

70th Anniversary of Russian Revolution

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Seven decades ago there occurred the epochal event of our times, the Russian October Revolution of 1917. As the cruiser *Aurora* trained its guns on the Winter Palace, a new dawn broke for mankind. For the first time, the program of proletarian revolution was given flesh and blood. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Leon Trotsky, political power passed into the hands of the working class. In its first act, the Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies decreed land to the peasants, and offered a just and democratic peace to all belligerent nations, to put an end to the slaughter of the imperialist world war. As the delegates rose to sing the *Internationale*—"Arise ye prisoners of starvation! Arise ye wretched of the earth!"—it was a clarion call for world socialist revolution. Seventy years later, the Bolshevik Revolution remains the greatest victory for the working people of the world.

The Russian Revolution was the living confirmation of Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution"—namely, that in the backward countries like Russia, the tasks associated historically with bourgeois-democratic revolution cannot be accomplished by the weak bourgeoisie, but require the proletariat to take state power at the head of the oppressed masses. This understanding enabled Trotsky to stand with Lenin, against Zinoviev and Kamenev (and initially Stalin) who flinched in the face of the opportunity to take power, refusing to go beyond the struggle for bourgeois democracy.



Moscow's Red Square, 7 November 1919: V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, on its second anniversary.

However, lacking the expected support of victorious revolutions in West Europe, the fledgling Soviet state was surrounded by a hostile capitalist world. Under these conditions—after several

desperate years of engulfing civil war, loss of industry, decomposition of railways and starvation in the cities and countryside—there developed tendencies toward demoralization and depoliti-

cization among the toiling masses and toward bureaucratic commandism and loss of programmatic ideals and of revolutionary confidence among cadres of

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Crash Buries Reaganomics

Black Monday, October 19—the stock market crashes, wiping out a quarter of the market value of America's top corporations in a few hours. This was a watershed, and neither the U.S. nor world economy will be the same again. *Business Week* (2 November) recognized.

"An incalculable amount of damage has been done, not only to the stock market and investors but also to the health of the economies in the U.S. and around the world. What happened on Oct. 19 was an earthquake, not simply a shock."

Reagan, of course, wouldn't recognize an earthquake if the ground opened up and swallowed him. A week

after Black Monday the chief executive of American capitalism muttered: "I sometimes wonder if what happened in the market is not a case of maybe the market overpriced itself [so] that it's now making a corrective change." But it's not just the airhead in the White House who's saying the crash was nothing but a "healthy correction" in a healthy economy.

The prestigious *New York Times* has become a mouthpiece for fatuous optimism about Wall Street, playing up the partial recovery in stock prices since Black Monday. On October 30 its financial pages ran an article headlined "Dow Will Jump 400 Points

Next Week, Strategist Predicts." The following day the *Times* quoted an upbeat stock analyst for Shearson Lehman Brothers: "The smiles were out this morning. We've come from complacency, to apprehension, to fear, to relief, and now to hope over the last four weeks."

We recall that after the crash of October 1929 stock prices also edged up for a number of months. In the spring of 1930 President Herbert Hoover declared that the worst was over and the economy was returning to normal. Almost immediately following this rosy assurance the economy slid into the abyss and did not even begin

to recover for three years, until the spring of 1933.

Capitalism De-Industrializes America

Reagan's Star Wars budget deficit has gone hand in hand with the decay and dismantling of America's industrial plant. The "growth industries" of the '80s have been fast-food chains paying subminimum wages to black ghetto youth, Wall Street speculation for the yuppie MBAs and corporate raiding. But if a country doesn't produce things it will go under.

This point was trenchantly made by

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Shachtman Died a Stalinist?

"All the News That Fits, We Print"

The powers that be at the *New York Times Book Review* evidently thought it necessary to censor a letter to the editor by Diana Kartsen of the Prometheus Research Library, archive and library of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League. We print below Kartsen's letter and the bowdlerized version printed by the 18 October *Book Review*.

Gus Tyler was billed by the *Book Review* as assistant president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, but in 1937 he was a leader of the centrist "Clarity" caucus of the American Socialist Party (SP). In this capacity he aided and abetted the expulsion of the Trotskyist-led left wing and felt the sting of Max Shachtman's pen. This experience should at least have taught him to recognize the misspelling of Shachtman's name which occurs throughout his printed review.

Max Shachtman was a revolutionary Trotskyist leader in 1937, but since 1940 his name has been virtually synonymous with Stalinophobia in the revolutionary movement. Shachtman succumbed to the anti-Soviet hysteria

which followed the signing of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact. He abandoned the program of military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, leading a sizable faction out of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which was at that time the Trotskyist organization in this country.

Max Shachtman joined the communist movement in 1921 at the age of 17 and was one of the founding American Trotskyists in 1928. By 1958, however, carrying through the logic of his split from the SWP, he had abandoned all pretense to revolutionary Marxism, liquidating what was left of his organization into the reformist SP. By 1961 he was supporting U.S. imperialism's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba (provoking even the SP youth group at Berkeley to disinvite him from a scheduled campus talk). He died in 1974, a leader of the far right wing of American social democracy.

So it was quite a shock to read, in Constance Ashton Myers' book, the following quotes attributed to Shachtman in a 1972 oral interview:

"The Communist party was funda-

mentally, essentially wisest, playing for time, maneuvering. It was ridiculous for us to call Stalin a reactionary, a fascist, a national socialist. He and the Communist party knew revolution would inevitably come—in a year, ten years, 100 years, but inevitably. "Stalin was no reactionary, he was for the permanent revolution, but he was just cooler, playing for time."

Can it be true that Max Shachtman ended his years as a closet Stalinist? We have searched for independent verification and found none. Those who have relevant information are invited to write to the Prometheus Research Library,

Box 185, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

The Prometheus Research Library has extensive archival holdings of documentation of the history of the Communist International and the Trotskyist movement, particularly but by no means exclusively of their American organizations, as well as substantial internal materials from the Shachtman organization of the 1940s and 1950s. The library was opened in 1985 to qualified scholars needing its special collections. Requests to use the library should be sent to the address given above. ■



PROMETHEUS RESEARCH LIBRARY

James M. Robertson
Director
Diana B. Kartsen
Librarian
Emily P. Turnbull
Archivist

Editor

New York Times Book Review
229 West 43 Street
New York, NY 10036

28 September 1987

Dear Sir:

With regard to Gus Tyler's review in the 27 September 1987 *New York Times Book Review* of Maurice Isserman's *If I Had A Hammer...*, I would like to draw your attention to an article written by Max Shachtman 50 years ago, entitled "The Politics of Gus Tyler—A Genuine Case of Rotten Liberalism in the Party," published in the Trotskyist *Socialist Appeal* (weekly organ of the Socialist Party of New York, Left Wing Branches), Vol. 1, No. 3, August 28, 1937. In light of this fact it may have been improper for Mr. Tyler to have reviewed this book. By the way, the name is spelled Shachtman.

It would be extremely interesting for historians of the area covered by Mr. Isserman's recent book to obtain independent verification that Shachtman's final political testament was a going-over to Stalinism as reported in Constance Ashton Myers' *The Prophet's Army, Trotskyists in America, 1928-1941* (Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1977). We refer to the following section on page 199:

"In 1972 an officer in the Socialist party, he had come to hold an abiding respect for Stalin and for what he viewed as an essential wisdom in the Communist party, an opinion he had not as yet adopted in 1962 and 1963 when interviewed for the Oral History Collection at Columbia University."

Sincerely,
Diana B. Kartsen
Librarian
Prometheus Research Library



TROTSKY

To the Workers of the USSR

In April 1940, in the shadow of World War II and two years after the Great Purge in which almost all of Lenin's collaborators—the entire Old Guard of Bolshevism—were vilified and murdered by Stalin, Trotsky addressed the tasks of the Soviet proletariat in his "Letter to the Workers of the USSR," from which the following excerpt is taken. The Fourth International was founded to defend the Bolshevik program—to extend the October Revolution internationally and to purge the Stalinist usurpers through proletarian political revolution. Four months after this letter was written, on 21 August 1940, Trotsky died at the hands of Stalinist GPU assassin Ramón Mercader.



LENIN

The October Revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and, to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peoples a new oppressive and parasitic caste, whose leader is Stalin. The former Bolshevik Party was turned into an apparatus of the caste. The world organization which the Communist International once was is today a pliant tool of the Moscow oligarchy, Soviets of workers and peasants have long perished. They have been replaced by degenerate commissars, secretaries, and GPU agents.

But, fortunately, among the surviving conquests of the October Revolution are the nationalized industry and the collectivized Soviet economy. Upon this foundation workers' soviets can build a new and happier society. This foundation cannot be surrendered by us to the world bourgeoisie under any conditions. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones. Against the imperialist foe we will defend the USSR with all our might. However, the conquests of the October Revolution will serve the people only if they prove themselves capable of dealing with the Stalinist bureaucracy, as in their day they dealt with the czarist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie.

—Leon Trotsky, "Letter to the Workers of the USSR" (April 1940)

Letter sent (above);
New York Times
version (right).

The New York Times
Book Review
—18 October 1987

Struggles of Socialism

To the Editor:

With regard to Gus Tyler's review of Maurice Isserman's "If I Had a Hammer..." (Sept. 27), I would like to draw your attention to an article written by Max Shachtman 50 years ago, entitled "The Politics of Gus Tyler — A Genuine Case of Rotten Liberalism in the Party," published in the Trotskyist paper *Socialist Appeal* (the weekly organ of the Socialist Party of New York, Left Wing Branches), Volume One, No. 3, Aug. 28, 1937. In light of this fact it may have been improper for Mr. Tyler to have reviewed this book. By the way, the name is spelled Shachtman, not Schachtman.

DIANA B. KARTSEN
New York

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13 November 1987

No Popular-Front Illusions—For Workers Revolution!

Resignations from Seattle YSA

Young Spartacus is pleased to print a resignation statement forwarded to us by Steve B. and Julie N., former activists of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the reformist, anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Steve first joined the YSA chapter in Tucson, Arizona in 1983 and was a member of the local executive committee of their Seattle branch at the time of his resignation. Julie joined the YSA in Seattle in 1985. With the departure of these two comrades, the campus fraction of the Seattle YSA is reduced to one member.

3 October 1987

Dear comrades,

We have been members of the Seattle YSA for nearly two years. After a period of examination of basic Marxist material, with particular emphasis on the early works of the

Soviet Left Opposition, we have come to the conclusion that we are in the wrong organization. We consider ourselves to be communists, and therefore Trotskyists. The fundamental principles of Trotskyism are based on a fight against popular frontism and Stalinism, the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, and the struggle for international socialist revolution. What this means today is not the unquestioning political support of petit-bourgeois nationalist tendencies throughout the world (e.g. the Sandinistas) but a continuous struggle for socialism, whether by political revolutions in the deformed workers' states (e.g. Cuba) or by socialist revolution elsewhere (e.g. South Africa). Subordination of the independence of the working class to tendencies with any other class thrust is fatal to the working class of that country, and its support here is a gross deceit of the

American working people. This has been demonstrated throughout history, and is currently being shown with the Arias peace plan. This plan is Made in America, and can only serve to reverse the Nicaraguan revolution, stifle the revolutionary movements in Central America, and stabilize capitalism in the region. Support to this peace hoax is a perfect example of the SWP's ongoing divergence from revolutionary Marxism, and just one of many we might add.

With my desire to forge a truly communist path, the one forged by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, Trotsky and the Left Opposition, and James P. Cannon and the early SWP, I have found my politics to converge closely with that of the international Spartacist tendency. And it is with utmost sincerity and hope that I encourage others in the SWP/YSA who truly want to fight against popular frontism

and for a socialist revolution in the U.S. to read the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and Cannon, and to join with their continuity—the Spartacist League.

Comradely,
Steven B.
Julie N.*

*I am in agreement with the political points raised in the first portion of this statement. However, I have not concluded political agreement with the Spartacist League, as I am not familiar enough with their program.

I realize the extreme importance of a revolutionary party. Unfortunately, due to the political points raised, I do not feel the SWP/YSA is that party. In addition, I see a serious problem with the SWP's lack of attention to the development of cadre, which, in my opinion, stems from the political program of the SWP.

New Jersey:

Stop Racist Attacks on Indian Community!

On September 23, Kaushal Saran, a 28-year-old Indian doctor, was found brutally beaten and unconscious on a busy street corner in Jersey City, victim of a racist attack. Four days later, another East Indian from Jersey City, Navroze Mody, was beaten to death outside a bar in Hoboken. This ominous escalation of racist terror and cold-blooded murder comes on the heels of a letter printed in the *Jersey Journal* (25 September) sinisterly warning: "We will go to any extreme to get Indians to move out of Jersey City." The vile death threat was signed "The Dotbusters"—referring to the small dot, the *bindi*, most Hindu women wear in the middle of their forehead.

The 9,000 Indian Americans and immigrants from the Indian subcontinent in Jersey City live in constant fear and terror. Trash, stones and obscen-

ities are hurled daily at Indian homes and businesses. Leaders of the Indian community have received death threats. Spat upon and pelted with eggs, many Indian women have stopped wearing saris and fear walking the streets even in broad daylight. According to a spokesman for the Govinda Temple in Jersey City, on October 22 an East Indian woman was badly burned after her home in Hoboken was firebombed. Children are beaten and harassed on their way to and from school. At Dickinson High School in Jersey City "Dorhuster" graffiti is sprayed on the walls, and these white punks even have a filthy jingle set to the tune of "Ghostbusters" to incite racist terror against the Indian community.

