

Gorbachev Yielding to a Fourth Reich

Stop the Sellout of East Germany!

Ceding to the campaign of imperialist threats and pressure, the leaders of the USSR and the German Democratic Republic (DDR) have given the green light to annexation of the DDR by capitalist West Germany. Last week, Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev reversed his previous position, now declaring that "unity of the Germans" is "not put in doubt by anybody." And the day after returning from consultations with Gorbachev, East German premier Modrow presented a step-by-step plan for a treaty community, confederation and federation culminating in a "single German fatherland." This capitulation is a mortal threat to the East German workers state and to the hard-won social gains of the working people.

Since the ouster of the ossified Honecker regime in East Berlin last fall, Bonn politicians have tried to head off a developing political revolution against Stalinist rule by stampeding the DDR into a capitalist reunification with the federal republic (BRD). Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl and Social Democrat Willy Brandt in particular have been blowing their respective German nationalist trumpets. Weekly pro-reunification demonstrations in Leipzig act as an echo chamber. There and elsewhere, Nazis have grown increasingly bold, demonstrating with their anti-Communist and anti-foreigner violence and hate-mongering what a reunified Fourth German Reich would bring with it.

Meanwhile, the Social Democracy (SPD) has seized the initiative as the



"For a Red Soviet Germany in a Socialist Europe!" Spartakist-Gruppen banner at 250,000-strong January 3 anti-fascist demonstration in East Berlin.

spearhead of reunification. In the wake of the Gorbachev/Modrow announcements, SPD godfather Brandt proclaimed triumphantly, "the deed is done." On the weekend, the SPD called for introducing the D-mark as the official currency of the DDR. Such a currency union would hand

control over the East German economy to the Frankfurt bankers. The proposal was quickly endorsed by CDU chancellor Kohl. While East Berlin economics minister Christa Luft warned that this would spell mass unemployment, she called for a referendum on the proposal. For the DDR, counterrevolution stands at the door.

Seized by panic, in the last two weeks Modrow has agreed to move up elections to the Volkskammer (the DDR's parliament) from May 6 to March 18, barely five weeks away, and expanded the governing coalition to include eight parties of the opposition Round Table. This now gives the disintegrating Stalinists a minority in the cabinet. The Socialist Unity Party (SED), which had ruled the DDR from the inception of the bureaucratically deformed workers state, has sought to distance itself from its Stalinist past, and on Sunday it renamed itself the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). But whether SED or PDS, the Stalinist apparatus is shattering.

The Spartakist Workers Party of Ger-

many (SpAD) has urgently called on the working class and all those who oppose counterrevolution to fight against the sellout of the DDR. At a press conference in East Berlin, SpAD spokesman Gunther Ilzig stressed: "We are fighting emphatically against the creation of such a Fourth Reich, which would be a huge warmongering juggernaut in the heart of Europe and a constant threat to all peoples. We know only too well, and have never forgotten, what horrors German imperialism has already brought about in this century."

A 6 February dispatch by the East German press agency ADN reported: "The Leninist-Trotskyist party is waging its election campaign against capitalist restoration, against the fascist danger and for the defense of the DDR and the USSR.... The party, founded on January 21 in the DDR, considers itself a vanguard party that will represent the interests of the working class and which is organized in both German states. It fights for the political power of the working

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Soviet president Gorbachev and DDR prime minister Modrow (right). With imperialists on the warpath, Stalinists capitulate, endangering the DDR.

Economic Nationalism Fractures COMECON...6

Ohio 7 Defeat Sedition Frame-Up

The Reagan/Bush legal counterrevolution suffered a significant setback last November 27 when three members of the Ohio 7—Patricia Gros Levasseur, Raymond Luc Levasseur and Richard Williams—were acquitted by a jury of seditious conspiracy charges. Two days later, with the jury still deadlocked on RICO ("racketeering") conspiracy charges, the judge declared a mistrial.

This was a stunning courtroom blow to government plans to make all leftist political opponents into outlaws. Six of the Ohio 7—having been tried and tried again for the same alleged crimes—were already sentenced to lengthy jail terms. The feds spent nearly \$10 million hoping to use the Ohio 7 case to dust off the discredited "thought crime" sedition laws (see "RICO Witchhunt Targets Ohio 7," WV No. 476, 28 April 1989). But for all its time and money the "Justice" Department had to eat crow and announce it

would not seek a new trial.

In its *Sedition Committee* newsletter the Ohio 7 announced:

"The jury has spoken. They have refused to convict. They have refused to accept the government's 'bright shining lie' that the Ohio 7 are criminals and racketeers. We commend the courage of the jury in the face of a very vindictive and politically motivated prosecution. We made U.S. foreign policy a central focus of this trial and sought to bring to the attention of the American people, the criminal activity engaged in by our own government, particularly in Central America, South Africa and the colonization of Puerto Rico. This trial went beyond stagnant facts and became a search for the truth. This trial represents a victory for all who cherish human rights and struggle for justice."

The Ohio 7 witchhunt was intended to be a showpiece for the government's phony "terrorism" pretext for eliminating basic democratic rights. But the American people haven't bought it. And



Paul Shoul

The Ohio 7. From left: Jaan Laaman, Richard Williams, Barbara Curzi-Laaman, Carol Manning, Tom Manning, Pat Gros Levasseur, Raymond Levasseur.

the jury's rejection of the police-state sedition charges marks the distance between the ideological conformity of the reactionary McCarthy era and the more fragile right-wing "consensus" of the Reagan years. Pat Levasseur is now free. But the government "rewarded" her husband Ray by shipping him off to the draconian Marion High Security Unit torture chamber. Levasseur, Williams and four other members of the Ohio 7 still face decades behind bars—the government intends they will never emerge from prison. With the government frame-up in tatters, now is the time to press forward our protests: "Free the Ohio 7!"

* * *

In late October the severely overcrowded and dehumanizing Pennsylvania

prisons at Camp Hill and Huntingdon exploded. The immediate spark was a new rule prohibiting families from bringing food on visits. Over 100 inmates at Camp Hill were injured and nearly half the prison destroyed. MOVE member Chuck Africa wrote to the Partisan Defense Committee describing the brutality: "i could hear inmates screaming throughout the 'hole' area between the 28th of October and November 1st because they were being beat by guards in the hole."

For the racist thugs who lord it over Pennsylvania's prisons the disturbances provided a pretext to turn the heat up on the Philadelphia MOVE organization. Phil Africa and Eddie Africa were transferred to the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas. Though the Dallas

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James P. Cannon, Founder of American Trotskyism

This month marks the centenary of the birth of James Patrick Cannon, on 11 February 1890, a founder of American Communism and later a leader of the Trotskyist Left Opposition to Stalinism and of the Fourth International. Cannon embodied the best qualities of those American working-class revolutionaries who embraced the Bolshevik cause. Attending the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928, he obtained Trotsky's documents against the disastrous course of the Stalin-Bukharin bureaucratic regime. When Cannon and his comrades sought to fight for Leninist politics in the Stalinized American party, they were summarily expelled. We reprint below excerpts from the "Platform of the Communist Opposition," written by Cannon, underlining the central importance of the "Russian question" for revolutionaries worldwide. The Trotskyists' warning six decades ago against the dangers of capitalist restoration fostered by the Stalinist bureaucracy are acutely relevant today.



Pathfinder Press

1890–1974

Just as the revolutionary communist movement all over the world was molded and hardened in estimating the significance of the events of 1914–17, marked by the collapse of the Second International and the rise of the Bolshevik revolution, so world Bolshevism, its maintenance and growth, is conditioned upon the estimation of the course of events in the Soviet Union and the Communist International in the period of the last four to five years. All other questions are subordinated to this and flow from it.

The collapse of the Russian revolution as the dictatorship of the proletariat would signify the retardation for decades of the revolutionary movement in Europe and America and the uprisings of the colonial peoples, whose main point of support today

is the victory of the Russian October. A collapse would be followed by an unequalled reign of reaction throughout the world and would entail a restoration of world imperialist rule without precedent in the last two or three decades. Our primary concern is therefore with the fate of the Russian revolution, which directly affects the fate of all the Communist parties. The defense of the Russian revolution against external attacks and internal dangers is therefore the first and foremost task of all communists and every conscious worker. We are defenders of the Russian revolution since 1917. There is no break in the continuity of our position, for our present fight is directly connected with and follows from our whole previous line....

The origin of the present crisis in the Soviet Union lies in the contradiction between the existence of a Soviet regime in a country with a predominantly peasant economy, and the pressure of the capitalist encirclement. This crisis has been sharpened and aggravated by the false policies of the leadership. These policies are rooted, further, in the overestimation by the present leadership of the duration and depth of the temporary stabilization of capitalism, which began after the defeat of the German and Bulgarian proletariat in 1923....

Upon this essentially erroneous estimate was based the theory of the possibility of the complete construction of a socialist society in one country (Russia), a theory entirely alien to the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and directly contrary to every principle of revolutionary internationalism. Integrally combined with this reactionary "theory" is the idea that a self-sufficing national economy can be maintained if only the danger of imperialist military intervention is warded off. That this inevitably leads to opportunism before the world bourgeoisie (particularly before the United States, which is the basic counterrevolutionary force in the world today) is shown in the signing of the Kellogg Pact by the Soviet Union and the notorious Litvinov proposals. That it leads to the abandonment of all that Lenin taught on the revolutionary struggle against war and the role of the labor bureaucracy is shown in the capitulation of the Russian trade unions in the Anglo-Russian Committee. That it leads to the subordination of the Communist Party to the national bourgeoisie and the abandonment of Leninism on the national and colonial questions is shown by the catastrophic course followed by the Comintern in the Chinese revolution....

All these lines of policy are consciously or unconsciously based on the need of preventing military intervention against the Soviet Union so that an isolated socialist construction can be completed there. The net result of this opportunist conception and course is the increasing danger of imperialist war against the Soviet Union, for revisionism here as everywhere brings neither revolution nor reform.

