WORKERS VANGUARD

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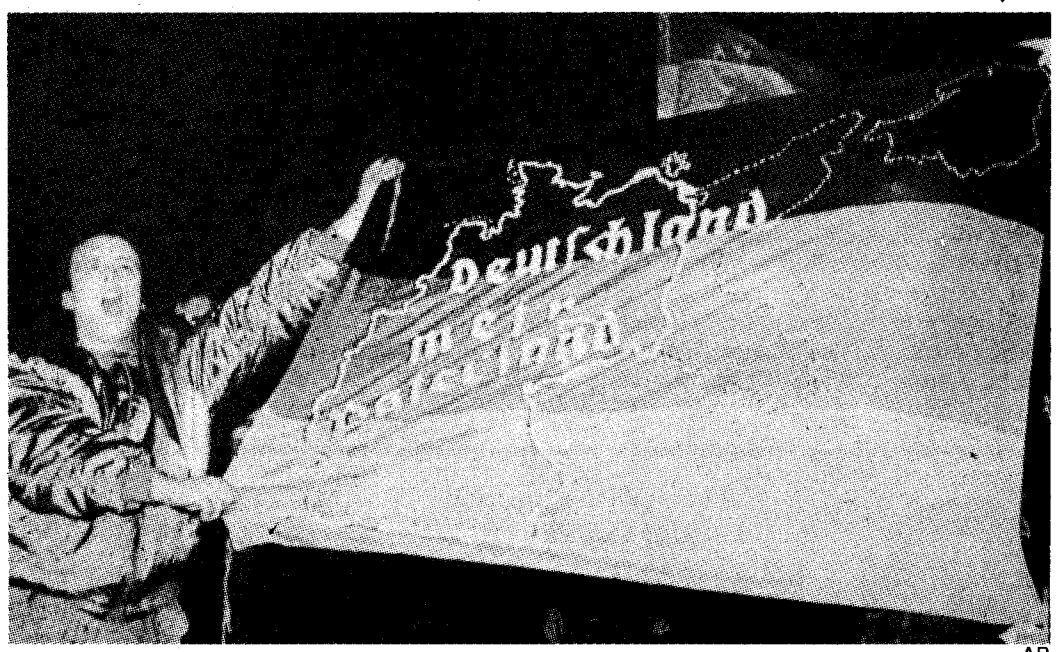
Appeasement of Imperialism



DPA AP

Kohl and Gorbachev agree on "inevitability" of capitalist reunification of Germany (left). Right-wing nationalists in Leipzig (right) flaunt flag with map of Hitler's Third Reich and slogan "Germany, my fatherland."

Gorbachev Caves In to a Fourth Reich

No to D-Mark Anschluss of East Germany!

East Germany has been targeted by the most enormous campaign in memory of artificial destabilization by imperialist forces. Their goal is to stampede the German Democratic Republic (DDR) into an *Anschluss* (annexation) by capitalist West Germany. Let us be clear: this amounts to nothing less than counter-revolution. And it would embolden the most dangerous warmongering forces, from West German revanchists to the Pentagon and the White House, who are aiming for disintegration of the Soviet Union and its destruction as an anti-capitalist state, while maintaining the threat of nuclear war. Yet on February 13, the Modrow government in East Berlin agreed to a currency union under the D-mark, to implement a reunification that nobody has even voted on, while Gorbachev agreed to "German unity" and a U.S. troop advantage in Europe.

The arrogance of the imperialist intimidation campaign and the perfidy of the decomposing Stalinist bureaucracies in caving in cannot be exaggerated. West German chancellor Kohl says to the DDR, you must surrender control of your economy to the Frankfurt bankers; Modrow says OK. U.S. president Bush says to the USSR, you withdraw your troops and we will keep ours, as well as annexing your key ally; Gorbachev says, that's reasonable. Now NATO is insisting on sending its forces, or at least the Bundeswehr, right up to the Polish border, the Oder-Neisse line. The White House admits it was surprised at how precipitously the Soviets knuckled under.

Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) issued an urgent statement on the eve of these fateful events, declaring:

> "Seeing a paralyzed DDR leadership and with Gorbachev giving away one position

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Kremlin Bureaucracy Splintering

The plenum of the Soviet Communist Party a few weeks ago marked the further disintegration of the Stalinist bureaucracy as the USSR is wracked by national strife amid mounting economic chaos. Sixteen thousand Soviet troops and other armed forces have been sent to the Caucasus to suppress the bloody, two-year-long conflict between Azerbaijanis and Armenians. Lithuanian nationalists proclaim they will secede from the Soviet Union at the end of this month. Violent anti-Semitism is on the rise, and Jews in Moscow and Leningrad live in fear of pogroms. State shops are empty while newly legalized private entrepreneurs sell their wares at many times the official prices.

The once seemingly monolithic, indeed totalitarian, structure of Stalinist rule is collapsing. The multinational Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is threatened with disintegration. Practically every week there is an outburst of nationalist/communalist violence, most recently a riot in Tadzhikistan against Armenian refugees. On the periphery of the USSR, in the Baltic republics and Caucasus, party bosses have allied themselves with local nationalists against Moscow.

The Russian core of the Kremlin oligarchy is rent between "liberal reformers," who have rallied behind Gorbachev, and conservative apparatchiks now generally allied with Great Russian nationalism. On the eve of the Communist Party (CPSU) plenum, 100,000 demonstrators gathered outside the Kremlin walls and chanted "Resign! Resign!" to the Central Committee. The main organizer of this rally was the Democratic Platform, an openly social-democratic faction in the CPSU. At the same time, some protesters waved pre-Revolution Russian flags.

The main support for Gorbachev's course comes from the Western-oriented intelligentsia who would like a market economy, bourgeois parliamentarism and wholesale appeasement of NATO imperialism. Largely the children of Stalin's apparatchiks, this privileged stratum is now capitulating whole hog to the unrelenting economic and military pressure of world capitalism on the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. "If you can't beat 'em, join 'em" is the motto of the

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Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Harlem: The Politics of Death

For inner city blacks and Hispanics, life in capitalist America is not only brutal—it's *short*, and getting shorter. A recently released study by Harlem Hospital surgeons Colin McCord and Harold Freeman ("Excess Mortality in Harlem," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 18 January) shows that only 40 percent of black men in Harlem live to age 65, compared to 55 percent of men in Bangladesh in South Asia, one of the poorest countries in the world!

As would be expected in an impoverished Third World country, the infant mortality rate in Bangladesh is much higher than for American blacks (which is already twice the rate for whites). But after the age of 15, the death rate of black males in Harlem steadily accelerates, surpassing that of Bangladesh (see graph). And now, while life expectancy for whites in the U.S. continues to rise, that for blacks has fallen from 69.7 years in 1984 to 69.4 years in 1986.

The study of Central Harlem, where 96 percent of the population is black and 41 percent lives below the poverty line, was based on 1980 census figures and death certificates for 1979-1981. It showed that almost three times as many black men and 2.7 times as many black women die under age 65 compared to whites. Harlem was the most extreme case, but of 353 NYC health areas, 54 showed similar figures—53 of these were black and Hispanic. And this was *before* the "Reagan revolution."

As part of the propaganda "war on drugs," the media have noted that among young black men (age 15 to 24) homicide is the leading cause of death. But while the death rate for black males in Harlem in this age range is twice that of U.S. whites, for the ages of 25 to 44 it is *almost six times that of whites*. And most of that is due not to violence but to the effects of poverty. In Harlem since 1980 the number of deaths of people between the ages of 25 and 44 has gone up by 31 percent, with AIDS now the most common cause for this group.

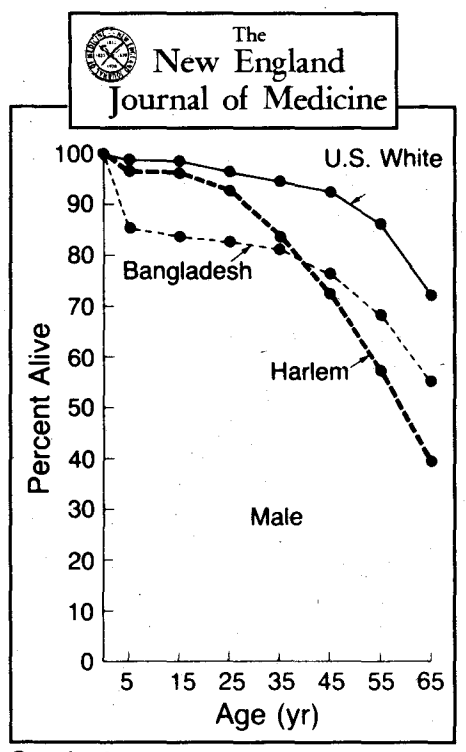
Black men also suffer higher death rates from heart disease, strokes, cancer, liver ailments and diabetes but have correspondingly less access to decent health care. The McCord-Freeman study shows that in Harlem "the use of hospital outpatient departments is 134 percent higher" than the New York City per person average, while "the number of primary care physicians per 1000 people is 74 percent lower." Harlem Hospital, badly understaffed and underfunded, is in fact the *only* public hospital left in that area, after ex-mayor Koch used massive police violence to close Sydenham Hospital in 1980.

Now, black Democratic Party mayor David Dinkins has proposed that public hospitals in New York City *cut* their budgets by 4 percent, while liberal Democratic New York governor Mario Cuomo proposes cutbacks in Medicaid, the federal-state health program for the poor!

Pointing to Harlem and other inner city areas like Boston's Roxbury, McCord and Freeman note that the "excess deaths" recorded are considerably larger than natural-disaster areas. They call for a "major political and financial commitment" to eliminate the causes of this human tragedy: "vicious poverty and inadequate access to the basic health care that is the right of all Americans." But the consensus of the racist American ruling class is that layers of America's minority population should *die*, because this decrepit capitalist system no longer needs them.

In 1954, at the tail end of the Korean War boom, three-quarters of all black men were working. By the '60s increasing numbers were in unionized, relatively well-paying jobs in the auto plants and steel mills. But beginning with the depression of the mid-'70s, millions were permanently thrown out of work in the deindustrialization of America. Now almost 40 percent of black men in their early 20s are unemployed, and in 1986 only two out of every five black men had a full-time job.

For American capitalism, the black poor have become simply a *surplus* population, and welfare programs are considered a waste of money. As Frederick Engels stated nearly a century and a half ago in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (1845), describing the inherent workings of the capitalist system, "If there are too many [workers] on hand...want of work, poverty, and starvation, and consequent diseases arise,



Survival to age 65 for males in Harlem, Bangladesh and among U.S. whites in 1980.

and the 'surplus population' is put out of the way." Engels notes ironically:

> "If, then, the problem is not to make the 'surplus population' useful, to transform it into available population, but merely to let it starve to death in the least objectionable way and to prevent its having too many children, this, of course, is simple enough, provided the surplus population perceives its own superfluousness and takes kindly to starvation. There is, however, in spite of the violent exertions of the humane bourgeoisie, no immediate prospect of its succeeding in bringing about such a disposition among the workers. The workers have taken it into their heads that they, with their busy hands, are the necessary, and the rich capitalists, who do nothing, the surplus population."

The black workers of America *will* resist the genocidal plans of the racist ruling class. For black survival, in order to provide full employment and free, quality health care for all, the only answer is socialist revolution to take the productive wealth out of the hands of the murderous capitalist rulers and put it in the service of humanity. ■

The Jewish Question and Capitalism

TROTSKY

LENIN

We reprint below excerpts from Abram Leon's The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation, *an incisive materialist analysis of the Jewish question and the role of anti-Semitism under capitalism. In his own life, Leon mirrored the catastrophe which befell the Jewish people of Europe, particularly the significant pro-socialist proletarian masses, in the first half of this century. Leon was a Belgian Jew of Polish origin who was won to Trotskyism at the outset of World War II from the left-Zionist Hashomer Hatzair youth organization. He became leader of the underground Trotskyist organization in Belgium and an organizer of clandestine revolutionary propaganda among German soldiers. Toward the end of the war Abram Leon was captured by the Nazis and murdered in Auschwitz.*

Thus the tragic fate of Judaism mirrors with singular sharpness the situation of all humanity. The decline of capitalism means for the Jews the return to the ghetto—although the basis for the ghetto disappeared long ago, along with the foundations of feudal society. Similarly, for all humanity, capitalism bars the road of the past as well as the highway to the future. Only the destruction of capitalism will make it possible for humanity to benefit from the immense achievements of the industrial era.

Is it astonishing that the Jewish masses, who are the first to feel—and with special sharpness—the effects of the contradictions of capitalism, should have furnished rich forces for the socialist and revolutionary struggle? "On various occasions Lenin emphasized the importance of the Jews for the revolution, not only in Russia but in other countries as well...Lenin also expressed the thought that the flight of a part of the Jewish population...into the interior of Russia, as a result of the occupation of the industrial regions of the West, had been a very useful thing for the revolution—just as the appearance of a large number of Jewish intellectuals in the Russian cities during the war had also been useful. They helped to smash the wide-spread and extremely dangerous sabotage which confronted the Bolsheviks everywhere immediately following the Revolution. Thus they helped the Revolution to survive a very critical stage." The high percentage of Jews in the proletarian movement is only a reflection of the tragic situation of Judaism in our time. The intellectual faculties of the Jews, fruit of the historic past of Judaism, are thus an important support for the proletarian movement....

The very paroxysm, however, that the Jewish problem has reached today, also provides the key to its solution. The plight of the Jews has never been so tragic; but never has it been so close to ceasing to be that. In past centuries, hatred of the Jews had a real basis in the social antagonism which set them against other classes of the population. Today, the interest of the Jewish classes are closely bound up with the interests of the popular masses of the entire world. By persecuting the Jews as "capitalist," capitalism makes them complete pariahs. The ferocious persecutions against Judaism render stark-naked the stupid bestiality of anti-Semitism and destroy the remnants of prejudices that the working classes nurse against the Jews. The ghettos and the yellow badges do not prevent the workers from feeling a growing solidarity with those who suffer most from the afflictions all humanity is suffering.

—Abram Leon, *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation* (1942)

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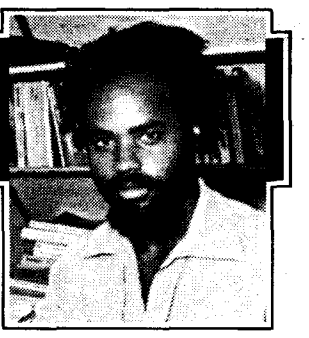
From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



Winter of Discontent

Winter's tight claws grip the eastern and central U.S., a season of terror for far too many of the nation's estimated three million homeless. The so-called "City of Brotherly Love," Philadelphia, has given sharp notice that the city's growing homeless are not to be counted among the "brothers" worthy of "love."

America's 5th largest city, headed by lame-duck mayor W. Wilson Goode, started the frosty season by slashing its homeless budget by an estimated $15 million—in a time when the number of homeless is steadily growing.

Philadelphia became the first major American city to substantially cut into homeless programs.

Does the fact that Philadelphia's mayor is Black mitigate this social crime against the helpless homeless?

Not to those struggling to brave winter's frosty breath by sleeping in cardboard boxes, in city subways, or in parks, who are over 80 percent African-American.

Mary Scullion, of a South Philadelphia homeless women's shelter, opined, "Goode clearly sides with the business community—he's serving their interests" (*Guardian*, 11 October 1989).

And there's the rub.

Goode's initial election was a time fat with hope, with African-Americans responding with joyous affirmations to Goode's victory speech query, "Will you help me? Will you help me?"

Two terms later, in the waning months of the Goode administration, the question echoed by Goode is now heard upon the chapped, chattering, chilled lips of homeless, reduced to beggary, dirty hands outstretched to all passersby, asking "Will you help me?" Goode's response? A cold, succinct "no."

Of the growing Black homeless horde, how many thousands pulled his election lever, when he strove to make history?

In Dixie's "seat of the Confederacy," one wonders how Blacks there will feel, years later, after L. Douglas Wilder's razor-thin squeak to victory (as governor-elect of Virginia)?

How too, will African-Americans feel in NYC, home of David Dinkins' thin squeeze to the mayoralty?

More importantly, how will Africans fare?

Black political gains make good, soothing headlines that assure us things are getting better.

It is easy to ignore the nameless, the poor, the people so easily relegated to the nebulous "underclass."