On October 11, over 500 East Indians marched in Jersey City demanding "We want justice!" and "No more

South Asian residents of Jersey City protest racist attacks.



Calaff/Bergen Record

racism!" Addressing the rally, Jersey City mayor Anthony Cucci promised increased police investigation and surveillance. Meanwhile the cops continue to claim they're not sure if the attacks are "racially motivated"! An East Indian man told *WV* that the cops "are as hostile as the youngsters" and that the Indian community is coming to understand that "we will have to learn the art of self-defense."

The reign of racist terror against the hard-working and relatively prosperous Indian community is part of the anti-immigrant hysteria being whipped up by the rulers of this country and chauvinist trade-union tops who scream that immigrants are stealing "American" jobs. It is not just Indians who are targeted. On October 18, more than 300 demonstrators from Koreans Against Anti-Asian Violence marched outside the 17th Police Precinct in Manhattan to protest a brutal attack by two precinct cops on Ou Young, a Korean man who was arrested for riding his bike against rush hour traffic. Several witnesses testified that the cops called Mr. Ou "scum," punched and kicked him

and smashed his head on the pavement. The demonstrators recalled the brutal murder of Vincent Chin, a 23-year-old Chinese American who was beaten to death with a baseball bat by a white auto plant foreman and his stepson, who mistook Chin for a Japanese and blamed him for auto layoffs.

As one of the Korean demonstrators commented, "Minorities in the United States have always fought each for a piece of the pie. But we feel there are more commonalities, like brutality in our communities, than there are differences" (*New York Times*, 19 October). The rise of murderous racist attacks on the Indian community in Jersey City comes at the same time that the surviving victims of the racist lynch mob in Howard Beach which murdered 23-year-old black construction worker Michael Griffith last December, are reliving that night of terror in court. What is urgently needed is to forge a fighting unity of the oppressed minorities with the social power of organized labor to smash the rising tide of racist terror and reaction in Cold War America. ■

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Soviet Space Program: Up, Up and Away

For years American officials had scoffed at what they considered the "plodding," "low-tech" Russian space program. But since the space shuttle Challenger exploded almost two years ago, grounding the primary U.S. space launch vehicle, the laughing has stopped. American companies seeking to launch their expensive, high-tech satellites now drool over magazine ads from Moscow exhorting them to take the "Fast Track to the Stars": "Your payload just doesn't pay if it's on the ground waiting for launch system problems to be solved. You need a proven, reliable ticket to orbit. We have it: Proton." Capable of lifting some 20 tons into orbit, the Soviets' Proton rocket is their space workhorse. Most important of all, it's "available now," and that's the bottom line.

Thirty years ago the Russians launched man's first artificial satellite, Sputnik 1, and paranoid American capitalism responded with a "space race": high-tech "free enterprise" would supposedly crush the "backward" Communist system. So Eisenhower & Co. had millions of kids tracked into science programs, JFK invented the "missile gap" to justify an ICBM buildup and vowed the U.S. would put men on the moon first—and billions of dollars later, in 1969, the Apollo program planted the U.S. flag on the moon in the middle of the Vietnam War. Today, "CIA findings are that the Soviet Union leads and will maintain momentum in launch capabilities, manned flight and space station activities through 1995" (*Aviation Week*, 12 October).

The Soviet space program is "Surging Ahead," screamed a recent headline in *Time* (5 October), and they have overtaken the U.S. as "the No. 1 spacefaring nation." "America Grounded" moans *Newsweek* (17 August), noting such indexes as the number of space launches per year (so far this year it's 71 for the Soviets and 6 for the U.S.) and man-years in space (running about three to one in the Soviets' favor). In the eyes of the Pentagon and the White House, this is a race for world domination. Like the CIA, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) recruited unrepentant Nazis in the anti-Communist crusade, such as Arthur Rudolph, who supervised the production of German rockets with slave labor during World War II and was notorious for making a point of being present at

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Russians offer Proton rockets to American capitalists who can't get their satellites off the ground.

executions. (Rudolph was exposed in 1984 but was merely repatriated to West Germany.) But the much-ballyhooed system of unfettered "free enterprise" is losing.

"Star Wars" Can't Get It Up

Reagan & Co. were billed as the "high-tech" administration, based on places like Silicon Valley in California. They were smugly confident of rolling over the Soviet Union on all fronts by exploiting the U.S. technological edge and that famous "can-do" Yankee ingenuity. As General Daniel Graham bragged in his 1983 book on the *High Frontier*, precursor of Reagan's "Star Wars" vision, the U.S. would "look to

space for the technological end-run on the Soviets." With the microchip and the Bible, American capitalism would beat the "evil empire" of the bureaucratized Soviet workers state by spending hundreds of billions of dollars on a space weapons system.

But last year this high-tech fantasy blew up in Reagan's face. The January 1986 Challenger shuttle explosion—a tragedy for its helpless occupants made horribly vivid for millions via television—was only the beginning. Three months later a Titan 34D rocket, the workhorse of the American satellite program after the shuttle, blew up in a spectacular fireworks display above Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, destroying a half-billion-dollar spy satellite as well. It was the second such loss of a Titan and a spy satellite in nine months, reportedly leaving the U.S. with only one aging photo reconnaissance satellite in orbit and no way to replace it. That same month a Nike-Orion rocket failed at White Sands, New Mexico. Then in May a NASA Delta rocket carrying a weather satellite lost power and spun out of control. In August an Aries rocket carrying an X-ray telescope was destroyed, and a test launching of a Minuteman III missile resulted in its "early termination" due to an "anomaly."

The U.S. space fleet was crippled, and that wasn't all. Also last year, a super-secret "Stealth" fighter, which the U.S. officially denies even having, crashed in the Sierra Nevada hills of California, and it was undeclared martial law as armed soldiers combed the area looking for the top-secret pieces. Another nonexistent "Stealth" fighter crashed last month, on the heels of September's crash of an operational B-1 bomber, which apparently had been practicing its terrain-hugging attack profile when it was downed by a flock of birds.

The space shuttle will not resume launches until June 1988 or later, and

the bulk of its activity is hooked by the military. (Meanwhile, last month the Air Force managed to end an 18-month grounding by launching a patched-up Titan rocket to orbit a replacement spy satellite.) For those desperate businessmen and scientists who need launching capability now, the Soviet rocket marketing agency Glavcosmos offers a "getaway special," and has already scheduled the launching of an Indian satellite later this year, while Iran and Finland are seeking their services as well. The Soviets are also marketing space photos with resolution (a measure of the smallest objects discernible) down to five meters, compared with the commercial French SPOT satellite's ten meters, or the aging U.S. Landsat's thirty meters. And Roald Sagdeyev, the innovative director of the Soviet Space Research Institute, has generously offered to take the U.S. in on their projected Mars probes of the 1990s. In light of such events as the Soviets' Vega probes of Halley's comet last year in which many of the world's space scientists participated, a French space expert concluded, "The seminars that ten years ago would have been given at the [NASA] Goddard Space Flight Center are now given in Moscow."

"Free Enterprise" vs. Progress

The U.S., obsessed with the military uses of space and having a sophisticated but profit-hungry industrial base, practically hand-built their rockets with expensive super-thin metals to minimize weight and hard-to-handle exotic fuels like liquid hydrogen to maximize thrust. With less advanced technology, the Russians used heavy steel in their rockets but made them big, and used mundane fuels like kerosene. Today some U.S. experts are kicking themselves for having failed to develop what *Newsweek* called "Big Dumb Rockets" because they can be mass produced and so are vastly cheaper: launch cost per pound on a Titan rocket runs about \$5,100, compared with \$750 for the Soviets' Proton rocket. U.S. companies were blinded by profit—the government offered billions of dollars for "high-tech" boondoggles, so "any contractor with a pipeline to it would be crazy to cut the line by developing an inexpensive alternative to an existing expensive system" (*Newsweek*, 17 August). And the scam goes on: last year the Pentagon gave out half a billion dollars just for a study of the new "aerospace plane" which is to replace the shuttle for yet more billions.

Meanwhile, the latest Soviet space development—the successful launching of the huge Energia rocket which can carry 100 tons at about \$300 per pound (compared with the U.S. shuttle's 24 tons at \$6,800 per pound)—firmly puts the Soviets in the lead for years to come.

Desperate companies like General Electric and GM/Hughes Communications are now clamoring to use the Soviet launching capability for American commercial satellites "to be competitive" with Europe and Japan, as one Hughes vice president put it. But Reagan, the arch-advocate of "free enterprise" and "getting the government off the backs of business," suddenly clamped down with the government jackboot: "It's not in the U.S. national interest to issue export licenses for satellites," intoned a State Department official. Meanwhile, the State and Defense departments have claimed the "right" to censor space photos marketed by the Soviets or anybody else. While the U.S. space program, along with the stock market, goes down thanks to

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U.S. Titan rocket blows up, producing half-billion-dollar fireworks display over Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, 1986.

Down with Sellout "Peace" Accords!

Nicaraguan Revolution in Danger

For over seven years the victorious radical-nationalist Sandinistas have successfully beaten back Reagan's imperialist attempts at military counterrevolution—the ragtag "contra" mercenary army has failed to hold even a single town or military target of value. But now the contras—aided by the U.S. Congress and Central American presidents like Oscar Arias of Costa Rica and his "peace" plan—have discovered that politics can be a continuation of war by other means. And the Sandinistas under Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega are falling into the trap.

Until last Thursday it had been a supposedly ironclad Sandinista vow to the people that they would never negotiate with the contra murderers or grant them amnesty. Sensing the just outrage of the masses who fought and died for the revolution and its subsequent defense (over 40,000 Nicaraguan casualties so far), Sandinista leader Bayardo Arce Castano repeated the promise in late October: "We declare that in no manner, in no place and with no intermediary will we ever have a political dialogue directly or indirectly with the leaders of the contras," he said, adding that "We cannot concede amnesty while the mercenary forces continue assassinating our brothers" (*Boston Globe*, 30 October). Ortega was sitting behind Arce when he spoke

dered his neighbors and wounded his wife and baby daughter: "Supposedly they say we will see peace, but we don't see a future for it here. I plan to take vengeance for the bloodshed of my

ican bourgeoisie, has praised "the plan's piecemeal cunning."

Thus after the Sandinistas allowed the CIA-financed "opposition" paper *La Prensa* to resume publishing and the

York Times, 4 November). U.S. embassies in Latin America have of course arranged many a coup. The embassy in Managua has now been instructed by Abrams to develop "closer ties" with "anti-Sandinista politicians." Groveling for bourgeois acceptance, Ortega even singled out Koch at the government rally as "a Yankee who is not an enemy of humanity"! Tell that to the relatives of the many black people, from Michael Stewart to Eleanor Bumpurs, who have been killed in cold blood by Koch's cops!

In short, the Arias "peace" plan is working in Nicaragua, and this represents a mortal threat to the revolution. Soon the counterrevolution will be organizing rioting mobs in the streets, aided by the propaganda of *La Prensa* and Radio Católica. And in the background stand the contras, waiting for an opportune moment and soon to be fortified by \$3.2 million in "non-lethal" aid from the U.S. Congress. In fact there has been a "flurry of air-drops [to the contras] of U.S. supplies inside Sandinista cease-fire areas" (*Washington Post*, 5 November). In short, Ortega's concessions have only emboldened the right wing and undermined the defense of Nicaragua. This situation recalls the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s, when subordination of the socialist workers organizations to the program of the bourgeois republicans allowed Franco's counterrevolution to win.

Ortega's actions, coming on the heels of his visit to Moscow, also indirectly exposed the reactionary side of Soviet leader Gorbachev's policies. As one contra leader, Alfredo Cesar, jubilantly explained, Ortega "went to Moscow, and there, I am sure, Gorbachev told him he had to negotiate" (*New York Times*, 6 November). The Soviet ambassador in Nicaragua underscored this by explicitly admitting that no Soviet fighter jets would be sent to Nicaragua, the focus should be on "peace," and—in a disgusting bow to the U.S. imperialist Monroe Doctrine—emphasizing that the Soviet Union has "no security or military interests in Nicaragua." This is a continuation of the treacherous Stalinist policy of trading away other people's revolutions for a handout from the imperialist table. But it should be crystal clear that the Reagan/Congress rollback of "Communism" in Nicaragua is only the beginning—from there it's on to Cuba and ultimately a nuclear blitzkrieg against the homeland of

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Nicaraguan masses fought and died for their revolution. Mothers display photos of their children murdered by CIA's dirty war.

companions." No doubt because such militant attitudes are widespread, Ortega has not dared to release from jail the murderous National Guardsmen of the late dictator Somoza—such a blatant act of counterrevolution would precipi-

pro-contra Catholic radio station to go back on the air, a flood of unofficial White House emissaries began "visiting" Nicaragua in order to slip money and expensive hardware to the counterrevolutionary apparatus. Thus in late September the congressionally financed National Endowment for Democracy (NED)—whose CIA connections were revealed during the Iran/Contra scandal—pumped \$20,000 into an obscure group allegedly fighting for the release of "political prisoners," and now the NED is sending *La Prensa* "\$98,000 worth of ink and other supplies" (*New York Times*, 22 October). Last month a Republican Congressman brought \$35,000 worth of electronic parts for the Catholic radio station. In the poverty-stricken economy of Nicaragua, these sums represent a tremendous boost for the forces of reaction.