The growing war danger comes at a time when the crisis in Russia is reaching a sharp point. The departure from the proletarian revolutionary path, coincident with the beginning of the fight to cut the Leninist Opposition led by L. D. Trotsky from the party, has reached a stage where the enemy classes have grown to an alarming extent and exert a tremendous pressure upon the party and state apparatus. From Bukharin's "Peasants, enrich yourselves!" and the theory that the kulak would grow into socialism, it has been a short step to the present situation where the exploiting elements in the village (the kulaks) have stepped forth into the arena with confidence, boldness, and arrogance to demand increased concessions and political rights. From the brutal campaign to suppress party democracy in the fight against the Leninist Opposition it has been a short step to the consolidation of a bureaucratic apparatus through which the new bourgeoisie exerts its ever-increasing pressure....

The Leninist Opposition, on the contrary, has been fighting tooth and nail against this imminent danger to the revolution. It has unfurled the banner of Leninism and stood by it in the face of an unprecedented campaign of slander and persecution.

—James P. Cannon, "Platform of the Communist Opposition" (February 1929)

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Police Murder in Bushwick

NYPD's "Inaugural Message"

FEBRUARY 3—New York cops have killed eight people in this city since New Year's, gunning down three teenagers in the last week alone. Two of the victims (both unarmed) were Latino youths in the Bushwick area of Brooklyn. This has sparked repeated angry protests by hundreds of community residents outside the 83rd Precinct building.

On January 27, Luis Liranso (17) was seized by the cops for having a loud public argument, then shot in the back at pointblank range, his hands in the air, by cop Hyda Hernandez. On January 31, José Luis Lebrón (14) was chased by cops for allegedly stealing \$10 in a local park. When he was about six feet away from policeman Frank Albergo, the cop fired at him twice, hitting him in the head and neck. Killer cop Albergo says he thought Lebrón was "reaching for a gun." A head shot is intended to kill.

While NYC mayor David Dinkins "reaches out" to Lebrón's family, promising a "full investigation," police officials are making sure through this

murderous display of raw police power that the new black mayor understands who really runs the streets of New York. They have already found the cold-blooded killing by Albergo, who is known and hated in the neighborhood, to be "within guidelines." Meanwhile, Bushwick area cops say the only way for them to "fight crime" is to get semiautomatic pistols!

The night that José Luis was gunned down, several hundred residents of the largely Puerto Rican neighborhood blocked the streets for more than two hours, preventing the ambulance from taking away his body until TV cameras showed up to record it. Angry marches continued for three days after the killings. But protest organizers have sought to channel outrage into schemes to reform the police. FBI informer Al Sharpton (now a member of the New Alliance Party) has confined his "outrage" to protesting that the Police Department is racist...because the Hispanic cop Hernandez was suspended and none of the white cops were.

The racist killer cops cannot be re-



Angry February 3 Bushwick protest of police execution of Latino youth José Luis Lebrón (right). WV Photo



New York Times

formed. As a neighbor of yet another victim of the NYPD, 13-year-old Robert Cole, gunned down by cops on February 2 in East Harlem, said, "Being a black child living in Harlem, he was already on the road to dying, not only the natural death, but the death of the poverty that this country has put upon

him and his parents" (WABC Evening News, 3 February). The police and the rest of the capitalist state's apparatus of repression that kills black and Latino youth to enforce racist "law and order" in the ghettos must be swept away by the power of the integrated working class.

Waiting for Hal Draper

Hal Draper, for 58 years a self-avowed Marxist and veteran of American social-democratic, Trotskyist and Shachtmanite organizations, died of pneumonia January 26 at his home in Berkeley, California. He was 75 years old.

Obituaries in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *New York Times* (31 January) have billed Draper as a Marxist scholar, translator of Heinrich Heine and guru of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in 1964. But we remember that Hal Draper was an extremely prominent, early top leader of the Socialist Party's youth group, the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL)—a very able organizer, who was won to revolutionary Leninist politics in 1936-37, when the American Trotskyists entered the Socialist Party and won over the majority of its left wing, centered in the youth organization.

Draper's stay in the Trotskyist movement didn't last very long. Along with the majority of new youth members he split from the Socialist Workers Party with Max Shachtman in 1940, rejecting military defense of the Soviet Union as World War II began. While Shachtman's Workers Party originally claimed to uphold the "Third Camp"—against both capitalist imperialism and what they claimed to be the "bureaucratic collectivist" class society of the Soviet Union—it evolved over the next 18 years to the most abject pro-imperialist reformism, changing its name to the Independent Socialist League (ISL) in 1949 and finally liquidating into the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation in 1958 (see "Shachtman and Stalin Again," WV No. 444, 15 January 1988).

Hal Draper, who had the reputation of being the number two man in the Shachtman organization, somewhat independent and outside Shachtman's immediate personal entourage of Yetta Barsch and Al Giotzer, was the official left opposition to Max Shachtman's rightward course during the 1950s. In the internal debates of the ISL he upheld the "Third Camp" against Shachtman's increasing pro-imperialist drift, and he developed

behind him several dozen younger people.

But they waited in vain for Hal Draper to make his move against Shachtman's rightist drift into the social democracy. Of course Draper did the best job of denouncing Shachtman, but that was all. In a May 1957 Internal Bulletin he complained that the ISL's views were being "bent, fitted, filed, rubbed down, carved, trimmed or cold-storaged so as to ingratiate us as good dogs with the SP right wing." When the organization liquidated, Draper just disappeared for a year of study in France. Many had been waiting for years—even decades—for Draper to move, and under the impact of the Hungarian workers revolution of 1956 the younger elements went over to the proposition that the bureaucracies of the degenerated and deformed workers states were not a new, consolidated and hardened class. These younger cadre (including Scott Arden, Shane Mage, Jim Robertson and Tim Wohlforth) went into hard opposition and in the main joined the Socialist Workers Party, and together with its youth cadre founded the newspaper *Young Socialist* in October 1957, going on to form the Young Socialist Alliance in 1960.

Draper returned to the United States and developed a sort of left wing inside the Socialist Party and its youth group, a left wing which included Mike Harrington and eventually evolved into Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America. But Draper's real base was in Berkeley, where in 1960-61 student participation in the civil rights movement and struggle against the witchhunting House Un-American Activities Committee heralded the beginnings of the New Left. Draper finally broke with Shachtman in 1961, when the latter gave a speech on the Cuban Revolution in Berkeley the day after U.S. imperialism's Bay of Pigs invasion...and supported the invasion! Draper's greatest coup was to tape record Shachtman's speech, part of which he transcribed and published in a pamphlet, along with a reply in defense of the "Third Camp" against



Labor Action

Hal Draper in 1947.

Shachtman's explicit pro-imperialism. Shachtman never spoke in Berkeley again, and Draper's pamphlet gave the initial impulse to a group of left "Third Campists" who drifted back out of the SP-SDF as the New Left student movement moved left in opposition to U.S. imperialism's dirty losing war in Vietnam. Eventually this group founded what became the International Socialists (what remains of that tendency today can be found in the anti-Leninist "Solidarity" grouping which sponsors *Against the Current*, and the psychotic handful who follow Sy Landy's "League for a Revolutionary Party").

Draper, however, found himself on the far right wing of the International Socialists and soon drifted away himself. During the New Left's heyday at Berkeley in the mid '60s, he acted as a private adviser to Mario Savio and other radical youth with no particular ideology and did his best to keep them that way. With the subsidence of such struggle, Draper worked for ten years as a librarian for the University of California and was

known for being somewhat reclusive, aloof and iconoclastic.

While Hal Draper was the godfather of a number of modern-day American reformist currents, his accomplishments as a leader in Shachtman's organization enriched those of our early cadre who trained under him. He was an excellent organizer of the Los Angeles branch, and his report on the 1947 Workers Party election campaign there is a handbook. But he was best known as a superb editor of both *New International* (1948-49) and *Labor Action* (1949-58). He wrote *Labor Action* virtually single-handedly during the 1950s, and he was also responsible for indexing it yearly beginning in 1949. The *Labor Action* index provided the model for *Workers Vanguard's* yearly index.

While Draper made a career for himself in the 1970s and 1980s as a social-democratic "Marxist" writer and historian—seeking, e.g., to prove that Marx never meant the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" except as a conciliatory gesture to the followers of Auguste Blanqui—he maintained his interest in the documentation of socialist history. In 1981 he helped to found the Center for Socialist History in Berkeley, donating his substantial library of 10,000 books and serving on its Board of Directors. Draper's concern with the indexing and availability of classic socialist works infuses the aims of the Center. While the Center is primarily concerned with the pre-1914 socialist movement, it houses Draper's substantial collection of internal material from the Shachtmanite Workers Party/Independent Socialist League, as far as we know one of only three archives for such material (Tamiment Library and the Spartacist League's own Prometheus Research Library are the others).

Hal Draper's vivacious wife, Anne, an organizer for the haters union—in contemporary hatless America, a no-win job—was an outstanding socialist labor organizer who died in 1973. His older brother, Theodore Draper—a Stalinist youth leader in the 1930s when Hal was a leader of the social-democratic youth—wrote the definitive two-volume history of the early American Communist Party and has lately become one of the most lucid exponents of a rational nuclear course for American imperialism. ■

E. Germany...

(continued from page 1)

class, that is, for the rule of workers and soldiers councils, Ilzig said."

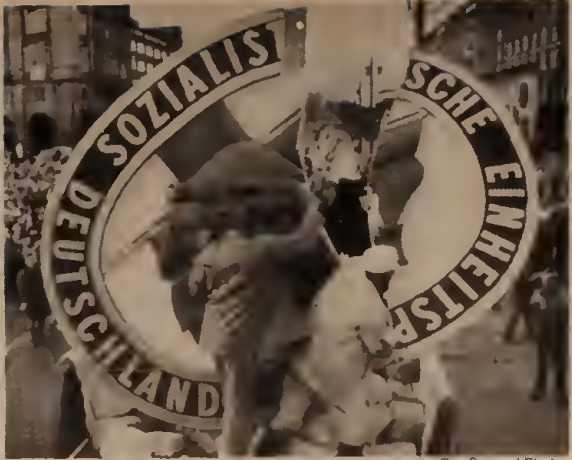
Unraveling of the SED

After ousting longtime general secretary Erich Honecker in October, the SED Politburo under Egon Krenz proclaimed a "Wende" (turnaround) in the direction of democratic socialism. Barely a month and a half later, Krenz was ousted by the SED ranks. A new team under Gregor Gysi swept out the entire "politbureaucracy." (Gysi was presented with a broom when he was elected at the emergency party congress in early December.) And on January 3, a quarter of a million people, many of them SED members and ex-members, came out in East Berlin to stand with the Red Army against the fascists who had defaced the Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park. This sent a shudder through the bourgeoisie.