But they are *there*—in subways, under bridges, in parks, and in icy alleys, covered by cardboards—and too many of them, Black men, women and kids.

If Blacks are at the bottom of the pot, how will the election of "ideological moderate(s) committed to the maintenance of the status quo" change their deplorable condition?

Blacks elected to positions of power assume, as Scullion noted, the interests of big business, industry, the ruling class, not the ruled. What better example than Goode; than Governor Wilder, who embraced the racist Virginia death penalty, claiming it's now fair, to get elected? Bureau of Justice statistics show that, from 1930 to 1981, "Old Dominion" executed 92 men—17 whites; *75* (an astonishing 80 percent!) were Blacks—21 Blacks for rape! *This* is a fair, equitable system?

Notwithstanding political eruptions in Eastern Europe, capitalism, as practiced here in the West, is a reality of Darwinian cruelty.

The U.S. Census Bureau's conservative estimate of poverty, some 13.5 percent of Americans, means 31.5 million people are in dire need. A study by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress suggests a more honest figure, over 24 percent, is closer to the truth—nearly 55 million people in poverty. Black politicians who mimic white politicians represent no change, in an age aching for change—for new strategies—for fairness—for equity.

Politics, it has been said, is 90 percent symbol.

In this era of crisis, people need more than symbols—they need substance.

This system offers no solution, as it *is* the problem.

There is but *one* solution—revolution!

10 December 1989

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.

Frame-Up Vendetta Continues

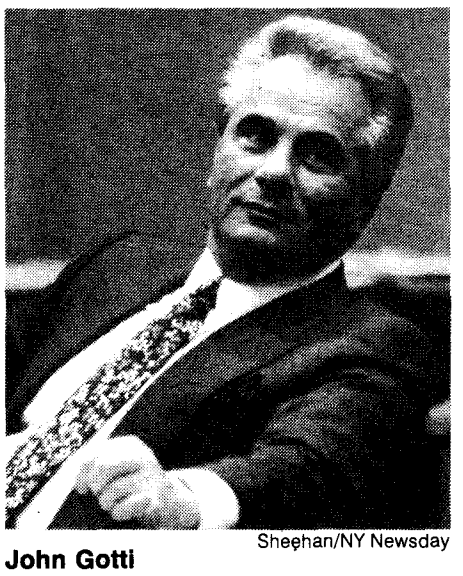
Gotti Gets Off—Feds Target ILA

On February 9, John Gotti was acquitted of four charges of assault and two of conspiracy. When Gotti, who is reputed by the government to be *the* kingpin of "organized crime" in the U.S., walked out of the NY State Supreme Court he was met by a cheering crowd, fireworks were set off on Mulberry Street and celebrations were held in Gotti's Howard Beach neighborhood.

As the *New York Times* (10 February) reported, "to prosecutors and law enforcement officials the adulation was difficult to understand.... To these officials, he is the power behind an empire of loan-sharking, extortion, hijacking, robbery and murder...." But for a lot of people in America this is a more accurate description of the "empire" that is run from Washington, D.C.—where well-heeled influence peddlers steal millions from housing programs, where Social Security taxation is purely an extortion racket to fund the Pentagon's war chest and still "balance the budget," and where running drugs for guns, money and murder is government "business."

So there was some satisfaction in Gotti's acquittal regardless of who or what he might be—and not just among the cheering crowds in the neighborhoods. Why? Because he beat a government frame-up.

Gotti was indicted by the Manhattan District Attorney's Office and the New York State Organized Crime Task Force on charges of ordering the 1986 shooting and wounding of John O'Connor, then vice president of Manhattan Local 608 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. The prosecution charged that Gotti had arranged for the shooting of O'Connor after members of his union had allegedly wrecked a Battery Park restaurant which had been built by non-union labor and which was reportedly owned by one of Gotti's friends.



Sheehan/NY Newsday

John Gotti

The state's only witness was James McElroy, a self-confessed murderer, perjurer and "enforcer" for the Hell's Kitchen gang, the Westies. The "evidence" consisted of conversations bugged and wiretapped by the feds. For one set of tapes the federal and state transcripts didn't match. Moreover, jurors interviewed after the acquittal reported that they had heard things listening to the tapes that weren't in the transcripts at all, as well as remarks that they felt were either taken out of context or completely contradicted the prosecution's charges.

O'Connor himself even testified as a witness for the defense. While the prosecution tried to put this down to O'Connor's fear of Gotti, it seems that the former carpenters union president was more than a little burned that the investigators from the state's Organized Crime Task Force, who had pulled him over for questioning the day before he was shot, had neglected to mention that he was in danger.

As one juror commented: "I'm not saying he didn't do it. I'm just saying I had my doubts, and basically we all agreed that we all had a reasonable doubt" (*New York Times*, 10 February). But the feds don't like going by the book, i.e., the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights, which assert such rights as innocent until proven guilty, a fair trial, etc. For the government and its cops and courts these are "technicalities" which get in the way of them getting who they want to get. And they badly want to get John Gotti.

A feature article in the *New York Times Magazine* last April pointed out that Gotti's acquittal following a seven-month trial in 1987 on federal charges brought under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) "was the most stinging courtroom defeat suffered yet by the Justice Department in its campaign against the Mafia." As we wrote at the time of this government vendetta:

> "...this crackdown doesn't have much to do with justice: they are actually trying to *frame* the Mob. The RICO...'conspiracy' dragnet lets the G-men pick and choose who they feel like setting up and when; they don't need evidence of any actual crime. The Reaganites want to institutionalize the frame-up principle, and what easier target for a frame job than vicious parasites like gangsters? "Why are we Marxists commenting on these mobster trials? For one thing, we don't believe justice is only for the innocent."
>
> —"Feds Frame Up Mob," *WV* No. 400, 28 March 1986

The feds' idea of "law and order" comes straight from Al Capone—like the racist sting operation set up by the FBI to entrap black D.C. mayor Marion Barry.

Unlike black kids who are shot in the back on the streets with no trial—except the one that is held to acquit the cops who murdered them—John Gotti obviously has the means to get himself some justice in this society. Nonetheless the leash of "liberty" is short when one is the target of a state vendetta. One week after Gotti's acquittal he was named as a target of a federal suit aimed at smashing the International Longshoremen's Association in New York and New Jersey.

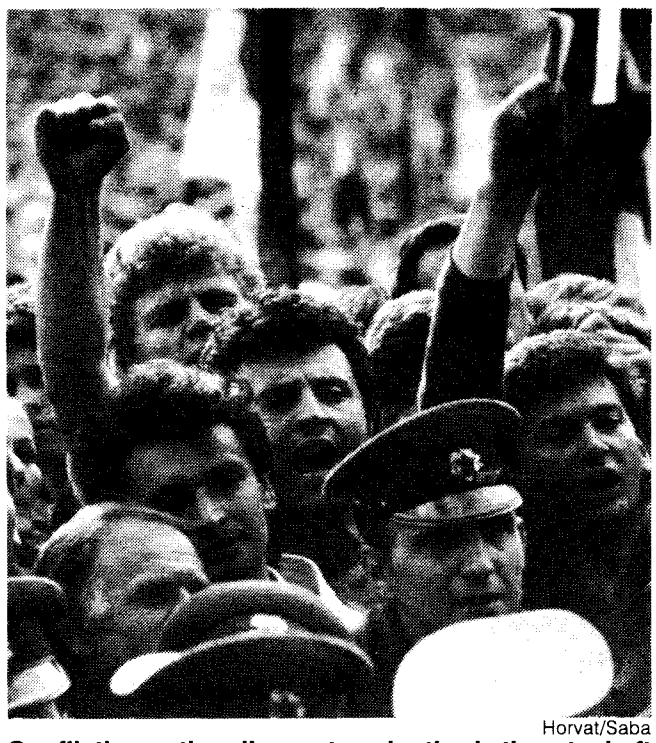
Six longshore locals and 44 union officials, along with members of the Gambino and Genovese "families" and the Westies gang, are being sued under RICO. In the name of fighting "Mafia domination" of the waterfront the feds want to remove elected union leaders and replace them with government-appointed "trustees," while robbing union treasuries to recover "ill-gotten funds"!

For almost four decades the capitalist government has waged a malicious campaign of "anti-corruption" suits against the ILA in an attempt to bust the union. The FBI spent 20 years and millions of dollars hounding former ILA leader Tony Scotto. Scotto was no mobster but a decent man whose life was destroyed by vindictive G-men who finally succeeded in having him convicted in 1979 on charges of taking $225,000 in "illegal payoffs." But the feds aren't done with Scotto. They want to frame him up all over again in the current suit!

In 1953 East Coast dock workers waged massive strikes and work stoppages against the attempt by the government and the AFL Meany bureaucracy to replace their union with an AFL affiliate. They weren't taken in by the lie that all the government wanted to do was clean up corruption on the docks. On the contrary, they understood that the issue was the defense of their union against the corrupt, labor-hating rulers of this country.

Some good old-fashioned labor battles like that one could start to turn things around in this country in defense of "liberty and justice" for us all against the real "organized crime"—the gang that rules this country. As James P. Cannon, the veteran leader of American Trotskyism, wrote in the early 1950s, "The crime-busting racket is as old and familiar as the calliope and the shell game when the carnival comes to town.... In the meantime, the greatest crime against humanity remains the outlived capitalist system itself, with its exploitation and its wars...."■

AFP



Horvat/Saba

Conflicting nationalisms at each other's throats. Left to right: Slovenes, Serbs, ethnic Albanians.

AP

The Balkanization of Yugoslavia

On February 1 the Yugoslav government dispatched troops to the province of Kosovo in an attempt to suppress ethnic Albanians demanding greater independence from Serbia. The move followed ten days of fierce clashes which brought the 90 percent Albanian province, last year stripped de facto of its autonomous status and reincorporated into Serbia, to the verge of civil war. Dozens have been killed in pitched battles with police and hundreds arrested. There is now a real danger of a large-scale massacre of Yugoslav Albanians. Over 20,000 workers in Kosovo downed tools in support of demands for free elections, the resignation of the regional leadership and the release of political prisoners.

The disturbances are a repeat of those which occurred last March, in which 28 people died, following a constitutional reassertion of Serbian dominance. Then authorities instituted a sweeping purge of the province's Communist party along with widespread arrests of oppositionists and intellectuals. The unrest in Kosovo has deep historical roots (see "Yugoslavia Inflamed," *WV* No. 463, 21 October 1988), but in a very immediate sense grows out of the "market socialism" policies of Yugoslav Stalinism. These have pitted the less developed regions of the country against the more developed, and set nationality against nationality. Tensions in the province have been brought to a fever pitch by the reassertion of Serbian control, which is largely the work of Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic, who has played the Serbian-chauvinist card in his demagogic bid for power.

The trigger for the current turmoil was the collapse of the party conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) on 23 January. The three-day conference ended with a split of the 1,600 delegates along ethnic lines after a majority voted to abolish the party's "leading role in society," stipulated in Yugoslavia's constitution, but refused to renounce "democratic centralism." This prompted a walkout by Slovenian delegates, who face elections in April and felt they had to adopt an independent and social-democratic face if they are to have any chance at winning. The polarization was captured in a bitter remark by a Serbian woman delegate cited by the London *Independent* (23 January): "Why don't the Slovenes pack up, go home and leave us primitives to get on with it?"

Efforts by Milosevic to continue the conference despite the Slovenian walkout failed, leading to a suspended congress. The next day the Belgrade daily *Borba* on its front page proclaimed the LCY "no longer exists." In fact the LCY has for some time been operating as an increasingly tenuous federation of the parties of the constituent republics and provinces. This is a consequence of the centrifugal forces unleashed by 20 years of "market socialism," the Titoist variant of the utterly false Stalinist perspective of building "socialism in one country."

The differences which erupted at the LCY's congress are not differences of principle but of provincial-bureaucratic interest. All of Tito's heirs are committed to a course of less "socialism" and more market. Milosevic, the former Belgrade banker, takes a back seat to no one in his drive for market "reforms." The son of an orthodox priest (the main carriers of messianic Serb nationalism), Milosevic denounced the Slovenian party's demand for autonomy, saying it would cause "internecine warfare in the party and the country." This is incredible demagoguery coming from the Yugoslav politician who has done more to whip up nationalist passions than anyone in the postwar period. Since the Serbs of Yugoslavia enjoy a plurality in the multinational state, Milosevic prefers a centralized state in which their weight can be brought to bear.

The Slovenian Stalinists, busy right now doing a quick change act to social democracy, hope to cash in on the popular sentiment that Slovenia can go it alone. The Slovenians constitute only 8 percent of the population of Yugoslavia, but produce 25 percent of the national product. The less developed regions of the country are widely viewed by Slovenian nationalists as a millstone around the republic's neck. The split at the party congress was prefigured by a literal trade war between Serbia and Slovenia.

Elements around the Slovenian weekly *Mladina* are now advocating separatism. Thus *Mladina*'s editor, Roberto Boteri, intones: "If you don't want to be a colony for outdated, polluting technology or be a pool of cheap labor, you must join the free market of Europe in a hurry" (*New York Times*, 13 February). Boteri is an even bigger demagogue than Milosevic! If Slovenia does succeed in breaking away from Yugoslavia it will be the Slovenian workers who pay the bill for joining Europe's "free market." Slovenian industry is only efficient by Yugoslav standards. The tiny Slovenian state, cut off from the Yugoslav economy which is its major market, will after bloody counterrevolution be gobbled up by German imperialism. It will indeed become a pool of cheap labor, with attendant widespread unemployment.

Problems of Communism

While the split in the LCY was a defeat for Milosevic, there are elements in the Yugoslav federal government who see the aborted congress as an opportunity to strengthen the central authority of the Yugoslav state. Yugoslav prime minister Ante Markovic, using constitutional loopholes, had already rammed through a series of "market reforms" opening the Yugoslav economy to unrestricted imperialist penetration, private property, and a convertible dinar pegged to the West German D-mark.

The centrifugal nationalisms engendered by market forces are giving rise to the birth of reactionary nationalist formations such as the Serbian National Renaissance, the Croatian Democratic Union and the Slovenian Republican Army —all dedicated to promoting ethnic superiority. Their programs reek of fascism. For example, the 21 January *New York Times* cites a Croatian Democratic Union leader: "Our main goal is to restore the values of Croatia, the Catholic religion, the family, the culture of Croatia, which the Communists tried to take away from us." Croats, continued this spokesman, "like Greeks and Celts, are the oldest people of Europe and should be preserved. We are against our women aborting." The *Times* goes on to observe that Croatian Democratic Union leader Franjo Tudman said people who helped Croatian women abort were "traitors" against Croatia.

Thus we are seeing a resurgence of the same reactionary nationalist forces which Tito's partisans defeated in the course of liberating the country from Nazi Germany. Two years ago we wrote:

> "The Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia was forged in the Communist-led resistance to the Nazi German occupation during World War II. The strength of Tito's partisans lay in the fact that they fought for a resolution of the Balkan question on an *anti*-nationalist basis. Tito himself was a Croat while the ranks of the Communist movement were predominantly Serbian and Montenegrin....
> "The partisans of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia managed the incredible feat of uniting the nationalities against the German occupiers, driving the Nazis out and exterminating the royalist and fascist movements of Yugoslavia."
>
> —"The Bankruptcy of the Yugoslav Model," reprinted in *"Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe* (July 1988)

But now the effects of four and a half decades of Titoist Stalinism threaten to overthrow the historic gains of the Yugoslav Revolution.

In October 1988 we observed that the situation in Yugoslavia prefigured that in the USSR. No longer! Both multinational states stand on the brink of national conflicts that can rip them apart, opening the door to capitalist counterrevolution of the most reactionary sort. In these circumstances it is the urgent task of revolutionists to find a way to assemble the cadre to forge authentic Leninist parties that will stand up to the imperialists, throw out the craven and corrupt bureaucrats—who sell out the workers and open the door to the worst nationalist excrescences—and establish workers governments based on genuine soviet power. ■

Kremlin Bureaucracy...

(continued from page 1)

Gorbachevite intelligentsia.