This month New York's Mayor Koch arrived in Managua with some unspecified equipment "donated" by IBM for *La Prensa* and Radio Católica (*El Diario/La Prensa*, 28 October). It was practically admitted that Koch was a political policeman sent by the White House to check on the implementation of the accords: Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams had "decided that the Koch visit was very important, and we've been told to treat it that way," said one U.S. diplomat in Nicaragua (*New*



Sandinista leader Ortega (right) meets with contra cardinal Obando y Bravo, recipient of over \$125,000 from Oliver North.

these words. But the Sandinistas' acceptance of the phony "peace" plan impelled a reversal of these promises. At a November 5 rally in Managua called to announce the government's steps to abide by the accords, Ortega gave in to the imperialists' demands across the board.

While Sandinista banners ironically proclaimed "No to Dialogue with the Contras" and "Total Amnesty Never, Never, Never," Ortega announced that "We are going to negotiate a ceasefire through an intermediary," and that the government will release almost one thousand prisoners from its jails. The next day the "intermediary" was revealed to be Miguel Cardinal Obando y Bravo, the Roman Catholic Primate of Nicaragua and arch-apologist for the contra murderers, the contras' longtime first choice for the role and a recipient of more than \$125,000 from anti-Communist crusader Oliver North.

But Ortega & Co.'s desire to conciliate the imperialists is counterbalanced by the determination of the Nicaraguan masses to defend their revolution—and these masses are armed. As one Sandinista militiaman commented about the "peace" plan to an ABC-TV reporter (5 November) after the contras mur-

tate an explosion from below.

The so-called "peace" plan's main goal is to resurrect by political means a "democratic" (read pro-U.S. imperialist) opposition apparatus in Nicaraguan cities, something the military/ contra effort had failed to do since its primary political leaders were exposed as flunkies of the ousted Somozaist dictatorship. The American media have dutifully cranked out oceans of propaganda attempting to pressure Nicaragua to "abide" by the accords. (In contrast, there is a pointed lack of chastisement of Honduras, which is in blatant violation of the accords by continuing to provide bases for the contras and their CIA suppliers.) The editors of the *Boston Globe* (24 October) gave away the game in an editorial endorsing the "peace" accords:

"There is a reason to emphasize that Nicaragua is one country where the Arias plan could make a difference.... 'In the changing room of diplomatic imagery, the administration is trying to win for the contras what they have never earned on their own: credibility. 'The idea is to maneuver the Sandinistas into legitimizing the Miami-Tegucigalpa-San Jose crowd who have served as administration front men.'"

Similarly the *New York Times* (6 November), the central organ of the Amer-



San Salvador, October 28; massive protests over slaying of leader of Commission on Human Rights by right-wing death squads.

Gerry Healy & Co.

Would You Buy A New Party From This Man?

Adapted from *Workers Hammer No. 91*, September 1987, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Britain.

As if to prove that an old dog can indeed learn new tricks, the internationally infamous Gerry Healy made a rare public appearance in London on Sunday, August 23. Healy's expulsion in 1985 from his Workers Revolutionary Party—amid charges of sexual abuse and physical violence against party members and spectacular revelations of the Healyites' squalid financial deals with Arab regimes—sparked an implosion of the British WRP and its international satellites. Healy is a political bandit with a flair for self-preservation. Now, having newly "broken" with the WRP minority who stuck with him in 1985, the former "founder-leader" and his followers Vanessa and Corin Redgrave announced the formation of "The Marxist Party" at the Riverside Studio theatre in London. Some 200 were in attendance. Aside from the aspiring starlets and veteran Healy-Healyites, there were at least a dozen opponent observers.

What was "new"? The paranoia so characteristic of any Healyite gathering was contained (i.e., the doors were left unlocked). Even so, there was a confrontation outside the meeting with the British followers of Healy's former American toady, David North, who now claims the banner of unadulterated Healyism. True to fashion the Healy-Healyites called the cops (*three times*) on the North-Healyites. Healy & Co. attributed the 1985 implosion, not surprisingly, to state penetration (the unnamed "mole" obviously being long-time Healyite lieutenant Cliff Slaughter). In short, as Corin Redgrave so aptly remarked in opening the meeting—this was not a new party, just a new name.

C. Redgrave and Healy both bragged about and promoted their old "Security and the Fourth International" campaign of slander against the leadership

of the reformist American Socialist Workers Party as GPU and FBI agents. Centering on the ludicrous charge that SWP spokesman Joseph Hansen had been an "accomplice" in Stalin's murder of Trotsky, Healy's "Security" gambit revived the old Stalinist lie that Trotsky was murdered by "one of his own." While Slaughter's WRP has renounced this Healyite "excess," both Healy's Healyites and the Northites uphold "Security" religiously.

What is "new" is that Healy and his coterie of Redgraves have discovered the "highest political expression of the upsurge in the world socialist revolution" in Gorbachev's Soviet Union. A speaker from Healy's Potemkin Village "International Committee" proclaimed that conditions of Stalinist rule are no longer present in the Soviet Union! And Vanessa Redgrave took to the stage to declare that the Soviet masses "along with Gorbachev are fighting for socialist democracy" and that Gorbachev is leading the political revolution in the USSR. (Even for Healy/Redgrave, as shameless a pair as ever disgraced the ostensibly Marxist movement, Gorbachev's November 2 speech—which was far more cagey about Stalin's crimes than Khrushchev was in 1956—might be a bit embarrassing.) Announcing that Trotsky's works are widely circulated in the Soviet Union, Healy added, with characteristic egomania, "we have seen to that."

Healy's current infatuation with Mikhail Gorbachev has absolutely nothing to do with Trotskyism or proletarian political revolution in the USSR. But it has everything to do with the consummate cynicism and rank opportunism of the man who for over two decades has made a career out of building organizations that are simply for hire. So after years of virulently anti-Soviet positions—and without renouncing a single one—Healy and the Redgraves now present themselves as true friends of the Soviet Union. Hold



Gerry Healy in 1973—dwarfed by his own egomaniacal projection.

on to your wallets and spare chervonets.

The bourgeois press had fun with Healy/Vanessa's "conversion" to "pro-Sovietism." (It even made the pages of the *New York Post* and *San Francisco Chronicle*.) Healy's ex-comrades, steeped in the Stalinophobic "method" of his WRP, thrilled with horror, denouncing him as an "apologist for Stalinism." The ostensibly pro-Moscow *Morning Star* Communists (one of the many splits in the British CP) noted the event with a short article titled "WRP splits 3 ways to mark Trotsky's end"—referring to the meetings by the various Healyite fragments commemorating the 47th anniversary of Trotsky's assassination by a GPU agent. Sean Matgamna's *Socialist Organiser* (27 August) didn't bother with Healy's line on *glasnost*. Correctly calling the "new" Healy organization "a silly little personality cult around an old scoundrel," the article then proceeded to announce that "the merc name" of Trotskyism "has ceased to have any precise meaning—except as a historic reference point." Well, that's certainly true of Matgamna's outfit and the rest of the myriad fake-Trotskyists in Britain who cling to the coattails of Russia-hating scab Neil Kinnock of the Labour Party.

For those readers who have not kept their Healy scoreboards up to date, we supply the following brief recapitulation of the WRP implosion and subsequent fracturing. In October 1985 Healy was expelled and it was revealed that when the WRP hailed the execution of 21 Iraqi Communists by the Ba'athist regime, it was but the tip of the iceberg of the organization's "unprincipled financial and political dependence on the Iraqi bourgeoisie" (Banda/Slaughter *News Line*, 20 November 1985). This included dispatching *News Line* photographers to a demonstration of Iraqi CPers in front of the Iraqi embassy and allegations that the pictures were then turned over to the Iraqi embassy.

The expelled Healy took a rump of the WRP Central Committee, including Sheila Torrance, Alex Mitchell and the Redgraves. Healy's former lieutenants Michael Banda and Cliff Slaughter parted ways themselves, with Banda soon denouncing Trotskyism to turn pimp for one of the "hard" Stalinist sects. Meanwhile, in the camp of the WRP majority, the American David North moved against Slaughter, taking a sizable minority in Britain and most of the Australian section. Then Torrance and Healy had a falling-out, and yet another grouping split with the Torrance WRP to boot. At present count there are now, excluding Banda,

five groupings which have issued from the post-implosion Healyite mess: the Slaughter WRP (*Workers Press*), the Torrance WRP (*News Line*), the ex-Torrance Workers International League (*Workers News*), the Northite International Communist Party (*International Worker*) and now the Healy-Healyite "Marxist Party."

Corrupt but never stupid, Healy may be aware that Gorbachev is a rather more attractive figure than the late Nahuel Moreno—whose followers are on a fusion course with the Slaughter WRP—or the dubious Michel Varga. With the nasty inconsistency that is a Healy hallmark, Alex Mitchell—once the golden boy of "Security and the Fourth International" along with North and Healy himself—has fallen into ill repute. Apparently Mitchell has fled to the greener pastures of bourgeois journalism, reportedly writing under his own byline for the *Sun Herald* in Sydney, Australia. Now Healy is using this as a club against the Torranceites. Well, what goes around, comes around. Who knows where David North might eventually turn up. To a creature, they're products of Healy. If he's paranoid about them, he should know best why he should be.

Many questions remain unanswered. Will, as it has been rumored, the split from the Torrance group seek unity with

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Ardently embracing the Gorbachev line, Vanessa Redgrave appears on cover of trendy Soviet magazine *Ogonyok*. Heading reads: "Film star Vanessa Redgrave."

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ILWU Tops Sink Tugboat Strike

OAKLAND, California—After eight months on strike 400 West Coast tugboat workers, members of the Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU)—a division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—were railroaded back to work October 16 under the draconian conditions imposed by Crowley Maritime's "final offer": a two-tier wage scale, longer hours, and cuts in overtime pay, manning scales, and medical benefits. Most ominously, Crowley asserts the right to interview and reject new workers dispatched from the union hiring hall—the cornerstone of unionism on the waterfront.

This strike could have been won—and early on! Six weeks into the IBU walkout, on March 20, a thousand ILWU longshoremen and clerks bloodied the giant Crowley Maritime conglomerate when they shut down all Bay Area ports and smashed a company strikebreaking operation in Redwood City. This massive display of union solidarity and labor power electrified the Bay Area labor movement, and shipyard workers struck a few days later. With the ILWU longshoremen's contract due to expire on June 30 the stage was set for large-scale class struggle that could have won big—inspiring workers across the country. As we wrote at the time, the port shutdown pointed the way forward to a labor counteroffensive on the waterfront:

"Longshoremen must extend this action by shutting down the ports! For a Bay Area-wide maritime/waterfront strike! IBU, longshore, seamen, shipyard workers—all out together! Link up with Teamsters, railroad and airline workers—nothing moves!"
—"1,000 Dockers Run Off Scabs," *WV* No. 425, 3 April

The raw power of the Redwood City action and port shutdown scared the waterfront bosses and their pro-company flunkies in the bureaucracy of the maritime unions. Fearing a domino effect in the Bay Area labor movement, and especially a linkup with the strategic West Coast longshoremen, the labor traitors—from the ILWU and shipyard metal trades council to the San Francisco Central Labor Council—carried out a policy of containing and isolating the components of a potential labor upsurge. The shipyard strike was defeated by a series of separate sellouts that left the largest and most militant section of strikers, at Todd Shipyard, out in the cold. When the IBU workers of the Crowley-owned Red and White Ferry line threatened to strike on May 31, the union tops maneuvered a contract extension well past the expiration of the longshore contract.

Meanwhile the IBU tugboat strikers were kept isolated and worn down by

ILWU International president Jimmy Herman and IBU national president Don Liddle, who systematically chipped away at the solidarity of the Redwood City action. Picket lines were ordered down and, one by one, scab barges were unloaded or moved out of San Francisco Bay to other ports up the coast, all with the acquiescence of the so-called "strike committee," which with all its hot-air posturing played the role of

request of the phony IBU "strike committee," many of whom were present, including Jack Heyman, who had been one of the regular hot-air speechifiers preaching "solidarity" at the rallies of shipyard workers called by their phony "strike committee." The motion was put forward by Heyman's pal Howard Keylor without the provision for "executive action," which meant of course that nothing could be implemented until the

Francisco longshoremen, a majority of whom had voted against their own rotten contract, IBU regional director Rick Estrada succeeded in pushing through the surrender at an IBU meeting and it was all over. Heyman, who happens to be running for union office himself, dashed to the Local 10 meeting—not to fight for a port shutdown, but to thank the local leadership for their efforts and shake a few hands. One black longshoreman who left the meeting in disgust termed the whole thing "window-dressing."

The reformist Communist Party, which still has a base of support in the ILWU, did its own version of window-dressing in the 14 October *People's Daily World*, one day after the ostensible port shutdown that never was. Acting as the mouthpiece for the ILWU/IBU union tops they wrote:

"IBU leadership in the Bay Area, including Regional Director Richard Estrada, have requested ILWU Locals 10 and 34 to stop work. The request... has been sanctioned by IBU President Don Liddle."

This is not "sloppy reporting." It's a conscious lie to conceal the betrayals of the labor traitors and disorient the conscious workers. This is the CP program of class collaboration in practice.

Pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats like Herman and Liddle of the ILWU/IBU and Walter Johnson of the S.F. Central Labor Council have sold the shipyard workers, tugboat men, longshoremen and clerks down the river because they are the conscious agents of the bosses and the bosses' government within the labor movement. In every situation where class struggle breaks out they act as cops for the bosses to squelch labor militancy. These parasites and their hangers-on, who argue so passionately for the bosses' "right" to make a profit, are tied by a thousand threads to the capitalist Democratic Party of war and racism. Pledged in advance to operate within the limits permitted by the bosses' anti-union laws and courts, they and their slimy lawyers handcuff the workers to the bosses' rules. But these labor traitors are a very thin and brittle layer whose only authority derives from the favor of the employers they serve.

The series of defeats the union misleaders have engineered in the Bay Area will only encourage the maritime bosses to come back for more. But the grip of these bureaucrats on the labor movement can be broken by a wave of militant class struggle. Key to labor victories is the leadership of a revolutionary workers party—a party that knows how to win class battles and knows who the friends and enemies of the working class are. That is the kind of party the Spartacist League is fighting to build. ■



Waterfront unions rally in defense of Boatmen's strike, Port of Oakland, last February.

"left" cover for the sellout union tops. Throughout the IBU strike, Crowley tugboats were permitted to operate freely with scab crews. Finally, on September 8, one of the worst longshore contracts in ILWU history was rammed through by a paper-thin margin, and then only after two coastwise votes and in spite of heavy opposition from the S.F. and L.A. ports.

So when Crowley, emboldened by the craven behavior of the union bureaucrats, threatened to fire the striking tugboat workers and replace them with scabs unless they went back to work by October 15, the stage was set for the union tops to knife the strike. What followed was a cynical charade by the various labor fakers (and their small-fry hangers-on) to cover their respective asses at the IBU strikers' expense.

On October 6, the Executive Board of ILWU longshore Local 10 passed a motion calling for a one-day port shutdown, supposedly to take place on October 13. The motion came at the

membership meeting on October 15, the deadline Crowley had set for its ultimatum. In other words, nothing was supposed to happen. It was all "for the record," just a little cynical ass-covering so all parties could say how "militant" they were next time they run for election.

Herman wasn't taking any chances, though. He and IBU president Liddle opposed the Executive Board motion and then after it passed put the word out to the San Francisco Central Labor Council. The Council then instructed member locals to ignore possible strikes on the waterfront, which they said might be the work of an unauthorized minority in the ILWU.

Between the Executive Board meeting and the Local 10 meeting on October 15, the motion for a port shutdown was suppressed by all those who had advanced it and voted for it. Neither longshoremen nor clerks knew anything about it. Then, on October 15, just hours before the meeting of San



ILWU strikers run off scabs at Port of Redwood City, March 20.

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Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

(continued from page 1)

the new workers state. These tendencies culminated in a *political counterrevolution* which found its supreme leader in Joseph Stalin and its program in the dogma of "socialism in one country." The forces of revolutionary internationalism, personified by Trotsky after Lenin's death, were defeated and later physically exterminated.

Yet fundamental conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution have remained to this day, principally the collectivized economy built by ripping the productive resources out of the hands of the capitalists and landlords. Ever since November 1917, the imperialists have sought to bring back capitalist exploitation to the USSR. Today, with a war-crazed maniac in the White House who dreams of "bombing [Russia] in five minutes," defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution is more than ever a duty for every class-conscious worker.

Stalin's Heirs and Stalin's Crimes

To secure the rule of the bureaucratic caste, Stalin had to destroy the entire Bolshevik leadership. Fifty years ago, with the infamous Moscow Trials and the Great Purge, he instituted a reign of terror that wiped out the entire Central Committee which had made the Revolution—Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and the others—and decapitated the Red Army on the eve of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union.

With Khrushchev's revelations at the 20th Party Congress in 1956, the lid was partially lifted on these years of infamy, only to be clamped down again. Under Brezhnev the Kremlin sank into lethargy as the USSR was ruled by colorless gray old men, leading some to recall the Stalin years with nostalgia—at least the lights burned late in the Kremlin.

After a tentative start by Andropov and a retreat by Chernenko, Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev has vowed to get the country moving again. Suddenly there's great interest in the West in what's going on in Gorbachev's Russia. The words *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) have become so common in political discourse they're not even translated from the Russian.

A lot of the interest in Gorbachev's Russia reflects the visible difficulties of

American imperialism. There is the phenomenon of "Gorby chic": kids in London and New York wearing T-shirts with Lenin's portrait, with "СССР" (USSR in the Cyrillic alphabet) as a big "screw you" to Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. Reagan is still going down in the aftermath of the Iran/Contra fiasco, at loggerheads with the Democrats over domestic policy, outmaneuvered on the Central American "peace" plan, and threatening the Iranians and the world by his irrational adventure in the Persian Gulf. And to top it off, there's the stock market crash—a giant vote of capitalist no-

future." In fact the speech, delivered on November 2, was a lot limper than most people expected. His denunciation of Stalin's "repressive measures against a number of party leaders and statesmen" was abstract and bloodless. Not a single victim of the Moscow Trial frame-ups was named in this speech as having been executed. And egregiously, Gorbachev actually *praised* Stalin's military leadership in World War II.

Gorbachev lauded Stalin and Bukharin for defeating Trotskyism—"it was essential to disprove Trotskyism before the whole people, and to lay bare its anti-socialist essence" (*Soviet Week-*

Many intellectuals are repelled by the drabness of official cultural life, while the systematic falsification of Soviet history—the treatment of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and other Bolshevik leaders as non-persons—is an embarrassment to Soviet scholars and even propagandists who want to deal with their Western counterparts without the burden of lies that no one believes and cover-ups that expose only their perpetrators.

Gorbachev's "no blank pages" has in effect sanctioned an intense debate on Stalin's role and on the fate of the Old Bolsheviks. Last spring the organ of the Soviet Writers Union published the novel *Children of the Arbat* by Anatoly Rybakov. This devastating portrayal of capricious cruelty and terror in Stalin's Moscow during the 1930s touched a raw nerve, producing a flood of letters. One such letter by playwright Mikhail Shatrov (whose father was shot on one bloody day in March 1937 when 6,200 were slaughtered in four different camps) stated that Stalin "objectively did more for its defeat—the [Russian revolutionary] movement's—than our class enemies all together did." About the same time, the June issue of *Nauka i Zhizn* (Science and Life) published posthumously a 1965 lecture by well-known writer Konstantin Simonov bitterly attacking Stalin's 1937 purge of Marshal Tukhachevsky and the Red Army officers. "If there had been no 1937, there would have been no summer of 1941," he said, referring to the Soviet army's collapse when Hitler's Operation Barbarossa began.



Novosti

Red soldiers demonstrate for communism in Moscow, 1917.

confidence in the imperialist leadership. After "Black Monday," the *Wall Street Journal* quoted a Wall Street quip: "None of this would have happened if Reagan were still President." Hitler's Thousand Year Reich was finished in 12 years; the Reagan Revolution was over in half that.

To mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, Gorbachev was slated to review the whole subsequent course of the Soviet Union. The editor of the weekly magazine *Ogonyok*, the flagship organ of *glasnost* in Moscow today, had said: "Gorbachev's speech will give us back our past, both the good and the bad, so we may create our

(/r, 7 November). At the same time, he endorsed Stalin against the Bukharinite Right Opposition in the late 1920s. After all the speculation in the Western press that Gorbachev would officially "rehabilitate" Bukharin, Zinoviev and Kamenev (and, some said, even Trotsky), the speech denounced Zinoviev and Kamenev for allying themselves with Trotsky and stopped short of rehabilitating Bukharin, who was shot as an "enemy of the people" in 1938 after Stalin's show trial focusing on the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites."

But the re-examination of Soviet history which began under the slogan of *glasnost* has already turned into a political minefield which is ripping holes in the fabric binding together the bureaucracy. The discussions among the Kremlin tops were so intense, the *New York Times* (26 October) reported, that a heated Central Committee plenum was devoted to Gorbachev's speech before it was given. In the wake of this plenum—where Moscow party leader Boris Yeltsin, known as a strong Gorbachev supporter, lashed out at the slow pace of "reform"—there are reports in the Western press that Yeltsin's threat to resign his post may have been accepted.

Last February Gorbachev declared: "There should be no forgotten names or blanks either in history or in literature." For Gorbachev, overcoming the alienation of wide sections of the intelligentsia from the administrative hacks is a key to building enthusiasm for *perestroika*.

Revolution and Truth

In his own way Gorbachev recognizes that Trotskyism is the *left opposition* to Stalin's heirs: "Trotskyism was a political current whose ideologists took cover behind leftist pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric." If the discredited whole-cloth slanders of Trotsky as an "agent of imperialism" have been replaced in the mouth of the present Soviet leaders by new distortions to serve Gorbachev's new purposes, at least the way has been opened for elements in the USSR who consider themselves leftist Communists to look into the political record of Trotsky's struggles against the bureaucracy.

This is *despite* the intentions of Gorbachev, whose 70th anniversary speech was far more mealy-mouthed about the crimes of Stalin than the Khrushchev "revelations" of three decades ago (at least Gorbachev did manage to put in a good word for Khrushchev). Khrushchev's famous "secret speech" was delivered at a closed session of the 20th Party Congress in 1956. When Stalin died in 1953—after exterminating all his opponents and building an apparatus of one-man rule hacked up by massive secret-police terror—a power fight was unleashed within the bureaucracy. The Kremlin tops—who had been accomplices in Stalin's crimes or at least had participated in covering them up—needed to dismantle some of the more onerous and bizarre aspects of Stalin's paranoid personal dictatorship. Thus, a few months after Stalin's death, his much-feared head of the secret police,



Publitolto

Nikita Khrushchev denounces crimes of Stalin at closed session of 20th Party Congress, 1956. His speech has still not been published in the Soviet Union.

Lavrenti Beria, was shot in the Kremlin and posthumously accused of having been a British spy since 1919!

Khrushchev's denunciation of the "cult of personality" was buttressed by the publication of Lenin's letter to the 12th Party Congress in January 1923 (known as Lenin's *Testament*), which was not presented to that Congress. It was verbally revealed secretly to the party tops at the 13th Congress and was subsequently suppressed by Stalin and his cohorts. In referring to Lenin's *Testament*, in his 2 November address Gorbachev carefully omitted Lenin's call that "the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post," namely, general secretary (*Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 596 [Moscow, 1966]). Gorbachev wanted to clearly signal the permissible limits of *glasnost*.

But it's not so easy. During the "Khrushchev thaw," an important layer of the Soviet political elite became aware of some salient aspects of Russian history. It is known that Lenin, in the last critical months of his active life, waged a fight against bureaucracy. But the bureaucracy won, and that fact is decisive in understanding the Soviet Union today.

Lenin formed a *political bloc* with Trotsky against the *troika* of Stalin and his then-allies Zinoviev and Kamenev. He sought Trotsky's active support in defense of the state monopoly of foreign trade and in curbing the abuses of the "Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" (*Rabkrin*) which was headed by Stalin until the middle of 1922 and still closely associated with him thereafter. Particularly, Lenin sought to gear up Trotsky to lead a sharp struggle against Stalin's highhanded abuse of the nationalities, particularly the Georgians, who after enduring national oppression under the tsar wanted guarantees of the equality of nations in the union of Soviet republics. Lenin insisted that "exemplary punishment must be inflicted" on Grigory Orjonikidze, Stalin's chief lieutenant, for brutality and Great Russian chauvinism in the Georgian affair. And he added: "The political responsibility for all this truly Great-Russian nationalist campaign must, of course, be laid on Stalin and Dzerzhinsky" ("The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'" [December 1922], *ibid.*, p. 610).

But Trotsky pulled back from the sharp struggle which Lenin urged. He was unable to discern in advance where Stalin was going (Stalin probably didn't know either). And he was in some isolation: while now being the number two leader in the Soviet state, he had only joined the Bolsheviks after the February Revolution (despite having then personally led the October). He feared being thought personally self-seeking.

V.I. Lenin in Gorki, 1922.



Trotsky was constrained to be too modest for too long when the necessities of maintaining a revolutionary policy required that he urgently push the Leninist policy which he espoused, and therefore push himself.

Under the conditions of the exhaustion and atomization of the Soviet proletariat by the civil war and the resultant devastation of the economy—and the demoralization engendered by the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution—the soviets ceased to function as governmental organs. But debate could still take place within the Bolshevik Party and in December 1923 the pages of *Pravda* were opened again one last time for the ventilation of party discussion.

Lenin was incapacitated by illness and died on 21 January 1924 at the age of 54. At the 13th Party Conference held in January 1924, Stalin and his allies in the "troika" (Zinoviev and Kamenev) gutted party democracy to seize the decisive ascendancy. In the fall of 1924 Stalin announced his new schema of "socialism in one country": the negation of the Leninist understanding that the survival of the October Revolution depended upon its *extension* internationally, above all to the advanced capitalist countries.

In *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), Trotsky explained the social basis for the rise of the bureaucracy as rooted in scarcity: "When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy." "Socialism in one country" reflected in

"theoretical" terms the nascent bureaucracy's acquisition of self-consciousness; henceforth, it would act deliberately to preserve its privileges.

To further consolidate his power, Stalin made and unmade a series of blocs with various party leaders, pursuing an impressionistic zigzag course. For example, once he had smashed the Left Oppositionists he was free to adopt sections of their program. Having opposed their proposals to check the disastrous consequences unleashed by the economic policies of the Right (led by Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsy)—which turned its back on the necessity for a policy of socialist industrialization, while giving the rich peasants the upper hand in the countryside—Stalin then turned around and imposed *forced collectivization*. The wanton brutality and tremendous human cost of this policy is supposed to be a secret in the USSR today. In the course of this "left" turn, Stalin broke with and politically destroyed the Bukharinite Right.