After the Berlin Wall was opened in November, the imperialists had a three-point program: the capitalists would buy up all the valuable properties, the SPD



As East German regime prepares sellout of DDR collectivized industry, Socialist Unity Party (SED) disintegrates. Workmen dismantling SED plaque from party headquarters in Dresden.



Der Spiegel Photos

would defeat the SED in the May 6 elections, and West Germany would absorb East Germany in stages through a federation. But these plans for gradual counterrevolution faced and face a stumbling block: the strong attachment to socialist values by large segments of the East German population. This was

reflected in an article by Carl Bernstein (of Watergate exposé fame) in the 22 January *Time* magazine. While the Western media crows about the "death of communism," he reported:

"Perhaps I have been in a different East Berlin from the one I have been reading about.... In East Berlin, where I rode the

trains back and forth to the West from the Friedrichstrasse Station, where I walked into cafes and discos and shops and asked people their feelings, I could hardly find any citizens who said they wanted a reunified, single Germany....

"Most were adamant. Not ever, they said. They love their country. The German Democratic Republic, not the Federal

Who Needs Lessons From Cold War Liars

The Invasion of the Shankerites

In Woody Allen's film *Sleeper* the main character reawakens a few centuries into the future and is told that his civilization was destroyed by nuclear war. He asks how it happened and is told: we think a man named Albert Shanker acquired the atomic bomb.

Albert Shanker, the leader of the American Federation of Teachers, is an anti-communist warmonger of Dr. Strangelove proportions. And the AFT is not your ordinary American business union but the main organizing base of the Social Democrats U.S.A.—a gang of crazed Cold Warriors who scare even mainstream liberals.

Now we read that Shanker's AFT has announced a program to send teachers to Eastern Europe to "teach democracy...in societies that for decades have known only dictatorships" (*New York Times*, 25 January)! So East European school kids are going to get an introduction to the "Free World" with a vengeance.

The Shankerites were hawks in the Vietnam War even after Nixon and Kissinger had given it up as a lost cause. Shanker is part of the Committee on the Present Danger—a right-wing militarist pressure group which called for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. He's tied in with CIA fronts such as the "American Institute for Free Labor Development," which has brought "democracy" to Latin America by setting up company "unions" and helping overthrow

leftist governments (Guatemala 1954, Brazil 1964, Chile 1973).

The *Times* article on the AFT's "Education for Democracy International" project came under the heading "Parliamentary Democracy 101." Imagine the curriculum for this one. The Vietnam War: how bombing villages and na-

Speaking of brainwashing, maybe the Shankerites will make students watch endless reruns of the documentary "Voice of Freedom" starring the anti-Semite Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn who wants to bring back the tsar (it was shown three times at the AFT convention in 1977).



WV Photo



Manning/NY Times

When Solidarność opened office in UFT headquarters in New York, September 1981, Spartacist picketed, denouncing the Polish "company 'union' for CIA and bankers." Right: Cold Warrior Albert Shanker.

palming children can save "democracy" for the people, Central America: how murdering landless peasants provides "democratic" land reform. Afghanistan: how skinning teachers alive serves the cause of "freedom" against "Commie brainwashers."

Not surprisingly, first stop for the "education for democracy" troops was Poland. In 1981, the Shankerites provided public office space in the New York City headquarters of the United Federation of Teachers for Solidarność. Now the representatives of this company union for the CIA hold government office in Poland where they are cracking the whip for the International Monetary Fund against Polish working people.

Columbia University professor Dianne Ravitch says she is going to Poland to lecture on "how to use Poland's history to teach about democracy." Doubtless the story of Marshal Pilsudski—the fascist dictator of Poland in the interwar years and the hero of the clerical-nationalist Solidarność leaders—will head the required reading list for this course.

"How do teachers used to lecturing to obedient classes teach students to speak out and challenge them?" ask the AFT's education project advisers. You'd think that schools in the U.S. of A. were centers of freewheeling, open and educated debate among the students.

The truth is that the "land of opportunity" has turned out a generation of "young citizens" who, if they are not

functionally illiterate, have not even the most basic knowledge of history, culture and science. Inner city schools are run like prisons, patrolled by gun-toting cops and metal detectors. Suburban schools are like country clubs. In neither case are students educated.

In a survey conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement, comparing ninth grade science students from 16 countries, the U.S. placed second to last while Hungary came in second to the top. This provoked carping over the unfairness of comparing U.S. students with their counterparts in other countries.

In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (14 September 1989) a chemistry professor from Cornell University complained: "Perhaps Hungarian and Polish students know more, but the tragedy is what the Soviets' ineffective social and economic system does (or did) to them." As opposed to America where today's high school graduates don't have the level of knowledge or skills to work on an assembly line—and when they get out of school, many can't find jobs anyway.

The last half-serious effort to improve education in this country came after the Soviets launched the Sputnik satellite in 1957. A wave of government-sponsored hysteria produced, among other things, a concerted push to teach more math and science. But any commitment to educating the population went down with the decline of the American empire, particularly its losing dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Today corporate bosses complain that the state of education in the U.S. has the "making of a national disaster" (*New York Times*, 25 September 1989). But at the same time the capitalist rulers don't want a generation of youth in this country that know "too much," i.e., who might rebel against being ignorant, docile and obedient cannon fodder.

It is hardly surprising that students in Poland and Hungary far and away outflanked their U.S. counterparts in scientific knowledge. A basic education for all was provided in these societies—which is not the least of the gains we defend against the imperialists and their social-democratic front men who seek to re-introduce capitalist exploitation, oppression and ignorance.

Seven years ago a report on the state of education in the U.S. remarked: "If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might have used it as an act of war." One can look at the Shankerites' proposal to invade Eastern Europe with their "Education for Democracy" gambit much in the same way. ■

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Republic of the West. They believe in socialism. Still. Not the socialism of their disgraced and discredited leaders but the socialism they have been taught as an ideal for 40 years."

One woman said, "Keep the Wall":

"If they make some problems, we can close the border. We hear there are neo-fascists in West Germany. We know this from their own news. We have no fascism, and people here will never accept it."

"Now maybe there will be some mixed economy. But not if there will be more poor. We will not accept unemployment. Democracy and socialism. That is the goal."

Columnist Alexander Cockburn recently noted: "The Polish working class will soon find out that 'freedom' can mean the freedom not to have a job for the rest of your life" (*In These Times*, 17 January). Many East Germans are vividly aware of the profound and many-sided social misery that the restoration of capitalist exploitation would mean. This is the sentiment that was shown at Treptow, in a "fighting demonstration" with far more participants than the largest Monday-night demonstration in Leipzig. So the imperialists, with the West Germans in the lead, reacted sharply. They claimed the SED exaggerated or perhaps invented the fascist danger. When a rightist mob trashed the headquarters of the former Stasi secret police, they claimed the government staged that, too. Then Helmut Kohl's chancellery secretary made a speech demanding that the East German government join Bonn in declaring "state unity" as their goal, as well as calling on the DDR to open its doors to private capital and stabilize its currency.

With its new law on joint ventures and talk of adopting the D-mark, with the expanded coalition government and Modrow's call for a "single German fatherland," the DDR leaders have bowed to the *Diktat* from Bonn. This was not because the economy was in crisis: in spite of the departure for the West of over 300,000 predominantly young people last year (which is continuing), the economy grew by 2 percent and stores are well stocked. *Der Spiegel* (5 February) headlines "Chaos in the DDR," but an article by DDR writer Rolf Schneider notes that the scope of violence doesn't go beyond "brawls such as take place at the average West German football league matches."

But the counterrevolutionaries were waving the spectre of civil war. At a demonstration in front of the Volkskammer, where the hammer and compass was ripped out of the East German flag, a banner threatened: "Whoever Votes for the SED Votes for Civil War." In a January 16 interview with the *Washington Post*, Gysi noted:

"Power does not lie in the hands of the party, it lies in the streets. Everything is polarized now. Whenever I go somewhere, I am wildly cheered and applauded, or I'm screamed and yelled at. There is nothing in between."

Gysi said it's extremely unlikely they would win the elections, but "if we did win somehow, in present conditions a

Spartakist Workers Party Running in DDR Elections

We print below a translation of a 6 February dispatch by the East German news agency Allgemeine Deutsche Nachrichten.

Berlin (ADN). The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany is running in the DDR parliamentary elections, "to rally and mobilize the working class against the sellout of the workers state." So stated Gunther Ilzig, a founding member of this party, at a press conference in Berlin Tuesday. The Leninist-Trotskyist party is waging its election campaign against capitalist restoration, against the fascist danger and for the defense of the DDR and the USSR. It is a question of protecting collectivized property. "The factories belong to the people and the bureaucrats have no right to sell them off at bargain prices," a statement handed out at the press

conference declared. "Stop the fascist menace while it is still weak! And don't forget that 20 million Soviet citizens died in the fight against fascism," the statement also noted. The party demands that the gains of the 1917 October Revolution be extended to all humanity through international proletarian revolution. The Spartakists' election campaign is a platform for class struggle. They are campaigning to stop the undermining of the social gains in the DDR. The right to work, low rents, guaranteed pensions, free medical care, childcare facilities and women's right to abortion must be protected. "We must fight for our jobs—against the capitalist buyout of our plants, what is necessary are strikes, factory occupations and workers control. Sweep the fascists off the streets of Leipzig and other cities

with powerful workers united-front actions," the statement demands.