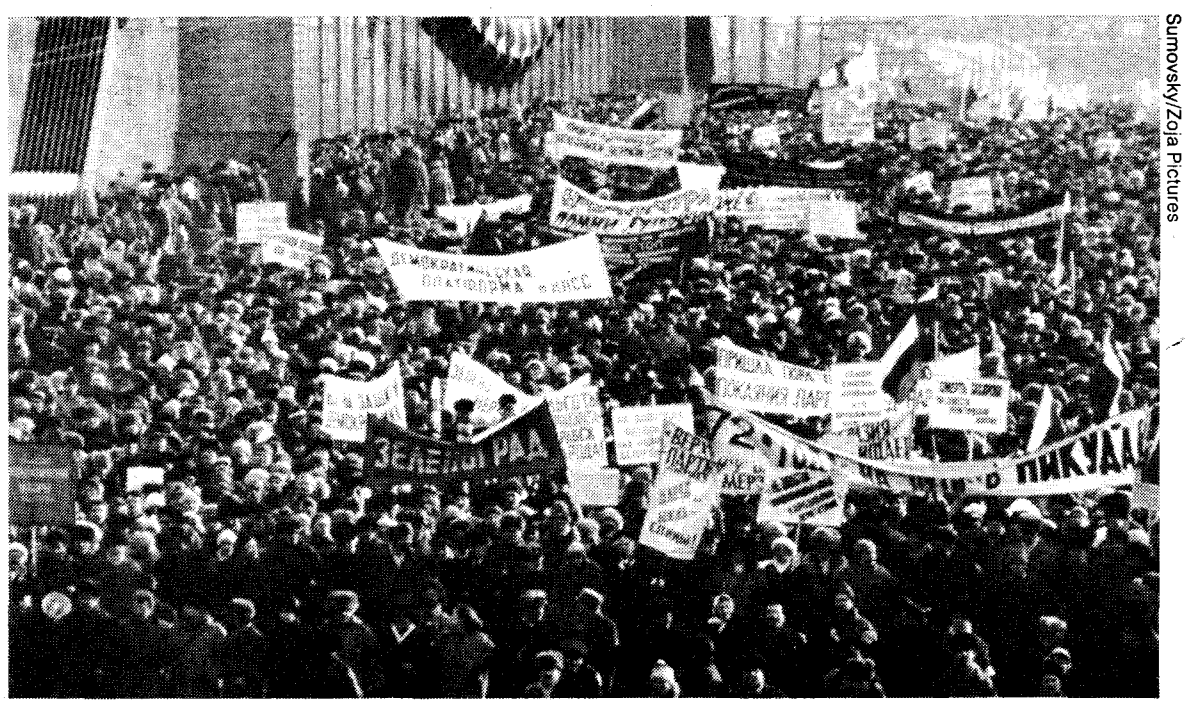
In his address to the plenum, Gorbachev declared: "We should abandon everything that led to the isolation of socialist countries from the mainstream of world civilization." What "isolates" the Soviet Union from what Gorbachev calls the "mainstream of world civilization," that is, Western imperialism—which killed six million Jews, A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and slaughtered millions of Vietnamese—is precisely the 1917 October Revolution's overthrow of capitalism and establishment of proletarian class rule.

An extreme but consistent representative of the pro-Western intelligentsia is the economist Vasily Selyunin, who maintains the Soviet Union should model itself on Solidarność-led Poland!! He calls for unrestrained inflation, bankruptcies and plant closures, and selling off the means of production to foreign corporations and native entrepreneurs. The Soviet government "will have to take extremely unpopular economic decisions," according to this prophet of "free market" doom (*Boston Sunday Globe*, 28 January).

However, Gorbachev already has encountered massive popular opposition to the far more moderate market-oriented measures dubbed perestroika (restructuring). In the face of popular uproar, the Kremlin chief was forced to drop the outright call in the new party program for restoring "private property." By far the most despised class of people in the Soviet Union today are the new petty capitalist operators (called "cooperativists"). Even in Riga, Latvia—a hotbed of anti-Communism and "free enterprise"—the *New York Times* reports people go into a private liquor store only to abuse the owner for charging extortionate prices.

"It is all falling apart—nothing is working," exclaimed one Moscow resident as he faced empty shelves in state shops while television showed carloads of food rotting at the docks and on railway sidings. Gorbachev's "half measures," as they're commonly called, have led to an impasse. Growing numbers believe some kind of market system would be an improvement over the present chaos, while others remember the past favorably. "Stalin would have had a remedy," said the Muscovite quoted above. "He would have shot a few officials, and suddenly people would have gone to work and things would have improved." But the old apparatus of repression has shrunk considerably from the time that Stalin's labor camps held millions of people. And as a political doctrine Stalinism is discredited beyond recall.

Instead the widespread fear of economic insecurity and hardship, of social anarchy and the danger from Western militarism, is being channeled into resurgent Russian nationalism and anti-Semitism. The fascists of Pamyat (Memory), dismissed but a few years ago as a handful of backward-looking fanatics, have become a feared force in the Russian body politic (see article page 7). And Pamyat has been joined by a slew of other, more "respectable" nationalist outfits—Fatherland, Fidelity, Renewal, Salvation, the United Council of Russia.

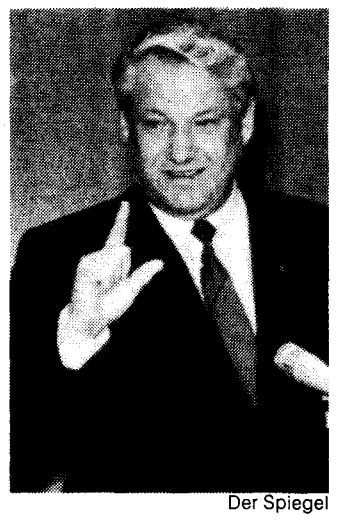


Sumovsky/Zoja Pictures

100,000 march on the Kremlin, February 4, Moscow. Demonstration organized mainly by social-democratic Democratic Platform chanted "Resign! Resign!" to CPSU Central Committee.

Just as the Gorbachev wing of the Kremlin oligarchy finds its support among Western-oriented intellectuals and technocrats, so the conservative Stalinist apparatchiks, represented at the top by Yegor Ligachev, increasingly base their ideological and popular appeal on Great Russian nationalism, combining populist economic demands—for suppressing petty capitalist enterprises and freezing prices—with Slavophile bigotry. It is not only Ligachev-type conservatives who are appealing to Great Russian chauvinism. One darling of the "radical" reformers, Boris Yeltsin—one-time Gorbachev lieutenant turned populist demagogue—is also flirting with Pamyat, which he says has "many positive moments"!

Independent



Der Spiegel

Three faces of Kremlin bureaucracy: "hard line" Stalinist Yegor Ligachev (left), architect of perestroika and darling of Western imperialism, Mikhail Gorbachev (center), "free market" demagogue Boris Yeltsin (right).

Far from mobilizing against Pamyat, pro-Western Russian intellectuals have gone out of their way to appease these fascists. For example, Igor Chubais, a leading spokesman for the Democratic Platform (which prominently displayed a picture of German Social Democrat Willy Brandt at its founding meeting), stated that Pamyat should be able to participate in Soviet political life on an equal footing with all other parties. The Gorbachevite intelligentsia in their own way uphold Russian nationalism and dismiss the internationalist principles of the Bolshevik Revolution as utopian and "dogmatic."

Significantly, both many liberal intellectuals and Pamyat oppose sending Soviet armed forces into Azerbaijan. The former appeal to pacifistic nationalism; the latter openly state that Russian blood should not be spilled for the sake of the peoples of the Caucasus. The pro-Western liberal intellectuals are *politically incapable* of combatting the rise of nativist Russian fascism.

The children of Stalin's apparatchiks are now uniting with the grandchildren of the tsarist Black Hundreds. Consider the leading nationalist ideologue Valentin Rasputin, one of the "village writers," who denounces Bolshevism in the language of Solzhenitsyn: "The Revolution brought people to the fore who destroyed Russia." And Rasputin (a historically appropriate name) adds ominously, "the Jews here should feel responsible for the sin of having carried out the Revolution" (*New York Times Magazine*, 28 January). Yet this reactionary anti-Communist and Jew-hater now upholds the untrammeled rule of the Kremlin oligarchy in order to preserve Russia one and indivisible:

> "It seems to me that the situation in our country is so dangerous now that if we change the party, or even if we permit more than one party, it will only lead to greater danger. We need unification, even if it's based on this party."

As the Soviet economy is ravaged by the effects of perestroika, the Russian nationalists preach the "socialism of fools." That is what German workers leader August Bebel called anti-Semitism over a century ago. And that is its role in Russia today. Mikhail Chlenov, a leader of the Congress of Jewish Organizations in the USSR, observed: "Anti-Semitism is a reaction not to Jews, but to the inner crisis of Russian society." At the top of Soviet society this crisis is ripping apart the Kremlin oligarchy.

Kremlin Bureaucracy Fractures

The Western media is presenting the outcome of the recent CPSU plenum as nothing less than the self-signed death warrant of Soviet Communism. Supposedly this is the import of the decision to drop Article 6 of the present Soviet constitution, which states: "The leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state organizations and public organizations, is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." In fact, the decision to scrap this clause does nothing more than register the actual fragmentation of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov matter-of-factly stated the obvious, that "it is already late to ask whether we need a multi-party system or not. In fact, it already exists" (*Washington Post*, 8 February).

The Popular Fronts in the Baltic republics and Caucasus—originally formed on Gorbachev's initiative—have come under the leadership of hardened anti-Communist nationalists. The Stalinist apparatus in these regions (and also Romanian-speaking Moldavia) have gone over to the nationalist camp, publicly defying Moscow to garner cheap popular support. The Russian core of the Kremlin oligarchy has fractured into bitterly hostile factions.

An editorial in *Moscow News*, the flagship organ of the Gorbachevite intelligentsia, stated that "Ligachev stands up for the most unhealthy elements in socialism." Accompanying the editorial was a picture of Ligachev giving a Nazi-like salute. *Moscow News* would never depict George Bush or Helmut Kohl in this way. At the rally organized by the Democratic Platform before the plenum, one

continued on page 6

AFP

Reuters

Perestroika fuels nationalist disintegration of USSR. Armed conflict between Armenians (left) and Azeris (right) forced imposition of martial law in Baku region.

Kremlin Bureaucracy...

(continued from page 5)

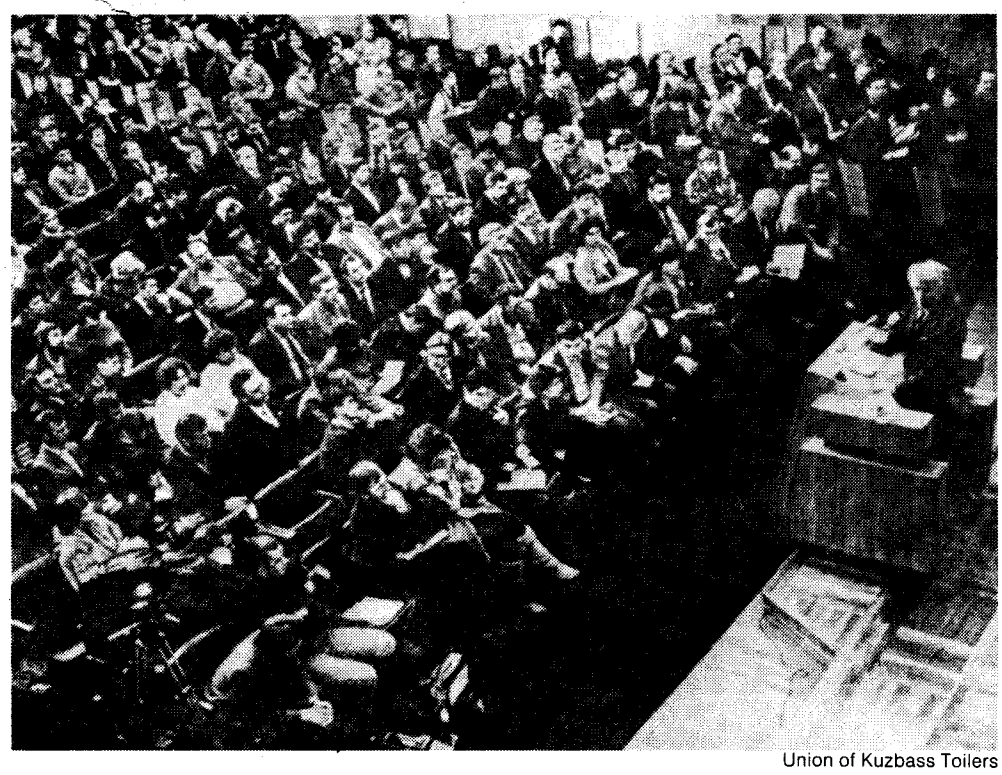
poster declared: "Ligachev is the manacles on the hands of Gorbachev, the noose around the neck of democracy."

However, the conservatives were by no means cowed. If anything, they attacked Gorbachev more boldly than ever before. Particularly sharp were the remarks of Moscow's ambassador to Poland, Vladimir Brovikov, who baited the Soviet president for being more popular in NATO capitals than among his own people: "It is for this reason, apparently, that for our leadership it is more pleasant to meet with smiling crowds on the streets of Western capitals than with our own despondent countrymen who might, in keeping with the laws of glasnost, say something unpleasant" (*New York Times*, 8 February).

Ligachev himself tapped into the deep fear among the Soviet masses and officialdom about a reunified German imperialism. He won loud applause when he warned: "It would be unbelievably short-sighted and a mistake if we didn't see a Germany with huge economic and military potential looming on the international horizon.... I think it is time to recognize the new danger."

Gorbachev is used to the barbs of Ligachev and his friends. However, there are clear signs that the military high command is unhappy, to say the least, at the breakdown of social discipline, the erosion of Soviet patriotism and the apparently limitless appeasement of the NATO powers. Immediately after the plenum, the armed forces chief of staff, General Mikhail Moiseyev, told the military newspaper *Red Star* that the new party program "belittled" the army and ignored the problems of draft evasion, desertions by ethnic minorities and the slashing of the professional officer corps because of the troop cuts in East Europe.

For the moment Gorbachev has managed to enhance his authority by balancing between the "radical" reformers and the conservative apparatchiks while exploiting the widespread desire for a stronger, more effective government. But Gorbachev, for all his clever maneuvers, cannot control the elemental forces unleashed by the disintegration of Stalinist rule. Today it is clearer than ever before that Trotsky was right. Either the Soviet working class sweeps away the parasitic bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution, opening the road to socialism on a world scale, or the gains of the 1917 October Revolution will be destroyed by bloody counterrevolution and the USSR dismembered by Western and Japanese imperialism.



Union of Kuzbass Toilers

Conference of Union of Kuzbass Toilers meets last September. Union was formed in wake of massive strikes by coal miners in Siberia and the Ukraine last summer. Above right: Newspaper of Kuzbass union; below: *Miners Honor*, paper of Donbass miners in the Ukraine.

Reforge the Leninist Party Destroyed by Stalin

Reading the Western bourgeois press on the recent CPSU plenum, one would think that Lenin personally introduced Article 6, specifying the "leading force" of the Communist Party, into the Soviet constitution. "Undoing Lenin's Legacy," declares *Time*. "Life Without Lenin," according to *Newsweek*. "Abandonment of Lenin," says the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. In reality the famous Article 6 was not introduced into the Soviet constitution until *six decades after the Bolshevik Revolution*, in the era of senile Stalinism. It was done in the later Brezhnev years in 1977.

In October 1917 the Bolsheviks won a decisive majority in the All-Russian Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets, the revolutionary-democratic organization of the masses. At this point the reformist Mensheviks and right wing of the populist Social Revolutionaries (SRs) *walked out of the Soviets* and immediately engaged in counterrevolutionary provocations. During the Civil War of 1918-21, the Mensheviks and SRs made common cause with White (tsarist) generals and the imperialist expeditionary forces. At the same time, revolutionary-minded Mensheviks, SRs and anarchists came over to the Bolshevik camp.

Thus the Bolsheviks emerged victorious in the Civil War as the only party capable of maintaining proletarian state power in Russia. The democratic contention of factions and tendencies within the Bolshevik Party served in a sense as a substitute for a multi-party soviet democracy. However, the Bolshevik leadership in no way considered this state of affairs either normal or desirable. Lenin and Trotsky would have dismissed out of hand the philistine notion that Communist leadership over the toiling masses could be established by bureaucratic *diktat*. The 1924 founding constitution of the USSR simply states that the highest government body is the democratically elected congress of deputies of urban and rural soviets. There is no mention of the Communist Party, "leading force" or otherwise.

