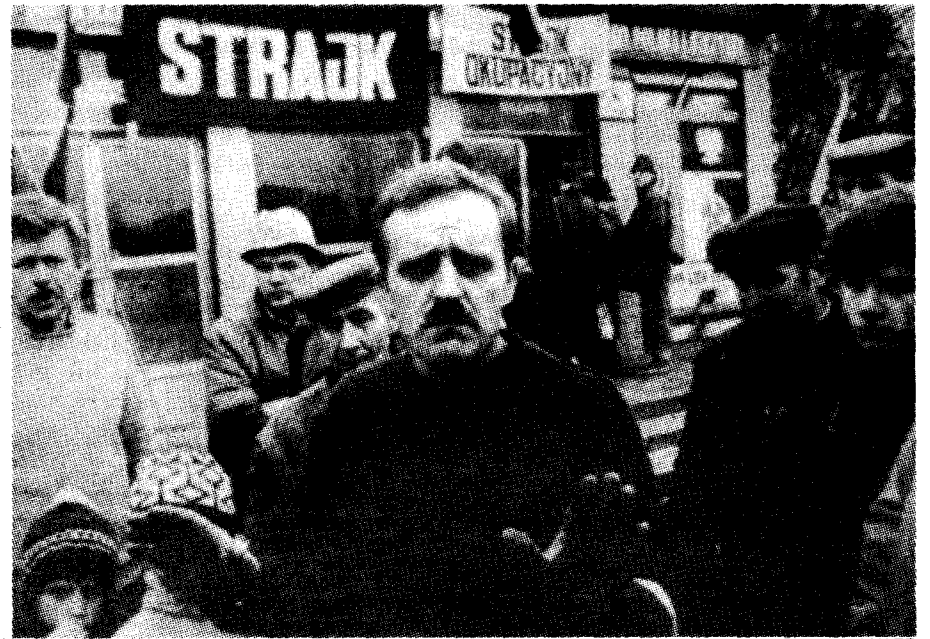
SZCZECIN, Poland, May 26—This is the biggest and busiest port in Poland. But not for the last three days. The normally teeming railyards which take

goods to and from the whole of north-western Poland to the central port of Szczecin are shut down tight as a drum, as a wildcat railway strike centered on the town of Slupsk some 200 kilometers from here enters its second week. Now Gdynia, the second-largest port, is also shut down.

This is the first serious working-class response to the Mazowiecki government's brutal capitalist austerity policies, which have lowered real wages by 40 percent and produced mass unemployment in Poland for the first time in four decades. The biggest challenge yet to the Solidarność-led government's "shock treatment" is electrifying the country. And the reverberations will be felt from the Tyumen oil fields and Kuzbass coal mines in Siberia to East German factories, as well as in the capitalist West.

The rail strike committees are independent of both Solidarność and the

*continued on page 11*



Skarzynski/AFP

Polish workers rebel against wage-cutting, job-slashing plans ordered by the IMF and imposed by pro-capitalist Solidarność government. Above, Silesian miners strike in January.

## Behind the Washington Summit

# Imperialists Fear for Gorbachev's Survival

In recent years, the periodic summit meetings between the commander in chief of U.S. imperialism and the head of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy have been dull, predictable displays of diplomatic hot air—glorified photo ops. Anti-Communist rhetoric on the American side combined with joint declarations on the sanctity of world peace. And then all the "arms control" hokum—so many sea-launched cruise missiles as against so many ICBMs.

However, this summit meeting takes place at a pivotal moment in contemporary history. The Western rulers believe they have won the Cold War hands down, reversing the victory of the Red Army over Nazi Germany in World War II. The postwar division of Europe between the American- and Soviet-dominated spheres, which was negotiated at the Yalta and Potsdam summit meetings, is now crumbling. The Frankfurt bankers and Ruhr industrialists, backed by the U.S. and other NATO powers, are driving to create a Fourth Reich by buying out East Germany.

Yet the NATO powers have not defeated the Russians in a war. The Soviet Union remains a military superpower with 300,000 combat-ready troops still stationed in East Germany. Rather, the



Downing/Newsweek

Bush tries to prop up Gorbachev's crumbling authority. Right: Soviet leader with Tyumen oil field workers in 1985. This spring they ousted local CP bureaucrats, now threaten strike.

Kremlin bureaucracy is *collapsing from the top down*. The "liberal" Stalinist regime of Mikhail Gorbachev is giving up East Europe, has agreed to the imperialist reunification of Germany and is introducing large elements of capitalism



TASS from Sovfoto

into the Soviet economy under the watchword of perestroika (restructuring).

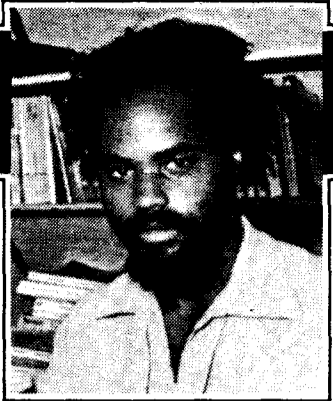
Hence Gorbachev's political survival has become a prime concern for the masters of Wall Street and Washington, and their European NATO allies. As

West German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher put it: "The ambitious goals we have set before us can only be achieved with the success of Gorbachev's proposals for change in the Soviet

*continued on page 4*

## From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

# City of Brotherly Love Gives Up Blood Money



"The system will point guns at people and say that it is in defense of the system, people can point guns at the system and it is seen as wrong, leading people to believe that when the system points guns at people it is in the right of defense but when folks point guns at the system it is in defense of nothing, and y'all will tell people in court and out that there is no defense for this kind of conduct, and lock folks up to make your point daily for conduct that is influenced, boasted, flaunted by the system daily...."

—John Africa, MOVE founder

When news reports hit Huntingdon Prison recently of the multi-million dollar city settlement of civil suits stemming from the May 13th, 1985 massacre of MOVE members in Philadelphia, some inmates reacted with praise.

"Hey, Mu! You hear bouta \$2.5 million MOVE settlement, man? That's somethin', ain't it, man?"

The writer reacted crossly, "That ain't shit, man! It ain't nothin' but blood money! Why ain't the bas-

tards who did that on Death Row?!? This foul system can easily come up with money, 'cuz all they gotta do is use folks' taxes! It ain't nothin' to them! If it was us who did it, we'd be dead or on Death Row! All this system did was steal otha folks' money, their taxes, to settle the suit—you ain't see nobody go to jail—but 'Mona Africa—did you?!?"

Stung by the unexpected outburst, Smokey corrected my initial impression, "Naw, man. I ain't sayin' it mean nothing, I'm just checkin' to make sure you seen it!"

I saw it, and the hand of injustice behind it that reduces the brilliance of life to the stagnation of green paper, that equates the miraculous with the mundane, indeed the sacred with the profane.

I explained to the brother that MOVE "ain't into" money.

I thought of those kids, so alive with life they glowed; of Nick, Tree, 'Rad, the remarkable people who pumped life into a remarkable teaching—the teaching of John Africa.

Days later, a supporter sent a copy of an article featuring an interview with Alberta Africa, MOVE's Naturalist Minister. Her response? "Blood money."

"We don't give a damn about that money. We want members of our family home," the ubiquitous revolutionary stated (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 14 March).

I was cheered by her words, and the depth of her commitment.

She forthrightly pointed to the inherent historic injustice in the situation, where this system's police kill Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and the poor with impunity, only to cough up a few bucks of other people's money in a macabre form of "settlement."

But let those folks dare to defend themselves against the system, and they face suffering, pain and death.

How much money does it take to "settle" mass murder?

15 April 1990

Mumia 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. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

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, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.



TROTSKY

### Trotsky on the Fate of the Soviet Union

In the Soviet Union and throughout East Europe, the starkly posed alternatives are workers political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. More than 50 years ago, Leon Trotsky analyzed Stalin's bureaucratic regime as a parasitic caste resting atop the gains of the October Revolution. He laid out how it would shatter, with different elements propelled into the opposing camps of revolution and reaction. As the Stalinist bureaucra-



LENIN

cies disintegrate from the top, the working class has not yet taken a decisive role. Latter-day "vulgar democrats" have enthused over any and all "anti-Stalinism," not least Polish Solidarność. But today in Poland the working class has begun to fight the counterrevolutionary Solidarność leadership in a desperate struggle to survive. This makes all the more urgent the construction of an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard.

Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat? Thus stands the question upon whose decision hangs the fate of the Soviet Union. The vast majority of the Soviet workers are even now hostile to the bureaucracy. The peasant masses hate them with their healthy plebeian hatred. If in contrast to the peasants the workers have almost never come out on the road of open struggle, thus condemning the protesting villages to confusion and impotence, this is not only because of the repressions. The workers fear lest, in throwing out the bureaucracy, they will open the way for a capitalist restoration. The mutual relations between state and class are much more complicated than they are represented by the vulgar "democrats." Without a planned economy the Soviet Union would be thrown back for decades. In that sense the bureaucracy continues to fulfill a necessary function. But it fulfills it in such a way as to prepare an explosion of the whole system which may completely sweep out the results of the revolution. The workers are realists. Without deceiving themselves with regard to the ruling caste—at least with regard to its lower tiers which stand near to them—they see in it the watchman for the time being of a certain part of their own conquests. They will inevitably drive out the dishonest, impudent and unreliable watchman as soon as they see another possibility. For this it is necessary that in the West or the East another revolutionary dawn arise.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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## PC Partisan Defense Committee

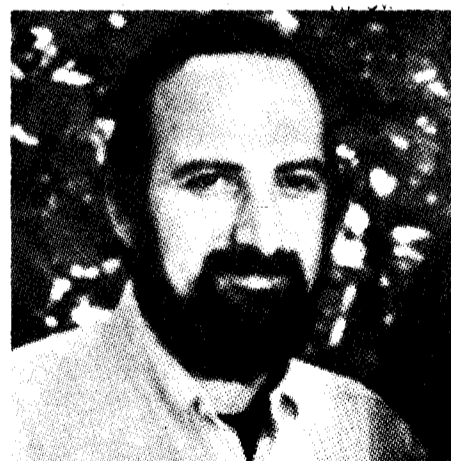
CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

# Stop Medical Torture of Dr. Alan Berkman!

For 20 years, Dr. Alan Berkman, 44, gave his medical services to the poor, oppressed and those in struggle against their oppressors. From the uprisings at New York's Attica prison to the Wounded Knee Indian reservation in South Dakota Dr. Berkman was there to care for the victims of racist state terror. Today, he lies in a Washington, D.C. jail, stricken with a recurrence of Hodgkin's disease, a treatable form of lymphatic cancer, while his vindictive jailers are denying him the medical treatment he needs to live.

Dr. Berkman is one of the "Resistance Conspiracy" defendants—six activists charged with conspiracy to bomb government offices including the U.S. Capitol following American imperialism's bloody rape of Grenada in 1983. Nobody was hurt in the blasts. The government has no idea who did it. So they framed Berkman, Marilyn Buck, Laura Whitehorn, Linda Evans, Tim Blunk and Susan Rosenberg on conspiracy charges, using a theory of "vicarious liability"—i.e., they are guilty of sharing the goals of those who set the bombs. Berkman is already serving a 12-year sentence, convicted in 1987 for possessing explosives, based on the exact same events. Last November the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that this second prosecution doesn't violate the constitutional prohibition against double jeopardy. So Berkman faces up to 45 more years—if he lives.

Alan Berkman has been a special target for the sadists who run U.S. prisons. While held in preventive detention in 1985, Berkman discovered his own cancer. It took persistent outside protest, leading to a court order transferring Berkman to a cancer treatment center, for him to get the necessary medical



Dr. Alan Berkman

Urgent Action Network

attention. Following emergency abdominal surgery he was prematurely discharged and shipped off to the notorious high security unit at the Marion, Illinois federal pen, to spend a year in solitary while receiving treatment for his cancer.