The party, founded on 21 January in the DDR, considers itself a vanguard party that will represent the interests of the working class and which is organized in both German states. It fights for the political power of the working class, that is, for the rule of workers and soldiers councils, Ilzig said. "The Spartakist Workers Party works for soviet power as the only possibility of preventing the restoration of capitalism in the DDR. Now Gorbachev is saying 'Yes' to a Fourth Reich. With his call for 'Germany—one fatherland,' Modrow prepares to bury the DDR, capitulating to the threats and pressures from Bonn and the handmaidens of capital, mainly the Social Democrats," the press statement said.

minimum of 500,000 people would leave" the DDR. On the other hand, "if it is the other way around and the opposition wins, then 500,000 of the members and sympathizers of my party would leave, because they would be afraid of what would happen to them." Leave to where?

Yet the response of the SED-PDS tops to this polarization is paralysis and collapse. In the factories, the Social Democrats are fomenting a campaign

misuse of office on charges of high treason. We warn that scapegoating and Stalin-style show trials only whip up a bloodlust that will set the stage for counterrevolutionary massacres.

We have stated before that officials guilty of crimes should be tried with due process, and we oppose privileged treatment for the bureaucrats and their secret police. Stalinist methods must be rooted out. No witchhunts—get the truth! This is the only method that

The TLD and Spartakist-Gruppen have joined together in the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League, which appeals to SED members and those who quit out of disgust over the betrayals of their Stalinist misleaders; to those who came out at Treptow to fight the fascist threat and vow to stop the brown plague in Leipzig and wherever it may appear; to workers who want to resist the buyout of their plants and the sellout of



Soviet soldiers at swearing-in ceremony at war memorial in East Berlin. Red Army is a bulwark against Bundeswehr invasion of DDR and beyond.

to blacklist former and present SED members. They also want to prevent the several tens of thousands of former employees of the Ministry of State Security from ever working again. The government feeds into this anti-Communist purge atmosphere by trying former leaders accused of corruption and


serves the workers' cause.

The anti-Nazi mobilization at Treptow posed the possibility of a powerful fight to crush counterrevolution, not only the fascist filth but also their cynical capitalist masters. But that could only be a revolutionary working-class struggle. And after decades of seeking to conciliate imperialism while using bureaucratic measures to defend their attempt to build "socialism in one country," the Stalinists had nothing other to propose than a *Verfassungsschutz*, a new secret police, renamed after the West German "Office for the Protection of the Constitution." And when that set off a storm of protest, the SED-PDS tops' only answer was abject capitulation.

The Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands and the Spartakist-Gruppen played a key role in initiating the united-front action at Treptow. Our speakers called there for workers militias and for workers and soldiers soviets to stop the Nazis and prevent the political revolution from being turned into a social counterrevolution. We warned that social democracy was the agency for selling out the DDR. We noted that the struggle for workers soviet rule in the DDR could inspire the workers in the Soviet Union, the prime target of imperialism, to take the same road.

the DDR. The entire capitalist world is drooling at the prospect of devouring the DDR—"Today East Germany, tomorrow Russia." Revolutionary German workers say no!

At a forum in New York on January 26, a Spartacist League speaker summed up: "These bureaucrats are undermining the defense of the DDR. The DDR does not belong to them. The DDR belongs to the workers who built it up. It belongs to the women workers who have a double burden. It belongs also to the foreign-born workers who have made a special contribution. It belongs also to the Red Army soldiers who are standing at their post in the front lines of a fight against imperialism. And it belongs to us, and to all the workers of the world." ■

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From Stalin to Gorbachev

Economic Nationalism Fractures COMECON

Mikhail Gorbachev is the unwitting but effective agent of Wall Street and the Frankfurt banking houses in East Europe. A month ago Mr. Perestroika dropped another economic bombshell on the disintegrating Warsaw Pact alliance. At a meeting of the Soviet-bloc trade organization, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON, also abbreviated CMEA) held in Sofia, Bulgaria, Moscow proposed that all trade be conducted at world-market prices in hard (Western) currencies beginning next year.

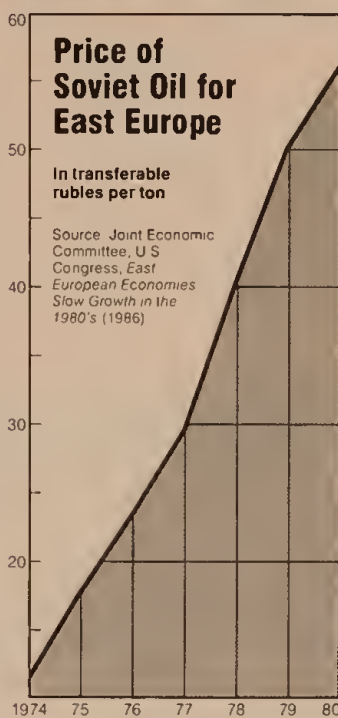
For years the Soviet Union has sold oil to East Europe at well below Persian Gulf prices while accepting in return substandard machinery which couldn't be sold in the West. This was the economic price the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy was willing to pay to maintain Soviet military power and political hegemony east of the Elbe. But now the Gorbachev regime is prepared to accept capitalist counterrevolution from East Germany to Bulgaria to appease Western imperialism.

At the same time, the Russian Stalinists are seeking short-term economic gains at the expense of their East European trade partners. When Soviet prime minister Nikolai Ryzhkov first announced Moscow's new plans for COMECON, the *London Economist* (16 December 1989) wrote:

"Eastern Europe's terms of trade are about to collapse.... If this happens, it would wipe out whole sections of their inefficient heavy industries almost overnight and deal a shock to their economies far greater than the oil price rises in the 1970s dealt to the West."

For those who appreciate irony, the Sofia COMECON conference had its moments of amusing political theater. The new East European regimes most enamored of "free market" economics and Western capitalism screamed bloody murder as the Kremlin Stalinists tried to shove them into the harsh climate of world-market prices and convertible currencies. Czechoslovak prime minister Vladimir Dlouhy, whose government is demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from his country, exclaimed that the "immediate implementation" of Mos-

For Socialist Integration of USSR and East Europe!



Der Spiegel



WV Graphics

Soaring cost of Soviet oil drove East European Stalinist regimes to mortgage their countries to the loan sharks of Wall Street and Frankfurt.

cow's proposal "would be catastrophic for Czechoslovakia." The *Solidarność* prime minister of Poland, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, implored the Russians to postpone radical changes in fuel and raw material pricing for five years. So much for "free market" economics!

The new anti-Communist regimes in Prague, Budapest and Warsaw are here behaving just like their godfathers in the capitalist West. Whenever a financier or industrialist faces bankruptcy, they immediately cry out for the socialization of

their debts. The America of Reagan and Bush has combined socialism for the rich (the \$100 billion plus savings and loan bailout) with private enterprise for the poor (the homeless begging in the streets).

The application of perestroika to COMECON is the greatest economic blow which Gorbachev could have delivered against the defense of the collectivized property in the beleaguered East European countries, above all East Germany. Just a few days after the Sofia

COMECON summit, the East Berlin Volkskammer voted to amend the constitution of the German Democratic Republic (DDR) to allow foreign investment. The easiest way for the DDR to get hard currency to pay for higher-priced Soviet oil and natural gas is to sell off its factories. This has now begun, as the West German Knorr brake manufacturer is buying a 50 percent share of the Berliner Bremsenwerk, which produces railway brakes.

That buyout is directly related to the developments in COMECON. East Germany is the world's largest exporter of passenger trains, mainly to the USSR. Altogether, 66 percent of the DDR's foreign trade is with COMECON. Almost all its raw materials come from the Soviet Union, including 80 percent of its oil, 99 percent of its timber and all its natural gas, as well as much of its iron and nonferrous metals. But with Soviet trade going over to a hard-currency basis, *Kombinat* managers in the DDR are looking to the world (capitalist) market. And now Gorbachev okays the absorption of the DDR by the Deutsche Bank and Ruhr industrialists, declaring that "no one casts any doubt upon" German reunification, thus reversing the Soviet position that this "was not on the agenda."

George Orwell once remarked that Western anti-Communists believed Stalin was diabolically clever while in fact he was short-sighted and opportunistic. These words describe to a tee Stalin's current liberal heir in the Kremlin. Stalin believed he could handle Nazi Germany



Eckstein/Neues Deutschland

Lignite mine in East Germany. To economize on expensive imported oil, Honecker regime switched to poor-quality brown coal which ruins the atmosphere.

through diplomatic maneuvers—first the “popular front” with the “democratic” imperialist powers of West Europe, then the “non-aggression pact” with Hitler. The Soviet people paid for Stalin’s class collaborationism with 20 million dead. Now Gorbachev is paving the way for a Fourth Reich and a new Operation Barbarossa.

From the Stalin Era to the End of “Goulash Communism”

In smashing Hitler’s Operation Barbarossa and destroying Nazi Germany, the Soviet Red Army came to occupy East Europe. The Cold War offensive launched by U.S. imperialism—including numerous threats to A-bomb Russian cities—forced Stalin and his East European followers to carry out *bureaucratically deformed social revolutions*, expropriating capitalist property, in order to secure Soviet military and political control over the region.

In the Stalin era, the East European “People’s Democracies” imitated the Soviet Union on all fronts. Economically, they were characterized by autarky and a drive for self-sufficiency. Foreign trade, even within the Soviet bloc, was held to a minimum. Investment was concentrated in heavy industry at the expense of consumer goods. In Rákosi’s Hungary, for example, 90 percent of all investment went into heavy industry. A totalitarian police-state apparatus enforced a harsh labor discipline as the living standards of both workers and peasants were driven down in the name of “building socialism.”

When the *Vozhd* (Leader) died, East Europe exploded—the East Berlin workers uprising in June 1953, the Polish “October” in 1956, the Hungarian Revolution a few months later. Yet the Stalinist bureaucracies survived these elemental upheavals through a mixture of political demagoguery and military repression. In Poland, Gomulka defused a revolutionary situation by promising the workers democratization and greater national independence. In Hungary, Soviet tanks crushed a bona fide workers political revolution.