To secure the rule of the conservative bureaucratic caste, it was not sufficient for Stalin to smash and isolate his political opponents. He had even to destroy the Stalin faction itself, since many of its leading members were opposed to shooting Communist opponents of their faction.

At the 17th Congress of the already multiply-purged party in 1934, Stalin's re-election as general secretary was conducted by secret ballot—and some 20 percent voted against him. The 1934 assassination of Kirov—a long-time member of the Stalin faction who was seen as Stalin's potential rival—became the excuse for mass murder, including a

bloody revenge on the 17th Congress participants. Because of the secret ballot, Stalin was unable to distinguish the "enemies" who had voted against him from the "loyal" 80 percent—so he essentially killed them all. Khrushchev's 1956 speech revealed that 70 percent of the Central Committee elected by the 17th Congress had been executed, along with an almost equal proportion of the Congress delegates.

The degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution was mirrored in Moscow's direction of the world Communist movement. In the mid-1920s the Communist International promoted revolution by bureaucratic means, sometimes (particularly associated with Zinoviev) engaging in lightminded insurrectionary adventures. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 found Stalin and his then-partner Bukharin totally disoriented, first groveling before the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang, then staging an insurrectionary adventure: the Canton Commune. Whatever Stalin tried, nothing worked. During the so-called "Third Period" which began in the late 1920s, the Comintern was given over to ultraleft and sectarian posturing—which in Germany allowed Nazism to triumph without a struggle by the powerful German proletariat.

Fearful of resurgent, rearming German imperialism under Hitler, Stalin then desperately sought an alliance with the "democratic" imperialist powers, France and Britain, under the rubric of the "Popular Front" adopted in 1935. Stalin's strangulation of revolutions abroad for the sake of the "Popular Front" went hand in hand with the extermination of the Old Bolsheviks inside the USSR. The Moscow Trials coincided with Stalin's betrayal of the Spanish Revolution in order to gain the confidence of the capitalist rulers in Paris and London. Successful proletarian revolution in Spain could have inspired the workers of the world—and given the Soviet workers the revolutionary confidence to sweep out the Kremlin oligarchy. Stalin, instead, sent in wave after wave of GPU agents and "commissars" to smash the advanced detachments of the insurgent workers movement who wanted to fight for socialist revolution; his "practical" policy was that the workers should uphold the Republic to "win the war" against General Franco. The result was the triumph of Franco, who ruled Spain for the next four decades. This was "socialism in one country" in action and at large. On the basis of such crimes against the international proletariat, Trotsky branded Stalin the "gravedigger of revolutions."

From the time of his exile from
continued on page 10



G.P. Goldstein



State Fine Arts Publishers

Stalin school of falsification: in original photo (left), Lenin addresses troops headed for Polish front, 5 May 1920, as Red Army leader Trotsky stands on steps; in later versions, Trotsky was disappeared. Open the archives—they belong to the Soviet peoples!

Lenin and Trotsky...

(continued from page 9)

Russia in 1929 until his death at the hands of a Stalinist assassin in 1940, Trotsky carried forward the banner of the Left Opposition, the continuator of the authentic tradition of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. As against the obscene spectacle of the false "confessions" paraded at the Moscow Trials—confessions secured not only by terror but by the bewildered victims' belief that in going along with Stalin's monstrous accusations they were "serving the Revolution"—Trotsky and his comrades in Russia refused to "confess" or to recant their revolutionary views.

Years later, Leopold Trepper, who was not a Trotskyist (he was in fact a Polish Jewish Communist who created and ran the Soviet "Red Orchestra" espionage network in Nazi Germany and occupied Europe during World War II), paid tribute to their steadfastness. Excoriating "all those who did not rise up against the Stalinist machine," he asked "who did protest at that time?" and then gave the answer:

"The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor...they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did...."

"Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."

—Leopold Trepper.
The Great Game, 1977

Contradictions of Gorbachev's Russia

The contrast between the feverish debate leading up to Gorbachev's 70th anniversary speech and its cautious content highlights the contradictions of Gorbachev's Russia. The Gorbachev line is a response by the Kremlin oligarchy to the changed realities in the Soviet Union. The new general secretary seeks to maintain bureaucratic administrative rule in the presence of a sizable cultured petty bourgeoisie and the felt needs of the Soviet masses for a better life. The intellectual layer that Stalin pretty much destroyed during his reign is now a significant stratum in Soviet society, and it interpenetrates the bureaucracy. Gorbachev—a representative of the new generation of Stalinist bureaucrats who did not participate personally in Stalin's crimes—is also the first Soviet leader since Lenin with a university education. It's been a long time since the direct and open application of terror; no longer are there millions of people in forced labor camps; police-state repression has become more indirect. Under these conditions and with these constraints, Gorbachev needs to shake up the society as a means to overcome the sluggishness of the Soviet economy.

The Kremlin bureaucracy confronts a new generation which does not meas-



Trotsky denounces Stalinist assassination attempt, 1940. He never capitulated to the bureaucratic usurpers! He was killed by a Stalinist assassin a few months later, in August 1940.

ure social and economic progress against the devastated condition of Russia after it defeated Nazi Germany in World War II. Boris Kagarlitsky, a Soviet sociologist and a principal organizer of the newly-formed Federation of Socialist Clubs, notes:

"The country which Gorbachev has inherited is already not the same as the one that came into Khrushchev's hands. It is an urbanized society with a large number of hereditary townspeople and skilled workers... Young people have no memory of the poverty of the forties, but react acutely to any threat to lower their present standard of living."

—New Left Review,
July/August 1987

What is involved here is not simply a hankering after Western gadgetry and consumerism. There is a sense in Russia, unlike in the West, that the country is supposed to belong to the working people. In fact, according to official ideology, the USSR is supposedly "building socialism" and moving toward a classless society—the disappearance of social inequality on the basis of material plenty. The people are bound to wonder why an economy that can put satellites into space "can't" make a decent pair of sneakers.

Gorbachev thus confronts a very different political consciousness than in the capitalist West. Traveling to Murmansk, high above the Arctic Circle, the Soviet leader spoke of "revolutionary tasks" and gave the marching orders: "Work—this is what should be done now." That will certainly pose radical changes in a country where during the Brezhnev period the standard joke was: "we pretend to work, they pretend to pay us."

In moving to accelerate economic growth Gorbachev has more than exhortation in mind. Under the rubric of *perestroika* the present Kremlin leadership aims to minimize centralized economic planning in favor of "market socialism" along the lines of Yugoslavia and Hungary. This program if implemented—and there is bound to be powerful resistance to *perestroika* not

only among the working class but also from vested interests within the bureaucracy—will undermine collectivized property and strengthen the internal forces for capitalist restoration. In Yugoslavia four decades of "market socialism" in the name of "self-management" have produced the highest inflation rate in Europe, East or

nyeformaly groups in Moscow alone, another 200 in Leningrad, ranging from "Green" ecological groups to rock clubs and radical-socialist circles. The Gorbachev regime has tolerated these groups (and some elements of the regime have evidently been promoting them), but this is juridically reversible—the unofficial groups can suddenly become *really* unofficial. Already the top hacks of the Komsomol (Communist Youth) are mapping out a strategy to combat this proliferation of political groups outside the bureaucracy's direct control:

"The document prepared by the Komsomol propaganda department says that many of the groups serve a valuable function, but it complained that others read the works of such politically unacceptable thinkers as Leon Trotsky, and that some seem to be setting themselves up in competition with state organizations."

—New York Times, 8 November

With the lid of repression lifted after 60 years, some vile creatures are also crawling out of the political underground. The most sinister development under *glasnost* has been the more public emergence of nativist Russian fascism represented by Pamyat (Memory), which demonstrated in front of the Kremlin last May. Railing against heavy metal rock music, alcoholism, drugs and the "loose morals" of Soviet youth, this group harks back to the anti-Semitism of the tsarist Black Hundreds. It is trying to fuse the worst excrescences of Stalinism—which used anti-Semitism against the Trotskyist Left Opposi-



Basil Blackwell Inc

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

West, massive unemployment and intensified national conflicts which can rip the country apart. Gorbachev's Russia is a long way from present-day Yugoslavia, but *perestroika* is a first step down that road.

At the same time, the policy of *glasnost* has unleashed enormous political and intellectual ferment. A broad spectrum of heterogeneous socialist-oriented informal groups, the *nyeformaly*, is beginning to surface. According to *Ogonyok*, there are 1,000 of these

tion—with the backwardness embodied in the old Russian Orthodox Church. But Pamyat has a problem—they are nativist Russian fascists who are, however, constrained to appeal to the patriotism of all the Soviet peoples—because half the population of the Soviet Union consists of non-Russian nationalities.

Pamyat is not some collection of churchgoing old people and right-wing nutcases on the fringe of Soviet society. Some of its leaders are drawn from elements of the bureaucracy and the organization reportedly has the protection of the Ministry of Aviation Industry as well as top-level elements of the Communist Party hierarchy. Trotsky observed in the Transitional Program that "all shades of political thought are to be found among the bureaucracy: from genuine Bolshevism (Ignace Reiss) to complete fascism (F. Butenko)," with the Stalinist center playing a bonapartist role. The tendency toward such polarization exists because the bureaucracy is not a ruling class but a caste which has no ideological justification for its rule, claiming to stand for the revolutionary ideals which it betrays.

Even the mystical blood-and-soil rhetoric which is a hallmark of fascism

Wide World

Troika of Stalin, Leon Kamenev (second from right) and Gregory Zinoviev grabbed control of the party after Lenin's death. (Second from left is Alexei Rykov.)



can find an echo among some Stalinist *apparatchiks*. For example, in the mid-1960s a functionary of the Moscow Komsomol distributed a leaflet demanding:

"Love for the motherland is a necessary and sufficient condition for citizenship. A cult of the ancestors must be set up...
"At first, a long campaign must be conducted in favor of native, moral, and physiological values of virginal purity and honor, and to persuade young people of the criminal nature of premarital sexual intercourse. We must not stop even at promoting ancient peasant customs: painting gates with tar, public showing of the sheet after the wedding night, corporal punishment of women who give themselves to foreigners, branding and sterilization of them."

—reproduced in Alexander Yanov, *The Russian New Right* (1978)

The strain of nativist Russian fascism represented by Pamyat has provoked widespread repulsion among the intelligentsia and political elite. A meeting last August in Moscow of 600 representatives from 50 unofficial groups was in large part a response to Pamyat. Out of this meeting came two associations. One was a Circle of Social Initiatives, with a loose membership and a broad social program along the lines of the West European Greens, whose declaration proclaimed the ideals of "socialism, democracy, humanism and progress." The second was the Federation of Socialist Clubs, including 16 groups who signed a manifesto. The Socialist Clubs, which seem to include a component of veterans of the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, are also extremely heterogeneous politically. They include the Perestroika Club, sponsored by some of Gorbachev's closest economic advisers. Others are named the Che Guevara Brigade and Young Internationalist Communards.

The Federation's manifesto contains an implicit denunciation of Pamyat, a demand to "democratise the electoral system" and a call "to show support and solidarity to revolutionary, liberation and democratic movements in the capitalist world and in developing countries" (London *Guardian*, 12 September). At the same time, it declares that the "life and death of socialism in the USSR hang on whether perestroika succeeds" and demands "to switch the economy to self-management."

While there are many contradictory tendencies within the Socialist Clubs and other *nyeformaly*, the political and intellectual climate in Gorbachev's Russia is vastly different from the Poland of Solidarność in the early 1980s. Solidarność was a company "union" for the CIA, the Vatican and the Wall Street and Frankfurt hankers. Its leaders and supporters hailed Ronald Reagan and were bankrolled by U.S. imperialism. They reviled Poland's greatest Marxist, Rosa Luxemburg, and idolized Marshal Pilsudski, the fascist dictator of interwar Poland.

In Gorbachev's Russia some number of intellectuals and politically-minded workers are seeking the road back to Lenin. The conditions are ripe for the regeneration of Leninist-Trotskyist understanding. For as stated in the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International, written 50 years ago, the "indestructible force" of Trotskyism in the USSR "stems from the fact that it expresses not only revolutionary tradition but also today's actual opposition of the Russian working class." "A fresh upsurge of the revolution in the USSR," Trotsky wrote, "will undoubtedly begin under the banner of the struggle against *social inequality and political oppression*."

Today, a program for political revolution in the Soviet Union, to oust the privileged bureaucracy and defend the gains of October, can be elaborated beginning with the slogans: Stalin abused central planning—For central planning with Soviet democracy! Soviet archives belong to the Soviet peoples—Open the history books! For uncondi-



TASS from Sovfoto

Gorbachev and wife Raisa visit textile mill in Tallinn, Estonia. Kremlin leader faces resistance to *perestroika*, speedup and layoffs from Soviet workers. For central planning based on soviet democracy!

tional defense of the USSR against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! These can be the basis of a revolutionary program to return the Soviet Union to the road of Lenin and Trotsky.

For Central Planning with Soviet Democracy!

Under the slogan of *perestroika*, Gorbachev has called for "streamlin[ing] our bloated bureaucracy" of 18 million functionaries, roughly 15 percent of the working population. In his speech to the Central Committee last January, he argues that the lack of democracy has produced widespread alienation among the working class. A whole stratum, including young people, have become

criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery."