After suspecting a relapse last winter, Berkman requested a CT scan, which was denied for six months until March 19. In reading the CT scan films, Berkman discovered a mass in his abdomen. Yet it took six more weeks, until May 3, for the prison authorities to permit a biopsy. The tissue sample confirmed the reappearance of Hodgkin's disease, a form of cancer treatable with chemicals. But eight months after Berkman first suspected he was again stricken and requested diagnostic tests, the feds continue to deny treatment, waiting instead for Berkman to die.

The official campaign of torture against Dr. Berkman has not silenced his activism against racist state repression. He has written the Partisan Defense

# Palestinian Revolt Spreads Inside Israel

# Zionist Terror on the Rampage

On Sunday morning May 20, former Israeli soldier Ami Popper went on a shooting spree, murdering seven unarmed Palestinian workers and wounding ten more in the town of Rishon le Zion, seven miles southeast of Tel Aviv. Within hours the West Bank cities of Hebron and Ramallah and virtually the entire Gaza Strip exploded in the most sweeping protests since Israel occupied them in 1967. Angry crowds stoned Israeli army and police personnel and stormed military outposts. Army reinforcements poured in, placing both the West Bank and Gaza under 24-hour curfew, firing tear gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition into crowds of Palestinians, killing 17 more and wounding nearly 1,000.

The next day, the protests spread to include Israeli Arabs in Jerusalem, Nazareth, Lod and Haifa. The Palestinian flag was raised and stones and petrol bombs rained on Israeli police and government offices. Across the Jordan River, thousands of Jordanians poured into the streets and 20,000 Palestinian refugees closed the main Amman-Damascus highway in protest. As tensions mounted sharply throughout the Near East, an Arab League summit meeting was held in Baghdad. And Radio Monte Carlo broadcast unconfirmed reports of Israeli military mobilization along their borders. As we wrote last issue ("Zionist Drive Toward 'Greater Israel'," WV No. 502, 18 May):

"The bloody course of Zionist Israel appears heading toward a decisive turning point.... Now the crisis-ridden and over-extended Israeli state is experiencing a massive influx of Soviet Jews, driven out by rising anti-Semitism and fear of pogroms by Russian fascists, and encouraged by the Zionists. These Soviet Jewish immigrants are slated to be used as both a pretext and as shock troops in the Zionists' 'final solution' to the Palestinian question."

Every day 50,000-100,000 Palestinian

workers from the West Bank and Gaza commute into pre-1967 Israel. They shape up at junctions, like the one known as "the slave market" in Rishon le Zion, waiting for Israeli contractors to make their pick. That Sunday morning at 6 a.m., some 50 workers, accustomed to being harassed by Israeli soldiers, were stopped by Ami Popper who demanded to see their papers. He then shot 17 of them in cold blood.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir called it "a shocking act of lunacy." Israeli authorities spread the story that the killer was mentally deranged. But after 29 months of brutal Israeli repression of the Palestinian *intifada* (uprising)—in which over 900 Arabs have been killed, including 159 under the age of 16, and a staggering 63,000 children injured—Ami Popper's bloody deed fits right in with the government policy of mass murder.

Israeli policy itself is lunacy. With 3.7 million Jews in Israel, as against a rapidly growing Palestinian population of 2.5 million in Israel and the Occupied Territories, not to speak of the 100 million Arabs in the rest of the region, a Zionist Reich, even equipped with nuclear weapons, has no other future except Armageddon. In carving a Jewish theocratic state out of the living body of the Palestinian people, the Zionists have already fought five major wars to conquer *Lebensraum*, and they're gearing up to do it again.

The *New York Times* (16 May) notes that "Many Arab and Palestinian officials have argued that the wave of Soviet immigrants could displace the 1.7 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.... Indeed, Iraqi officials have said the upheaval will lead to war." Shamir's "Greater Israel" speech last January signaled a policy of mass terror and war. If Ami Popper hadn't triggered the mass shootings by the Israeli army,

Committee about death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, requesting petitions to circulate to his many friends and supporters, both inside and outside prison walls. Urging support to Dr. Alan Berkman's struggle to survive, former New York Black Panther Party leader Dhoruba al-Mujahid bin Wahad, recently released after serving 17 years on a COINTELPRO frame-up, recounted the doctor's dedication to the cause of black struggle:

"Dr. Alan Berkman has a history of supporting African American liberation struggles. He has lent his skills to the cause of African American liberation. He has treated all well-known political prisoners, when no one else would treat them. He worked around the Attica case. It was his diagnosis of Sekou Odinga, that brought to light that the man was tortured by the police when he was arrested. He worked with the Lincoln Detox Center up in the Bronx, when the Black Panther Party and the Young Lords developed a whole new approach to drug detoxification in the late '60s-early '70s" (WBAI-FM, 1 May).

On May 18 the Partisan Defense Com-

mittee wrote to the Bureau of Prisons demanding immediate medical treatment for Berkman:

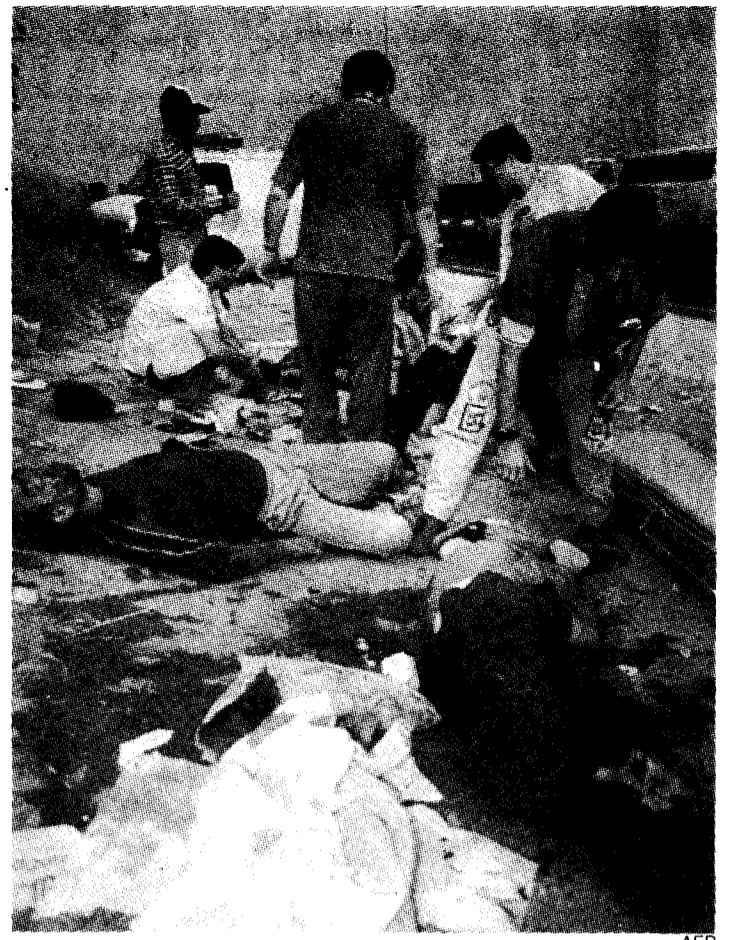
"Because he stands up against racist oppression and government policies he is falsely labeled a 'terrorist.' Unable to sentence him to death in the courts, the U.S. government—the real terrorist—is trying to execute Dr. Berkman through medical neglect.

"While Dr. Berkman is denied requested medical treatment, the Supreme Court has endorsed the practice of forced drug injections of inmates in U.S. prisons. For years the U.S. has raised an international hue and cry over the use of drugs on prisoners in Soviet psychiatric institutions. The hypocrisy and cruelty of this government knows no bounds.

"We demand that Dr. Alan Berkman be immediately released to obtain the medical treatment necessary to save his life—something he will not be given in your jails!"

Dr. Berkman is urging supporters to demand he be granted a humanitarian parole. Write to: United States Parole Commission, North Central Regional Office, 10920, Ambassador Park, Air

Palestinian workers gunned down at "slave market" outside Tel Aviv.



AFP

## 24 Killed, 1,000 Injured

Shamir & Co. would have found another pretext.

While Israeli Arabs have previously staged protests in support of the *intifada*, the massive outpouring on May 21 was unprecedented. Frustration over daily discrimination and distinctly second-class citizenship finally reached the flash point. In Jordan, the mass protests in response to the May 20 murders came a week after a march of 10,000 protesting Soviet Jewish immigration clashed with Jordanian riot squads at the Allenby Bridge to the Israeli-occupied West Bank. These were only the most recent clashes between the Palestinian population (over half Jordan's total) and the Hashemite monarchy which in 1970 butchered 20,000 in the "Black September" massacre.

Israeli Arabs historically formed a significant base of support for the Israeli Communist Party, the Rakah, which has claimed to be anti-Zionist. Almost half of Israeli Arabs serve as a workforce for Israeli Jewish industries and a quarter work on Jewish farms and construction sites. This now-segregated industrial proletariat could be a powerful force in a binational mass revolutionary party to bring down the Zionist rulers who are hurtling Israel down the road to mass destruction.

In the flurry of diplomatic activity, another Arab "moderate," Egyptian president Mubarak, told a meeting of the Second International in Cairo that the flood of Soviet Jews threatened to "put the whole region on the verge of a new bloody confrontation." In Baghdad, Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein threatened to unleash "weapons of mass destruction" on Israel if it launches a first strike, but Syrian president Assad refused to attend the Arab summit meeting. Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat begged a special United Nations Security Council meeting (held in Geneva because the Bush administration refused to let Arafat come to New York) for a UN observer team, but the U.S. vetoed this at Israel's behest.

Time is running out in the Near East. If kill-crazed state terrorists like Shamir and Saddam Hussein pull the trigger, it could set off a world conflagration. A proletarian vanguard must be forged that can break the cycle of bloody wars of nationalist expansion and revenge, leading the Arab and Hebrew-speaking working people in class struggle against their own rulers. Defend the Palestinians! Israel out of the Occupied Territories! For a socialist federation in which all peoples of the Near East can live in peace. ■

World Center, Suite 220, Kansas City, MO 64152. Save Dr. Alan Berkman!

\* \* \*

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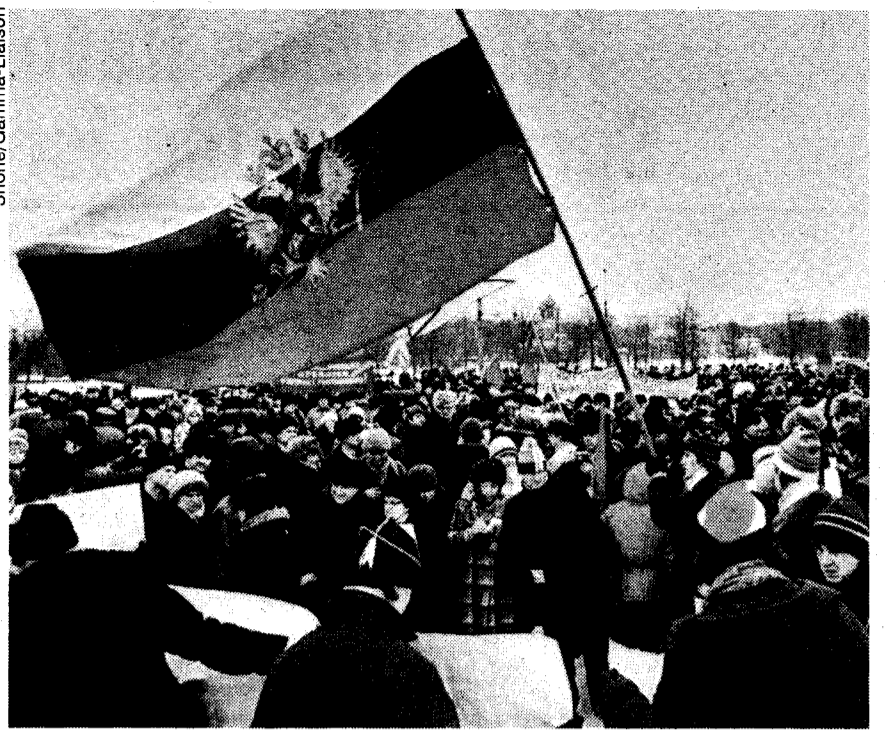
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Niedenthal/Time

**Separatist demonstration in Vilnius January 10 (left) pushes capitalist restoration under cover of "self-determination." Great Russian chauvinists in Moscow (right) under flag of the tsar.**



Shone/Gamma-Liaison

## Summit...

(continued from page 1)

Union." But Gorbachev's proposals for change in the Soviet Union have been the exact opposite of a success. Thus Western imperialism's euphoria over the "death of Communism" is now being tempered by the worry of a "conservative" backlash in the Soviet Union, fueled above all by fear of a German Fourth Reich and economic discontent over the ravages of perestroika.