TASS

Soviet troops arrive in Azerbaijan to restore order amidst nationalist rioting.

The drafting of this constitution brought Lenin—sick and dying—into sharp political conflict with Stalin over the rights of the national republics constituting the Soviet Union. He accused Stalin of Great Russian chauvinism and of taking on the outlook and values of the old tsarist bureaucracy. Involved here was not, of course, merely Stalin's personal traits. Under the pressure of capitalist encirclement reinforcing the country's extreme economic backwardness, elements of the new Soviet officialdom became demoralized and lost their revolutionary drive. These tendencies were enormously intensified by the failure of the ardently expected German Revolution in 1923. Only a few months later Stalin launched the slogan of "socialism in one country" as the ideological watchword of a bureaucratic political counterrevolution.

The main resistance to the bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution was embodied in the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky, whose defeat ultimately reflected the pressure of world capitalism —military, economic and ideological— on the Soviet Union. In the name of "anti-Trotskyism" Stalin destroyed the Leninist party. In 1933 Trotsky observed: "The present CPSU is not a party but an apparatus of domination in the hands of an uncontrolled bureaucracy." The "unity" of Stalin's party was not based on shared political program and values but on the material self-interest of the privileged bureaucratic caste. In the late '30s Trotsky noted that within the ranks of the Soviet state and party apparatus were *all shades of political outlook* from fascist to bourgeois liberal to genuine communist.

Today Gorbachev and his scribes depict and condemn Stalin as a "dogmatic" Leninist. Yet the 1936 Stalin constitution —primarily authored by Bukharin—was modeled on the most liberal of Western bourgeois-democratic constitutions. So much for Stalin the "dogmatic" Leninist! This "ultra-democratic" constitution did not, of course, prevent Stalin from killing hundreds of thousands of Communist militants—including its principal author —and non-party workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Trotsky called upon the toiling masses in the USSR to liberate themselves from Stalin's totalitarian police state through a proletarian political revolution to restore soviet democracy. The 1938 *Transitional Program* of the Fourth International states: "Democratization of the soviets is impossible without *legalization of soviet parties*. The workers and peasants themselves by their own free vote will indicate what parties they recognize as soviet parties."

In developing this program, Trotsky projected that Leninist-led workers, while fighting off the imperialists, would rip the Kremlin bureaucracy to shreds. He never thought that the bureaucrats would just disintegrate from above, thus depriving the proletariat of an important training period and independent organs of power (e.g., factory committees, trade unions, workers militias). Yet this is what has now happened in the Soviet Union and also East Europe. Amid all the political ferment in the USSR, the proletariat has not yet come forward as a political force in its own class interests.

However, the massive coal miners strikes in Siberia and the Ukraine last summer were clearly provoked by and directed against the economic ravages of perestroika (see "Soviet Workers Challenge Perestroika," *WV* No. 483, 4 August 1989). After these strikes, an independent federation of workers organizations was formed in the Kuzbass region of Siberia with the miners at their core. At its founding conference the Kuzbass federation criticized the political monopoly of the CPSU and considered adopting the position: "We will welcome another party, loyal to socialism but defending the interests of the workers" (*Independent* [London], 17 November 1989). Activists in this workers federation now talk about extending it throughout the Soviet Union, including an organization of veterans of the Afghan war.

The most combative section of the Soviet proletariat—the coal miners—have demonstrated a commitment to socialist values and Soviet patriotism. Siberian miners in the Kuzbass *drove off* Pamyat agitators who tried to intervene in their strike. The independent miners organization of the Donbass in the eastern Ukraine rejected an invitation to join the Ukrainian nationalist movement RUKH precisely because of its nationalist program. Boris Kagarlitsky, a New Leftist intellectual in the Gorbachevite milieu, who was an eyewitness to the miners strikes in Siberia, reported:

> "It's also very important that the working-class movement somehow is counterbalancing the nationalist tendencies in the society because the working-class movement was and is internationalist. In Karaganda, which is in Kazakhstan, I've seen Kazakhs, Russians, Germans, Tatars, Caucasians, everybody together in the same strike movement without any national problems among them."
>
> —*Against the Current*, January/February 1990

Kagarlitsky's empirical observation of the Karaganda miners conforms to a fundamental historical truth: the proletariat is the only class in society which can overcome national conflicts and antagonisms. As the 1924 founding constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics states:

> "It is only in the camp of the Soviets; it is only under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat that has grouped around itself the majority of the people, that it has been possible to eliminate the oppression of nationalities, to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence and to establish the basis of a fraternal collaboration of peoples."

The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky gained the confidence of the peoples of the Soviet Union because it was a party based on a *revolutionary international perspective* embodied in both its program and the values of its cadre. To defend the Soviet Union today it is urgently necessary to reforge a Bolshevik party to lead the working people against the decomposing Stalinist bureaucracy and all forms of fratricidal nationalism. ■

Soviet Workers Must Smash Pamyat!

Fascists Assault Moscow Writers Meeting

A meeting of the "April" writers association at Moscow's Central House of Literature on January 18 was the target of a vicious and shocking anti-Semitic attack by the fascist goons of Pamyat and their ilk. The seriousness of this assault, ominously staged as a prelude to a pogrom against Jews, demands the mobilization of the Soviet workers to smash the rising tide of nativist Russian fascism before it spreads any further.

As the members of "April," a minority opposition group within the increasingly chauvinist Writers Union of the Russian Federation, prepared to begin their meeting, a squad of about 50 young thugs wearing Pamyat insignia broke into the room, carrying a banner reading "Moscow Is Not Tel Aviv." According to the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (24 January), "the chairman calmly opened the meeting and even said that he was prepared to give the guests the floor."

However, the "guests," led by a bullhorn-wielding tough named K.V. Astashvili (also known as "Smirnov"), shouted that they hadn't come for discussion, and demanded, "Yids, get out to your Israel!" (*New York Times*, 2 February). These scum punched and threatened the writers, calling them "Jew-Masons" and "splitters from the Russian writers," and breaking one woman writer's glasses. Threatening that "next time, we'll come back with machine guns!" the Pamyat hoodlums were led out by several militiamen, present throughout the attack.

The noted liberal anti-Stalinist writer Vladimir Dudintsev, who was present, noted: "It is a threat to all who think progressively, of course not just to Jews, but to us, the reborn Russian intelligentsia, whose interests are being crudely restricted by the extremists of Pamyat."

That no one was arrested or charged following the attack raises the obvious question of militia complicity, and of the involvement of higher levels of the Soviet bureaucracy. The liberal intelligentsia have been gripped with fear; an article in the weekly magazine *Ogonyok* described the writers' attempt to continue their meeting, under a pall of gloom, and feeling themselves in conditions of semi-legality.

That at least 50 hooligans could gain admittance to a tightly controlled affair is in itself suspicious. As *Literaturnaya Gazeta* notes, "They [the militia] treated the writers coarsely, humiliated them.... The impression was created that not the victimized writers, but the brawlers...enjoyed especial sympathy." *Ogonyok* quoted one of the militiamen as "smirking": "So what? We have pluralism and freedom of speech." When questioned about the attack, the deputy head of the 83rd militia precinct, A.M. Suchkov, retorted: "The writers themselves were to blame...one of the women writers called the perpetrators 'fascists'.... So then a brawl started."

Ogonyok Photos

Fascist goons attack "April" writers association meeting, January 18, Moscow. Bullhorn-wielding thug K.V. Astashvili (upper left) and demonstration inside (below) spewed anti-Semitic filth, threatened pogroms.

In a broadcast of the Soviet TV program "Vzglyad," the prosecutor in the case responded evasively to questions about Pamyat's involvement: "So far I can only say that there were activists from this group 'April' present at this meeting, and that's all. As to members of Pamyat, this is not evident to me." But a writer interviewed on the show stated, "I don't believe this was a spontaneous action.... They promised to come back next time with machine guns, and I believe they have the ability to carry out this threat."

The exacerbation of nationalist tensions produced by perestroika's economic destabilization of the USSR, pitting neighboring republics against each other in fratricidal clashes from Armenia/Azerbaijan to Central Asia and the Baltics, finds its most dangerous expression in the growth of Great Russian chauvinism within the Russian SSR. This reactionary nationalism is historically virulently anti-Semitic, and acts of violence against Jews are on the rise in the Russian republic.

Most threatening of all is a widespread rumor predicting anti-Jewish pogroms in May. This publicized possibility has thrown Soviet Jews into a panic, and increasing numbers are leaving the country. Whereas in past years the vast majority of emigrating Soviet Jews went to the U.S., Washington (bowing to pressure from Israel) closed that option last year, compelling virtually all Jewish emigrants to seek refuge in the Zionist state, where they are being used to bolster the oppression of Palestinians.

Prior to the January 18 attack on "April," it was common for intellectuals in both the Soviet Union and the U.S. to downplay the danger represented by Pamyat. But a recent chilling article ("Russian Nationalists—Yearning for an Iron Hand") in the *New York Times Magazine* (28 January) clearly exposed the essence of Pamyat, "whose members wear paramilitary-style black T-shirts" and give the Nazi straight-arm salute, as well as that of the more "civilized" chauvinists, such as Valentin Rasputin, one of the leaders of the Russian Writers Union.

The Soviet review *Za Rubezhom* (14 July 1989) reprinted a London *Sunday Mail* interview with Pamyat leader Dmitri Vasilyev, in which he fulminated against "anti-Russian forces," claiming that "White people have been almost driven out of Europe." Appealing to "Anglo-Saxon blood," Vasilyev raved, "If Europe doesn't stop importing cheap foreign labor from Asia, the Muslims will conquer and Christianity will be destroyed. Russia is your last hope."

The glorification of "truly Russian" culture is animated by hatred for the communist ideals of the 1917 Revolution, and an important component of this counterrevolutionary current is the Russian Orthodox church. From this bastion of reaction the Black Hundreds, murderous bands of marauding pogromists, were unleashed against the Jews of Russia during the 1905 Revolution.

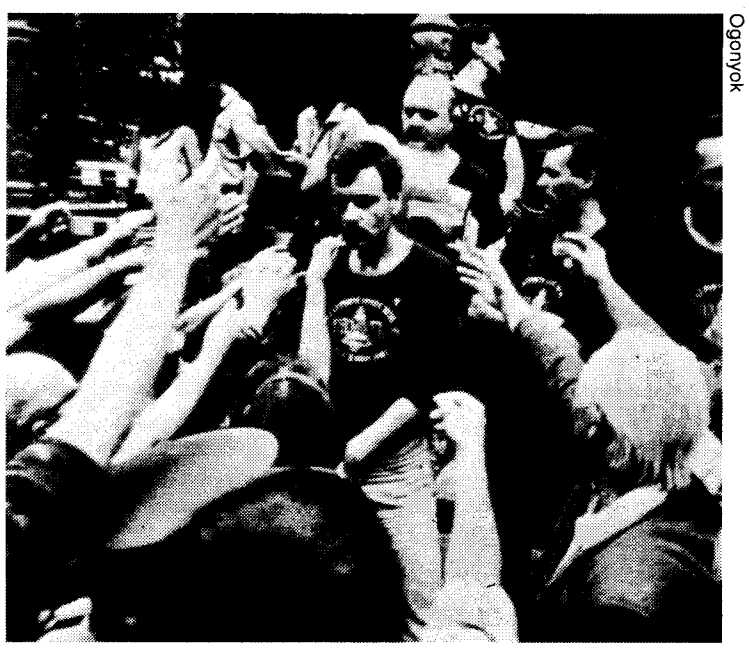
But resurgent Russian nationalism today is more than just a remnant of the dark past. It is fed by popular reaction to the economic chaos produced by perestroika and the growing threat of Western militarism, emboldened by Gorbachev's policy of appeasement. Thus a de facto alliance has formed, uniting such groups as Pamyat, "Fatherland," "Rebirth" and "Aurora," and the Orthodox church, with the old-line Stalinist wings of the bureaucracy (typified by Yegor Ligachev). Pamyat and the other racialist monarchists enjoy special favor among sections of the ruling apparatus, as witnessed by Pamyat's unique ability to hold a demonstration in Red Square last December.

The absence of any denunciation by the ruling bureaucracy of anti-Semitic Russian nationalism fuels the anxiety felt by its potential victims. Even William Korey of the anti-Communist B'nai B'rith Zionist organization writes that "When anti-Jewish pogroms seemed to loom on the horizon in 1918, Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, personally drafted the language in a decree requiring that 'pogromists and persons inciting to pogroms be outlawed.' Later, in a historic address broadcast to the Russian people, Lenin cried: 'Shame on those who foment hatred toward the Jews'." Korey suggests that Gorbachev "could take a leaf from his mentor's book by now forcefully expressing humane concern" (*New York Times*, 25 January).

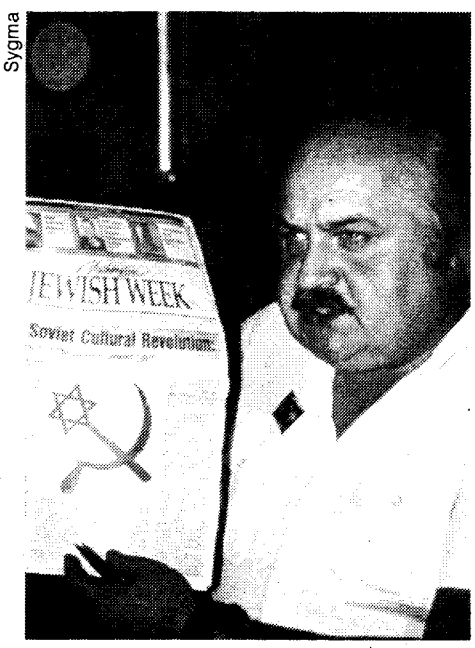
Last week, Jewish protesters from both West and East Germany demonstrated at the Soviet embassy in East Berlin, demanding of the Soviet government "Don't permit any more pogroms!" and calling for a crackdown on Pamyat. This demand is also increasingly heard in the USSR. But the Soviet bureaucracy of today is not the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, and within its anti-revolutionary and bonapartist ranks there are elements which could become openly capitalist-restorationist or even fascist.

It would be criminally foolish to call upon the bureaucracy to carry out workers' justice and undertake political suppression of the nativist fascist scum, whom they have encouraged and conciliated in myriad ways. No, the defense of the gains of the Russian Revolution is a task for the Soviet workers. The Spartacist League uniquely warned of the danger represented by Pamyat from its inception. In *WV* No. 461 (23 September 1988) we posed a revolutionary solution:

> "Who can doubt that a single militant demonstration of 50,000 outraged Leningraders, suitably prepared to defend themselves, coming out to *burn Nazi swastika flags* in Pamyat's face, ready to chase these Nazis to the nearby Neva River or drive them into the canals, would put an end to Pamyat? The Pamyat Nazis must be crushed before this festering sore becomes a gangrenous cancer threatening the Soviet state and its multinational people." ■



Ogonyok



Sygma

Pamyat leader Dimitri Vasilyev (right) given Nazi salute by Russian fascist followers (left). Soviet workers' action must smash Pamyat!

How SPD Sabotaged Workers Soviet Power

Walter Gircke

Mass workers demonstration in Berlin, December 1918, demands: "All Power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils." Revolutionary leadership is key to soviet power.

East Germany: For Workers Councils to Stop the Sellout!

As our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party fight for "Workers and soldiers councils to power!" in East Germany, they have often met with questions about the difference between plant councils and the revolutionary call for workers councils (soviets). The following reply is addressed to these questions.

Increasingly we hear calls for the formation of plant councils in the DDR (East Germany). Frequently this is connected with the arrival of capitalist firms from the West. PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) chairman Gregor Gysi said in a January 7 speech kicking off the election campaign that "co-determination of the working people" was necessary in the case of "joint ventures," and plant councils would be a form of "democratizing the economy."

On the contrary, what's involved here is the sellout of our economy, of our VEBs (state-owned plants), of the workers, of the DDR.

This was made clear in the constitutional amendment permitting the founding of "enterprises with foreign participation" which included word for word Gysi's call for "co-determination of the working people in the management of the enterprises." Even a top businessman, AEG boss Heinz Dürr, told an IG Metall (West) conference the Federal Republic's (West German) plant council law was "a fine thing" that should be introduced as quickly as possible in the DDR (*taz*, 2 February).