But there could be no going back to the Stalin era with its “model” workers, ration cards and constant fear of being victimized by the secret police. Under Khrushchev and later Brezhnev, the Soviet-bloc rulers promised their people a steadily rising living standard, guaranteed employment and a relaxed labor discipline. The period from the late 1950s until the mid-’70s might be called the era of Stalinist consumerism or “goulash Communism,” the term Khrushchev used, approvingly, to describe Janos Kadar’s Hungary. A key factor contributing to the relatively high rates of economic growth in East Europe during the 1960s and early ’70s was access to plentiful and cheap Soviet oil. In fact, factories in East Europe were using far more energy per unit of output than in West Europe, where imported oil was heavily taxed.

In the early ’70s the OPEC/Seven Sisters cartel (i.e., the Saudi monarchy, shah of Iran and Rockefeller empire) manipulated a fourfold increase in the world price of oil. Thus in 1974 the Soviet Union found itself selling oil to its COMECON partners at *less than 30 percent* of what it fetched in West Europe, moreover in dollars and deutschmarks. The Brezhnev regime was torn between a desire to preserve the political and economic stability of its Warsaw Pact allies and the appetite to share in the extortion practiced by the OPEC/Seven Sisters cartel.

The classical British economist David Ricardo explained that the market price of natural resources (he was concerned with English agriculture) deviates from the law of value (i.e., the average labor time required for production). Agricultural and raw material prices are governed by the highest-cost producer for a given level of demand. Ricardo, and following him Marx, termed the windfall

gain between the highest- and lower-cost producers differential ground rent. Ricardo—the most rigorous and rational of all bourgeois economists—advocated *taxing away* all differential ground rent since it makes no contribution to production.

In the early ’70s it cost roughly 50 cents to extract a barrel of oil in the Persian Gulf fields. The world-market price was 40 times that amount and going still higher. The Soviet Union—although extraction costs in Siberia are much higher than in the Near East—has been able to capture a significant part of the differential ground rent generated in the world oil market. The value of Soviet oil and natural gas exports to the advanced capitalist world increased from \$4.5 billion in 1975 to \$21 billion in 1983 (the peak year). The oil price boom partly masked and partly offset the increasing internal weaknesses of the Soviet industrial and agricultural economy in the late 1970s. The massive inflow of petrodollars enabled the Brezhnev regime to greatly improve the diet of Soviet citizens by importing animal fodder for raising beef cattle.

At the same time, the economic nationalism of the Russian Stalinists—under stodgy, conservative Brezhnev—set into motion developments which have now shattered the brittle structures of the East European deformed workers states. Between 1974 and 1980, Moscow increased the price of oil for its COMECON partners by 400 percent while restricting shipments so as to sell more in Western markets. Thus, to fuel their factories the East European regimes had to buy from the bandits of the Persian Gulf and Texas. By the end of the decade, 20 percent of East Europe’s mineral fuel was bought at extortionate world-market prices in hard currency.

During the 1970s the East European Stalinist regimes—Gierek’s Poland, Kadar’s Hungary, Honecker’s East Germany

COMECON meeting in Moscow in 1984. Decision by Kremlin chief Brezhnev (inset) to quadruple oil price for East Europe in the 1970s paved way to economic disintegration of Soviet bloc.



TASS from Sovfoto

—maintained a fragile social peace by offering their people rising consumption levels with total economic security. Thus, when their terms of trade collapsed, these regimes desperately tried to avoid cutting wages, closing down less efficient factories and generating mass unemployment. So Gierek, Kadar, Honecker & Co. mortgaged their countries to the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and Frankfurt. Between 1974 and 1980, East Europe’s debt to Western banks increased *almost fivefold*, from \$12 billion to \$55 billion. And then things really went to hell.

The Economic Disintegration of the Soviet Bloc

Western bankers lent so profligately to East Europe in the belief that Soviet big brother—with its billions of petrodollars—would always bail out any Warsaw Pact ally in financial trouble. The Polish



DDR Export Photos
DDR is world’s largest exporter of passenger trains. Fracturing of COMECON leads to buyout of East Berlin railway brake factory by West German company.

debt crisis of 1980-81 showed that the Russians had no such intention. After Poland’s near default, Wall Street and Frankfurt took a hard line on their East European clients and “reduced their exposure,” as they say on the Street. East Europe became a *net exporter of capital* to West Europe and the U.S. The international loan sharks sucked \$12.5 billion out of these bureaucratically deformed workers states between 1981 and 1983!

Far from cushioning the economic blow from the West, the Kremlin Stalinists added a powerful blow of their own. The fall of the shah and rise of Khomeini in 1979 set off another oil price explosion. Taking advantage of this, the Russians doubled oil prices within COMECON in the early 1980s. Overall, between 1975 and 1982, the Soviet Union improved its terms of trade with Czechoslovakia by over 50 percent,

Der Spiegel

many, which handled the debt/oil crisis most effectively, was still severely damaged by it. In 1980 the DDR had a higher debt per capita than Poland. The Honecker/Mittag regime made a big and successful push to expand its exports to the West while economizing on imported fuel. So East German factories and offices now run on domestically mined lignite, poor-quality brown coal which ruins the atmosphere. More fundamentally, to increase exports without cutting consumption, the Honecker regime sharply *reduced investment in new plant and infrastructure*. The rate of investment fell from 28 percent of national income in 1976 to 21.5 percent a decade later. Thus the DDR’s industrial plant is technologically more antiquated relative to West Germany than it was ten years ago.

Over the past decade, the Russian and East European Stalinists have blamed one another for their worsening economic conditions. Kremlin spokesmen complain that they are not only exporting their valuable fossil fuel at below world prices but accepting payment in transferable rubles, an international currency with the peculiar quality that one cannot always buy anything with it. The East European regimes reply that Moscow is starving them of energy in order to sell more oil to the West.

In turn, the Russians accuse their COMECON partners of selling their top-quality machinery to the West and sending their rejects to the USSR. Oleg Bogomolov, long a leading Soviet spokesman on international economics and now a top Gorbachev adviser, complained that “Soviet imports from its CMEA partners...have contributed little to the strengthening of the engineering potential of the USSR.... The bulk of imported products are not technology-intensive” (USSR Academy of Sciences, *The World Socialist Economy* [1986]). The COMECON partners reply that they have to send their technology-intensive products west, not east, in order to service their hard-currency debts.

Underlying the schism in COMECON is that Soviet natural resources by their very nature meet international standards and are in great demand in the West. In the early ’80s the West European bourgeoisie, even Thatcher’s Britain, defied the Reagan administration to help Brezhnev build a pipeline from the Siberian oil fields. East Europe’s hard-currency exports consist of consumer goods and machinery which are limited by the usual failings of Stalinist mismanagement—poor quality, limited assortment, inflexibility in adjusting to changing market conditions and inadequate servicing (e.g., lack of spare parts). The DDR certainly has the technical capacity to produce an automobile as good as the BMW or Mercedes. But how could East Germany market such a car in the West?

Writing in the mid-1980s, the Hungarian economist Kálmán Pécsi noted the

continued on page 8

COMECON...

(continued from page 7)

"substantial decline in the importance of the USSR's partners in the CMEA and a corresponding rise in the importance of the developed market economies" (*Intra-CMEA Cooperation: Interest Patterns in the Extractive and Energy Industries and Their Future Prospects* [1985]). If "its economic relations with the CMEA Six are no longer beneficial to it," Pécsi asks, then why doesn't the Soviet Union simply stop fuel, energy and materials deliveries to the minor CMEA member countries, or continue them only for hard-currency payment? He answers that this "would have fetched no true advantage at the political level, the level which, more than any other, integrates relations within the CMEA." In other words, the Kremlin leadership was assumed willing to pay the economic price to prevent NATO's nuclear missiles from moving right up to the borders of the Soviet Union.

But with the ascendancy of Mikhail Gorbachev, this is no longer the case. At the onset of perestroika, Gorbachev's mouthpiece Oleg Bogomolov declared that the East European working class had gotten too fat and lazy, and was going to have to work harder for less:

"The experience of the European CMEA countries has shown that even when living standards rise at a sufficiently rapid rate this does not automatically lead to higher labour productivity. On the contrary, increased possibilities for satisfying basic material requirements might lead to an actual slackening of interest in work. That is why the transition to an intensive road of development increasingly involves measures to raise the intensity and quality of work of each employee, the abandonment of egalitarian distribution of resources and wages funds, and a more consistent abiding by the criteria of economic efficiency and profitability."

—The World Socialist Economy

The application of perestroika to East Europe, combined with the powerful pressure of world capitalism, has helped to shatter the Stalinist bureaucracies, disintegrating the postwar Soviet bloc. Yet this disintegration was foreordained by the deformed social revolutions which marked the Kremlin's hegemony over East Europe in the late 1940s.

For International Socialist Planning

It has become commonplace in both East and West to consider Gorbachev the polar opposite of Stalin. Such a view obscures and denies fundamental elements of continuity. From Stalin through Brezhnev to Gorbachev, Soviet economic relations with East Europe have been based on narrow national interest and jealously guarded national autonomy. That is the meaning of Stalin's dogma of "building socialism in one

country," which was counterposed to Lenin and Trotsky's program of world socialist revolution. The nationalist who buried the Communist International was not about to make COMECON into a framework for an internationally planned economy.

Integration of economic resources, from the factories of the DDR to the oil fields of Siberia, was never even considered. Even joint projects between two Soviet-bloc countries have been few and far between. From its formation in 1949 to the present day, trade within COMECON has essentially had the form of bilateral barter.

For the first 14 years of COMECON's existence, no mechanism even existed for multilateral trade. If, for example, Hungary ran a surplus with Poland in a given year, the resulting trade credit could only be used to purchase Polish goods. Thus every COMECON member was forced to balance its trade with every other member since otherwise surpluses amounted to a net loss of resources.

technically advanced machinery and food grains from the West, the latter to service their debts to Wall Street and Frankfurt bankers. So over the years billions of worthless transferable rubles have accumulated in accounts in Moscow's International Bank for Economic Cooperation. The fiasco of the transferable ruble demonstrates that the integration of trade among socialized economies is impossible without integrated planning of production and investment.