At a press conference early this month, Bush expressed his concern that the military appears to be reasserting its influence in the Kremlin. A Sovietologist for the premier Cold War think tank, the Rand Corporation, declared that in the Soviet armed forces, "You have most, if not all, the necessary ingredients present for a civil war" (*Wall Street Journal*, 13 April). Panic buying has engulfed the Soviet Union in anticipation of a 200 percent food price increase. And only a couple of days before the summit, Gorbachev's chief rival Boris Yeltsin, a former lieutenant of the Kremlin leader turned populist demagogue, was elected to the presidency of the Russian republic, the core of the USSR.

Western ruling circles are no longer asking: what will Gorbachev do, what does he want? Instead they are asking: what can Gorbachev do, how far will he be allowed to go? The man they've expected to bury Communism in the Soviet Union may instead be buried by his own people, from embittered veterans of the Afghan war to workers fearful of losing their jobs.

### No to a Fourth Reich!

Despite the Western ruling classes' appreciation for Gorbachev and concern for his survival, the summit is not shaping up to be a love-in. Washington and other NATO capitals are demanding of the Soviet Union unconditional surrender on the German front. A year ago they would have considered it unthinkable that even Gorbachev would agree to the capitalist reunification of Germany under any conditions. But now they are demanding that a unified Germany must be part of the NATO alliance.

As a compromise Gorbachev proposed it could be in both NATO and the Warsaw Pact until another arrangement was worked out. Bush and Kohl contemptuously dismissed this idea as "another formula for neutrality." Moscow then offered to accept reunification while putting the question of military alliances on hold. Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze argued the "settlements of the internal and external aspects of German unification do not necessarily have to occur simultaneously." Washington and Bonn immediately shot down this proposal, too.

There are any number of diplomatic formulas and arrangements that would allow Gorbachev to save face. A unified Germany need not be a formal member

of NATO to be an actual military ally of U.S. imperialism against Russia. But Western ruling circles believe that the Soviet bargaining position is so weak, they can impose their *maximum* demands. One senior Washington official gloated: "These guys are losers on a big scale, and they know it" (*Newsweek*, 28 May).

The "we won, you lost" triumphalism in NATO capitals is adding fuel to a backlash against appeasement within the Soviet military and among broad layers of patriotic Soviet citizens. Gorbachev is clearly feeling the heat. In an interview on the eve of the summit with *Time* magazine, which only a few months ago proclaimed him "Man of the Decade," Gorbachev declared that "we will never agree" to give NATO "the leading role in building a new Europe." A few days before Gorbachev's pronouncement, a Bonn diplomat noted in a worried tone: "The Soviets have the theoretical ability to block the whole process of unification. To unify Germany against the will of the Soviet Union would automatically destabilize the political-military situation in Europe" (*Washington Post*, 25 May).

To the extent that the Russians obstruct the drive toward reunification, it will buy precious time for the German working class to mobilize against the creation of a Fourth Reich. In recent weeks there are signs of increasing opposition to reunification in both West and East Germany. Working people in West Germany rightly fear that they will have to pay for the great "leveraged buyout" of the German Democratic Republic (DDR). In the DDR greater numbers of working people are realizing that capitalist restoration will bring massive unemployment, the dismantling of social programs (e.g., free day care for children) and even eviction from their homes.

In a statement addressed to May Day demonstrations in East and West Berlin, the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League, stated:

"The need for joint class struggle in West and East Germany is posed point blank by plans to erect a Fourth Reich that will mean terrible misery for millions of DDR citizens, and attacks on the West German working class as well, as the bosses seek to drive down wages and living standards by threatening to shift work to lower paid workers in the DDR. Against 'national unity' for the bosses, we need internationalist working-class unity in struggle against the bosses!"

### Lithuania: Anti-Soviet Front Line

The world bourgeoisies' concern for Gorbachev's survival came to the surface with the Lithuania crisis. When on March 11 the Sajudis nationalists proclaimed their "independence" from the USSR, they were initially cheered on in NATO capitals while Bush blustered that the Soviet government better not use force or else. However, Moscow made a show of military muscle in Lithuania, and Gorbachev imposed an economic boycott which is throttling the secessionist republic, whose oil supplies are about to run

out this week.

The hardest line against the Lithuanian secessionists has come from Soviet military cadre, who have been more openly critical of Gorbachev's course than ever before. After meeting with Aleksandr Yakovlev, the Kremlin's number two man, a Sajudis representative said, "he kept talking about the colossal pressure they were feeling from the Army" (*Newsweek*, 23 April). The deputy commander of the army garrison in Vilnius, Lieutenant Colonel Valery Shorupov, publicly derided Gorbachev's "half-measures" and called on him to impose direct presidential rule in the republic. Higher up the chain of command, the deputy chief of the Soviet general staff, General Vladimir Denisov, wrote in the trade-union newspaper *Trud* that "the carrying out of the policy of the present Lithuanian leaders for secession is pregnant with danger for the security not only of the Baltic republics and the U.S.S.R., but for all of Europe."

Denisov linked the danger in the Baltics to the rise of "revanchist forces" in Germany. The acute fear among Soviet military men of a new Fourth Reich looming on the Western horizon was well expressed by Major General Algimantas Vysotskis, head of the Vilnius recruiting board:

"A united Germany will have 77 million people. Thatcher says 'Let it join NATO.' We pull out of Hungary and Czechoslovakia and what's the response? They put Germany in NATO. The United States and Great Britain are, at it again, arming Germany. They took to the Lithuanian corridor, and along it they will come, all over again."

—*Guardian* [London], 23 April

General Vysotskis knows whereof he speaks. Lithuanian nationalists, who last declared their "independence" when Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union in

1941, provided some of the most vicious contingents of Hitler's extermination campaigns. Twenty million Soviet citizens died defending their country from the Third Reich and its local collaborators, and liberating all of Europe from the horror of the Nazi occupation.

When it became clear that Moscow was not simply going to cave in on this one, the NATO powers began pressuring the Sajudis nationalists to come to terms with Gorbachev. Lithuanian "president" Vytautas Landsbergis angrily accused Bush of perpetrating "another Munich," while White House officials told the press that Lithuanian leadership was "a little flaky." When Lithuanian "prime minister" Kazimiera Prunskiene visited Washington a few weeks later, she was received by Bush only as a "private" citizen. The imperial president told her bluntly his first priority was getting the Soviet forces out of East Europe. Lithuania would have to wait its turn to join the capitalist "free world."

In late April West German chancellor Helmut Kohl and French president François Mitterrand, at Washington's urging, addressed an open letter to the Vilnius secessionists, telling them to suspend the laws most repugnant to the Soviet government (e.g., exempting Lithuanian youth from Soviet army service). Having been given marching orders by their imperialist godfathers, the Sajudis nationalists have since put on hold a number of flagrantly anti-Soviet laws. For his part, Gorbachev offered to open negotiations which would allow Lithuania to become independent according to Soviet laws (which require a two-thirds vote in a referendum) so long as Landsbergis & Co. suspend their "declaration of independence." The Lithuanian parliament refused.

In solidarity with Lithuania, early this

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## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

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month the Latvian nationalists, too, declared their "independence" albeit without a fixed timetable and appealing to Gorbachev to negotiate a settlement. But unlike Lithuania, almost half the population of Latvia and Estonia—and a majority of the working class—consists of Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews, ethnic Siberians and other Soviet peoples. These Russian speakers rightly fear that if the Baltic nationalists gain sovereign power they will be reduced to second-class citizenship or even be driven from their homes. In mid-May thousands of Russian-speaking workers stormed the parliament buildings in Latvia and Estonia, chanting "Soviet Union" and waving red flags with the hammer and sickle. Conspicuous among the demonstrators were Soviet army officers in uniform.

It would appear that the Soviet military has decided to draw the line of retreat in the Baltics. But it is very late. Throughout the 1980s, U.S. imperialism waged a war on the cheap against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Had the Soviet forces and their Afghan leftist allies mopped up the CIA-armed *mujahedin*—Islamic fanatics who shot schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read—Reagan/Bush's America would have lost a key battle in Cold War II and suffered a humiliating setback. But the Kremlin fought a *halfhearted* war in Afghanistan, and last year Gorbachev pulled out the Soviet troops in order to appease Western imperialism. Far from appeasing them, the Afghan withdrawal signaled to the NATO capitals that the Soviet government had lost its power and will to fight. And now all across East Europe Soviet forces are being pulled out.

To sell the abandonment of Afghanistan to the Soviet people, Gorbachev's propaganda apparatus deliberately promoted pacifism, defeatism, narrow, self-centered nationalism and illusions in the moral superiority of the West. Moscow publicists blamed Cold War II on Brezhnev's alleged "adventurism," not on the aggressive drive of U.S. imperialism under the rabidly anti-Communist Reagan. The "Afghanistan syndrome" was clearly in evidence earlier this year in protests against calling up military reserves to help stop the bloody communalist war between the Azerbaijanis and Armenians. Now counterrevolutionary forces pose a strategic threat in the militarily vital Baltics. This bitter experience amply demonstrates: *better to fight imperialism in Afghanistan, and now East Germany, than inside the Soviet Union!*

### Soviet Workers Against Perestroika

In one respect, resentment within the Soviet military over Gorbachev's abandonment of East Europe is directly linked to the economics of perestroika. General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the general staff, exclaimed: "We will bring the troops home, but no one has clearly thought what it will cost. Families will find themselves without apartments or work, children without schools." Housing has always been scarce in the Soviet Union. But a few years ago a demobilized soldier would have had no trouble at all finding a job. Managers and economists complained about the acute shortage of labor.

However, a key aspect of perestroika is using the whip of unemployment to strengthen labor discipline. Especially since the miners strikes last summer, the Gorbachev regime has been quite cautious in implementing its market-oriented "reforms." Thus the Soviet economy is today a contradictory mess. Consumer prices are still government-controlled but state shops are empty while well-stocked private entrepreneurs ("cooperativists") practice extortion. The state treasury keeps shaky enterprises afloat but at the cost of building up pressures for an explosion of hyperinflation.

Gorbachev's caution on the economic front has brought fire from "free marketers" both at home and abroad. In March Gorbachev appointed as his lat-



Soviet troops departing Afghanistan (above) after Moscow's halfhearted ten-year campaign. Soviet airborne troops in Lithuania this April (right). Better to fight imperialism in Afghanistan, and now East Germany, than inside the Soviet Union!



Vyatkin/Novosti

est economic adviser Nikolai Petrakov, dubbed "the Milton Friedman of the USSR" and an ardent advocate of a Polish-style "shock treatment": immediately abolish all controls, letting runaway inflation clear the market; let all unprofitable enterprises go bankrupt, throwing millions of workers into the streets. But the Gorbachev regime has shied away from that kind of all-out confrontation with the masses. Petrakov ruefully conceded: "The political aspect of shock therapy must be soberly considered, and take precedence over the economic" (*Guardian* [London], 25 April). In other words, they don't want to be lynched by angry workers.