At the FDGB (East German trade-union federation) congress at the beginning of February, part of the delegates applauded but many others showed consternation at the announcement of Prime Minister Modrow's statement surrendering the existence of the DDR for a "single fatherland" with capitalist West Germany. Factory councils as proposed by economics minister Luft were seen as a way of undermining the unions. A general strike was threatened to force the Volkskammer (DDR parliament) to approve a new factory law before the March 18 elections.

The FDGB bill calls for the right to strike and the right to work and for full employment. But instead of saying "it defends the people's property," the draft now calls only for "democratic co-determination of the unions in all property forms." Plainly put, the FDGB accepts the restoration of capitalism!

But capital wants more: a union-free environment for exploitation. At the Eisenach Auto Works, part of the IFA Kombinat which has set up a joint venture with Volkswagen, the management, on the advice of BRD (West German) bosses, wants a Western-style "plant council." At a "round table" meeting (including the director, representatives of political parties and the local union leadership) which set up such a council, the union chairman was chucked out.

The newspaper of IG Metall notes that "Many a Kombinat director comes back from a trip to the West with the demand that in 'his' plant as well, 'plant councils' must be immediately elected" (*Metall*, 26 January). A case in point is the Oktober 7 machine tool factory in Berlin, where management also hand-picked a "round table"/plant council against the FDGB. Kombinat general director Warzecha, who recently joined the SPD, thinks 3,000 jobs can be done away with, and he is looking for Western "partners" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 16 February).

Not only capitalists and Kombinat directors call for plant councils, however. So do ostensible leftists. A leaflet of the Initiative for a United Left (VL) urges, "Elect Councils in the Plants." The plant council could serve "to realize the democratic rights of the workforce" and exercise "control over negotiations with foreign capital." But at a conference of plant councils called by the VL initiative group, reports about the real conditions of "co-determination" in the Federal Republic had a "sobering" effect, according to *Neues Deutschland* (5 February).

So the call for factory councils often serves to mask a program for the restoration of capitalism. The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, on the other hand, calls for workers and soldiers councils to power. In our "Open Letter to All Communists" (*Arprekorr* No. 18, 12 January), we wrote: "The SED-PDS now proposes to build plant councils 'before capital comes' (*ND*, 11 January). The Spartakists call for building workers and soldiers councils to stop capital from coming!"

Many workers ask us: plant councils or workers councils, what is the difference?

Plant councils tend to divide the working class rather than uniting it, to limit it to narrow plant questions. When Western capitalists try to organize company "unions," they typically do so on a plant-by-plant basis. Even those who call for plant councils in an independent DDR, a workers state, often seek to retreat from a planned economy to a "market economy" in which each plant is on its own. And, as in the mouth of Prof. Dr. Christa Luft, "socialist market economy" soon becomes "social"—the self-description of BRD capitalism.

Workers councils have arisen in times of sharp class struggle. They can serve as organs of revolutionary power, to reorganize society under the rule of the proletariat. This was the role played by the Russian workers councils, the soviets, with the leadership of the Bolsheviks, of Lenin and Trotsky, in the 1917 October Revolution. But under reformist/centrist misleadership, workers councils that cede state power to a bourgeois parliament can be an instrument for securing the rule of the capitalists. This is what happened in Germany after November 1918, and led to the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The key is revolutionary leadership.

Plant Councils and Workers Councils After November 1918

A look at the history of workers councils and plant councils in Germany is instructive. Workers and soldiers councils arose in numerous cities following the sailors' uprising in Kiel in early November 1918. In many cases these councils were set up by the Independent Social Democrats (USPD), among whose leaders were Kautsky and Bernstein, who had halfheartedly split from the majority SPD under pressure from the increasing anti-war sentiment of the working masses.

Robert Sennecke

Willy Römer

SPD traitors Scheidemann, Noske, Ebert. Demonstration of soldiers in Berlin, January 1919 (right), denounces social-democratic "bloodhounds" of counterrevolution.

In Berlin, the founders were the Revolutionary Shop Stewards, allied with the USPD.

On the left wing stood the Spartakusbund. Although Liebknecht won tremendous moral authority for his courageous opposition to the imperialist war, Luxemburg in particular had acted for years as a loyal left opposition to the increasingly reformist SPD and then as a faction in the USPD instead of building an independent party as the Bolsheviks did in tsarist Russia. So when the 1918-19 Revolution broke out, the Spartacus group was a small, marginal formation. This meant it was unable to effectively contest for control of the mushrooming workers and soldiers council movement.

The influence of the Russian Revolution in sparking the November uprising was enormous. When the German High Seas Fleet returned to Kiel after refusing orders to undertake a final death trip against the superior English fleet, a sailor on the ship-of-the-line *Markgraf* recalled: "We greeted every ship that we met with loud cries of rejoicing: 'Long live Liebknecht! Down with the war! Up with the soldiers council! Three cheers for the Bolsheviks!' " (*Blaujacken im Novembersturm* [1988]).

An 8 November 1918 leaflet by the Spartakusbund called for electing delegates from factories and military units to workers and soldiers councils, and to transfer all government power to these councils. But soon they were taken over by the Kaiser's war "socialists" led by Ebert and Scheidemann, who also headed the bourgeois "republican" government which had replaced the Hohenzollern monarchy. The "independent" USPD, far from presenting a revolutionary opposition, initially joined the social-patriotic government. As Richard Müller, leader of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards, wrote later:

> "The party had since its foundation never taken a position on questions that an uprising or even an overthrow would put on the agenda.... As a political party in the revolution it not only acted to hold back, but gave the other socialist party the power for a counterrevolutionary policy."
>
> —*Die Novemberrevolution* (1924)

At the first congress of workers and soldiers councils in December 1918, there were only a handful of revolutionary delegates. Liebknecht spoke to the crowd of tens of thousands gathering outside, declaring: "We demand from the Congress that it take full political power into its hands for the purpose of carrying out socialism, and that it not transfer power to a National Assembly which cannot be an organ of the revolution." But he and Luxemburg were not permitted to speak to the congress, which handed power over to the SPD government pending election of a parliament.

With this mandate, the Ebert/Scheidemann regime began the repression in earnest. "Defense" Minister Noske conspired with General Gröner to bring in the Freikorps, forerunners of Hitler's SA. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were murdered in the bloody suppression of the January 1919 Spartacus uprising. As the counterrevolutionary terror spread, it provoked a civil war that moved from the Rhineland to Saxony to Berlin and Munich. 30,000 died. The soldiers councils were dissolved. The government wanted to do away with workers councils as well, but was afraid to do so: they were now controlled by the Independents, who recruited many disgusted SPDers. The persecuted Communist Party (KPD) grew as well.

The "socialist" regime instead legally limited the councils to being "representatives of economic interests" at the plant level. This was consecrated in the plant council law of 1920. The introduction to the law stated unambiguously that the purpose of plant councils was to further "the common economic interests of the employees (workers and white-collar) and employers and to support the employer in fulfilling the purposes of the concern." The fight came to a head in January 1920, when the plant council bill was given its second reading.

The USPD, KPD and leadership of the plant councils called for a mass protest on January 13, issuing a leaflet calling for struggle "for the revolutionary council [soviet] system!" Tens of thousands of workers massed in front of the Reichstag. Once again Noske unleashed the machine guns of the soldiery against the peaceful demonstrators. Without a word of warning they fired. The toll: 42 dead and 105 injured. Social Democratic prime minister Bauer said the next day that "weapons were used late, almost too late." The blood-drenched law was enacted.

Nevertheless, by fusing with the left wing of the Independents at the Halle Congress in 1920, the KPD managed to gain influence in the plant councils. In 1923, Trotsky argued against Zinoviev that the existing councils should be used as the base for revolutionary action instead of artificially setting up soviets which would immediately be attacked by the government. In 1931, when in the midst of the Comintern's ultraleftist Third Period the Stalinists were calling for soviets to organize an armed uprising, Trotsky recalled the earlier dispute:

> "The soviets are only an organizational form; the question is decided by the class content of the policy and by no means by its form. In Germany, there were Ebert-Scheidemann soviets. In Russia, the conciliationist soviets attacked the workers and soldiers in July 1917.... In the fall of 1923, defending against Stalin and others the necessity of passing over to the revolutionary offensive, I fought at the same time against the creation, on command, of soviets in Germany side by side with the factory councils, which were already actually beginning to fulfill the role of soviets.
>
> "There is much to be said for the idea that in the present revolutionary upsurge, also, the factory councils in Germany, at a certain stage of their development, will be able to play the role of soviets and replace them."

Today we read in *Neues Deutschland* (13/14 January) that "Despite the form of the [1920] law, which was disappointing for many workers, under the Weimar Republic the plant councils proved to be in many respects effective instruments for the realization of the workers' interests." This is not Trotsky arguing that the form of plant councils can be used by revolutionaries despite the reactionary content of the law, but an attempt to soften up workers in the DDR for a new plant council law to accompany the reintroduction of capitalist exploitation!

GDR Review

May Day workers demonstration in East Berlin, 1946.

Plant Councils in the Birth of the DDR

ND mentions the revival of the plant councils after World War II. The United Left initiative group says that the councils formed in 1945 "fulfilled important tasks in rebuilding the devastated economy, in representing the interests of the workers and in smashing fascist power structures." But "by 1950 plant councils had again been eliminated in our society so the administrative command style of direction of the economy could be fully instituted as well." So what about the plant councils in the post-WW II period?

Both in the East and West, plant councils sprung up almost immediately in 1945. In the zone under the Soviet Military Administration (SMAD) this led to spontaneous expropriation of companies headed by former Nazis or others who had fled West. Led by KPD and SPD worker militants, the councils purged the management and quickly got the plants working again. Formally the SMAD placed many plants under trusteeship, but in Saxony, for example, almost half the trustees were workers (Dietrich Staritz, *Sozialismus in einem halben Land* [1976]).

The 1946 Allied Control Council factory law didn't go beyond the Weimar Republic legislation. But in 14,000 plants in the Soviet occupation zone, employing over two-thirds of the workers, plant-level agreements allowed the councils wide-ranging power in production. Coal mining was placed under state administration already in 1945, and in mid-1946 the formal expropriation of Nazis and war criminals was put into effect after a plebiscite in Saxony. By 1947, 56 percent of all production was in nationalized VEBs or Soviet-German Joint-Stock Companies (SAGs).

During these initial years, before the general expropriation of the bourgeoisie was decreed and before central planning, factory councils more or less ran the plants. This was in a situation where a large part of trade was the "grey market" of "compensation transactions"—i.e., barter. The Leuna works, for instance, traded trainloads of fertilizer for potatoes and vegetables. This prevented starvation, but also led workers to focus on hoarding —hardly a model for a stable economic system.

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Workers Councils...

(continued from page 9)

Over half of the factory council leaders were members of the fused Socialist Unity Party (SED), formed in 1946. As part of the *Gleichschaltung* of the SED, to turn it into an obedient instrument of Stalinist bureaucratic rule, beginning in 1948 Ulbricht and his flunkeys launched a campaign against "leveling" in the plants, denouncing plant councils for raising wages and for providing the same meals for everyone in the factory. The councils were dissolved by joining them to the local union leadership.

By 1950, three-quarters of industrial production was nationalized; the first five-year plan was launched. These were historic achievements. But this was accomplished by tightening the bureaucratic grip on the working class. The new labor law declared that henceforth the "right to co-determination of the workers and employees" would be "realized by the democratic state organs." And nationalized industry was required by law to "fulfill and overfulfill [!] plan obligations."

This intensification of work norms and stifling of workers democracy contributed greatly to sparking the 17 June 1953 workers uprising.

Spartakist

January 14, East Berlin. Spartakist banners at 250,000-strong demonstration at Friedrichsfelde Cemetery to honor Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. *Spartakist/Arprekorr* declares: "No Sellout of the DDR! Workers and Soldiers Councils, Now!"

"Co-Determination" Swindle in the BRD

In the Western occupation zones, the mood among the workers in 1945 was not that different from that in the East. "*Factory committees and factory councils* filled the power vacuum produced by the interning of accused entrepreneurs" (Ute Schmidt and Tilman Fichter, *Der erzwungene Kapitalismus: Klassenkämpfe in den Westzonen 1945-48* [1971]). In November 1945, the plant councils and factory groups of the KPD and SPD in Essen as well as the mayor called on the British military government to expropriate without compensation the Krupp companies. The British refused.

Der Spiegel

West German "co-determination": IG Metall union leader Steinkühler (left) sells out 1984 West German metalworkers strike.

In 1946, over 70 percent of the members of plant councils in the coal mining sector, centered on the Ruhr, belonged to the Communist Party. Miners were angered by the military government's policy of deliberately limiting food supplies—starving the population—out of national vindictiveness and in order to force double shifts. In the April 1947 Nordrhein-Westfalen state parliament elections, the KPD got 14 percent of the votes.

In December 1946, a referendum in Hessen was passed calling for socialization of coal, iron and steel, electrical energy and rail transport, and for state supervision or administration of banks and insurance companies. But in contrast to the SMAD's implementation of the expropriation referendum in Saxony six months earlier, the American military administration banned any socializations.

Meanwhile, during the spring of 1947, there were numerous strikes in the Ruhr area demanding an end to the starvation policies and for public ownership of coal and steel. At the end of March, over half a million workers joined one- and two-day walkouts. As the wave of struggle rose, U.S. military authorities in Hessen declared that strikes which "in any way endangered the demands or plans of the occupation power will not be tolerated," and threatened to apply the death penalty.

In response, the KPD did...nothing. Instead of united mass strikes, it called local actions. Schmidt and Fichter write:

"The reticence of the KPD after the Western allies' strike ban must be seen in the framework of the policy of keeping still on the part of the Western Communist parties" which they accurately linked to the policy of a "people's front."

The social-democratic future leadership of the West German DGB union federation led by Hans Böckler issued an anti-strike resolution. Shortly afterward, they agreed to the Marshall Plan, knowing that accepting credits meant forgetting about any plans for "socialization" of industry. In 1948, the IG Metall union ordered the expulsion of all members of the FDGB and the Communist Party. As a result, the number of KPD members of plant councils fell to 25 percent in 1950.

In exchange for witchhunting and strikebreaking in the name of class collaboration, the SPD/DGB tops thought they had a right to a place at the table for the capitalist feast. This was to be in the form of "parity co-determination" such as had been established in the mining industry, where equal numbers of union and management representatives sat on company supervisory boards.

But Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democrats and his "economic miracle man" Ludwig Erhard had no such provisions in their "social market economy," a formula now taken up by the would-be liquidator of the DDR's collective planned economy, Prof. Dr. Christa Luft. In fact, as the military occupation ended, they planned to hand the iron and steel industries back to their former owners, and to implement an utterly toothless "co-determination" in which the workers' representatives were a powerless minority.

And that is exactly what happened. When the IG Metall and IG Bergbau (metal workers and miners unions) threatened to strike over "co-determination" in 1950-51, Adenauer sent a letter to Böckler claiming that strikes intended to influence parliament were unconstitutional. And when the factory law came before the Bundestag in July 1952, after some initial blustering the DGB tops backed down. The plant councils and their "right to consultation" serve only to further bind the unions to the bosses.

Today capitalist-restorationist forces in the DDR are calling for plant councils in order to purge the unions and former SED members from the factories. But plant councils are also called for by leftists who cherish syndicalist dreams of "self-management" in a "socialist market economy." In turn, "independent trade unions" talk of building "real workers councils" and opposing the sellout of the factories, while accepting the restoration of capitalism. Obviously, talk of councils by very different political forces can have opposite meanings.