—*The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

Trotsky's Transitional Program presents a program for a way out of this impasse, for "a revision of *planned economy* from top to bottom in the interests of producers and consumers," for *workers control at the point of production* as the foundation of genuine workers democracy. But this program means the ouster of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which is a *parasitic caste* sitting atop the working class, analogous to the trade-union bureaucracy under Western capitalism.

As an alternative to workers democracy, the Gorbachev regime proposes market-oriented economic reforms. These were decreed at the June 1987 Central Committee meeting and enacted shortly after in the new Law on State Enterprises. According to Gorbachev's program for "Fundamentally Restructuring Management of the Economy," by the end of 1990 individual enterprises will determine what they produce and in what quantities, except for the military sector. Most subsidies of prices will eventually be eliminated. Enterprise managers will be able to cut wages and bonuses, and to sack "redundant" workers. If their revenues still don't cover costs, they'll be shut down.

Stalin gave central planning a bad name. The economic ills of the Soviet Union today are not the result of central planning. By ripping the productive resources out of the hands of the capitalists and landlords and overcoming the anarchy of the market, the Soviet Union was able to make the leap from a backward peasant country into a great industrial/military power in a few decades of brutal efforts. Centralized planning was a vital factor in this historic and progressive achievement. The Soviet Union has built an economy where there is a job for everyone who wants to work, free universal education, free health care. There may be infuriating shortages, but no hunger in contrast to the U.S. where there are 20 million chronically hungry. Housing is tight—many young couples live with their in-laws—but no one lives in the street, compared to hundreds of thousands of homeless in the U.S.

It is the Stalinists' *bureaucratic distortion* of the planned economy which has brought the Soviet Union to stagnation. And dismantling central planning while wooing imperialist giants to set up joint enterprises and generating a new class of petty capitalist entrepreneurs will necessarily produce unem-

ployment and inflation, fueling the internal forces pushing toward the bloody restoration of capitalism.

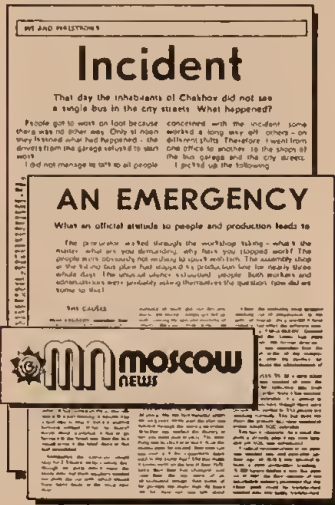
The National Question in the USSR

Centralized planning has also been key to welding together the more than 100 nations and national groups which make up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The centralized allocation of economic resources has contributed greatly to substantially *narrowing* the once vast gulf separating the Turkic-speaking peoples of Soviet Central Asia—nomadic herdsmen only a few generations ago—from the peoples of European Russia. A factory worker in Bokhara and Tashkent receives a similar wage scale and social services as his fellow workers in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev. Contrast this with Yugoslavia where "market socialism" and enterprise self-management has *widened* national inequality and dangerously aggravated national antagonisms.

The imperialists lust to exploit national feeling within the Soviet Union as a battering ram for counterrevolution, notably through the Zionist-orchestrated campaign to "Free Soviet Jewry" as well as through the CIA-led "captive nations" rightists. When the Red Army intervened in Afghanistan, the imperialists were salivating that Islamic fanaticism would insinuate its way among the Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia. (In fact, many of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan come from those areas and know very well that the October Revolution liberated their homelands from terrible backwardness.) Earlier this year, Radio Free Europe promoted a nationalist provocation in Estonia—which managed to attract all of a few hundred people.

But until political revolution restores Leninist internationalism to the Kremlin, the nationalities question will remain a time bomb. Thus last December, thousands of students staged a violent protest in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan after Gorbachev ousted Kazakh party leader Dinmukhamed Kunaev and replaced him with an ethnic Russian. In his speech to the Central Committee last January, Gorbachev addressed the concern that the Soviet Union could be destroyed by an escalation of conflicting national claims. In particular, his regime seems to be moving toward some sort of resolution of the Jewish question, mooted a two-pronged policy: to allow the emigration of those Jews (many of them Zionists) who wish to leave; and at the same time, to eliminate

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Recent Soviet workers' strikes challenge perestroika; Soviet press gags on calling a strike a strike.

"cynical," only interested in "material well-being and gain by any means," work discipline is breaking down, and there is an increase in alcoholism and drugs. And all these are obstacles to economic development.

Fifty years ago, Trotsky wrote of the limits of Stalinist industrialization:

"It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic command—although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But the farther you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of the bureaucracy like a shadow. The Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, *quality* demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of

Lenin and Trotsky...

(continued from page 11)

the "nationality" category on internal passports, thereby facilitating the full assimilation as Soviet citizens of the vast majority of Soviet Jews who have no desire to become Israelis (or, more commonly, New Yorkers).

The Bolshevik Revolution created the basis for the full emancipation of all the nations of the former tsarist "prison house of peoples." But Stalin, with his nationalistic perspective, adapted to and revived Great Russian chauvinism. On the eve of World War II, as he was murdering the cream of the Red Army officer corps, Stalin rehabilitated the Russian Orthodox Church—a nest of anti-Semitism before the Revolution—as an instrument for propagating patriotism. When the war broke out, Stalin's policies had had such a catastrophic effect that large sections of the Ukrainian and some other non-Russian peoples actually welcomed the invading Nazis. By way of revenge, Stalin then deported *entire peoples* from their territories. To counter the growth of right-wing nationalism fueled by Stalin's policies, Trotsky in 1939 raised the recognition of the right of self-determination for a *Soviet Ukraine*. For Marxists, the democratic right of national self-determination, however justified, is subordinate to the class principle of defense of proletarian state power against capitalist restoration.

Contradictions of Perestroika

When collective farm workers at a farm in Kazakhstan recently took advantage of the new law for election of managers by voting out a petty tyrant, the ousted director began a hunger strike at the regional Communist Party headquarters. He charged "crude violations of...existing rules of Nomenklatura," referring to the system whereby managerial posts are filled from lists of party-approved officials (*Financial Times*, 21 October).

But opposition to *perestroika* is not limited to fearful *apparatchiks*; working-class resistance is also being felt. *Moscow News* (No. 38, 27 September) reported a bus drivers strike in Chekhov, about 40 miles outside of Moscow, because of a change in the system of wage payment. This was so unusual they didn't know what to call it, so the article was headlined "Incident." The bureaucracy's response was also noteworthy: within 90 minutes they got high-ranking regional leaders down to the bus barns to cool things out, and the manager was hauled before the city party committee and reprimanded. A month later there was a report of a



Red Army high command, including Marshal Tukhachevsky (second from left, top). The cream of the Soviet officer corps was liquidated by Stalin on eve of Nazi German invasion.

three-day strike at the Likino bus plant. This time *Moscow News* (No. 42, 25 October) headlined "An Emergency" and admitted to a work stoppage. Facing speedup, piece rates, "Stakhanovite" wage differentials, and the prospect of inflation and layoffs, some sections of the Soviet workers are getting "involved" over *perestroika* in a way that Gorbachev & Co. did not intend.

Already at the time of the "trade-union controversy" in the winter of 1920-21, Lenin pointed out that Soviet Russia "is a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions" ("The Party Crisis," January 1921, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 48 [Moscow, 1965]). Therefore, he said, the Communists must "use these workers' organisations to protect the workers from their state, and to get them to protect our state" ("The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and Trotsky's Mistakes" [December 1920], *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 25 [Moscow, 1965]). After more than 60 years of Stalinist political domination of the Soviet Union, the fight for unions independent of bureaucratic control, for factory committees to institute *workers control of production* at the base, is a cornerstone of the fight for soviet democracy, and must be based on defense of socialized property.

To dampen working-class distrust of *perestroika*, the Gorbachev regime is making a big to-do about "democratization" at the enterprise level. *Soviet Life* (August 1987) highlighted the election of a plant manager by a minibus factory in Riga (Latvia) where the winning candidate was favored by the administrative/technical staff and promised more efficiency rather than higher wages or better housing.

But there is a built-in contradiction: what happens when workers vote against speedup, layoffs and greater wage differentiation? And if they can vote for plant managers, pretty soon they will be demanding to vote for their higher-ups as well. By offering Soviet

workers the *semblance* of democracy at the point of production, the Gorbachev regime has opened the door to the demand for *actual* workers democracy—the reconstruction of real soviets (workers councils) and the enfranchisement of the working people whose power was usurped by the Stalinists.

Soviet Archives Belong to the Soviet Peoples!

At the January 1987 Central Committee meeting where Gorbachev first laid out his policies for *perestroika*, he linked them closely to *glasnost*. He noted that the causes of "the period of stagnation" go "far back into the past and are rooted in that specific historical situation in which, by virtue of well-known circumstances, vigorous debate and creative ideas disappeared." Behind this euphemistic reference to Stalin, a furious debate has been raging over questions of Soviet history. Unlike the 1956 "de-Stalinization" campaign, which soon set carefully prescribed limits, today Soviet historians, writers, journalists and others are aggressively challenging taboo subjects. Already last winter, *Moscow News* (25 January) printed long excerpts from Lenin's Testament, including the statement that Stalin should be removed as general secretary.

Then in April the prominent literary journal *Novy Mir* (New World) published "The Brest Peace" by playwright Mikhail Shatrov. In this work, which was scheduled to open at the Vakhtangov Theatre in Moscow on November 7, Trotsky, Bukharin and Zinoviev are presented more or less historically accurately in the debates in the Bolshevik Central Committee over signing the treaty of Brest-Litovsk that took Soviet Russia out of the imperialist world war in 1918. (To buttress the case against Trotsky as an "ultraleftist," however, Lenin is ludicrously misrepresented as the father of "peaceful coexistence.") The production of this play in Moscow explodes the fabrications of the Moscow Trials, as Lenin's comrades-in-arms, vilified and slaughtered by Stalin, have ceased to be "non-persons."

Among the Old Bolsheviks, Bukharin is, as the Paris social-democratic *Libération* pointed out, the "most easily reintegrated." Bukharin's call on peasants to "enrich yourselves," is the message some market-oriented reformers want to send today, to encourage the growth of a layer of petty capitalists. His name is associated with the New Economic Policy of the 1920s. Bukharin did not author the NEP, Lenin did—and Trotsky anticipated Lenin in proposing the "tax in kind," re-establishing an economic basis for the *smychka*, the alliance of the workers and peasants. But Bukharin turned this policy, necessary to recover from the ruin of the civil war and the extremes of War Communism, into a program, opposing the necessary collectivization of agriculture and insisting that industrialization would have to pro-

ceed at a snail's pace. Trotsky pointed out that the Soviet Union did not have endless time; if the urgent tasks of economic construction were not addressed, the Soviet Union would not be able to withstand the economic and military pressures of world imperialism.

After being dumped as head of the Comintern and ousted from the Politburo in 1929, Bukharin submitted to Stalin, was later named editor of *Pravda* and even wrote the Stalin constitution two years before his execution. Thus at various points Bukharin served as the chief ideological apologist for the Stalin regime.

As far as Trotsky is concerned, however, the debate in Gorbachev's Russia is all over the map. In early July, *Moscow News* editor Yegor Yakovlev wrote a long article kicking off the series "Thus We Began" in *Izvestia* (12 July) on "The First Government" of the Soviet republic. Among those who were considered "heroes and martyrs of the Revolution," he lists "Foreign Affairs—L.D. Bronstein (Trotsky)." On 20 September another article in the same series, by *Izvestia's* chief political commentator Aleksandr Bovin quoted at length the powerful speech by Trotsky when he walked out of the Brest peace negotiations:

"We hope—said the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs—that shortly the exploited working masses of all countries will take power into their hands like the working people of Russia have. We are removing our armies and our people from the war...."

"At the same time we declare that the conditions as submitted to us by the governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary are opposed in principle to the interests of all peoples."

Equally significant was the publication in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs daily bulletin *Vestnik* (Messenger) of a



Nikolai Bukharin

photocopy of instructions by Foreign Minister Trotsky to the Soviet envoy in Scandinavia. Along with exhortations to use armistice negotiations as an instrument of revolution, the letter insists on the Bolshevik opposition to secret diplomacy: "The openness [*glasnost*] of all negotiations is for us, of course, a question of principle" (*Christian Science Monitor*, 4 September).

All this was evidently too much for the "conservatives," and by the end of the month they counterattacked. On September 28, virulent anti-Trotskyist diatribes were published both in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, the newspaper of the Russian Republic, and the trade-union daily *Trud*.

Der Spiegel (27 July) reported on a meeting where pandemonium broke out when Yuri Afanasyev, rector of the Moscow State Historical Archives Institute, said he was in favor of the publica-

Explains why the collectivized economy of the Soviet Union, despite Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration, is the basis for socialist construction. Exposes the various Maoist, New Left and "Third Campist" theories of the USSR as anti-Marxist, ideologically reflecting the hostility of world imperialism to the Soviet Union.

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Soviet soldiers leaving Afghanistan after Kremlin announced troop reductions (left). Spartacists (right) demonstrate against anti-Soviet war drive in Washington, D.C. March 1980. Defend the Soviet Union!

tion of Trotsky's works. An old-timer reportedly yelled out: "You have read Trotsky and are sitting here in comfort. Do you know how many people were sent to Siberia for that?" While some information on Stalin's crimes has "trickled down" to the Soviet people, the study of the real history of the Stalin years is permitted only to a relative handful of *apparatchiks*, propagandists and academics with privileged access to the official archives. Let the Soviet people know the truth—open the archives! Soviet publications now devote pages to discussing and denouncing Trotsky and Trotskyism. Let the Soviet people judge for themselves—publish Trotsky's writings in Russia!