Nonetheless, Gorbachev & Co. have just announced plans to triple the price of bread on July 1 and double food prices in general on New Year's 1991.

toward the privileges enjoyed by the present Soviet officialdom, and he went on: "I can imagine how powerful the wrath of the people will be when instead of the country houses of Politburo and Government officials they see even more luxuriously owned private country houses. The people will be in a rage" (*New York Times*, 14 May). Even the official, bureaucratically controlled trade unions have become a point of resistance to perestroika.

The hostility that many Soviet workers bear against a "market economy" was manifest in the tumultuous May Day demonstration in Moscow. The Western media naturally focused on the orgy of anti-Communism displayed by the "unofficial" participants with slogans like "Down With Empire and Red Fascism!" Self-styled anarchists carried black flags.

bureaucracy is in effect subsidizing budding capitalists by driving down the living standards of working people.

Soviet workers cannot maintain their jobs and living standards simply through defensive trade-union struggles. To defend themselves the working class must take command of the means of production. This means taking *political power* by ousting the Kremlin oligarchy and establishing a planned, egalitarian economy administered under soviet democracy. To realize this program it is necessary to reforge in the USSR a genuinely communist vanguard party, modeled on the Bolshevik Party which led the October Revolution, the party of Lenin and Trotsky.

In the absence of such a revolutionary party, working-class resistance to perestroika is being channeled into Great Russian nationalism and even anti-Semitism ("the socialism of fools") backed by the conservative wing of the Kremlin bureaucracy. These forces came together last month with the formation of the Russian Communist Party. While the minority national republics (e.g., the Ukraine, Armenia) have long had organizationally separate Communist parties within the framework of the Soviet CP, the Russian republic heretofore has not. The constituents of the Russian Communist Party range from the United Front of Toilers to the nationalist outfit Fatherland to the notorious defender of Stalin, the Leningrad teacher Nina Andreyeva.

Soviet workers must understand that Gorbachev's program is not an alien Western import but the *end product* of six and a half decades of Stalinism, the political rule of a bureaucratic caste on the basis of collectivized property. The "free market" intellectuals and technocrats are for the most part the privileged offspring of Stalin's apparatchiks, who now believe their future would be brighter as capitalists or agents of Western multinationals. Likewise, Gorbachev's appeasement of imperialism and abandonment of East Europe is a consummate expression of Stalinist nationalism, codified in the dogma of "socialism in one country." At the same time, Stalin and his heirs, by imposing an oppressive police state in East Europe, have driven much of the East European populace, including significant sections of the working class, into the arms of "democratic" Western imperialism.

The creation of a German Fourth Reich, capitalist reconquest of East Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union can even now be stopped and turned back. But *not* on the basis of Russian nationalism and populism. To defend the gains of the October Revolution and defend themselves against the threat of mass unemployment, class-conscious workers and leftist intellectuals must recover the intense *proletarian internationalism* personified by the "Three L's"—the Russian V.I. Lenin, the Polish Jew Rosa Luxemburg and the German Karl Liebknecht. For the unity of Soviet, Polish and German workers against imperialism! ■



Ukrainian miners inspecting pit equipment during summer 1989 Donbass strike against effects of perestroika.

This is plenty shocking to Soviet working people and may well set off food riots. To claim a "popular" mandate to slash living standards, the architects of perestroika are calling a nationwide referendum on the new economic program. Whatever the outcome of this referendum, Soviet workers must use *the weapons of class struggle* to defend themselves against the degenerate Stalinist bureaucracy, pro-capitalist intellectuals and the growing number of rapacious private entrepreneurs.

To the extent that the working class has entered the fray it has been against the effects of perestroika. For its part, the so-called United Front of Toilers, which claims millions of supporters, combines populist economic demands with a large dose of Great Russian nationalism. An economic spokesman for the Front, Aleksei Sergeyev, noted popular hostility

Others carried flags of tsarist Russia. The antics of this reactionary zoo, right under the noses of the Soviet leadership, grabbed headlines around the world. It was little noticed that the *official* trade-union contingents in the May Day parade were from the *opposite side* also marching against what Gorbachev stands for, carrying such slogans as "Down With Private Property" and "A Market Economy Is Just Power to the Plutocracy."

The economic status quo is intolerable and unsustainable as the halfway house of perestroika produces the worst of both worlds. Managers have been given wide latitude to dispose of their enterprise's resources. Many sell their products and even assets to private entrepreneurs. While managers are looting socialized property, the state treasury is running the printing presses to keep their enterprises solvent. Under Gorbachev, the Soviet

# West German Cops Storm Frankfurt Demo Against Reunification

The following article is translated from Spartakist No. 71 (22 May), published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

FRANKFURT/MAIN, West Germany, May 12—When nearly 20,000 leftists assembled in the Frankfurt Opernplatz Saturday afternoon to demonstrate under the slogan “Never Again Germany!” (Marlene Dietrich, 1945) against the capitalist reunification of Germany, the leftists got a taste of what a Greater Germany has in store for them: the square was heavily surrounded by police units with reinforcement from West German border guards and riot squads in bulletproof vests. Only people who allowed themselves to be searched could enter the square; demonstrators’ cars were stopped.

The message to the demonstrators from the Frankfurt police of the social-democratic/Greens coalition city government was clear: intimidation and illegalization. This is the kind of police terror East German interior minister Diestel of the [right-wing] DSU is yearning for when he demands “typical police weapons.”

The march through the empty banking district and downtown area after the close of business was hemmed in left and right by police chains, from which there was no lack of provocations. At the concluding rally at the Römerplatz [in front of city hall] around 4:00 p.m., the police unleashed an orgy of violence such as Frankfurt has not seen since 1985. The approximately 10,000 demonstrators still at the city hall were surrounded and hermetically sealed off;

three water cannons sprayed the protesters; police squads stormed the square, clubs swinging. Arrest squads hauled off 18 demonstrators, and there were numerous injuries.

The demonstration itself was marked by “left”-nationalist *impotence* against the imperialists’ *Anschluss* (annexation) offensive, with a political perspective that did not go beyond pleading for “two states” and pacifistic appeals. One of the slogans was “For a West Germany without an army!” while the anti-Soviet MLPD characterizes the DDR (East Germany) as “bureaucratic capitalism,”

failing to understand that here the issue is counterrevolution and thus seeing nothing to defend. The PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the former DDR ruling party] marched under the banner “*Kein StaatSStreichvertrag—Streichung des Artikels 23GG!*” [No Coup d’Etat Treaty—Delete Article 23 of the West German Basic Law], so as to offer itself at an opportune moment as a “democratic and not a radical party” (PDS chairman Gregor Gysi). This fits right in with the Greens, who are busy trying to provide counterrevolution with a “democratic” legitimacy through

a plebiscite on the constitution.

The majority of the demonstrators were Autonomes. Absent were the powerful trade unions and a proletarian perspective: only the mobilization of the working class in defense of its gains will be able to prevent the formation of a Fourth Reich. Today it is necessary to intervene in the partial, defensive struggles of the East German workers with the perspective of resisting and reversing the process of capitalist reunification. That is the way to stop German imperialism from carrying out its sinister plans. ■



Frankfurt, May 12—Cops unleash water cannon against leftists protesting imperialists’ *Anschluss* of East Germany.

## Spartakist Workers Party of Germany Says:

# Defend Our Mozambican Co-Workers!

The following article is reprinted from Spartakist No. 71 (22 May).

On two successive weekends, a workers’ dormitory in the Lichtenberg district of East Berlin was attacked during the night by Nazi gangs wielding stones, bottles and knives. Shouting racist abuse such as “N----rs out, foreigners out,” they tried to storm the residence, which is occupied mostly by Mozambicans. The foreign workers had to barricade themselves in their home, and even after the police showed up, the attacks lasted into the early morning hours. One week earlier in Hoyerswerda, on May 1 a Mozambican was beaten by fascist thugs and had to be hospitalized, whereupon there were street battles and the workers’ dormitory was attacked. Several Mozambicans were injured.

These deadly attacks are a further grisly escalation of the Nazi skinhead terror in the DDR, which has been rising along with capitalist restoration and German nationalism. Comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) visited the residence in Lichtenberg and spoke with the Mozambican workers, most of whom work at KWO [a metal cable factory] and in the refrigeration works. Outside of their cramped dormitory and the factories they work in, these workers can only go out in the streets in groups; they reported an appalling escalation of



Spartakist Workers Party at May Day demonstration in East Berlin.

threats and attacks, and at night they must lock themselves in.

While selling our press at the KWO plant we spoke with many workers who were shocked by these attacks. Some took stacks of our Portuguese translation of “What Do the Spartakists Want?”

to pass on to fellow workers. What’s urgently needed are organized workers defense groups from KWO, the refrigeration works and other plants, to defend the foreign workers’ dormitories against fascist attacks. This could set an example for workers throughout the DDR of how

to sweep the fascist filth off the streets.

Below we reprint a letter that the SpAD wrote in solidarity to Mozambicans in Hoyerswerda.

Berlin, 7 May 1990

Dear Friends,

Today we were outraged to learn of the attack on you that took place on May Day. This attack constitutes a cowardly fascist provocation. We condemn all attacks on you and would like to express our sympathy and wish your injured comrades a speedy recovery.

Already under the Honecker government you had to live in poor housing conditions and were subjected to insults. And now, with the efforts of German imperialism and its lackeys to set up a Fourth Reich, the brown plague [fascism] is raising its head. The Nazis/skinheads are the shock troops, the gangs of thugs of capitalist reunification and thus of counterrevolution. A reunified Germany on a capitalist basis also means a resurgence of German nationalism. And while capital is organizing the sellout of our achievements and seeks, under the cover of a currency union, to drive the workers into poverty, foreigners, homosexuals and leftists are being attacked by organized fascist mobs. In the West as well,

*continued on page 9*

# End of the Line for Canadian CP

## Lurching Toward Social Democracy

At a press conference in April, George Hewison, leader of the Communist Party of Canada, announced to the public that at a party conference next October the membership will be asked to dump the word "Communist" from the party's name. It's "a poor vote getter," Hewison complained. Besides, he added, "I don't want to be identified with Nicolae Ceausescu and I don't think anyone else in our party wants to be either" (*Toronto Star*, 12 April).

Hewison said the goal was dumping its "Stalinist past" in favor of "democratic socialism," to build a "united party of the socialist left." Meanwhile, at a recent conference of the Communist Party of Quebec, motions were put forward calling for the complete dissolution of the party. Many cadres and organizers have already voted with their feet. Attendance at CP public meetings is one-half to one-third of a year ago. Even its traditional May Day march in Vancouver was canceled this year.

Everything is up for grabs in what is called "a process of renewal," which as the CP's press admits, puts "every organizational and theoretical concept on which the world communist movement has been based for the past 70 years up for reexamination." Instead of ritual incantations of proletarian internationalism, long since abandoned in practice, Hewison & Co. offer Maple Leaf social democracy. Thus a Central Committee resolution called for the CP to "re-define its relations" with the New Democratic Party (*Canadian Tribune*, 16 April).

And at the Young Communist League of Canada convention held in Toronto May 18-21, delegates noted that their organization had shrunk by 50 percent since their last gathering. One resolution claimed the crisis was so bad that merely "transforming the YCL will not enable us to get out of our isolation and disrepute." In the end, the convention voted to drop the name "Communist," junk all reference to "Marxism-Leninism" and break direct political links with the Communist Party, all in the name of "unity" with other "progressive youth forces."