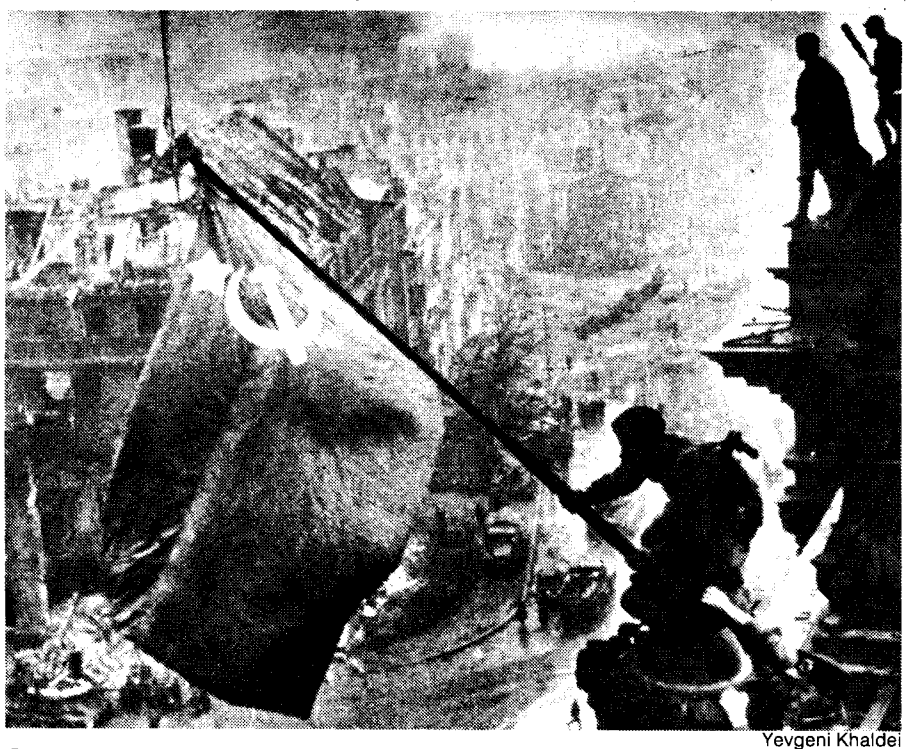
The decisive element is a revolutionary leadership, a Bolshevik party, with a program to build a *workers soviet power*. The working people don't need empty consultation but the power to decide, not over purely local or plant questions but on the fundamental issues and direction of society as a whole.

Today, the issue facing the DDR is revolution or counterrevolution. Under the leadership of revolutionaries, factory councils can be the instrument for establishing *dual power at the plant level*, to exercise *workers control of production* which can be decisive in stopping a buy-out of collectivized industry and maintaining supplies in the face of a concerted campaign by the capitalists to foment chaos.

Such councils can undertake the formation of workers defense groups to protect persecuted workers, guard workers actions, such as strikes and plant occupations, and prevent a capitalist takeover. They can become steppingstones to building genuine *workers and soldiers soviets*, elected in the factories and barracks and recallable at any time, to wage revolutionary struggle and organize a revolutionary workers government.

As Rosa Luxemburg wrote in the aftermath of 9 November 1918:

> "Such an outfitting of the compact mass of the working people with the entire political power for the tasks of the revolution, that is the dictatorship of the proletariat and therefore true democracy. Not where the wage slave sits next to the capitalist, the rural proletarian next to the Junker in a lying equality in order to have parliamentary debate over life-and-death questions, but there where the million-headed proletarian mass seizes the entire state power with their calloused fists in order to bring it down on the head of the ruling classes like the god Thor with his hammer, there alone is the democracy that does not defraud the people."
>
> —R. Luxemburg, "What Does the Spartakusbund Want?" (December 1918) ■



Yevgeni Khaldei

Dietz Verlag Berlin

On 30 April 1945, Red Army took Berlin (left). The next day, May Day, 15,000 prisoners celebrated liberation from Buchenwald (right). The DDR was founded by victims of Nazi terror.

DDR Was Built Through Smashing Nazi Rule

Modrow Swallows "Collective Guilt" Line

The following article is reprinted from Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz *No. 24, 20 February.* Arprekorr *is published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany and the Spartakist-Gruppen.*

Last week, East German prime minister Hans Modrow wrote to the World Jewish Congress and to the government of the state of Israel a letter in which he accepted "the responsibility of the entire German people for the past," including the "worst crimes against the Jewish people" committed by Hitler fascism. This letter was in response to Israel's demand for reparations and its ultimatum, "without taking responsibility for the Holocaust, no relations."

The Western press was jubilant. *Le Monde* (10 February) wrote in a front-page editorial that this statement "put an end to the fiction on which Communist Germany based its existence." By rejecting responsibility for the Holocaust, the paper haughtily declared, "'the workers and peasants state' of Walter Ulbricht and then Erich Honecker emerged '*ex nihilo*' [out of nowhere], according to its founders."

The German Democratic Republic didn't come out of nowhere, it was constructed out of the destruction of Hitler's Reich by the Red Army at a cost of 20 million Soviet lives. Its cadres came in large part out of the concentration camps. In Buchenwald alone, there were over 3,500 Communists from countries throughout Europe; after liberation, the KPD *Parteiaktiv* (active membership) was over 700 there. Thousands of KPDers and SPDers went straight from the KZ camp gates to building anti-fascist committees which took over local administration.

The Federal Republic of Germany formally declares itself the successor state to Hitler's Third Reich, underlining the continuity of German imperialism. The West German secret police were set up by simply taking over the Nazis' anti-Soviet spy operation (the Gehlen organization) wholesale. Many of the capitalist giant firms (and their bosses) who financed the Nazis, from Flick to Krupp and Thyssen, were the same ones who built up the "economic miracle" of the new "democratic order."

The DDR is a workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed from birth, founded by the *victims* of the Nazi terror regime. It is not accidental, therefore, that many of its prominent citizens are of Jewish heritage. While the Ulbricht group of thugs and gangsters was flown in from Moscow's Hotel Lux, former state and SED (Socialist Unity Party) party chief Erich Honecker was held ten years at Brandenburg-Görden. Among his jailers was a man who is today a leader of the neo-Nazi Republikaner. This isn't fiction. These are facts.

The doctrine of "collective guilt" was a pernicious historical fiction to whip up nationalist hostility in the imperialist war. The Stalinists served this up as part of their popular-front policy, as with the French CP's chauvinist call to the partisans, "*A chacun son boche*" (Everybody get a Kraut). Stalin struck the same tone in seeking to build Russian patriotic fervor. Most notably this was reflected in Ilya Ehrenberg's anti-German diatribes ("The Germans are not human.... If you have killed one German, kill another," etc.).

Contrast this with the "Declaration of the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald," written by Trotskyist cadres and sympathizers who survived the Nazi concentration camps. They called for the "German proletariat to rapidly recover from its profound defeat and to again place itself at the head of the European working class in the battle for the overthrow of capitalism." They insisted, "To attribute responsibility, or partial responsibility, for this war to the German and international working class is only another way of continuing to serve the bourgeoisie." Their declaration ended with a call:

> "For a Germany of workers councils in a Europe of workers councils!
> "For world proletarian revolution!"
> —reprinted in *Spartacist*
> No. 26, Winter 1979

Yes, the criminal failure of the Stalinists and Social Democrats to undertake powerful united-front action permitted the jackbooted Nazis to march to power unhindered. In the aftermath, as the Buchenwald Internationalist Communists wrote, the Second and Third Internationals "sabotaged the proletarian revolution that alone could have prevented this war." This was done in the name of the "people's front," a formula for class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. In that same framework the Stalinists proclaimed the "collective guilt" of the German people, failing to make the class distinction between the capitalists, who made tremendous war profits from Hitler's regime, and the workers who suffered under it.

The doctrine of "collective guilt," both in the mouths of the Western imperialists and from Stalin's bureaucratic regime, served to suppress attempts at proletarian revolution in the aftermath of Hitler's

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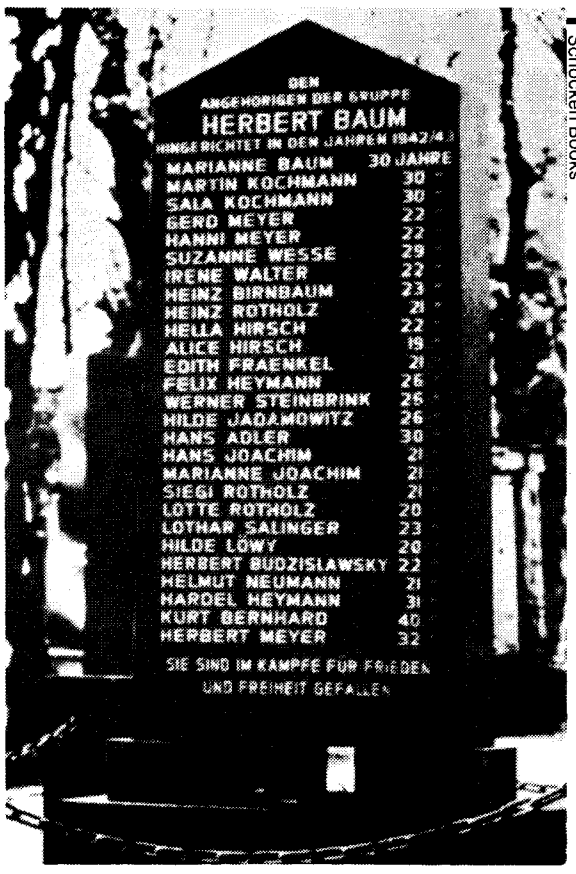

Schocken Books

The "entire German people" responsible for Nazism? Left: East Berlin memorial to the Baum group of Communist Jewish resistance fighters. Right: U.S. Trotskyists reported on multinational prisoners' May Day celebration in Buchenwald, 1945.

THE MILITANT
12 May 1945

HOW WORKERS CELEBRATED MAY DAY AT BUCHENWALD

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men . . . have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murdered, their wives and children lost somewhere on this continent. Their faces are gray, their shoulders droop as under great weight.

"They are the proletariat of many nations and they are magnificent. This is their day and it is fitting that they should have celebrated it here. On the walls of their own barracks and the barracks of the SS who were once their guards, great signs in German, English, Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian read: 'This is the Day of the Fight against Fascism'. . .

"Between these signs and beneath the flags of many nations, the survivors marched—a Polish group, a Russian group, a Yugoslav group, a Czechoslovakian group, an Italian group, a Spanish group, and many others. And then came a large German unit and they began singing the Internationale. Other groups picked up the song, each in its own language.

"Yet the melody was not lost in this babylon of languages. It rose in a mighty torrent into thin air which but one month ago still stank of Nazi massacres."

Reunification: Who Pays

The following dispatch by the British Reuters News Agency is a chilling description of what annexation of East Germany by the capitalist West would mean for the man on the street: he and his family could be on the street.

East Germans Worried by West German Claims on Property

By Susanne Hoell

EAST BERLIN, Feb 18, Reuter—While their compatriots clamour in the streets for German unity, the Rammbusch family sit at home in East Berlin terrified that political change could cost them the roof over their heads.

Recently they had unwelcome visitors to their smart suburban house—a West German couple who said they owned the place and wanted it back.

"My wife just screams all night long," said Jürgen Rammbusch, 46, who has spent years doing up the house and is not about to give it up without a struggle.

Until the fall of East Germany's hardline communist leadership late last year, West Germans who owned property on the other side of the Iron Curtain had all but given up hope of recovering it.

Now they are relishing the prospect of claiming back land bought decades ago by their parents or grandparents.

"At the weekends West Germans fall over themselves to come here, armed with compasses, maps, the works," Rammbusch said.

West Germans have claims to tens of thousands of properties in East Berlin alone. And their plans to charge rents five or ten times above present government-subsidised levels, or even to move back in themselves, have worried ordinary East Germans like the Rammbusch family.

But claiming rights frozen over 40 years of communist state ownership is likely to blow open a hornets' nest of legal and social questions to which nobody knows the answer.

Will the West Berlin lawyer who owns the ground under the East German Foreign Ministry try to claim it for himself?

Will East Berlin's distinctive television tower be handed over to the Swiss insurance company that once had offices on the site?

For the moment East German law is clear—the state guarantees security of tenure and protects rents.

But what will happen after the country's first free elections on March 18, let alone after any reunification of Germany, is anybody's guess.

"When people ask me that I just shrug my shoulders," said Jörg Pauli, East Berlin's legal counsellor on property.

West Berlin senator Wolfgang Nagel fears that whoever wins entitlement, the consequences will be a nightmare.

"The issue of compensation or back payments would keep legions of lawyers busy and cause an economic, political and social earthquake in East Germany," Nagel said.

But West Germans are steadily increasing the pressure. Bonn Justice Minister Hans Engelhard has received thousands of letters asking how to claim back land.

Weekend trips across the border have not always been peaceful. The occupiers of a house belonging to Günther Schneider, a Bavarian doctor, warned him they would set their dog on him if he came again.

In response Schneider has bought a spray can filled with petrol and cayenne pepper to defend himself next time around.

A West German masseur has put psychological pressure on his "tenants" by dropping three-page-long questionnaires through their doors.

He has a lot to gain: the average rent for a three-room flat in East Berlin is about 60 East German marks (36 dollars) a month. A similarly sized, modest apartment in West Berlin could cost 1,000 West German marks (600 dollars) or more.

"Those West Germans are out for a buck and they're going to charge rents to send us flying," said Detlef Dix, who lives with his wife and children in the working class district of Köpenick on the outskirts of East Berlin.

East Germans have set up a special association to lobby against West German property claims. They have the sympathy of many politicians and government officials.

Property rights will also be discussed by an inter-German commission set up to negotiate currency union. The commission meets for the first time this week.

But many fear the power of the West German mark and Jürgen Rammbusch for one is worried that West Germans may extend their property demands further east to territory that has not been German since World War Two.

"If they are claiming their rights over here, then they are not going to stop at the Oder (the East German border with Poland)," Rammbusch said. ■

Der Spiegel Photos

East German tenants threatened by 40-year-old private property claims, massive rent hikes. Would-be landlord Hilmar Schneider (inset) pressing claim to this East Berlin house.

Der Spiegel

SED-PDS leader Gregor Gysi, who comes from a Jewish background, targeted by demonstrators obscenely Nazi-baiting him. Signs at Leipzig demo said: "Gysi is no German."

"Guilt"...

(continued from page 11)

fall. The document which the KPD tops brought with them from Moscow in June 1945 proclaimed the "common guilt" of all, and declared the goal was completing a "bourgeois-democratic restructuring" of Germany. Ulbricht later admitted that "the majority of our comrades" supported instead the "sectarian" policy of socialist revolution. This line was rooted out. A social revolution began in East Germany with the victory of the Red Army, but only after the imperialists launched their Cold War did the Stalinists consummate it, bureaucratically and from the top down.

From its foundation, the DDR has proclaimed itself as an anti-fascist state. And it is notable that today, as the imperialists try to stampede the DDR into a unified capitalist Germany, Nazi-fascist attacks have escalated. These include vandalization of Jewish cemeteries in Berlin-Weissensee and in Rostock. Among those buried in the Jewish community cemetery in Berlin is Herbert Baum, the Jewish Communist resistance fighter. The Baum group certainly did not consider the "entire German people" responsible for Hitler's crimes. Another instance of the rising anti-Semitism are the attacks on PDS [formerly SED] chairman Gregor Gysi, who comes from a Jewish background.

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) has repeatedly urged united-front workers action to stop the fascist terrorists. In our letter to the commander of Soviet armed forces in Germany on 28 December 1989 denouncing the vile Nazi defacing of the Soviet war memorial at Treptow, we wrote: "In memory of the 20 million Soviet dead in the fight to smash the Third Reich, of six million Jews who died in the Holocaust, class-conscious German workers vow to prevent the rise of a Fourth Reich." We called for mobilizing tens of thousands of workers to "crush these killers before it is too late." At the January 3 united-front mobilization in Treptow, which we initiated, Spartakist speakers called for workers militias to crush the fascists.

But, reportedly, leaders of the SED/PDS now consider the demonstration at Treptow to be a "mistake." Instead they go along with the forced march to German reunification which would greatly embolden the anti-Semites. Accepting the historic lie of "collective guilt" and giving financial aid to the Zionist state of Israel, which is based on the oppression of the Palestinians, is not a fight against anti-Semitism. The growth of Zionism among the Jewish masses was a despairing reaction to the Holocaust and the refusal of the Western "democracies" to let in Jewish refugees. Today the Nazi-like oppression of the Palestinians by the Zionist state serves only to provide new arguments to anti-Semites around the world. Support for "greater Israel" or an imperialist "greater Germany" is not support for freedom for the Jewish people. Class-struggle action to stop the fascist terrorists is.

If the Zionists want reparations, why don't they approach the Baltic states which have newly emerged to claim the heritage of genocide. Or how about Austrian president Waldheim? The guilt for the Holocaust is not borne by "the entire German people"—the guilty have names, and so do those who honor the Nazi mass murderers, like Reagan and Kohl did at Bitburg. The DDR workers state is anti-fascist at its roots—and we defend it! ■

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Fourth Reich...