Defend the Soviet Union— For Revolutionary Internationalism!

The third leg of Gorbachev's policy, in addition to *glasnost* and *perestroika*, is pushing even more for "détente" with U.S. imperialism. A summit meeting has been announced for December 7 in Washington between the Soviet leader and President Reagan, at which a treaty is to be signed eliminating medium- and short-range nuclear missiles. The U.S. administration has repeatedly refused to place any limits on its scheme for space-based weapons to regain nuclear first-strike capability against the Soviets. After a couple of days of back-and-forth, the Kremlin announced its acceptance of a summit without any American commitments.

Pentagon officials, meanwhile, are selling the treaty on the basis that it is Reagan's original "zero option," made in 1981 when NATO was about to deploy the Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany, only eight minutes flying time from Moscow. This plan was so advantageous to the West, requiring that the Soviets give up many hundreds more missiles than the U.S. would, it was designed to be—and was—rejected by Moscow. Moreover, the U.S. plans to offset the removal of Pershings by adding bombers and other weapons. Once again, "arms control" in the mouth of the Americans is a hoax serving to foster the development of new weapons systems. *The Soviet Union should build and acquire whatever arms are necessary to defend itself!*

The Kremlin bureaucracy is rightly frightened of the prospect of nuclear war, a fear shared by the mass of the Soviet peoples who saw their land devastated and millions killed during the civil war and again during World War II. But many in the Soviet Union understand that appeasement of the nuclear nuts in the White House is not the road to peace.

Only a very foolish person would take exception in principle to the USSR having to deal with the imperialists so long

as they exist and possess important sections of this planet. But it is willful blindness—flowing from the conservative program of the Russian bureaucracy—to fail to recognize that the American imperialists are vicious, irreconcilable opponents of every revolution that has overthrown capitalist exploitation. The U.S. military program is aimed at breaking the will of the USSR. In this context the present efforts by Gorbachev & Co. to conciliate imperialism are doubly dangerous. The only road to peace lies through successful working-class revolutions that will narrow the imperialists' power base until they are finally rendered impotent. As Lenin stated in his report of the CC at the 8th Party Congress in March 1919: in the long run "it is inconceivable for the Soviet Republic to exist alongside of the imperialist states for any length of time. One or the other must triumph in the end" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 153 [Moscow, 1965]).

One thing the Democrats and the Reaganites all agree on is that "Afghanistan is the test" of Moscow's good will. They want to force the withdrawal of Soviet forces from that strategically important country on the USSR's southern flank so that mullah-led reactionaries—who shoot down civilian airplanes with American Stinger missiles—can carry through their *jihad* against every form of social progress. Last January, Afghan leader Najibullah called for a government of "national reconciliation." Yet there never can or will be "reconciliation" with these CIA-financed feudalists who vow "death to Communism" and to all Communists.

The battle lines between social progress and medieval reaction have been drawn in blood in Afghanistan, notably over the status of women. A recent revealing article in the London *Independent* (10 October) noted that the attempt by the petty-bourgeois leftist regime in Kabul to stop the selling of girl brides, liberate women from the veil (an all-encompassing head-to-toe shroud) and introduce female literacy classes was "an important factor in fanning the rural rebellion." Now, "in keeping with the new policy of national reconciliation...aggressive campaigning for women's rights has been shelved." Yet the progress already made cannot be undone without bloodshed. Particularly in the towns, the number of women in schools and workplaces has dramatically increased; over half the students at Kabul University are women. If Gorbachev were to sacrifice Afghanistan to placate Washington, the price would be a bloodbath of Afghan women at the hands of the rabid Afghan fundamentalists.

Afghanistan became the centerpiece of Democrat Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign and the pretext for the American boycott of the

Moscow Olympics. The international Spartacist tendency forthrightly proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to "Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!" This sentiment is shared by many in the Soviet Union, including notably veterans of the Afghan war who are becoming increasingly assertive. An American librarian wrote to the *New York Times* (30 August) about having seen a spirited demonstration in Leningrad by Afghanistan war veterans, who laid a wreath at a memorial to those who died to defend the October Revolution during the civil war; and an unauthorized meeting of Afghan vets was reportedly held recently in Ashkabad in Soviet Central Asia.

In a recent article in *Pravda* reviewing readers' letters on Afghanistan one reader, the father of Sergeant Yuri Shevchenko who died fighting in Afghanistan, voiced a common complaint, asking that there be a recognition of his son's sacrifice on his gravestone: "Why can't it say that he died carrying out his international duty in Afghanistan? What are we ashamed of?" (*Pravda* monthly English edition, October 1987). What the Kremlin tops are ashamed of is anything that smacks of "exporting revolution," which Stalin forswore. In his speech to the 27th CPSU Congress last year, Gorbachev also denounced the "Trotskyite" heresy of "revolutionary war," adding: "Today, too, we are firmly convinced that pushing revolutions from outside, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissible" (*New York Times*, 10 March 1986).

Contrary to those who today paint him as a "peaceful coexistence"-nik, Lenin authored the plank of the March

1919 party program denouncing disarmament under capitalism as "the reactionary philistine illusion of petty-bourgeois democrats" and calling instead for "arming the proletariat and disarming the bourgeoisie" ("Preamble to the Military Section of the Programme," *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 130 [Moscow, 1965]). The Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was formally committed to achieving victory over capitalism "both in civil wars at home and in international revolutionary wars." Today it can be no different, as from Central America to Indochina and Afghanistan the imperialists are exporting counterrevolution whose ultimate aim is to dismember the USSR and "roll back" the revolutionary gains of 1917.

The futility of appeasing the relentless imperialist foes of the Soviet Union was shown by the disastrous results of Stalin's faith in his pact with Hitler. The split between Stalinism and Bolshevism is fundamental: the line was drawn in blood, not only the blood of the Old Bolsheviks shed by Stalin's terror inside the USSR, but also the blood of aborted and betrayed proletarian struggles from China to Spain to Nicaragua or South Africa today, where the felt need of the oppressed masses for the revolutionary transformation of society cries out for intransigent *revolutionary leadership*.

Trotsky's conclusion, written in 1940, is valid today as imperialism prepares a nuclear Operation Barbarossa against the homeland of the October Revolution: "Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy." *Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!* ■

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Crash...

(continued from page 1)

British supermarket magnate David Sainsbury, reportedly the country's fourth wealthiest man and a scathing critic of capitalist devolution à la Thatcher and Reagan:

"The key to his [Sainsbury's] policy recommendations is maintaining a competitive manufacturing sector. Manufacturing, he emphasizes, is the core that creates wealth in the economy. He notes that both Britain and America have allowed manufacturing to slide, while Japan and West Germany have gained ground..."

"Manufacturing is not going to solve the unemployment problem by itself," he said. "But the manufacturing sector has to create the wealth that can then be spent on the labor-intensive areas of the economy like service industries..."

—New York Times, 25 May

Along similar lines, right-wing American billionaire H. Ross Perot laments: "We are losing in international business competition. In 1986, we lost our position as the world's leading exporter and we had a trade deficit in high-tech products, supposedly the base for future growth" (*Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, 9 November). In fact, the U.S. has become the ultimate low-tech exporter. The two main exports from the port of New York are scrap steel and waste paper to Japan. Japanese industry then turns the steel into automobiles and the paper into cardboard boxes containing sophisticated consumer electronics. The United States has become the world's biggest junk dealer.

Crash Bankrupts Reaganomics, Also Keynesianism

The Wall Street crash has not only buried Reaganomics but also Keynesianism and the general notion that the capitalist state can manipulate the capitalist market economy by government spending, monetary policies and so forth so as to iron out the boom-bust cycle of capitalism. Business executives, economists, and politicians now speculate if the expected coming recession will turn into a major depression, but nobody maintains that any government policy can prevent a sharp downturn.

By "financing" the biggest military buildup in U.S. peacetime history with a tax cut for the wealthy, Reagan carried out a perversion of Keynesian deficit spending with a vengeance. A bright piece in the 3 November *Village Voice* in the form of a historical comic strip noted: "Reaganauts rediscover the stimulative effects of war Keynesianism—running up an unprecedented deficit and calling it 'Peace Through Strength'." Since this right-wing yahoo

was inaugurated in the beginning of 1981, the federal government has run up a larger budget deficit than the accumulated total of the previous almost 200 years of the American republic.

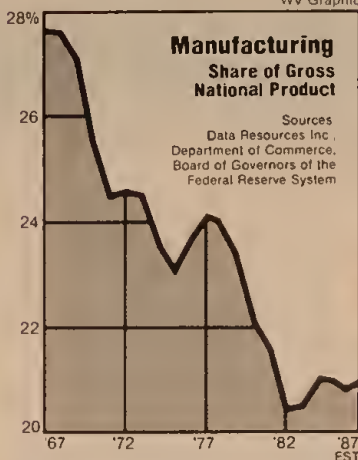
Much of this debt is held by Japanese and other foreign money men. Two liberal critics of Reaganomics, Karin Lissakers and Martin Mayer, wrote acerbically after the crash:

"After seven years of asserting the might and majesty of the United States, Ronald Reagan leaves his country in the status of Tennessee Williams's *Blanche Du Bois*. We are dependent on the kindness of strangers..."

—New York Times, 30 October

The only way to get out of this hapless situation, according to Lissakers

WV Graphic



The de-industrialization of America: A country that doesn't produce things can't have a "healthy" economy. Right: demolition of Youngstown, Ohio steel plant.

demanding tax hikes and spending cuts to restore investor confidence. Only a handful of diehard Keynesians, such as Robert Eisner and Paul Davidson, are arguing against reducing the government deficit in the wake of the stock market crash. Such policies, Davidson warns, "can exacerbate current recessionary tendencies and can even create a second Great Depression in the 20th century."

Davidson apparently believes that Japanese and other foreign capitalists will happily continue to finance the American deficit to the tune of \$150 billion a year. No way! Since Black Monday the flight of foreign capital has plunged the dollar to its lowest interna-

anciers. These will spend less because they have less to spend. If the government finances the deficit by selling bonds, it will drive up interest rates and crowd out private investment.

The efforts of the Roosevelt government in the mid-late '30s at Keynesian pump-priming, as it was then called, had no effect on the depressed state of the American economy. In fact, in 1937-38 the U.S. suffered another severe depression in which industrial output plunged even more sharply than in 1929-30.

The U.S. was finally pulled out of the Great Depression by World War II when the federal government directly financed two-thirds of industrial construction needed for the imperialist war

Schell/Youngstown Vindicator



and Mayer, is "to reduce domestic demand by diminishing the fiscal stimulus, raising taxes and slashing Government expenditures." This is the traditional right-wing remedy for overcoming an economic crisis. It was the program of Herbert Hoover, who in 1932 proclaimed that the "reduction of government expenditures and the stability of government finance is the most fundamental step" toward economic recovery. And, contrary to liberal mythology, balancing the budget was also the economic policy of Franklin Roosevelt when he first succeeded Hoover.

The experience of the Great Depression—not least the radicalization of the working class confronting the manifest bankruptcy of capitalism—brought about the so-called "Keynesian Revolution" in bourgeois economic thinking. Today, however, most leading Keynesians, such as Nobel laureate economists Paul Samuelson and Robert Solow, join hands with Wall Street bankers like David Rockefeller in

tional value since World War II. Continued capital flight from Wall Street could threaten the solvency of a number of U.S. banks and other financial institutions. And an ever-greater devaluation of the dollar could trigger a wild inflationary spiral. *New York Times* economics columnist Leonard Silk points out that in allowing the dollar to slide the Reagan gang is "accepting the prospect that the monetary needs of the moment may feed the ancient enemy, inflation."

In any case, Keynesianism doesn't work because it leaves the means of production in capitalist hands. Its basic and false premise is that government spending has no negative effect on capitalist investment in new plant and equipment, the key to productive economic expansion. Under most circumstances this is not so. If the government finances its deficit by running the printing presses, the resulting inflation will reduce the real value of money capital held by industrialists and financial

effort. For the past four decades U.S. manufacturing has taken place in plants largely built in World War II (and supplemented by the Korean War boom a few years later). During World War II the government imposed rigid wage and price controls to keep down inflation. A capitalist regime will do these things only in a major war when its survival is at stake, and it can impose them on a population prepared to accept wartime sacrifices.

The people who run this country have run it into the ground! Why should the workers who built this country's wealth accept either bloody war or austerity in peacetime for the "health" of the capitalist economy? The Reagan "recovery" which was so good for the stock market left most of black America out of its "miracle." A workers party must be built to wrest the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of the greedy, incompetent capitalist class and place in the hands of the working people the power to build a new society. ■

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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Soviet Space Program...

(continued from page 4)

White House paralysis and a cash squeeze, some officials have decided to copy the Soviets: experts at the Goddard Space Center—frustrated by the \$32 billion boondoggle space station plan which is still on the drawing boards—are circulating "an alternative station design that strongly resembles the Soviet Mir space station" (*Aviation Week*, 9 February), which is already in orbit and conducting scientific research.