Several delegates proclaimed that Communism had become a "dirty word." But this wasn't the only view presented. A spokesman for the Trotskyist League of Canada, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), herself a former member of the YCL, addressed the convention: "We are proud to be Marxists, we are proud to be Leninists, we are proud to be Communists—a taboo word here today," she said. Today more than ever, the Trotskyists are manifestly the only ones who continue on Lenin's road.

### Stalinism in Collapse—Communism Lives!

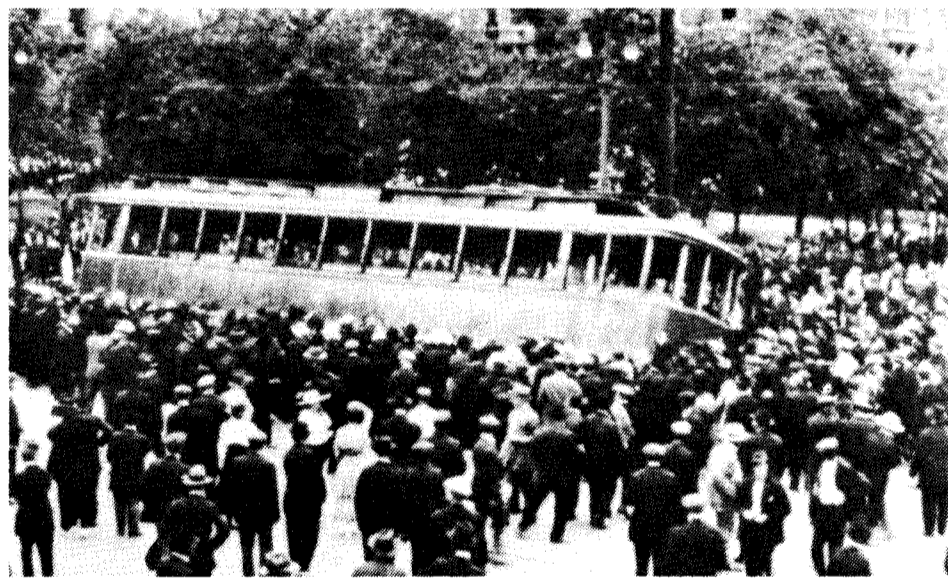
The bourgeoisie's triumphal proclamations of the "death of Communism" are taking their toll on the Canadian CP which, like the imperialists, has long identified "communism" with the corrupt,



Griffin/Canadian Tribune  
**George Hewison presides over CP's disintegration, as party press reels from collapse of Stalinism in East Europe.**

parasitic rule of the Stalinist bureaucracies from Moscow to Bucharest to Havana. The capitalist media gloats: "The Communist Party of Canada has decided it would rather be dead than red" and "The Party's Over, Eh?" (*Vancouver Province*, 12 April).

In a letter of resignation, printed in the *Canadian Tribune* (7 May), a veteran member writes: "It's hard to find language strong enough, but I'm devastated by what has been going on in the USSR,



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

in all the East European 'socialist' countries...." This is from a man who joined the CP in 1936, at the height of the infamous Moscow Trials, who made it through Khrushchev's revelations against Stalin at the 20th Party Congress, who witnessed the suppression of proletarian



AP  
**In the Canadian CP, Tim Buck (right) carried out Stalin's class-collaborationist policies, purging Left Opposition from Communist International.**

DEBATE ON SOCIALISM

### The CP and Canadian socialism: new questions, new directions

Public ... genuine debate ... of Left politics and perspectives is easier to talk about than accomplish. ... will continue to be ... and of socialist struggle become more ... system by the Communist Party ... approach the capitalist ...

In decades the Left has been a collection of alliances of working people and a monopoly on not only a better-organized and more united class Left forces as well. The main beneficiaries of a fractured and divided left: it's the right-winger and the free trade. But life is forcing every Left-thinking person's formation, grouping and party to re-examine position and scope of change in Canada and abroad and uncompromisingly assessment supporters. Yesterday's clichés and outdated suppositions fractured, leading Left won't win many victories.

Socialist renewal & the Communist Party

## A PARTY DEMOCRATIC & RELEVANT

'Events in Eastern Europe have challenged many of our precepts'

### Examining GDR history

## Stalinism -- was a different path possible?

The fall from unopposed power of the GDR's former Socialist Unity Party (SED), now renamed SED-PDS, raises several historic issues. The following background, written by Dr. Gerd Fesser in the February 1990, issue of GDR Review, may help stimulate debate.

The cold war, which was unaided by the Western powers, also furthered the development of Stalinist structures and thought patterns in the SED. In 1949 the SED leadership introduced a "new type of party." And this stiffened the economy of Stalinist bureaucracy.

upheavals against Stalinist rule in East Germany, in Hungary, in Poland during the 1950s. Now, in the face of the complete collapse of Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the nationalist upheavals, economic chaos and fracturing of the Kremlin bureaucracy in Gorbachev's Russia, he declares, "for many years to come, the word communism will be repugnant to most people."

Those who rush to abandon "Communism" are dancing to the tune of the

tries to act as a middleman between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Now this balancing act has collapsed as Stalinist ruling cliques from Moscow to East Berlin to Beijing join in a mad rush to embrace Reagan's "magic of the marketplace."

More than 50 years ago, Trotsky outlined the fundamental economic and social contradictions of Soviet society following the political counterrevolution in which Stalin and his henchmen usurped power against the Bolshevik internationalists of the Left Opposition. The widespread cynicism toward communism and socialism, the alienation of the working masses from a privileged bureaucracy, the resurgence of Great Russian chauvinism and of nationalism among the non-Russian peoples—often as an ideological cover for counterrevolution—are the product of decades of Stalinist rule culminating in the market-oriented perestroika of Gorbachev & Co.

So what "realistic solutions" do they offer? Private ownership as the way to secure a higher standard of living? Tell it to the millions of desperate homeless in North America, whose only connection to desirable consumer goods produced by capitalism is to look at them in the store windows of Macy's or the Hudson Bay Co. The world market as some kind of rational regulator? Try that one on workers in the Dominican Republic who survive on wages of \$3 a day from multinationals like Falconbridge while the Bank of Nova Scotia and Royal Bank of Canada suck tens of millions of dollars a year out of their country for "debt service."

Nor is there any inherent connection between "market socialism" and political liberalization—it was in China, where the program of "building socialism with capitalist methods" has gone the furthest, producing the greatest class inequalities in city and countryside, that the Stalinist rulers drew the hard line in blood with the Beijing massacre and the subsequent repression of students and especially workers. And when they bring in the capitalist market full force, as presently in Poland, it means implementing a "shock treatment" modeled on the brutal Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. Some "democracy"!

### Maple Leaf Social Democracy

The Canadian CP has long been one of the most Moscow-loyal of any of the Western Communist parties. Now, in the face of the terminal crisis of Stalinism,

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# Canadian CP...

(continued from page 7)

the CP has proclaimed a "process of renewal" aimed at transforming itself into a purely national, parliamentary party of social-democratic reformism. According to the Canadian party's April CC resolution (which calls for a break from "undemocratic, state socialism") a "socialist Canada would be independent and non-aligned." Guess that means *Northern Neighbors* will have to go?

Hewison and his crew are looking to completely resolve the contradiction of serving two masters, the Kremlin bureaucracy and the Canadian bourgeoisie. But just as the CP hauls down a badly faded red flag and runs up the Maple Leaf, exchanging the *Internationale* for *Oh Canada*, Canada itself seems to be coming apart at the seams over Quebec.

Once again they are taking their cue from the Kremlin where Gorbachev's seemingly endless appetites to appease imperialism are being translated internationally into "unity" (read: capitulation) of the Communist parties with pro-imperialist social democracy. The renamed parties of the former Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe are rushing headlong into the Second International (the Poles, Hungarians and East Germans have already applied). And the leadership of the Italian CP has announced that it is junking the name "Communist." About the only holdouts for Stalinist orthodoxy are Castro in Cuba and the Portuguese CP.

Not so many years ago the Canadian Stalinists sneered at the "Eurocommunists" as traitors to socialism for parroting the Cold War anti-Sovietism of the imperialists and the social democrats in order to sell their services to their "own" ruling class. But at the domestic level, "Euros" and Kremlin-loyal Stalinists were practically indistinguishable in their popular-front policies. In Greece, for example, after the party (KKE) split into Interior and pro-Moscow Exterior wings in the '70s, during the 1980s both wings supported Papandreu's social-democratic PASOK government. And after PASOK fell under the weight of scandal, the KKE ended up in coalition with the rightist New Democracy, the party of the colonels!

## Against Capitalist Reunification of Germany!

Of those who reject Hewison's "renewal," some CPers harkened back to the "good old days" of Joe Stalin. One writer to the *Pacific Tribune* (18 September 1989) complained that "the capitalist media (now including the *Tribune*) are determined to use Stalin as the scapegoat...." A letter to the *Canadian Tribune* (24 July 1989) saluted the Beijing-Stalinists' savage repression of the Tiananmen protests last spring: "The Chinese government and people should be congratulated for their effective and

**East Berlin, January 3—250,000 protest against fascist defacing of Soviet war memorial at Treptow Park. German Spartakists initiated this united-front mobilization. TLD banner reads: "Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!"**



decisive struggle against the enemies of socialism." But this "old guard" had their last wind knocked out of them with the collapse of Erich Honecker's regime in East Berlin, the symbol of Stalinist order and stability.

As the situation turned sharply to the right in the DDR (East Germany), "renewers" such as the CP's Moscow correspondent Fred Weir actually greeted Gorbachev's green light for the annexation of the DDR by a Fourth Reich of West German imperialism: "the USSR several times in the late 1940s and early 1950s proposed a united, neutral Germany as an alternative. This prospect has always appeared to frighten the West much more than it does Moscow" (*Canadian Tribune*, 19 February). Others were not so sanguine as the East German SED (Socialist Unity Party) caved in to capitalist reunification. Earlier this year, a petition signed by 21 members and supporters of the Canadian CP declared:

"The news that Hans Modrow, D.D.R. Prime Minister, backed by the reformists in Moscow, announced his party's support for reunification of Germany, and announced a concrete plan for this idea on the condition that the new unified Germany stayed neutral, hits us very hard.

"A unified Imperialist Germany is a real danger not only to the Soviet Union but to the whole world.... The best and most conscious workers in East Germany have shown their will to get rid of the Stalinist bureaucracy but do not support capitalist restoration.

"On January 3, over 250,000 workers responded to the Nazis defiling of graves of Soviet Soldiers by mass demonstration in Treptow Park. On January 14, once again more than a quarter million militant workers rallied in Berlin supporting Socialism.

"These actions constitute vivid evidence that the political revolution in the D.D.R. can lead to a genuine worker Democracy based on workers and Soldiers councils. Such an event will electrify the working class and its allies everywhere in the world, in the same way that the 1917 October revolution did....

"We the undersigned declare unambiguously, our opposition to any sellout of the DDR. Let our position that the SED break immediately all negotiations for capitalist restoration, our call for the building of workers councils in defence of the DDR, be known not only to the Canadian workers but to the SED and the German working class."

With Gorbachev selling out the store, many CPers feel betrayed, particularly foreign-born members who had looked to the USSR as a bulwark in the struggle against imperialist-sponsored oppression in their homelands. Last year as Moscow was pulling Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, the Partisan Defense Committee's campaign to raise funds for civilian victims of the CIA-backed *mujahedin* in the battle for Jalalabad met with considerable support from Canadian CPers. The work of our German comrades in the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), who initiated the call for the Treptow demonstration and ran in DDR elections as the only party to unambiguously oppose capitalist reunification, attracted interest among Communist Party members. As one commented, the SpAD "are probably the only organized revolutionaries in Germany right now."