(continued from page 1)

> after another, the German, British and American imperialists have reached a consensus to seize through a propaganda blitz what formerly they thought would take a NATO Blitzkrieg. If they are successful it will be at the expense of vast sectors of the DDR population.
>
> "They are trying to create chaos in order to destroy the DDR workers state. The establishment of a collectivized economy in the heart of Europe is a historic gain that must be defended."

The SpAD statement called on the working people of the DDR to "cast a resounding vote against capitalist reunification in the March 18 elections, and to begin now to organize and resist, in the plants, on the streets, the imperialist assault."

Stressing that the elections are a (distorted) plebiscite on the existence of the DDR, the Spartakist Workers Party is presenting candidates on a class-struggle program against capitalist reunification. It is also demanding from all other parties and candidates a clear statement of position on reunification. We urge voters where the SpAD is not running candidates, and voters who do not fully support our program, to cast a vote for those slates firmly pledged to oppose capitalist reunification and uphold the social and political integrity of the DDR and preserve its social gains.

The Bonn campaign to ram through a currency union is a deadly threat to the working people of the DDR. As soon as Modrow's capitulation was broadcast, long lines formed in front of banks as working people worried that their savings would become worthless. Even Western economists admit that a Deutsche Bank republic would mean millions of unemployed and massive wage cuts. The panic-mongering about a collapse of the DDR, orchestrated direct from the chancellor's office in conjunction with the Social Democrats (SPD), is to prepare to buy up the DDR on the cheap.

This is a classic destabilization campaign, like in Chile, to demoralize and paralyze the East German workers, combined with the Goebbels technique of the Big Lie: the claims of imminent collapse. Yet DDR citizens can tell by looking around them, none of this is true. Even a "senior Western diplomat" is quoted as saying: "They are not at the edge of the abyss. There is food in the shops, the electricity and water are running as usual, the trash is picked up, the trams and buses are operating." Just compare this to Poland where under IMF austerity there is now hunger, mass joblessness, plant shutdowns and the like.

The Kohl/SPD drive to gobble up the DDR is in many ways reminiscent of Adolf Hitler's campaign to dismember Czechoslovakia in 1938. In May of that year, the German general staff prepared a directive calling for propaganda warfare to wear down the Czechs' resistance and economic warfare to hasten their collapse. Goebbels' propaganda ministry manufactured stories of "Czech terror" against the German minority in the Sudetenland. And threats of German invasion convinced the British and French rulers that the only alternative to war with the Third Reich was to accept the destruction of their Czech ally, which they did at the Munich conference in September 1938. Six months later the Wehrmacht marched into Prague.

The difference with today is that Czechoslovakia was a junior partner of British and French imperialism, whereas the DDR is a workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed, allied with the USSR. When George Bush tours U.S. military bases, watching mock U.S.-Soviet battles, climbing into a B-52 cockpit, and saying, "Now, back to the war," he's preparing for war against the Soviet Union. So when the imperialist world proclaims "Today East Germany, tomorrow Russia!" revolutionary-minded workers and all opponents of imperialist war must answer with a resounding "No!" And despite the present reunification intoxication, they will not be alone in saying so.

Helmut Kohl badly wants to be the first Reichskanzler since Adolf Hitler, and West Germany's *Drang nach Osten* (thrust to the East) is sending shudders around the world. Faced with the West German "2+4" plan (first negotiations by the two German states, then by the four WW II Allies) the Polish government asked to participate and for a guarantee of the Oder-Neisse line. Bonn responded that Polish participation "would not be meaningful," and that Germany was not (now) making any territorial claims. No wonder two out of three Poles oppose German reunification, and many think it presages World War III. No wonder Warsaw wants Soviet troops to stay in the DDR. Think of a Hitler with nuclear weapons.

It is not only Germany's neighbors who get a chill at the rush to reunification. The population of the DDR is beginning to realize that bringing in the D-Mark would mean not Audis (or even VWs) for all, but losing your job, your home, and many very real social gains. In recent days parents and children have demonstrated in East Berlin against the elimination of free lunches and day care in the schools. And *Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz* (Arprekorr), published by the Spartakist Workers Party, reports that workers at the EAW electrical supplies plant held a warning strike protesting threatened layoffs, including of a group of Vietnamese workers. EAW director Puppe ("puppet") has been negotiating with Western capitalists, saying he could get rid of 3,000-4,000 workers.

In its terminal decay, the Stalinist SED (now PDS) regime disrupts and dumps the socialized economy and the workers state. DDR workers must take action, through factory occupations and the organization of workers control, to maintain production and prevent a sellout. In building up a workers state on the ruins of Nazi fascism, they have accomplished a very great deal: not only a standard of living higher than in much of West Europe, but industries capable of producing all types of consumer products and machine tools, as well as an advanced computer industry. The distortions are due not only to bureaucratic arbitrariness but also to the autarky (national self-sufficiency) and the lack of true international central planning. For starters, instead of selling the country to capitalist West Germany, an interim perspective would be to press for a genuine and equitable integration of the economy of the DDR with the USSR—the workers' answer to perestroika (sellout).

The Stalinist schema of "building socialism in one country" was always a contradiction and a lie, and all the more so in half a country like the DDR: socialism is inherently international in scope. Already by the time of the Europe-wide 1848 revolutions, which grew out of the industrial revolution, a world market had been established. This required the working class to go beyond the nationalism of the bourgeois revolutions. So just as the First International sought to unite the workers' struggles across national boundaries, today DDR workers fighting against capitalist reunification must seek common struggle with their coworkers in the West. And just as the Paris Commune and Soviet Russia under Lenin and Trotsky decreed full citizenship rights for foreign workers, we Trotskyists demand the same in the DDR today.

With a view to the March 18 elections, the Spartakist Workers Party has just issued a "Manifesto and Program for Struggle" under the headline "No to Capitalist Reunification! For a Workers Soviet Germany!" The Manifesto warns, as we have repeatedly done, against the SPD Trojan horse which seeks to bring about capitalist reunification painted in social-democratic pink. It alerts the working people to the several parties, including the PDS, which say they want to fight the sellout but then capitulate in practice, The SpAD declares: "Stalinism has wretchedly demonstrated its bankruptcy. But no one has the right to hand over to capital what millions have created! We must defend our social gains and our workers state. We have much to lose and everything to win!" ■

Israeli Fighter for Palestinian Rights

Michel Warshawski Must Not Go to Jail!

In the racist Zionist state, "free-speech" doesn't apply to Palestinians or their defenders. In November, Michel Warshawski was sentenced to 20 months in prison on charges of providing typesetting services for and holding material belonging to "illegal organizations." Warshawski is director of the Alternative Information Centre (AIC) and a leader of the Revolutionary Communist League, Israeli section of the international "Trotskyist" current led by Ernest Mandel.

Initially charged with "supporting terrorists," a crime carrying a 23-year sentence, Warshawski was arrested in February 1987 when police raided AIC offices, seized its equipment and shut it down. In the eyes of his jailers, Warshawski's "crime" was to make AIC publishing facilities available to Palestinian Arab groups and to use the pages of the AIC's publication *News From Within* to expose Zionist terror. The Partisan Defense Committee sent a protest to the Israeli embassy in Washington:

> "The cold-blooded murders of Palestinian youths by Zionist state terrorists and their fascistic thugs go unpunished —or rewarded. But those, like Michel Warshawski, who protest the brutal and inhumane treatment of Palestinian Arabs in the Occupied Territories are marked as criminals by the Tel Aviv rulers.
>
> "To shield world's eyes from the ritual beatings and murder of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, the Israeli government declared war on those journalists courageous enough to provide the outside world a glimpse of the fascistic treatment of the oppressed Palestinians. Foreign journalists have been expelled; Michel Warshawski, Assaf Adiv, Yacov Ben Efrat, and many more locked away in jails. Palestinian journalists are routinely held in administrative detention for years—without trial.
>
> "We demand Michel Warshawski be immediately released. Free all victims of Israeli state repression."

Michel Warshawski is presently free on bail. His appeal to the Israeli High Court is scheduled to be heard in March. Contributions to his defense campaign can be sent to: Alternative Information Centre, P.O. Box 24278, Jerusalem, Israel.

—10 February 1990 **The New York Times** —13 February 1990

The Germans

EAST BERLIN'S RUIN PREDICTED IN BONN

Kohl Adviser Warns That East Germany Is Facing a Crisis — Assertion Is Denied

2 German Chiefs Prepare to Meet: A Steamroller vs. a Lame Duck?

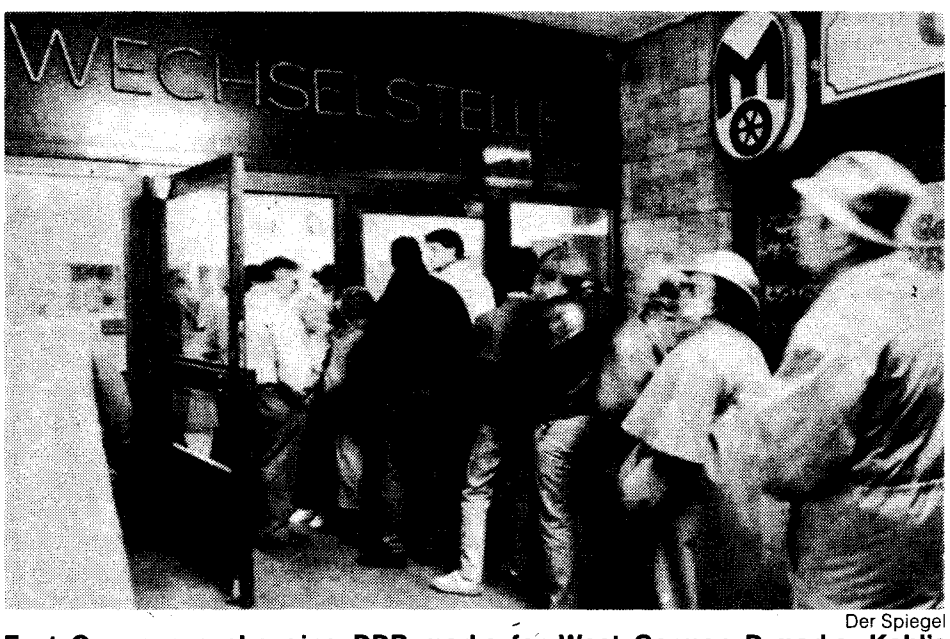
By SERGE SCHMEMANN
Special to The New York Times

BONN, Feb. 12 — Having returned with what he calls a "green light" from Moscow, Chancellor Helmut Kohl stands in a dominant position as he prepares to receive Prime Minister Hans Modrow of East Germany on Tuesday to press a demand for rapid monetary union.

staying within the structure of NATO cannot be accepted," and that "the question of military structures and questions of political status can be solved only in a gradual transition."

In fact, it is not entirely clear what Mr. Kohl will demand of Mr. Modrow now that the East German caretaker

Imperialist media blitz seeks to stampede DDR into capitalist West Germany. *Der Spiegel* (5 February): "Chaos in the DDR—Flight to Unity."



Der Spiegel

East Germans exchanging DDR marks for West German D-marks. Kohl's "monetary union" would impoverish DDR masses.

South Africa...

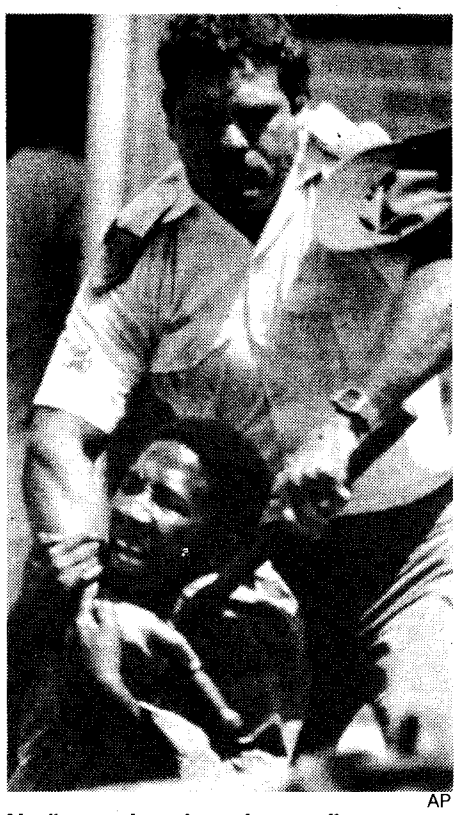
(continued from page 16)

willing to make would meet the most minimal demands of the ANC. So far de Klerk hasn't agreed to lift the state of emergency or release all political prisoners, much less do away with the Group Areas Act or accept a parliament based on "one man, one vote."

The Nationalists risk alienating their own base. Die-hard Afrikaner right-wingers in the Conservative Party won 31 percent of the vote in the "whites only" September 1989 elections. On February 15, some 15,000 turned out for a right-wing protest against the government's release of Mandela. The paramilitary fascist Afrikaner Resistance Movement hoisted their three-legged swastika-like symbol. The military is still smarting over their stinging defeat in Angola by Cuban forces at Cuito Cuanavale a year and a half ago. The cops have been shaken by exposures of police death squads assassinating activists.

Mandela, on the other hand, is faced with the fact that blacks expect fundamental change. He had to speak to this in his first speech after arriving in Soweto:

> "We believe that apartheid has created a heinous system of exploitation in which a racist minority monopolizes economic wealth while the vast majority of the oppressed and black people are condemned to poverty.
> "South Africa is a wealthy country. It is the labor of black workers that has built the cities, roads and factories we see. They cannot be excluded from sharing this wealth."



AP

No "negotiated settlement" can stop this. Anti-apartheid protesters brutally suppressed in Bloemfontein, January 30.

Yet long before the Nationalists introduced their elaborate "separate development" (apartheid) schemes, South African capitalism rested (as it does today) upon the superexploitation of black labor. Without starvation wages for the masses, no superprofits for the white masters who lord it over 20 million blacks.

AP

Black workers must bury apartheid! Striking South African rail workers, November 1989.

The chasm between white and black in South Africa cannot be bridged by bourgeois democracy, which would intensify the enormous social contradictions to the point of explosion. Democracy for the oppressed majority can only come about through workers revolution. And a black-led workers government, incorporating as well the coloured and Indian masses, can offer to South African whites the chance to collaborate in the development, rather than the looting, of what is their homeland too.

Lenin defined as one of the hallmarks of a prerevolutionary situation that those at the top are unable to rule in the old way. Clearly this is the case with the Nationalists, whose iron grip on power since 1948 is palpably beginning to come unhinged. Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, the cabinet minister regarded as the brain truster of de Klerk's "reforms," said early this month that the Nationalist Party would surrender power within ten years. Now he is already predicting the end will come in five.

Lenin's second criterion was that those at the bottom refuse to be ruled in the old way—something South African blacks have demonstrated time and again. The missing and key component is the revolutionary party which can take advantage of the evident disarray of the ruling class to mobilize the working class for the conquest of power. The forging of such an integrated, multiracial Bolshevik party, acting as the vanguard of the workers and tribune of the oppressed—this is the urgent task at hand.

Smash the Chains of Apartheid Slavery!

Nowhere in the world are the differences between white and black as vast as they are in South Africa today. In the aftermath of the 1984-86 black rebellion, the government has repealed not only a number of "petty apartheid" laws, such as segregation of public accommodations, but also the hated pass laws and "influx control" legislation used to drive blacks from the cities to barren townships. But the vast black majority is still disenfranchised, forcibly segregated and subject to police-state rule, whether through the "state of emergency," "banning" laws, bantustans or the militarized labor compounds where contract laborers in the mines are housed under lock and key.

Citing an article by Eddie Koch in the *Weekly Mail* (13 January 1989), South African Marxist intellectual Baruch Hirson graphically describes this hell: "Over half a million black workers in these compounds have always been closely guarded and closed to outsiders, but new measures seal them off even more tightly. According to Koch, the hostels are surrounded by high walls and rolls of razor wire; the areas are patrolled by mounted security men, armoured vehicles and dog squads, and in some mines white miners are active members of the security force" (*Searchlight South Africa*, July 1989). This is life under the so-called "progressive" capitalists—like Gavin Relly, head of Anglo American, who has taken the lead in "negotiating" with the ANC.