From its inception COMECON trade has been based on world-market prices with a time lag and subject to adjustment in specific cases. Not only are world-market prices grossly distorted by cartels, speculation and capitalist protectionism, more fundamentally, they bear no relation to the costs of production within the Soviet bloc. In the '60s some rational-minded Soviet and East European economists proposed that COMECON develop an independent price structure reflecting relative production costs in the region. This eminently sensible and equitable

ket, the United States and Japan.

Leon Trotsky, who in 1922 stood together with Lenin against Stalin's attempts to undermine the state monopoly of foreign trade, fought against illusions of building socialism in isolation from the world market. In his 1925 pamphlet, *Toward Capitalism or Socialism?*, Trotsky wrote: "In foreign trade, as conducted by the state, which elastically supplements the work of national industry and domestic commerce, we possess a mighty tool for the acceleration of our economic defense." At the same time, he noted, becoming part of the world market posed dangers as well as advantages, due to "the present immense productive superiority of world capitalism as compared with us." His answer was to seek the victory of proletarian revolution throughout Europe:

"It is obvious that a merging of the economy of the Soviet Union with the economy of a Soviet Europe would victoriously solve the question of the comparative coefficients of socialist and capitalist production, however great might be



Bisson/Sygma



Szulecki/NY Times

Polish Solidarność-led government seeks to restore capitalism with economic "shock treatment" dictated by Western bankers. Left: 1988 workers' protest against plans to shut Gdansk's Lenin Shipyards. Soup kitchen in Warsaw run by Red Cross now feeds hundreds daily.

In the heyday of the Khrushchev/Brezhnev era in the 1960s, there was a lot of talk about "socialist economic integration." In 1963, COMECON introduced the "transferable ruble," a new international currency to be used in all transactions among member countries. There was only one catch. COMECON members did not have to sell anything to any other member no matter how many transferable rubles they offered. Soviet trade officials had no intention of shipping more oil to East Germany just because the DDR ran a trade surplus with Hungary. And East Berlin bureaucrats were certainly not going to send their high-quality machine tools to Budapest factories just because Hungary ran a surplus with Poland.

Both the Soviet and East European regimes have given priority to hard-currency exports, the former to buy

proposal never went beyond research institute seminars.

Why not? Because the Stalinist bureaucracies are deeply nationalist, and naturally they don't trust their "socialist" trading partners. They all believe in "building socialism in their country." The Kremlin wouldn't dream of giving the East Germans any control over the prices of its petroleum exports. In turn, the East Berlin *Bonzen* were not going to allow the Muscovites to influence what they charge for electrical machinery. So the USSR and the DDR trade oil and machinery on terms set by the Rockefeller empire and Siemens! As we've said: Stalin gave central planning a bad name. What's needed is internationally integrated central economic planning under the rule of workers' soviet democracy.

During the Brezhnev period, an effort was made to achieve a reasonable economic division of labor within the Soviet bloc, overcoming the extreme autarky of the Stalin era. However, since there was no pooling of investment resources, the results were often grossly inefficient and irrational. In the 1970s Czechoslovakia—a small country of 15 million people—was reputed to produce 80 percent of all the different types of machine tools in the world! Obviously, production runs were far too small to afford economies of scale or application of the most advanced technology.

The socialist economic integration of the Soviet Union and East Europe would not only vastly improve productivity but would counter the destructive pressure of world capitalism. We are not here advocating economic autarky for the Soviet bloc as a whole—a version of Stalin's old notion of "two world markets." As long as capitalism has not yet been overthrown in its main centers, workers states should certainly take maximal advantage of the international division of labor. And here a single economic administration, speaking for the Soviet Union and East Europe, would have enormous leverage in commercial and financial dealings with the West European Common Mar-

the resistance offered by America. And it may be doubted whether this resistance would be of long duration."

Decades of Stalinist oppression, mismanagement and conflicting nationalisms have now shattered the Soviet bloc. Western imperialism sees itself realizing John Foster Dulles' program of "rolling back Communism" to the borders of the Soviet Union and beyond. Yet Soviet workers and collective farmers must be horrified at the prospect of facing NATO's missiles on the Polish border and a reborn German Fourth Reich. At the same time, millions of workers in East Europe, especially the DDR, want to defend collectivized property and build a genuinely socialist society. In Poland, the workers are desperately resisting the Solidarność-led government's drive to restore capitalism through the kind of economic "shock treatment" carried out by Latin American juntas on orders from Wall Street.

Only by sweeping away the Stalinist betrayers through proletarian political revolution from the factories of East Berlin to the Siberian coal mines and oil fields can the working people of the Soviet Union and East Europe save themselves from the horrors of capitalist restoration. ■

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Waterfront Bosses, Feds Target ILA

At midnight on January 20, 2,000 longshoremen caught steamship bosses and Port of Baltimore authorities by surprise, as they shut down the key Mid-Atlantic port. The four locals were pulled out for three days by the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) tops in New York after the bosses tried to scuttle provisions of the master contract. But what really gored the capitalists' ox was when ILA locals in other ports refused to handle struck cargo diverted from Baltimore.

For years the capitalists have been whipsawing ILA locals against each other, particularly Baltimore against the Port of Hampton Roads (Norfolk, Portsmouth and Newport News, Virginia). In October, the ILA bureaucracy extended the master contract until December 1990, the same expiration date as the ILWU on the West Coast. Individual locals were left to go it alone. In Baltimore, goaded by the rabidly anti-labor Maryland governor William Donald Schaefer, the bosses went for deep job cuts from checkers organized in Local 953, pitting them against the majority of longshoremen in Local 333 who were promised a small increase in size on some crews. The state wants to break the power of the local ILA, as the port prepares to open the new Seagirt Marine rail, truck and container ship facility, eliminating hundreds of longshore jobs.

Despite the solidarity shown by the other ports, the ILA International tops quickly folded, sending Baltimore back after three days. A checker told the *Baltimore Sun* (25 January), "We were made to eat this contract." Scores of checkers' jobs were cut and safety rules wiped out. Shippers are gloating they will save millions of dollars in labor costs. The checkers continue to fight a rearguard battle with actions on the job.

From Canada to the Gulf, the ILA is fighting a battle for its life. In Montreal, the 1,000-member Local 375 split from the International in November. In New York, almost one-quarter of the entire longshore membership opted for early retirement this fall, giving the bosses a \$50 million windfall. And in the hard-hit, heavily black Gulf ports, the longshoreman "has become an endangered labor species" (New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 15 October 1989).



Militant garment strikers picket Domsey Trading Corporation in Brooklyn, February 2.

With the joint expiration date for longshore unions on both coasts this fall, it's not an accident that the feds are preparing to descend on the ILA with a union-busting RICO suit. Like the trusteeship of the Teamsters, the government's case has nothing to do with "cleaning up the unions." From the Waterfront Commission established in the 1950s to the feds' vendetta against Tony Scotto, the "anti-racketeering" campaign is a cover for the capitalists' assault on the ILA's social power. Nine times in 40 years the Democrats and Republicans alike have invoked Taft-Hartley to break ILA strikes. Feds hands off the ILA!

Longshoremen have real power. When the ILA struck East Coast ports in October 1986, it shook Wall Street and Washington, and inspired millions of working people and minorities to see a union fight the givebacks. But the union bureaucracy folded in the face of the government's threats. Last spring hundreds of longshoremen in Wilmington, North Carolina and Savannah, Georgia mobilized and stopped a non-union barge operator. Other unionists turned out in force to back the ILA, defending this bastion of black labor power in the

racist "open shop" South. What is desperately needed is a class-struggle leadership that will use labor's muscle to smash the anti-labor laws and defend the interests of the workers and all the oppressed.

Victory to Brooklyn Garment Workers Strike!

Two hundred determined workers fighting for a union threw up picket lines outside the Domsey Trading Corporation in Brooklyn on January 30. Domsey, a clothing distributor and warehouse, fired workers after they filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board for union representation last December. The strikers, overwhelmingly Haitian immigrants, have kept up militant pickets for hours, chanting "union power" and singing songs of workers' struggles. The Domsey strike is a key test of union organizing in the garment sweatshops of New York City. The big NYC unions must beef up the picket lines now! Victory to the Domsey workers strike!

Giles Robinson, a union activist who was fired after 27 years at Domsey, told *Workers Vanguard* that most workers are paid only \$3.75 per hour, with few benefits. Company harassment of workers is so bad that they must beg for permission to use the filthy bathrooms, and everyone is labeled and addressed by company numbers. Workers who leave their number tag at home are fined. Robinson said that they had to strike, "because these guys, the Domsey bosses, wouldn't answer to anything else."

An organizing drive is long overdue. The Williamsburg and Bushwick sections of Brooklyn are home to scores of sweatshops, where over 5,000 mostly Hispanic garment workers labor in horrible conditions. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) filed in January for elections at 30 factories with 1,500 workers, the most aggressive organizing drive it has undertaken in years.

To break up the sweatshop conditions will require a class-struggle fight with some real labor solidarity for the ILGWU. Thus far only the Domsey workers are on strike. They must be joined on the picket line by the other shops, and by the Teamsters, transit and hospital workers and the rest of NYC labor, with picket lines that nobody will dare cross! ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

Correctional Institution had been untouched by the prison disturbances, Delbert Africa was hustled off from there to the federal detention center at Fort Gordon, Georgia. On November 1, they came for Chuck. His letter continues:

"I was being beat by sadistic goons all the while and finally thrown in the back of the prison bus and immediately grabbed by a guard by the ankles and from behind I could hear Cywinski calling me 'niggers' and saying 'we finally got ya chuckie.' He started to put a huge chain around my waist (sounds like slavery days?) and pulled it as tight as he could and beat me some more in the legs and shoulders. He then went around to my front and grabbed the leg irons from the other maniac and began to clamp down on my ankles as tight as they could go!! My circulation was cut off. I was then moved to a back seat closer to the front and beat some more on the right shoulder by Cywinski.... He punched me in the face as I defied him with my words. He actually began to foam at the mouth and hit me in the shoulder and finally on my right thigh bruising it before he was taken away by another goon. —About 1 hour later upon arrival at Lewisburg I had to be carried off the bus because the leg irons were so tight, prohibiting me from walking."