## "Reformists of the Second Mobilization"

The crisis of the Canadian Communist Party is no doubt of considerable interest to members of the CPUSA. But if so, they won't find out about what's happening with their comrades north of the 49th parallel from *Political Affairs* or the *People's Daily World*, which is silent while the Canadian bourgeois press chortles. Moreover, according to its 10 May issue, *PDW* is cutting back to weekly frequency for financial reasons. And evidently Gus Hall is having some problems of his own in suppressing Gorbachevite dissent. In his report to a January 27-28 meeting of the CPUSA's National Committee, Hall states that "leading comrades" are circulating private political letters and he complains:

"How should the Party deal with a member of the National Committee who appears on a public radio program and when asked what the lessons are for the CPUSA from the events in Eastern Europe, he answers: 'To cleanse the Party of Stalinism and remove the Stalinist leaders.' Speaking for myself, I think this is irresponsible and slanderous."

In the discussion, in which most of the leading black cadre spoke of the need for more party democracy, CP National Board member James Jackson pointed to the "very interesting" *Canadian Tribune* article on "Socialist Renewal." The crisis of the Communist Party of Canada stares the CPUSA in the face.

In attempting to transform itself into a "united party of the socialist left," the Canadian CP seems to be banking on the fact that the NDP is such a right-wing and relatively marginal social-democratic party, many of whose leaders would fit into the Liberal Party. The CPC has a certain degree of labor support which the

CPUSA hasn't had since the McCarthyite red purges in the CIO. But even if they achieve some success as social democrats, this will mean serving not only the Canadian bourgeoisie but also necessarily—despite the CPC's anti-Yankee rhetoric—its senior partners in Wall Street and Washington.

As Trotsky noted in writing of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, where the Stalinists' popular-front policy of seeking "alliances" with the "progressive" bourgeoisies was sanctified: "Nothing now distinguishes the Communists from the Social Democrats

**PEOPLE'S DAILY World**

THURSDAY, MAY 10, 1990 VOL. 4, NO. 169 25c

## TO OUR READERS

Beginning in the first week of June, we will be reducing our frequency of publication to weekly.

This is a decision which we have arrived at reluctantly. The

## Hard times for CPUSA.

except the traditional phraseology, which is not difficult to unlearn" ("The Comintern's Liquidation Congress," in his *Writings* [1935-36]). The "process of renewal" advocated by the leadership of the Canadian Communist Party represents the completion of this process. By dumping all the old phraseology and any attachment, however remote, to the defense of the Soviet Union, Hewison & Co. are looking to find comfortable niches in the labor bureaucracy and the lower rungs of the parliamentary apparatus of capitalist rule.

This is a long way down from the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 and the flinty men who founded the Communist Party of Canada (see "How Stalinism Wrecked the Communist Party of Canada," *Spartacist Canada* No. 77, Winter 1989/90). Like "Moscow Jack" MacDonald, first national secretary of the Workers Party and then the CPC, who declared himself in 1932 for Trotsky's Left Opposition. Like William Moriarty, who was the only delegate to the Comintern Executive Committee plenum in 1925 who refused to condemn "Trotskyism." And Maurice Spector, who together with James P. Cannon of the American party smuggled Trotsky's critique of "socialism in one country" out of Stalin's Russia and, expelled from their respective parties, founded the International Left Opposition. But it wasn't just Stalin who destroyed the Canadian and other CPs; he had his cynical hatchet men like Tim Buck to purge those who still held to the program of international proletar-

## SPARTACIST

CANADA Winter 1989/90 No. 77 25c

### For Lenin's Communism! East Germany: For Workers Political Revolution!

DECEMBER 19—A political revolution is unfolding in the German Democratic Republic (DDR). The leadership of the ruling Stalinist party is in retreat. Plans are drawn to "discharge" the Stasi, the hated secret police. Within the army, soldiers' councils are beginning to form. Meanwhile, the West German financiers and industrialists are on a hard course toward capitalist reunification of Germany, with the Socialist Party (SPD) acting as their "left" lieutenant, and straight fascist troops sweeping across the DDR as the shock troops of capitalist restoration.

An East German worker states under the alternative, internationalist rule of workers' councils: "The only way to the end of the Socialist United States of Europe is to have under Helmut Kohl's Fourth Reich (the) fascist counter-revolution, a resurgence of Leninism and the danger of a third world war. The stakes are high!"

(continued on page 4)

Mass demonstration in Leipzig, October 9, 1989. No to capitalist reunification! For workers' councils, now!

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

## Spartacist Canada

Newspaper of the Trotskyist League of Canada

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**"How Stalinism Wrecked the Communist Party of Canada"**

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# Finally They Admit It

# CIA's Hit List for

# 1965 Indonesia Massacre

## Half a Million Communists Were Slaughtered



New York Times

In October 1965 the Indonesian army under General Suharto launched a mass slaughter campaign designed to physically exterminate the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), then the third-largest Communist Party in the world with up to 3 million members and another 14 million supporters. In the reign of terror which ensued some 500,000 Communists were butchered.

This was the year that the U.S. massively escalated its military intervention into Vietnam in the name of "fighting Communism," and it was obvious then to anyone who read between the lines of the *New York Times* that the CIA also had a hand in the Indonesian slaughter. Now in the Reagan/Bush era the CIA criminals feel brazen enough to openly brag about their crimes.

An article by Kathy Kadane of the States News Service reports on interviews with these killers, who describe in detail how they compiled and turned over a death list of thousands of names for the Indonesian army and then coldbloodedly "checked off the names of those who had been killed" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 20 May).

"It really was a big help to the army," boasted Robert J. Martens, who headed the U.S. embassy group of State Department and CIA officers in Jakarta who spent two years compiling the list. "They probably killed a lot of people, and I probably have a lot of blood on my hands, but that's not all bad."

Former deputy CIA station chief Joseph Lazarsky noted, "We were getting a good account in Jakarta of who was

being picked up. The army had a 'shooting list' of about 4,000 or 5,000 people," but the list evidently got a lot bigger. And thousands were herded into "detention centers" because, Lazarsky says, they "didn't have enough goon squads to zap them all."

Howard Federspiel, another State Department "expert" at the time, says matter-of-factly, "No one cared, as long as they were Communists, that they were being butchered." And so the CIA helped carry out, in the words of their own 1968 report, "one of the worst mass murders of the 20th century."

Former CIA director William Colby now crawls out of the woodwork to proudly boast that the action in Indonesia was comparable to the CIA's "Phoenix" mass assassination program in Vietnam, one of the dirty secrets of that dirty war. Colby complains that in the post-Watergate period he was "kicked around for" this crime. In Vietnam, too, they compiled lists so that they could send out teams to "shoot them," he admits with obscene pride. Colby himself admitted in 1971 Congressional testimony that over 20,000 alleged Viet Cong were assassinated under the Phoenix "program" in its

first two and a half years.

American imperialism had gotten involved in Vietnam in an attempt to stem the tide of peasant-based revolutions which threatened to sweep Asia like "falling dominoes." We noted at the time:

"The central aim of American imperialism in Southeast Asia—the containment and isolation of China—had already been achieved with the massacre of the Indonesian Communists in 1965, especially in the context of the Sino-Soviet split. A large section of the U.S. ruling class would now like to see an end to the Vietnam War through negotiation...."

—"Johnson Goes, Imperialism Remains!" *Spartacist Supplement*, May 1968

But despite pressure from the bourgeois "doves," President Johnson continued to escalate the war, only to lose it on the battlefield to the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers.

The imperialists lost Vietnam, but now they're on a counteroffensive as the Stalinist regimes collapse in Eastern Europe. Many of the very same murderers are still in top posts of the U.S. government. Company man Martens, for instance, is now a "consultant" for the State Department. And these are the guys who want to bring "democracy" to East Europe!

While Gorbachev is criminally selling out to the imperialists, pushing to turn over collectivized property to "market forces," we offer some time-tested market advice: "let the buyer beware." It is the capitalist system which breeds mass misery and mass bloodletting, and only victorious proletarian revolution on a world scale can put an end to it. ■

### Appeal to Save Indonesian Communists

The following item was excerpted from the "Partisan Defence Committee Notes" in *Australasian Spartacist No. 136, May-June 1990*.

In March the PDC sent an urgent message to the Indonesian government protesting the execution of four PKI leaders—Satar Suryanto, Yohanes Surono, Simon Soleiman and Norbertus Rohayan—who were amongst an estimated 50 prisoners who have languished in prison hellholes since 1965. Nine more are on death row, six of whom, including peasant union leader Ruslan Widjayastra, face imminent execution. The PDC protest (27 March) also demanded:

"Stop the executions of PKI leaders Ruslan Widjayastra, Sukatno, Iskan-

der Subekti, and Asep Suryaman as well as I. Bungkus, and Marsudi. Free them now! Release all PKI members and militants imprisoned after government slaughter of half million working people in 1965.

"Your vain attempts to deprive the Indonesian toiling masses of leadership will not succeed. In 1947-49 Australian workers concretely aided just cause of Indonesian independence. Such international proletarian solidarity will help bring down your bloodthirsty regime in the struggle for a workers and peasants Indonesia."

Further protest telegrams were sent by fraternal defence organisations in Canada, Germany, Italy and Japan. We call for urgent international working-class protest against the decrepit regime's murderous plans.

ian struggle which animated Lenin's Third International in opposition to Stalin's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country."

In his writings on the Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern, American Trotskyist leader James Cannon noted:

"The acceptance of this theory by the other Communist parties in the capitalist countries prepared by their own weariness and loss of historical perspective, implicitly signified their renunciation of the revolutionary program in their own countries. At the same time, it gave them—for consolation—an ersatz program which enabled them to save face in making the transition to reformism, and to pretend to themselves and others that they were still fighting for 'socialism'—in another country."

—*The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

### For Genuine Communism!

In Canada and the U.S., the most grotesque betrayals—like the CPs' support for throwing Japanese Canadians and Japanese Americans into concentration camps (in Canada in particularly harsh and brutal conditions) and calling for "total war" against strikes during World War II—were justified in the name of defense of the Soviet Union. The Trotskyists—who fought for working-class opposition to the second imperialist war, who uniquely defended those who were interned for their Japanese origins, who defended the Soviet Union, including American Trotskyists who risked their lives to sail on the Murmansk run, bringing arms and revolutionary propaganda

in defense of the gains of October to Russian workers and soldiers—were slandered as "imperialist agents"!

For years, CPers in the West sneered at the Trotskyists: "We have the USSR, the powerhouse of socialism. Where do you Trotskyites have power?" Now this rug has been pulled out from under them. The Stalinist leaders' relationship to the class struggle mimics the relationship of the imperialist rulers to "democracy"—they have not believed in it nor promoted it for a long, long time. They are completely prostrate before imperialist triumphalism and desperate to junk anything that even remotely smacks of "communism."

But presumably there are some who joined the Communist Party because they wanted to be communists. To them we say that to follow your leaders' capitulation means turning your backs on the struggles which must break out and are already breaking out in East Europe, as workers resist the calamitous effects of the plunge toward the restoration of capitalism. It means abandoning the mass of South African blacks who, while their leaders "negotiate" with de Klerk and the apartheid capitalists, still raise red flags with the hammer and sickle as a symbol of the social revolution for which they are so desperately fighting. This world needs genuine communists more than ever.

There is an authentic communist alternative which is represented in the program of Trotskyism. As we wrote in our declaration of the founding of the Inter-

national Communist League (*Workers Vanguard*, No. 479, 9 June 1989):

"The heirs of Stalin manifestly lack the capacity to defend the Soviet power, of which they have been simultaneously the parasitic defender and the counterrevolutionary disorganizer for 65 years. Yet to the same measure that they have brought 'communism' into disrepute thanks to the crimes they 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

### Mozambicans...

(continued from page 6)

racist, anti-Semitic terror continues to increase. There are constant attacks by the bourgeois state on the Romas and Cintis [Gypsies]. And with the new laws on foreigners there is an attempt to make life hell for all immigrant workers, students, etc., especially Turkish workers.