The gulf between black and white wages in South Africa is vast: in 1984 the average black miner made about $200 a month, about one-sixth the average for white miners. In manufacturing, white workers make about four times as much as blacks. Moreover, millions of black workers have been made foreigners in their own country, forced to travel for hours every day from far-off bantustans where the apartheid state dumped them when it created these phony "independent homelands." While many South African whites lounge by their swimming pools, black children play in the mud along unpaved roads, drinking contaminated water from open sewers. A black child dies of hunger in South Africa every 20 minutes. This is the brutal reality of apartheid, and no "negotiations" can change that.

But militant class struggle can, as the recent strike of black railway workers against the South African Transport Services (SATS) demonstrated. When the workers walked out in November, SATS immediately fired the 23,000 strikers. For the next three months it was hard class war. All told, 27 people died in one of the bloodiest labor battles in the recent history of the black trade-union movement. Then, on January 9, a train carrying hundreds of strikers to a union meeting at Germiston station was met by 1,000 vigilantes armed with *pangas* (machetes), knives, short spears and stones.

Despite the bloody mob assault, which was organized by the bosses and the police, the black South African Railway Workers Union (SARWU) held on and finally beat the attack. Their courage at Germiston sparked a solidarity strike from black telecommunications workers and an international campaign of labor solidarity. The government was worried about the impact of more killings of strikers on its plans to free Mandela. In the end, the wage cut was canceled and the firings were rescinded, as were evictions from workers' hostels.

As black people in South Africa see Nelson Mandela's release as a harbinger of liberation, there will be an acute crisis of expectations. Speaking on ABC-TV's *Nightline* (7 February), Winnie Mandela said that "for the ordinary man in the street, his liberation is tantamount to freedom for the oppressed masses of this country." An article in the Johannesburg *Weekly Mail* (25 January) notes: "The 'Young Lions,' the radical township youth, are showing deep suspicion of the process of negotiations." It went on:

> "The generation which grew up in the townships during the uprisings of 1984-1986 was one nurtured on militancy and radical solutions.
> "Slogans like 'Freedom or death!' 'Victory is certain' or 'Long live the spirit of no compromise'...served to rally the masses and to express the revolution-

Pittston Strike Betrayed

FEBRUARY 20—In Kentucky, West Virginia and southwest Virginia, 1,900 coal miners voted yesterday by a two-to-one margin to accept a contract, ending their eleven-month strike against Pittston. After waiting six weeks to get the contract from United Mine Workers (UMW) president Richard Trumka as the picket lines were reduced to token levels by the union tops, the miners have been worn down to accept Trumka's sellout.

The Labor Department, Pittston and the union tops cooked up the contract on January 1. Trumka pledged that there would be no contract vote until the fines of *$64 million* against the UMW were lifted. But Virginia judge Donald McGlothlin's fines are still in place and 13 strikers remain fired. Despite the sales job of the UMW bureaucracy, this contract betrays what the miners, their families and supporters throughout the labor movement fought for almost a year, taking over 3,000 arrests at the hands of state troopers and federal marshals.

Pittston will be allowed to buy its way out of one bankrupt medical benefit fund at bargain basement prices. Up to 500 strikers will be laid off, as scabs will be retained at three Pittston mines. Work rules concessions allowing the company to institute "flex time"—putting miners on a 28-day rotation, changing shifts every week—will save Pittston three dollars a ton. Trumka claims a victory for job security, but at Pittston's Pyxis Resources mine the number of scabs can increase to 540 from the current 400 before the company will have to hire UMW members!

As the Pittston strike was dragged down by Trumka, the coal fields have exploded with company and cop terror against the UMW. On January 16, three union pickets at Regency Industries in Northfork Hollow, West Virginia were shot in the back by company gun thugs. John McCoy died and two other miners were seriously injured.

In Dehue, West Virginia at the Rum Creek Coal preparation plant (a subsidiary of the union-busting A.T. Massey Company) the bosses are out to wipe out the union. The Rum Creek tipple went non-union last summer, following the national wildcat strikes in defense of the Pittston miners. A contractor at Rum Creek flaunts a hat reading "Scab 1." On January 26, a thousand UMW members from the surrounding states gave this scab a taste of union power, choking off the Dehue plant with a mass picket line after U.S. marshals and scab truckers assaulted UMW pickets.

At the Dehue picket there were miners from UMW Local 1895 in Beckley, West Virginia. On strike for a year against the New Beckley Coal Company's Glen Daniel mine, these miners also helped to mobilize support for their class brothers at Pittston. But when New Beckley Coal bosses shut down the mine in January rather than see a union victory, the strikers were abandoned by the UMW tops.

And criminally, the Trumka bureaucracy has refused to lift a finger for miners being railroaded by capitalist class "justice." In West Virginia, nine members of UMW Local 5948 face from *10 to 80 years* in prison on trumped-up charges that they conspired to bomb a struck coal plant last August. They are being charged under the same interstate commerce conspiracy laws that were used to railroad the five A.T. Massey strikers in Kentucky.

Like the Massey strikers, Local 5948 has been left to go it alone for over *five years* in one of Trumka's "selective strikes." The Milburn Nine's trial is set to begin on February 22 in Beckley—the entire UMW must come to their defense! Stop the coal bosses' railroad job—free the Milburn miners and drop all charges!

The UMW just passed its 100th anniversary with only 60,000 union miners producing less than one-third of the coal mined in the U.S. The key to defending and extending gains that the miners have won (like union-run safety committees) is a class-struggle leadership of the UMW. Such a leadership would use plant occupations and mass picket lines to stop scab coal; it would fight to organize the unorganized.

Last year saw the beginning of an upsurge in strike activity in the United States, after 1988 saw the lowest total number of major strikes in over 40 years. One month after the Eastern workers put up picket lines at the airports last March, Pittston miners finally went on strike after working without a contract for 14 months. Because of their inspiration for other unionists and the potential for big victories by organized labor to turn around a string of defeats, the Eastern and Pittston strikes were widely recognized as major battles between labor and capital.

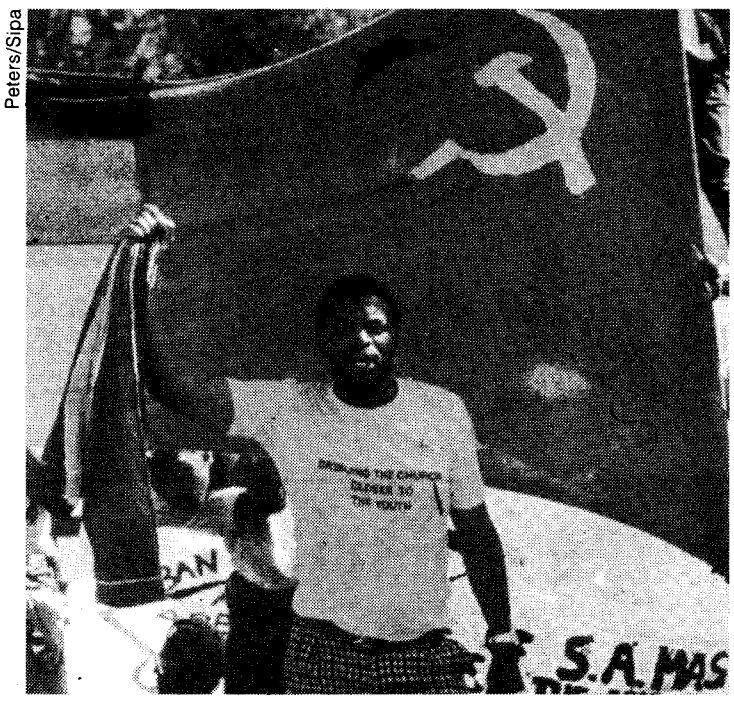
As the arrest toll mounted during the Pittston strike, Trumka pleaded, "Is it legal to win a strike in America?" (*Baltimore Sun*, 14 January). But the capitalist state doesn't give "permission" for workers to win class battles. It was precisely the UMW bureaucracy's capitulation to the courts and injunctions which hogtied the Pittston strike. Throughout the strike the ranks of the UMW showed a capacity and desire to fight the coal bosses and their government—from the wildcat strikes in a dozen states last summer to the occupation of the Moss No. 3 coal processing plant in September. Unionists from all over the U.S. journeyed to the miners' Camp Solidarity in Virginia to take a stand with the UMW.

Every strike in America comes up against the state—from the local company judges to the state house, the White House and Congress. Workers must have a union leadership that won't bow down before the injunctions against mass pickets and secondary strikes. But the misleaders of American unions have allied themselves to the capitalist Democratic Party and play ball with the bosses. To forge a class-struggle leadership in the UMW means breaking the labor bureaucracy's alliance with the Democrats. We need a revolutionary workers party that wants to take the mines and plants out of the hands of the capitalists.

ary sentiment sweeping through the townships."

The article quotes ANC leader Walter Sisulu saying, "The problem is many of the youngsters are not really interested in the negotiations. In fact they've become a little bit angry. That's why I say that this chap De Klerk is moving too fast.... We want to educate our people." For this they will rely on the Stalinists like SACP leader Joe Slovo, who says "socialism is not on the immediate agenda." But hundreds of thousands of militant black workers in the mines and mills are demanding the full fruits of their backbreaking labor. If that is communism, they're for it—and the Stalinists in their terminal crisis will have no easy time "re-educating" them otherwise.

South African blacks haven't heard of the "Death of Communism."



Peters/Sipa

South African blacks don't buy the "Death of Communism."

Black and Red in South Africa

To do away with apartheid rule requires nothing short of thoroughgoing socialist revolution. And the millions-strong black South African proletariat has the power. One of the biggest changes over the last decade has been the growth of the black union movement, which by virtue of its concentrated social strength emerged as a central force in the anti-apartheid struggle. But the black unions, at first a conglomeration of syndicalist- and nationalist-led organizations, have been drawn under the aegis of the ANC.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), was at Mandela's side in Cape Town and is now a major contender for succession to ANC leadership, after the older generation of Sisulu, Tambo and Mandela retire. Already more than once Ramaphosa has sent striking miners back to work defeated after reluctantly going on strike against the Anglo American bosses whom the ANC, despite all their talk of nationalization, look to as future partners in a "democratic" South Africa.

The fight for workers power means a break with the ANC and with the South African Communist Party, which is *not* fighting for communism but for a *capitalist* "post-apartheid state." For more than six decades, the Stalinists have had a "two-stage" program: bourgeois democracy now, socialist revolution later, i.e., never. When this revisionist program was first presented by Stalin and Bukharin in the late '20s, some South African Communists objected, such as S.P. Bunting, who at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928 argued:

> "Native workers and some peasants are pouring into the Party in preference to joining the purely native bodies, whether national or industrial, which have let them down and fallen into the hands of the bourgeoisie. They fully appreciate the 'vulgar Marxist' slogan of 'Workers of the World Unite,' of joint action by black and white labour against the common enemy; and at the same time they see that the CP sincerely and unreservedly espouse their national cause as an oppressed race."
>
> —*Searchlight South Africa*, July 1989

While the Stalinists have consistently pushed their "two-stage" line, under Gorbachev's "new thinking" this has been intensified as the Soviet leader looks for a global deal with the imperialists. The Kremlin has put the financial screws to the ANC to begin "negotiations" with the apartheid butchers. Speaking in Harare, Zimbabwe in 1987, Victor Goncharov, the deputy director of the Institute of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said that socialism would come "maybe not in 25 years but in a century...I am an optimist."

Both when he followed Stalin's every twist and turn and now following his new mentor Gorbachev, SACP leader Slovo has consistently opposed socialist revolution. Yet South Africa today is the most dramatic proof of the correctness of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which was also the program of the early Communist International, that in the age of imperialism even the most basic democratic tasks can only be accomplished by the victory of proletarian revolution.

There must be a fight to forge an integrated multiracial Bolshevik party. An internationalist party, it will open its doors to the hundreds of thousands of migrant workers—from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia—who pour into South Africa. And a South African workers state will become the motor force for liberation of the subcontinent. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Michel/Reuters

Black masses of Soweto (right) throng to celebrate ANC leader Nelson Mandela's release after 27 years in apartheid prisons.

AP

Mandela Released—Black South Africa Jubilant, Defiant

Smash Apartheid—Black Workers Must Take Power!

Forge a Racially Integrated Bolshevik Party!

As Nelson Mandela walked out of prison Sunday, February 11, tens of thousands filled the streets and stadiums from Cape Town to Soweto in defiant jubilation. For black Africans, coloureds (mixed-race) and Indians, Mandela has become the embodiment of implacable opposition to white racist rule. After 27 years of demanding "Free Mandela!" as they sought to break the chains of apartheid slavery, many see his freedom as heralding their own. There were also many white South Africans in the crowds who don't want to live in a racist garrison state and see in Mandela a black leader who can overcome South Africa's deep racial divide.

At the same time, racist rulers from de Klerk in Pretoria to Thatcher in London and Bush in Washington also "greeted" Mandela. They are looking to the black leader to be a "facilitator" for a "negotiated settlement" which, while eliminating the hated apartheid structures, would preserve capitalist rule in South Africa. But this "unity fest" of impoverished blacks in the townships with their oppressors and exploiters cannot and will not last.

As the cameras focused on Mandela walking out of Victor Verster prison, TV broadcasts carried the voice of South African president F.W. de Klerk declaring, "The season of violence is over." Meanwhile, troops in full combat gear with automatic rifles were moving into the center of Cape Town where tens of thousands had gathered to welcome the anti-apartheid fighter. Earlier, police shot into the fringes of the crowd, killing one man and injuring over 100. After one volley, more than 25 people lay in the street.

The imperialists' hopes in Mandela as "Mr. Peaceful Transition" were fading even as he began to speak. "The scene at the town hall was revolutionary," reported the London *Independent* (12 February). The green, yellow and black flag of the African National Congress fluttered from the flagpole. A red flag with hammer and sickle draped the balcony from which Mandela spoke. "I am a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC," he said, reaffirming his support to armed struggle and saluting the South African Communist Party (SACP).

The morning after, there was consternation in corporate boardrooms when Mandela reaffirmed the ANC's call for nationalization of the mines. The Johannesburg gold market sank to the floor. Maggie Thatcher railed about Mandela's unrepentant words. The *New York Times* (15 February) complained that "Mr. Mandela" hadn't "reached out to other political currents," but instead supported armed struggle and praised the "comrades" of the SACP. One Jo'burg disc jockey told listeners that Mandela's speech "could have been written for him by Karl Marx."

This is not true. The African National Congress has from its inception advocated a "mixed economy" and some form of "power sharing" with the white-supremacist regime. Its sporadic recourse to guerrilla war has been as a pressure tactic to force negotiations. Thus Mandela reaffirmed the ANC's longstanding appeals to Anglo-American imperialism, by calling for continued economic sanctions against South Africa. And the Communist Party, whose hammers and sickles make the apartheid rulers see red, is decidedly *not* fighting for communism, but for a "democratic" capitalist "post-apartheid state." Yet the harsh realities of life in South Africa are such that there's no room to play "Let's Make a Deal."

In his Cape Town speech, Mandela declared: "Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts." If the purpose of this call was to increase pressure for negotiations, the effect of an upsurge of black struggle may go far beyond what the ANC wants. The Nationalist Party's gamble has created an opening, and already it is being seized. From the Ciskei, where bantustan police shot tear gas at protesters, to Johannesburg, where 1,000 black postal workers did the fast-stepping *toyi-toyi* march through the streets, the smell of rebellion is in the air.

De Klerk's Gamble

The Nationalist Party under the new "*verligte*" (enlightened) leadership of de Klerk has adopted the "rationalist imperialist" viewpoint espoused by the likes of Anglo American Corporation mining mogul Gavin Relly. The economy has taken a battering as many multinationals pull out of direct operations (while keeping licensing agreements). This is partly due to sanctions, but also to the unrest and repression, and the lure of superprofits from restoring capitalist exploitation in East Europe. Meanwhile, many educated middle-class whites are emigrating to more respectable racist havens like Australia.

De Klerk & Co. would like to present a façade of democracy while leaving intact the existing economic structure. They figure that only Nelson Mandela would have the authority to pull this off. Mandela took pains in Cape Town to say he hasn't bargained away the struggle for freedom, and it's far from clear that the maximal changes the Nationalist Party is

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