Chuck was finally shipped off to Lompoc, California, 3,000 miles from his family, friends and supporters. MOVE is asking for regular letters of solidarity to be sent to: Charles Sims Africa, No. 41793-066, U.S. Penitentiary, 3901 Klein Blvd., Lompoc, CA 93436; William Phillips Africa, No. 41685-066, and Edward Goodman Africa, No. 42079-066, P.O. Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048; and Delbert Orr Africa, Reg. No. 42259-066, Federal Detention Center, Box 8090, Fort Gordon, GA 30905.

But while the state keeps tightening

the screws, support for MOVE's freedom continues to grow. In a startling development in December, Philadelphia's Managing Director, James White, the Philadelphia *Daily News* and others called for the release of the imprisoned MOVE members. It is urgent to step up the fight. Free all MOVE prisoners now!

* * *

On February 15 the case of Geronimo ji jaga (Pratt) will be back in U.S. district court. The government is seeking dismissal of the lawsuit, *Pratt v. Rowland*, filed by PDC counsel Valerie West and Pratt's long-time lawyer Stuart Hanlon, to challenge the retaliatory transfer of Pratt first to Folsom and then Tehachapi prison and to remove from his prison file the life-threatening lies that brand him a "cop killer" and "escape risk" (see "California Prison Vendetta Against Pratt Continues," WV No. 487, 13 October 1989). The suit also demands his parole and prison classification status be changed.

For nearly 19 years Geronimo has been locked up for a crime the government knows he did not commit. But Pratt is not alone. California Congressman Ron Dellums has introduced House Resolutions calling for Geronimo's freedom, and thousands around the world have sent letters in his support. On 6 November 1989 International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6 passed the following motion:

"ILWU Local 6 again goes on record demanding the release of Geronimo Pratt. He is an innocent man, framed for fighting for his beliefs, fighting against racism, and attempting to empower people in their search for social and economic justice."

For all those who support Geronimo's fight for freedom, the time to act is now! Join the PDC in taking Geronimo's cause to the labor movement. Raise motions in

your unions and organizations. Pack the courtroom on February 15. Free Geronimo Now!

* * *

We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a

sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Atlanta Rally

Abolish the Death Penalty!

Stop Racist "Legal" Lynchings!

Speakers

Bernard Branche,
Partisan Defense Committee

Tyrone Brooks, Member,
Georgia House of Representatives*

Hasan Crockett, Member, Ujamaa
Society, Clark Atlanta University*

Pat Gillard, Executive Director,
Clearinghouse on Georgia
Prisons and Jails*

Michael Mears, Attorney at Law

At Hajj Wali Akbar Muhammad,
former editor of *Muhammad Speaks*,
Research Director, The Brandon
Institute*

Virginia H. Ramsey, Hospital
Chairperson, AFSCME Local 1644*

J.C. Reynolds, President, Amalgamated
Transit Union Local 732*

Linda Riggins, President, SEIU Local 679*

Monica Russo, Organizer, ACTWU*

*Organization for identification purposes only

Saturday, February 24, 2:00 p.m.

M.L. King, Jr. Community Center

450 Auburn Avenue

across from the
M.L. King Center

For information contact
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 3132, Atlanta, GA 30302
(404) 659-0251

D.C. Mayor...

(continued from page 12)

to civil rights. And Marion Barry is the fall guy.

Sex, Drugs and Videotape

Republican columnist William Safire blasted Bush's Justice Department chief, Richard Thornburgh, for encouraging the government to go into the sex business. The FBI apparently coerced a woman with a police record (and currently under threat of prosecution) to engage in sexual acts which stopped just short of prostitution.

"What do you suppose went through the target's mind? Did the Mayor see in this call a chance to traffic in illegal drugs? Far more likely, given their long personal relationship, her continuing good looks, and the key fact that she was never known to be a drug dealer, he hurried over predisposed to engage in what we privacy types like to call consensual noncriminal activity....

"Thus was American justice introduced to the Thornburgh Rule: Intimidation of informants to engage in federally funded sexual enticement is an acceptable investigative procedure."

—*"The Lady in Red," New York Times*, 26 January

Safire cited the DeLorean case, in which "the jury found the prosecution's methods so repugnant that it found a defendant manipulated into a videotaped crime to be not guilty."

John DeLorean is the maverick auto-maker who broke with General Motors and published a book exposing GM management practices and the British government of Margaret Thatcher. In 1982 DeLorean badly needed a hunk of cash to keep his fledgling sports car company in Belfast, Northern Ireland afloat. So the government set him up with a suitcase of cocaine in a hotel room in L.A. We noted then that the FBI's use of entrapment had mushroomed beginning under Democrat Carter with the ABCAM (for "Arab Scam") sting targeting Congress:

"Using the techniques refined and honed against the left for decades, the FBI's full-scale launching of criminal enticement operations is a very conscious



Dan Wasserman

"Queen of sting," former fashion model Rasheeda Moore, used by FBI to lure the mayor. Who would "just say no"?



Little/Sigma

Washington, ordering mass evictions of blacks from housing projects. Elite squads of paramilitary troops brandishing assault rifles stormed apartments, ordering residents to haul their beds, sofas and TVs out onto the street.

Bennett had declared Washington the "test case" of the "war on drugs." So far no one has noted much impact on the drug trade in the District, which now has the highest murder rate in the country. Yet three days after the Barry bust, Bennett went on TV with a new battle plan focusing on a half-dozen "high intensity drug trafficking areas," not including D.C. Why? Because the whole purpose of targeting Washington was to get Mayor Barry.

Bush's "War on Drugs" Targets Blacks

We wrote last spring (WV No. 479, 9 June 1989):

"Under the guise of a 'war on drugs,' they're trying to run America's inner cities like a police state. SWAT teams sweep through housing projects daily, paramilitary 'task forces' carry out mass evictions of 'drug suspects' and their families.... Ultimately, it's a plan to put black America under martial law."

In interviews with blacks after Barry was busted, the *New York Times* (21 January) reported the sentiment that the mayor was a victim of "a racial conspiracy bent

accounting for two-thirds of the city budget, unless the D.C. city council rescinded a bill requiring insurance companies to cover AIDS victims, revised its Human Rights Act so that religious educational institutions like Georgetown could deny funds to gay groups, and prohibited federal or local funding of abortions for the poor.

Now the racist ruling class feels that if they have to have black figureheads in local government, they want one that's more "in tune" with their priorities. Many would like to get Jesse Jackson as mayor. Jackson was the black point man for Nancy Reagan's "Just Say No" campaign with his reactionary line about how dope has killed more people than the lynch rope. Many mainstream white Democratic pols like the idea of Jackson for D.C. mayor, in the hopes that it would remove him from the '92 presidential campaign. But Jackson doesn't look like he'll bite. He told A.M. Rosenthal:

"The mayoralty of Washington has zero political leverage. It would be, for me, a burden without authority, a platform to address the drug problem but without tools."

—*New York Times*, 25 January

The Republicans, meanwhile, are talking about Maurice Turner, the former D.C. police chief, to be a kind of Chief Buthe-lezi and run Washington like a South African bantustan.

Crisis of Black Leadership

Marion Barry has always been an easy target. A perennial bon vivant, he narrowly escaped the sex/drug witchhunters any number of times. Not only Reagan reactionaries but in particular the liberal *Washington Post* has been on his case for years. But the aura of corruption surrounding his administration is hardly different from the sleaze factor on Capitol Hill or in the White House. From the standpoint of the working class, his crimes have nothing to do with any alleged drug use or "womanizing." Marion Barry, who has repeatedly been elected with the support of real estate interests, is a black front man for racist reaction, a willing tool of capitalist rule over the poor and working people.

In this city where the high-powered lawyers and government bigwigs sit down to their "power lunches," the homeless sit listlessly in the doorways of glitzy offices, begging, starving and freezing to death. While yuppies spend hundreds of thousands of dollars to fix up old townhouses, the working poor and unemployed they displaced wait years to get into dilapidated housing projects. Marion Barry consistently refused to implement a 1984 ballot initiative which requires the city to provide overnight shelter for every homeless person who seeks it. Eventually a court ordered that the homeless be allowed to stay overnight in the District Building, where they have been dumped.

The common coin of bourgeois politics is hypocrisy. So Marion Barry went parading through the neighborhoods chanting "Down with dope, up with hope" and the rest of the "drug war" hype. Last May, Barry personally went

along with the SWAT teams that busted into the black projects and threw hundreds out into the street for "suspected drug use," their mattresses and furniture ruined in the pouring rain. Barry led the pack in setting up the witchhunt atmosphere in D.C. unions, where drug tests are used to terrify and regiment workers. The week after Barry was arrested, the city council ordered a renewed "drug probe" into the municipal workforce.

The mayor is fond of reminding people of his past as a civil rights activist. But in 1982 Barry skipped town when the KKK threatened to march in Washington. It was the Spartacist League which initiated the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Klan in their tracks. Chief Turner's cops tried to surround the anti-Klan demonstrators and seal them off. And D.C. Congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy organized a "free cheese" giveaway to try to divert black people from stopping the lynchers.

The Barry debacle highlights the crisis of black leadership across the country. The liberal civil rights movement foundered when it came North to confront not just Jim Crow discrimination but the poverty and oppression that is rooted in the bedrock of racist American capitalism. While many black militants were shot down by the cops or thrown into jail on trumped-up charges, others who were willing to play the bourgeois political shell game were co-opted. Militant rhetoric of "black power" was turned into "empowerment" as they feathered their own nests. Barry was one of the earliest of this crew who offered their services to the ruling class as black overseers to police the seething ghettos. Now his masters are cracking the whip.