Only a mass workers mobilization can do away with the Nazi scum, i.e., it is not enough if a few people armed with sticks try to act against skinheads. One must bring the struggle into the trade unions. With a workers united front we can smash the brown plague. The Spartakist Workers Party fights for such a united front, like the 250,000-strong anti-fascist demonstration at the Soviet

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." ■

Memorial on 3 January 1990, which we initiated. In Chicago several years ago we helped to organize workers defense guards to protect the homes of black fellow workers against racists. We fight for the building of a mass Leninist-egalitarian party which can lead the working class to victory in its struggle against fascism and for a socialist Germany in a United Socialist States of Europe. We will be victorious only if we struggle together with our immigrant co-workers and their families. The victory of the Red Army over Hitler's Germany must not be reversed! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! We stand at your side.

With internationalist greetings,  
Toralf Endrueit  
for the Spartakist Workers Party

## New York...

(continued from page 12)

murder conviction that something other than the usual racist injustice would come out of a NYC court were stunned. Diane Hawkins sobbed uncontrollably with a mother's pain as she heard the verdicts and watched one of her son's killers get off on lesser charges. Even Mondello's "blame-the-victims" attorney, the inflammatory Stephen Murphy, was surprised by the verdicts. Mondello had signed a police confession five times that he was the lynch mob leader, and bragged in a TV interview of his leading role in rounding up the gang of killers and supplying them with baseball bats!

After the verdict, a frustrated crowd of black protesters burned a flag and then vented their rage in misdirected fashion, trashing a Korean grocer's fruit stand as they charged through downtown Brooklyn, knocking over garbage cans and breaking store windows. Al Sharpton, the black nationalist demagogue who is advising the Hawkins family, headed across the street from the courthouse to the office of attorney Alton Maddox, where Sharpton vowed to a crowd "we're going to move on this town." His audience responded with chants of "What do we want? War!" (*New York Post*, 19 May). In several ugly incidents around Brooklyn that night some white bystanders were chased and pummeled, and reporters were set upon outside the Hawkins family home in East New York.

The next day, Sharpton led several hundred black protesters in a march through Bensonhurst where jeering whites taunted them by holding up watermelons, praising the lynch mob and spray-painting "No N---r Zone" on the walls of the street where Yusuf Hawkins was shot to death. While Sharpton whips up crowds at the courthouse and Slave Theater to chant for "war," in the race war he is trying to provoke, blacks can only lose. And in Bensonhurst, the FBI informer Sharpton makes black marchers the target of crazed racist mobs with only the racist cops for "protection."

As the city sizzled, Dinkins and Democratic Party liberals tried to cool it out with empty rhetoric of New York as a "gorgeous mosaic" of immigrants and handing out blue ribbons for racial harmony. But meanwhile, the anti-Semitic, anti-Asian gang of hustlers like Sharpton, Maddox, C. Vernon Mason and Sonny Carson (who like Sharpton has also offered to wear a police wire) are exploiting the pent-up and justified black rage

at a racist society that guns down black youths on the streets and consigns a whole generation to permanent unemployment and degradation.

In Flatbush, Carson has been running a racist boycott of a Korean grocery, the Red Apple, for the last four months. The anti-Asian poison being spewed out there produced its bloody results on May 12, in a potentially lethal claw hammer attack which fractured the skull of Cao Anh Tuan, a 36-year-old Vietnamese

cratic Party and telling them to "work through the system." At the May 22 "unity" rally, Cuomo called "for fighting the skinheads and the anti-Semites and the racists." But what Cuomo and Dinkins were pushing for is passage of an "anti-bias" bill which would increase penalties in criminal cases where race or ethnic hatred was demonstrably present. This is simply a call to look to the same racist courts which let Mondello walk and give license to the NYPD

keep the city riveted on the great divide in New York race relations. But the overwhelming majority of New Yorkers reject the racist appeals. Fred McCray, the black teacher who led his class into the Red Apple in defiance of Carson's racist boycott, told reporters at a "racial unity" event in Brooklyn's Prospect Park on May 28 that he had received over 300 personal letters of support for his courageous act.

McCray related that his class decided to visit the Red Apple after one student said she had witnessed the horrible beating of the Vietnamese man. The students discussed how the attackers' shouts of "Koreans get out of the neighborhood!" were the slogans used by the boycotters. When the class went to the Korean grocery, "People on the street began to walk with us." McCray concluded: "The average street kid isn't into the politics. They hear the slogan, 'Koreans get out!' 'N-----s get out!' That's in Bensonhurst, too. And I want to stop that."

Yet the murderous racism that killed Yusuf Hawkins is just as real. Scores of whites witnessed the lynch mob attack, but afterward they developed "Bensonhurst amnesia." After Mondello was let off, a Hispanic woman came forward who said, "I feel the pain of the family of the boy because I saw how he was killed. I saw Fama raise his hand and fire. I was so close I could see it all." This woman may not testify, saying, "My family is afraid for my safety." It's necessary to mobilize the social force with the power and class interest to crush the lynchers. The integrated labor movement can unite behind it the oppressed minorities in a fight against racist terror and for jobs and education for all.

City transit workers who are indispensable to the daily functioning of NYC have been spilling their blood underground as safety and work rules go to hell. After two more veteran transit workers, Daniel Walsh and Robert Nicholson, were killed on the tracks earlier this month, militants of the Committee for a Fighting TWU in Transport Workers Union Local 100 put out a leaflet, in which they wrote:

"By ugly coincidence, Walsh and Nicholson were killed only blocks away from where Willie Turks, a black car maintainer, was lynched by a racist white mob in 1982. What's needed is some old fashioned class struggle to defend the rights of all working people to live proudly as human beings instead of being treated like dogs. If labor had flexed its muscle then and organized hundreds of flat-bed trucks filled with black, white, Hispanic and Asian union members in an organized caravan, we would have gotten the point across to the racist killer punks.

"The unity and social power of the integrated labor movement must be brought to bear in New York City today to stop the race-haters!"

The militants noted that "even a one-day strike by Local 100 would send a very clear message taking the wind out of Sharpton and Carson and putting fear into the race-terrorists."

Transit workers and other key sectors of NYC labor must be mobilized in this struggle. At a May 3 NYC labor rally outside Port Authority terminal, one union banner called to unite the strike of Dominican and Haitian garment workers at the Domsey Corp. with the Greyhound and Eastern strikes. Let's see that not in empty rhetoric but on the picket lines—stop the scabs cold! A labor offensive against austerity and racist terror would also draw in youth such as the CUNY students who have been fighting tuition hikes that threaten to cut off all possibilities for working-class and minority youth to get a decent education.

Such a struggle would require a political fight against the Democratic Party, from Dinkins to Cuomo, who are the enforcers of the racist status quo. A revolutionary workers party must be forged to organize powerful working-class action to crush the racist terrorists and avenge the deaths of Yusuf Hawkins and all victims of capitalist oppression. ■

**Courageous teacher Fred McCray, who led his high school class against the racist boycott of Korean grocery, shown here at pro-Dinkins "Racial Unity" event in Prospect Park, May 28.**



worker. Cao Tuan was mistaken for a Korean by a small group of blacks yelling racist slurs when he and three companions came out to see who had smashed the window of their apartment not far from the Red Apple.

### Blue Ribbon Popular Front

On May 22 at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on Amsterdam Avenue in Harlem, 5,000 New Yorkers were brought out to hear Dinkins, fellow Democrat New York State governor Mario Cuomo and the anti-gay bigot Cardinal O'Connor at a "Rally on Tolerance and Unity." The idea came from Jim Butler, head of the AFSCME Local 420 (municipal hospital workers). Dennis Rivera of Local 1199 hospital workers and other unions that were key to Dinkins' election turned out their members alongside city workers, teachers and classes of schoolchildren to listen to prayers to "stop the violence."

This was the "popular front" in action, binding labor and blacks to the Demo-

which so far this year has gunned down 14 black and Hispanic people in street executions.

David Dinkins, who barely beat the Republican Great White Hope Rudolph Giuliani for mayor, was elected to "heal" racial tensions in New York City after 12 years of the racist pig mayor Ed Koch whipping up hatred against blacks. Dinkins is supposed to keep the lid on the NYC cauldron while the city's economy goes to hell. The *New York Times* frankly stated the ruling-class thinking in endorsing Dinkins:

"The next mayor will have to ask for, and sell, sacrifice to all New Yorkers, most notably the poor citizens hurt most by reductions in city services. Mr. Dinkins seems better qualified to persuade all New Yorkers to share the burdens ahead."

—*New York Times*,  
29 October 1989

But with race tensions mounting and this year's city budget for health care, education, job training and welfare slashed by \$300 million, the bourgeoisie is worried that the mayor's attempts to "paper over racial divisions with speeches" will fail as "the initial euphoria of Mr. Dinkins's supporters in the black community has been tempered by the harsh reality of austerity" (*New York Times*, 20 May). Along with the budget slashing for social services will come increased funding for more naked repression on the streets—money for more cops and new jails to keep down the jobless, desperate masses who no longer have a legal "right" to beg in subways. Columnist Pete Hamill commented:

"As long as a million human beings are reduced to life on welfare in this city, the virus will rage on and on, always getting worse. The race sickness breeds in squalor. Everybody knows this, even the race hustlers. They know that this disease is really about class, not skin pigmentation.... Nobody seems able to devise a plan for the creation of 300,000 goods-producing jobs. Nobody seems to know how to open factories that will employ people who never have finished high school. Nobody seems capable of creating a system of day-care centers that would allow hundreds of thousands of single mothers to enter the work force.... American capitalists certainly can't do it."

—*New York Post*, 22 May

### Power of Labor and Minorities

It won't be long before the sentencing of Mondello and Fama as well as the start of jury selection in six more Bensonhurst trials, and the Central Park rape trials begin on June 13. All of which will

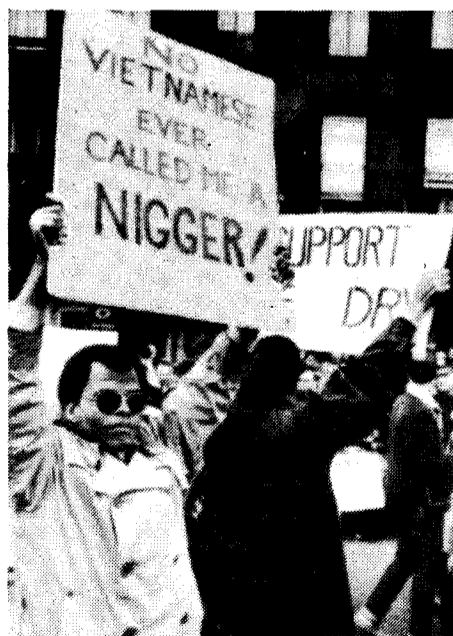
## CCNY...

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a stand against all forms of race-hatred then they're the ones who don't belong in this demonstration!" Finding no takers for excluding the SYC (which made up half the demonstration) the slimy nationalists backed down.

The nationalist demagogues in New York City today are poison. When there was a genuine struggle for black equality in this country, the most conscious solidarized with victims of the racist American ruling class all over the world. In 1967, marchers took to the streets of Harlem with the slogan, "No Vietnamese ever called me a nigger," in opposition to their oppressors' war against the people of Vietnam. Today's hustlers lead attacks on Asian storekeepers threatening, "In the future there'll be funerals not boycotts," and rev up the deadly "war on drugs" which was the pretext for the invasion of Panama and the battle cry for more racist cops on the streets of New York City to oppress black youth.