Yet for all the billions that the capitalists throw away on these projects, in the mad scramble for maximum profits they won't even make the minimal expenditure of time and money to fix known problems, even those that are life-threatening. The long, sordid history of the fatally flawed O-rings on the Challenger's booster rockets is a case in point: explicit warnings from valiant NASA employee Richard Cook were

repeatedly ignored because fixing the problem would be a "budget threat." The resulting disaster was a grim reminder of a quip by astronaut Gus Grissom (who died in a 1967 launch pad accident), that the whole thing is put together by "a crowd of lowest bidders."

To be sure, the Soviet space program, like the rest of the economy, remains burdened by a fatheaded and chauvinistic bureaucracy (it was only in the '70s, for instance, that Jewish scientists were hired at the Space Research Institute) When the Soviet working class retakes the political power usurped by the Stalinist bureaucracy, these problems will be ironed out. But even now the planned collectivized economy proves its superiority over the anarchy of capitalism, which pisses away the fruits of labor in the pursuit of private profit. *Newsweek* gave a salient example from the Apollo moon program: "the tooling [for the giant Saturn rocket] was sold for scrap, and some of the detailed specs may have been lost."

To quote Karl Marx in a new light, capitalism is "its own gravedigger." ■

Chicago Labor...

(continued from page 16)

needed is a class-struggle workers party leading the fight against cop and Klan terror, forging an alliance of the multiracial labor movement and the ghetto masses.

It's no coincidence that the recent wave of police assaults is taking place at a time when labor struggle in Chicago has been smothered by the union tops. Last month the ATU bureaucracy surrendered yet another round of concessions without so much as a pretense of a fight—in order not to cause trouble for Washington. And the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) leadership called off a solid 17-day strike, in exchange for a rotten contract that sets up 1,700 union members for layoff! In the upcoming city workers negotiations, Harold Washington plans to follow the dictates of the La Salle St. bankers, who want to break the back of the city unions by farming out work to non-union firms. Transit workers are singled out for harassment by cops who hate their relatively decent jobs and their heavily black and Hispanic unions. It's high time the cops in "Segregation City" feared integrated workers power. There should be workers defense guards—built with union men and women, black, white and Hispanic—to defend the working people and their communities from cop and



Militant Chicago transit workers protest layoffs, 1981. America needs a workers party!

Klan attacks.

To forge a fighting alliance of labor and the ghetto, a class-struggle labor leadership must act to break the rigid color line that excludes the black population from decent integrated housing, quality education and jobs. The union tops criminally stood aside on 28 June 1986, when the Ku Klux Klan mobilized 3,000 screaming bigots in a race-terror rally in Marquette Park. Mayor Washington sent hundreds of cops to provide "law and order"—by defending

the Klan and arresting and beating the small group of leftist protesters. A wave of deadly racist firebombings and attacks followed Marquette Park—and some of the emboldened nightriders wear blue uniforms. The power of labor must be mobilized to stop this now.

Transit workers can turn it around! Remember when 800 ATU members mobilized to stop the vicious racist frame-up of David Johnson. Cook County Sheriff's deputies shackled Johnson to his hospital bed, state's

attorney Richard Daley threw felony charges in his face and the leaders of Local 241 turned their backs on him—all because of a tragic and unavoidable accident on Lake Shore Drive. But a determined demonstration of labor/black power at Police Headquarters on South State Street won Johnson's freedom. Transit workers: Stand up for Cassandra Seay! Bring out Chicago labor! Take a stand on November 24—Stop the racist frame-up of Cassandra Seay and her family! Be there! ■

Healy...

(continued from page 6)

Hyland/North? What really happened to Alex Mitchell? Will we all have to read yet another Healyite "daily" to keep track?

As we wrote in 1985 when the WRP blew apart:

"Morality" for Marxists is inextricably tied to program. The Spartacists' unwavering adherence to revolutionary Trotskyism—our genuine, concrete defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and against the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy, our commitment to building an international party of proletarian revolution—this has been our political compass."

—"Healyism Implodes,"
Spartacist No. 36-37,
Winter 1985-86

In contrast, from their early infatuation with the virulently anti-Soviet Cultural Revolution in Mao's China to their hailing of the ayatollah Khomeini, the mullahs in Afghanistan and Polish Solidarność, the Healyites stood for the hostile encirclement of the Soviet Union, backing every anti-Soviet force on the perimeter of the USSR. On stage in London, Healy, who modestly refers to himself as simply "the outstanding leader of the world Trotskyist movement in the post-war period," declared, "we are part of the Soviet Union"! But if you're waiting for a little self-criticism for two decades of anti-Soviet programmatic positions, don't hold your breath. Indeed, Healy still upholds the counterrevolutionary clerical national-

ists of Polish Solidarność as a model for "political revolution" in the Soviet Union.

The guiding principle of Healyism is "anything goes." Healy has always been someone's running dog, but as we wrote in *Spartacist*: "...between working for [American Trotskyist leader James P.] Cannon and working for the Libyan government there is a class gulf. But in Healy's mind there probably wasn't much difference between seeking to ride the coattails of left-Labour politician Aneurin Bevan and becoming a political whore for Colonel Qaddafi." Now Healy and Vanessa take to the road like traveling snake oil salesmen in new outfits. If it weren't for the buckets of blood that were spilled while Healy and his well-heeled thespian were running dogs for oil-rich Near East despots, it might be amusing. ■

Nicaraguan Revolution...

(continued from page 5)

the October Revolution. Defense of the Soviet Union begins in Central America—For full Soviet military aid to Nicaragua without political strings! No to the "peace" pact!

No "Peace" in El Salvador

At least the leftist rebels in El Salvador have enough sense of self-preservation to see that the "peace" accords won't protect them: the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) broke off peace talks following the cold-blooded murder on October 26 of the president of the Human Rights Commission, Herbert Anaya. Two days later thousands of angry demonstrators, in a tense confrontation with riot police and troops, marched in San Salvador on a day of "national indignation" to protest the death squad execution. In direct response to Anaya's assassination the FMLN guerrillas launched a new military campaign called "Justice and Punishment for the Country's Criminals." For a full week starting on November 3 the FMLN paralyzed transportation nationwide for the seventh time this year. Last Friday, on the day the

"peace" accords were supposed to go into effect, San Salvador lost electrical power and reverberated with the shock waves of explosions as rebel sappers carried out the most devastating attacks yet on the nation's electrical system, destroying eleven major installations around the country.

While Salvadoran president Napoleón Duarte poses as the "peace-making democrat," his government's death machine targets all those who dare stand up for basic human justice. Anaya, the seventh human rights official killed or "disappeared" since 1978, was one of those fingered by a massive governmental propaganda campaign to label all left-wing opposition as "terrorist." Death squad killings are on the rise as the frustrated security forces and right wing seek to behead popular protest. And the day after Anaya's murder, the Salvadoran legislature unanimously approved an amnesty law which pardons the death squad killers, both in and out of uniform, who are responsible for the bloodbath which has claimed 65,000 civilian lives in the last seven years. Some 420 people who were "freed" from jail have been afraid to leave after one of them was killed on November 5. Only a

leftist military victory can uproot the pathological killers who dominate this U.S.-backed "death squad democracy."

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Locked in by a parochial nationalist perspective, the Sandinistas foolishly proclaim they are not aiding the FMLN or any other "foreign" left-wing guerrilla movements; domestically they conciliate the "patriotic" bourgeoisie rather than expropriating their property. But now more urgently than ever, the Nicaraguan Revolution must break out of the bounds of Sandinista nationalism in favor of revolutionary class war: Eliminate the internal fifth-columnists, expropriate the bourgeoisie! Close *La Prensa* and Radio Católica! No amnesty for counterrevolutionaries! Defend, complete, extend the revolution! That's the kind of program which made the Bolshevik Revolution and is today carried forward by the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency. Class war, not conciliating imperialism, is the only way to save the Nicaraguan Revolution from the counterrevolutionary slaughter now being prepared. ■

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Spartacists at Chicago protest against contra war criminal Adolfo Calero, July 28.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Transit Union Calls for Mobilization at Cassandra Seay Trial

Chicago Labor Must Fight Racist Cop Terror!

CHICAGO, November 7—Transit unionists are building a mass labor protest at Cook County Circuit Court on November 24 to smash the racist frame-up of black bus driver Cassandra Seay and her mother, Callie Bryant. Last July 21 seven white cops invaded Seay's home where they savagely beat the two women. The stormtrooper assault left Seay so severely injured that she was hospitalized for over a week and missed three months of work. Now, in obscene perversion of justice, the victims of this cop brutality face up to 15 years in jail on trumped-up charges, including assaulting a police officer!

On November 6, in response to a campaign by workers in Cassandra Seay's union, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241, the union executive board issued a call for Local 241 members to turn out for the trial. The 10,000 Chicago transit workers, joined by labor and blacks from across "Segregation City," must mobilize in a massive show of labor/black power to stop the wave of racist cop terror in Chicago!

November 10—As we go to press, the members of ATU rail Local 308 voted unanimously tonight to join Local 241 in mobilizing at the courthouse to defend Seay.

The July 21 attack began when the seven cops went to the Seay home to "investigate" the accidental breaking of a van window by some teenagers playing football, allegedly including one of Seay's sons. Arriving home from work, still in her transit uniform, Cassandra found the cops trying to intimidate her mother at the front door. Callie Bryant, in a 1 October interview with Lu Palmer on WVON radio, described what happened after Cassandra asked the police if they had a search warrant. "At that point the big plainclothesman said, 'We don't have to take this talk from this b----.' And he tried to pull me out of the door.... He slapped me and I almost went off of her porch. And at that time they rushed into the house." Meanwhile two cops broke down the back door and entered the house. Moments later Bryant saw the cops beating her daughter:

"I saw the officer hit her and she fell down on the floor. And they started kicking her in the vagina. As she was lying there on the floor, two officers were holding her arms up over her head and letting this big man kick her."

As he kicked her and ground his knee into her side, the cop threatened, "B----, I have your a--; now I'm gonna get your job." Then they arrested every family member present—Cassandra, her mother and her two sons.

It didn't take long for the Chicago

Drop All Charges Against Cassandra Seay and Her Family!



Bus driver Cassandra Seay.

WV Photo

Be There!
Tuesday, November 24, 9:00 a.m.
Cook County Circuit Court
1340 S. Michigan

Transit Authority (CTA) bosses to team up with the cops. According to the arrest report, CTA "Supervisor Rodenski... stated that he would begin complaint proceedings against arrestee #1 [Seay] in the proper CTA channels." And Cassandra, in the hospital with neck and back injuries and internal bleeding, was denied her insurance benefits until she promised to repay the CTA if the cops' racist frame-up succeeds!

Militants in ATU bus Local 241 and rail Local 308 have organized to bring out the power of labor in defense of the Seay family. On October 27 three union members issued a leaflet, "Stop the Racist Frame-Up of Union Sister Cassandra Seay!", calling for labor/black action against cop terror:

"The charges against Cassandra Seay and her family are deadly serious. Our

union has the power to stop this racist railroad. We must act now! The cops have been on a rampage in Chicago. One week after the attack on Seay, Chicago cops murdered Larry Hawkins, a 28-year-old disabled black auto worker, in cold blood in the basement of his mother's South Side home. In the past two months, at least five black men have been gunned down by the killer-cops."

Within a week, more than 150 transit workers, including several executive board members, had endorsed the leaflet's motion for a November 24 demonstration. One bus driver after another told of his personal experience with the racist labor-hating cops who think they own the streets. Dozens of workers came to a Local 241 union meeting on November 2 to demand union action. In the midst of this campaign yet another

driver, Ronald Washington, was beaten to the ground, kned in the spine, handcuffed and hurled face first into the back of a paddy wagon. His "crime"? Allegedly "obstructing traffic" while stopping to repair his bus! The cop that brutally assaulted Washington was James Bruce—triggerman in the murder of Larry Hawkins! According to Local 241 officials, this same killer harassed a woman bus driver four months ago.

This racist, capitalist system breeds monsters like James Bruce. *Race-terror is police policy.* Nearly every day, the *Chicago Defender* carries a story on another brutal beating or killing by the nightriders in blue. The Chicago cops know they will be backed up by the bosses' courts and the police department's own whitewashing Office of Professional Standards. And it hasn't changed one iota under the Democratic Party "reform" administration of black mayor Harold Washington—in fact racist police terror is on the rise. Knowing capitalist "justice" is blind to racist cop terror, the cops often challenge their victims to "go tell Harold." Even though Washington is himself targeted by the honapartist cops, his administration has done nothing to curb police terror. Racist and anti-labor violence is an essential prop of the rule of the capitalist class, the same class that Democrat Washington is pledged to serve. All over the U.S., cop terror and hideous killings go on unchecked and it makes no difference if the mayor is a white racist pig or somebody like Harold Washington or Atlanta's Andrew Young, black liberals installed to derail and suppress black anger.

Washington's single "reform" in the notoriously racist Chicago police department was to appoint a black superintendent, Fred Rice. Widely discredited in the black community after four years of police racism, strikebreaking and corruption, Rice resigned last month. In his place Washington appointed Leroy Martin, a 32-year police veteran supported by the white "law and order" City Council opposition. Martin recently threatened a pregnant doctor who refused to admit a cop to St. Mary of Nazareth Hospital, telling her he would "send a squadrol to pick you up and...put a firing squad to you" (*Chicago Defender*, 29 October).

Democratic Party black faces in high places don't make the streets safe for black working people in Chicago. Jesse Jackson is courting George Wallace and the Dixiecrats—his Rainbow Coalition won't fight to defend the victims of Chicago's killer cops. The Democratic Party politicians, black and white, are the enemies of integrated working-class struggle against racist terror. What's

continued on page 15