The SYC fights for an alliance of students with the integrated labor movement in struggle against the whole system of racist capitalism. As the SYC's leaflet stated: "This movement represents the force which can unify the black, white,



LeBeck/Black Star  
**Militant black protesters at 1967 NYC antiwar march.**

Hispanic and Asian workers against their common enemy. It is in their interests and within their power to fight all manifestations of racist violence and to STOP it cold! And it's labor action that can make this war-crazed government back up. We need a workers party to organize these struggles to fight for a workers government!" ■

# For Mass Pickets to Stop Greyhound Union-Busting!

At bus terminals on Memorial Day weekend, Greyhound workers swelled picket lines to fight the strikebreaking assault on their union. In Boston, members of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1205 were joined by electricians and hotel workers, as they shut down the Greyhound bus terminal for over an hour, until cops swept in and attacked the picket line, arresting five. One cop, still stinging over the militant picket line in Boston in the last strike seven years ago, yelled at a picket "Weren't you here in 1983? You've got a short memory." Behind the terminal, a scab driver borrowed a police riot club and waded into the pickets, injuring 54-year-old driver Dale Binegar.

In New York, 200 strikers picketed at the Port Authority ticket counter, as ATU Local 1202 tops geared up with a big publicity campaign for...a useless consumer boycott of Greyhound. A score of strike supporters were arrested after sitting down in the terminal and later at an exit ramp. Instead of building real picket lines to stop the scab buses, Local 1202 president and Workers World favorite Harold Mendlowitz staged a cynical stunt where the police stopped a bus for two minutes as he organized the arrests.

The strike by 9,300 drivers, mechanics and ticket agents against Greyhound is entering its fourth month. Company chairman Fred Currey, aided by the



May 25—200 strikers picket Greyhound ticket counter at New York Port Authority terminal. ATU tops channel strike militancy into useless consumer boycott.

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and federal RICO law, is trying to frame up the unionists as "terrorists," while cops and scabs carry out murderous assaults on the strikers. The strike was less than 48 hours old when veteran driver Robert Waterhouse was run down and killed by a scab in Redding, Califor-

nia. Two drivers in St. Louis have been jailed for over a month, as Greyhound and the state try to railroad them.

On May 23 in Boston, two strikers were sentenced to jail for the crime of picketing scab buses. Local 1205 vice president Michael Holden was sentenced to 30 days, while driver Richard Cun-

ingham was sent up for six months on charges of cracking a bus windshield. Meanwhile, the scab who brutally ran down Bob Waterhouse was never even charged!

As the overwhelming number of ATU members have stood firm, Currey's financial house of cards is in trouble. He has already defaulted on junk bond payments and is threatening bankruptcy to blackmail his creditors into accepting pennies on the dollar. And after Currey promised scabs a "lifetime job," the National Labor Relations Board ruled that strikers may be able to return to their jobs. Instead of the impotent consumer boycott being pushed by the ATU bureaucrats and their fake-socialist water boys, now is the time to turn the heat up on Currey on the picket line.

Millions of workers know that the ATU strikers are on the front line and will respond to a call for militant solidarity action, not the empty rallies filled with hot air from the central labor council bureaucrats and Democratic Party politicians. In a dirty back-stabbing attack by the AFL-CIO tops in Washington, nameless "battle-scarred labor movement veterans" told the AP (18 May) that the Greyhound unions "weren't ready for all-out war" and so shouldn't have struck!

The labor traitors are knifing the Greyhound strikers in the back—the reformists' and bureaucrats' reliance on a consumer boycott and appeals to the capitalist state will sink the strike. Militants must fight to bring out mass pickets that can stop the scab buses. In New York, that means appealing to Local 1199 hospital workers, transit workers and Teamsters to swamp Port Authority with mass picket lines that can bring union-buster Currey to heel! ■

## Poland...

(continued from page 1)

former official Stalinist OPZZ union federation. In the last few days, however, the OPZZ has come out in support of the strike. Meanwhile, Lech Walesa has condemned the strike on the radio, accusing "demagogic forces" of leading the country toward "civil war." Negotiations broke down yet again today, as labor minister Jacek Kuron, erstwhile darling of the Western left, hardlines it against any wage increase. Rail strikers stormed out of the meeting with Kuron in anger.

The main passenger station in Szczecin, the cargo yard, the harbor railyard and the two other stations in the city are all in the hands of occupying workers. Outside the entrances are signs reading "Occupation Strike" and pickets standing guard against possible provocations. The main station has been turned into a strike headquarters for the city. All the doors are fastened shut with nails and wire, and barricaded from within with stacks of benches.

The former administration offices in the train station are now the offices of the strike committee. The internal telephone service has been turned into a communication network connecting the different striking railyards throughout the region. The secretaries and clerical staff continue to work, but now they are working for the strike committee.

Outside the train station there are vanloads of police as well as military trucks. The trucks are being used to transport civilian passengers in a dismally futile attempt to circumvent and break the strike. But the heavy military presence around the rail station serves as an ominous warning by the government of a full-scale military crackdown on the strike.

As a team of *Workers Vanguard* and *Spartakist* correspondents approached the main rail station this morning they were confronted by the sight of a mob of some 100 anti-strike agitators with banners reading "Let's Talk to the Rail Workers!



As American rulers' loyal "AFL-CIA" bankrolled Polish Solidarność in 1981, Spartacist League demonstrated outside Solidarność office at UFT headquarters, exposing "company union for CIA and Wall Street."

We Support Mazowiecki!" This was the second day of these anti-strike mobilizations. A solid phalanx of 50 strikers with red and white armbands stood behind the bench barricades of the one remaining entrance to the train station patiently but firmly holding off the screaming rabble.

The strikebreakers claimed to be "outraged individual citizens," and the Warsaw government and the Western imperialist press have been clamoring that the strikers are isolated from the population. But as one striker put it in no uncertain terms, these "spontaneous" anti-strike demonstrations are "organized by Solidarność." What appears increasingly clear is that it is the Solidarność-led pro-capitalist government which is isolated from the population.

Solidarność appears to be generally reviled among the strikers, who pass around caricatures of Kuron. Some illusions in the early days of Solidarność

still persist, however, and an outfit led by Marian Jurczyk called "Solidarność '80," which deems itself the "true Solidarność," claims to support the strike. Jurczyk was one of the most rabid anti-Communists at the founding congress of Solidarność in 1981. And from that point on the "true face" of Solidarność has been its program for restoring untrammelled "free market" exploitation, which is today ravaging the Polish people.

The strike began with a hunger strike by some 50 rail workers in Slupsk on May 10 demanding an immediate 110 percent pay raise to try to keep pace with the deadly explosion of prices of all basic goods. The austerity program literally means slow starvation for the mass of the Polish working people. There is food on the shelves of stores—indeed there are imported high-tech VCRs, TVs and stereos in the shop windows. But there are virtually no shoppers in the stores. Today even a kilogram of the cheapest sausage costs the equivalent of about two days' wages.

One 71-year-old woman who supports the strike bitterly explained how her 300,000 zloty (US \$30) a month old-age pension now barely covers the cost of buying bread and paying for her apartment. "[President] Jaruzelski and Walesa have enough," she said, but "poor old people" are starving. With social services devastated by the austerity program, it cost her more than two million zlotys—eight months of her pension—to bury her husband when he died recently. The imperialist press is trumpeting the nationwide local elections tomorrow as "Poland's first truly free vote since World War II," but virtually half the electorate is expected to stay away. As this woman said, "There is nobody to vote for."

The railway workers insist that theirs is not a political strike. After more than 40 years of Stalinism and the more recent shattering of illusions in Solidarność, politics may well be a dirty word to many Polish workers. But, as we write in a "Letter to Polish Workers" by the

Spartakist Workers Party of Germany:

"To win against the forces arrayed against you, Polish workers will have to transcend purely economic demands. That requires not just a determination to fight, but a political understanding of what has happened and a political program based on the true interests of the international working class....

"Only the Trotskyists have a program to combat capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist war, by returning to the authentic communism of Luxemburg and Lenin—the struggle for defense and extension of the gains of the October Revolution through socialist revolutions throughout the capitalist world. Forward to a Trotskyist party in Poland, section of a reborn Fourth International."

The drive toward capitalist restoration throughout Eastern Europe initiated by Solidarność will provoke explosions of working-class resistance. Already in the DDR (East Germany) in the past two weeks there have been protest warning strikes, including by strategically placed railway workers there. It is urgently necessary for workers everywhere, and particularly in the DDR, to support the Polish rail workers in their struggle against the pro-capitalist "shock treatment." Victory to the Polish rail strike!

Messages of support and financial contributions can be sent to Strajk Komitet, Gdovna Station, Slupsk, Poland. ■

### Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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#### New York City

Tues.: 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.  
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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## After Split Verdict on Racist Lynchers

# New York Still Seething



Ricky Flores/Impact Visuals



Teun Voeten/Impact Visuals

May 19—Black demonstrators, led by demagogue Al Sharpton (left), march in Bensonhurst after acquittal of racist lyncher Mondello. Jeering racists lined the streets, obscenely “celebrating” the verdict.

On May 17, after 11 days of deliberation on 15 charges, a Brooklyn jury finally convicted racist murderer Joseph Fama on second-degree murder (25 years to life penalty) and 12 other charges in the lynch mob shooting death of black teenager Yusuf Hawkins last August. NYC’s black Democratic mayor David

Dinkins and the ruling powers of NYC breathed a sigh of relief that the first jury in the Bensonhurst trials had produced a guilty verdict. There would not be an explosion of black anger in a city on the edge—at least that night.

The next day, however, a second jury came into the courtroom presided

over by black Judge Thaddeus Owens (hand-picked to hear these trials) with not-guilty verdicts on the murder and manslaughter charges against Keith Mondello, ringleader of the 30 or more racist punks who killed Hawkins. In Bensonhurst hundreds of racists took to the streets, with balloons, horns honking

and flags waving, in a disgusting orgy of celebration. Mondello was convicted on lesser charges of riot, weapons possession and discrimination, but he walked on Murder Two in what should have been an open and shut case.

Those who had hoped after the Fama

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## SYC Denounces Anti-Asian Pogroms, Backs Down Censor Attempt

# CCNY Commencement Protest Hits War Criminal Powell

Chanting “No degree for Colin Powell, U.S. out of Panama, now!” about 30 people marched and rallied at the City College of New York’s (CCNY) Harlem campus May 25 to protest the award of an honorary degree to General Colin Powell, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and architect of the bloody U.S. invasion of Panama.

It wasn’t all pomp and circumstance inside the ceremony either—graduating seniors joined the protest by dropping a banner depicting Powell in cap and gown and machine gun in hand, spraying bullets at the audience. Mathematician Lee Lorch, who led the fight to desegregate New York’s Stuyvesant Town in the 1940s, was also accorded an honorary degree. He used the occasion to speak out against CCNY’s ideologue for white-supremacy, Professor Michael Levin, demanding, “Do not use science as a fig leaf to conceal your racist beliefs” (*Newsday*, 26 May).

The Spartacus Youth Club issued a leaflet and spoke at the rally to bring a

class-struggle perspective to fight the racist terror of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad. SYC placards included: “Levin Speaks—Fama Pulls the Trigger,” and “CUNY Students, NY Labor: For a One-Day Strike Against Racist Attacks!” The SYC also spoke out against the dangerous role played by black nationalist demagogues like Sonny Carson in New York City today who are diverting black anger against lynch mob and cop terror into the dead-end illusion of “black capitalism” and attacks against the Asian community in New York.

A sharp political fight broke out when a student bureaucrat tried to force the SYC to take down a sign reading: “Stop Anti-Asian Pogroms! Class War, Not Race War!” While the self-appointed “head of security” (read: censorship) threatened, “you’ve got five minutes to take that sign down,” an SYC member loudly soapboxed to the crowd: “Who here refuses to take a stand against anti-Asian bigotry? If anyone here can’t take

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Young Spartacus

May 25—Spartacus Youth contingent at CCNY anti-Powell demonstration.