As Jesse Jackson remarked to Rosenthal, the mayor of Washington has "zero political leverage." But that is the condition of all the black mayors, whether it's Coleman Young presiding over the decay of Detroit for Henry Ford II, or slick Andy Young who ran Atlanta for Coca-Cola, or Maynard Jackson who calls out the cops and troops to protect the Klan while they parade their racist filth over Martin Luther King's grave and in his earlier term broke the black sanitation workers strike. Now the ruling class is turning to "new moderate" black mayors and governors, like Douglas Wilder in Virginia and David Dinkins in New York. And meanwhile, there has been a wave of racist terror around the country, from pipe-bombers in the South to killer cops in NYC.

As we have written, the "war on drugs" has little to do with stopping drug trafficking, and a lot to do with the regimentation of American society. Laws which criminalize drugs and bound those who use them are inherently reactionary, and they don't reduce addiction or drug-related crime. The social pathology of ghetto oppression is a product of the entrenched poverty, permanent joblessness and hopelessness produced by this racist system. The urgent need is for a leadership that can mobilize the black and Hispanic ghetto masses behind the power of the working class in an integrated fight for socialist revolution—the only road to black emancipation. ■



Washington, D.C., November 1982: 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by Spartacist League stopped the KKK.

attempt to intimidate and terrorize potentially influential political opponents, even within the range of bourgeois politics. The DeLorean case is a continuation of the purposes of the ABCAM operation, designed to prove *nobody* is safe from the FBI if they decide to get you."

—WV No. 360, 3 August 1984

The government operation against the D.C. mayor intensified with Bush's move to the White House and appointment of William Bennett as "drug czar." As Reagan's Education Secretary, Bennett tried to stop teaching about the Holocaust in the schools. Bennett has called for concentration camps for drug users, the death penalty for "drug-related" murders in D.C. and a program to put the black ghettos under martial law. Last spring, Bennett launched his "drug war" on

silencing black leaders across the United States." In particular, the white ruling class is acutely aware that Washington is a 70 percent black city. Ever since the 1968 ghetto explosion following the assassination of Martin Luther King, they have worried that they can't militarily control their own capital in a crisis.

So they granted D.C. a measure of "home rule" and brought in Walter Washington and then ex-SNCC activist Marion Barry to cool things out. But the black majority "government" of Washington is essentially powerless, and they mean to keep it that way. The last time they went after Barry, in late 1988, Congressional bigots were threatening to cut off the flow of federal funds,

Black City, Imperialist Capital

A Tale of Two Washingtons

Using the excuse of the "war on drugs," President Bush and his point man "drug czar" William Bennett have been taking aim at the 70 percent black District of Columbia and its limited "home rule." It rankles the American ruling class that the strongest imperialist power in the world is so dependent upon black people in its seat of power. In Washington, blacks do the work that turns the wheels of government—from secretaries and file clerks to postal workers and office maintenance crews. And for the past decade and a half, the racist rulers have had to allow a pretense of democracy in D.C. local government.

White racists, be they in the government or the surrounding Maryland or Virginia suburbs, are irked by home rule. At Christmastime, 1988, a conservative activist and ex-staffer for the Reagan administration, Myron McKee, put onto the market a grotesque board game called "Home Roulette." The game referred to the District Building, which houses the mayor's office, as the "Big Watermelon." The box top asked: "What happens when a coalition of welfare entrepreneurs, black supremacists, radical homosexuals and common criminals take over the local government of the national capital city?"

But the racist conspiracy is not a game. Beginning under Ed Meese and now Richard Thornburgh, the "Justice" Department has been going after black mayor Marion Barry with a vengeance, and now they have set him up to bring him down (see back page). The Bush administration would doubtless like to return to the days when a troika of commissioners appointed by the president ran the city. As Barbara Bush said last spring, "everyone" (in her social set) is ready to "get our city back."

Washington, D.C. has always been a divided city. On the one hand, it is the seat of national government, with its gleaming monuments to bourgeois rule. On the other hand, Washington is also in a certain sense the capital of black America. It has a significant black middle class and the highest median income for blacks in the country. It is the site of the premier black college, Howard Univer-

sity. It has also been home to the disenfranchised slaves and black workers who helped build the city and make it run.

Washington was designed on a grand scale as a showpiece for the young American democratic republic. But America was never a democracy for blacks. It was conceived at a 1783 meeting of Congress in Philadelphia which was disrupted by a large body of disgruntled soldiers demanding back pay.

astronomer Benjamin Banneker was chosen to survey the land that became the District of Columbia. After completing this project, Banneker felt compelled to rebuke the man who had signed his letter of appointment, Thomas Jefferson, for saying that blacks were "void of mental endowments." In the early 19th century foreign dignitaries in Washington were shocked and revolted by the sight of bound and chained black slaves on

Vanguard Press



Black ghetto in shadow of Capitol in the 1940s (below). Racist ruling class enforced rigid Jim Crow segregation.



National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital

Afterward, some Congressmen proposed a federal city where they could conduct business without being disrupted by popular protest. George Washington picked the actual site of the city, situated well below the Mason-Dixon Line, carved out of the slave states of Maryland and Virginia and quite near his own huge plantation at Mt. Vernon.

The brilliant black mathematician and

their way to the slave market. A little more than a stone's throw from the Capitol, built by black labor, were the slave pens, at the site where the Smithsonian Institution now stands.

The Civil War, which smashed slavery throughout the South, also opened up opportunities for blacks in Washington, including increased educational opportunities and the right to vote. But with

the defeat of Reconstruction, the limited home rule was squashed, and not regained for another 90 years. D.C. was about one-third black at this point, and remained so until the end of World War II. In the 1940s and '50s, the rigid pattern of segregation began to break down in the face of protest. Blacks could enjoy the use of recreational and eating facilities that had been denied them, the separate school systems were merged, and many jobs in government were opened up to blacks. These advances drew more blacks, and also contributed to racist "white flight" from the city.

The 1960 census showed Washington to be majority black. But in the minds of most residents, black and white, D.C. became a black town at the time of the 1968 ghetto conflagration triggered by the assassination of Martin Luther King. Black lives were lost and black neighborhoods were burned down, never to be rebuilt, but the white capitalist politicians looking out of the Capitol windows to see the spiraling smoke only a few blocks away felt as if they had lost the whole city. Black pressure forced Congress to pass various "home rule" enactments. D.C. residents were allowed to vote for president in 1964, for a non-voting delegate to Congress in 1971, and for mayor and city council in 1974.

Back in the days of Jim Crow, Dixiecrats like Mississippi Senator Bilbo ran the city from Congressional committees like it was their Delta plantation. Now Jesse Jackson is campaigning for D.C. statehood, saying "Washington is the last colony." (What about Puerto Rico?) The Spartacist League has supported bills to give Washington voting Congressional representation. But the bourgeois rulers want to turn D.C. into a police state. The desperate and worsening plight of black Washington will not be solved by electing Jackson mayor or senator. Only a multiracial revolutionary workers party, leading the oppressed ghetto masses, can wage a fight against the racist capitalist system and open a future for thousands of black youth and homeless now consigned to lives of misery in D.C.'s dilapidated projects and devastated streets. ■

Avianca...

(continued from page 12)

and was saving money to bring his family here; he died in the crash. His brother told *Newsday* (3 February), "We feel we've been discriminated against." One victim's family has already filed a lawsuit charging "a possible coverup" by the Federal Aviation Administration and the controllers union.

Murdered by "Flow Management"

The flight was victimized first of all by the FAA's "flow management," a bureaucratic non-solution for the problem of a severe shortage of qualified controllers. In order to prevent an overwhelming stack-up of planes in one location, planes at distant airports are held on the ground if delays due to weather, say, are anticipated, and planes are put in holding patterns along the way. However, this system does not take into account international flights, which cannot be held at foreign airports.

Flight 52 got caught in "flow management"; it was held for 16 minutes over Norfolk, then again 27 minutes further north, then delayed another 46 minutes 40 miles south of Kennedy. Finally at 8:46 p.m. a crew member told controllers "we need priority" in landing, and when queried by the regional controller as to how long he could hold his position, Flight 52 answered, "about five minutes

...that's all we can do." He also noted he could not make the alternate airport at Boston because "we would run out of fuel" (*New York Times*, 30 January).

It was at this point that the plane was handed over to the local controllers at Garden City, who put Flight 52 on the queue for landing without any priority. Finally at 9:24 the plane got to make its first attempt at landing but missed. It was too late to make another.

Flight 52 consumed nearly 90 minutes of fuel in holding patterns, apparently all its reserves. Now the FAA investigators are trying to shift all of the blame onto the 52-year-old pilot, Laureano Caviedes Hoyos, who had flown with Avianca since 1962 and who died in the crash. (His family's lawyer, F. Lee Bailey, has filed a \$2 billion lawsuit against the FAA to defend his honor.) We are told he never uttered the word "emergency" to ground controllers, which would have triggered a mandatory priority landing, though there was a "sense of urgency" in the voices of the crew talking to controllers (*New York Post*, 3 February).

Even the *New York Times* (29 January) admits that many good pilots are reluctant to formally declare an emergency because they could have their license suspended if the FAA claims it wasn't necessary. So controllers often have to "pick up subtle tones in a pilot's voice in such situations"—as apparently happened to the West German jet a week after the Avianca crash. Perhaps the pilot was a bit misled by the notoriously inac-

curate fuel gauges on his 23-year-old Boeing 707. At any rate, these speculations are diversions from the main questions: how was the message "lost," and why aren't there enough air controllers?

The National Transportation Safety Board, which conducts scientific analyses of air crashes, is often more honest than the cover-up artists of the FAA, which is supposed to enforce safety rules but is paralyzed by anti-labor political appointees. NTSB member Lee Dickinson came closer to the truth: "It was an intense evening.... The weather was bad, and they had a shortage of controllers" (*New York Times*, 29 January). Indeed, an anonymous controller told the *Times* the next day that there were only three controllers at the local center to monitor flights to Kennedy whereas normally "there should be six or seven."

Given the nightmarish working conditions and high cost of living in the New York region, the shortages are particularly acute here. For instance, the New York regional control center at Ronkonkoma, Long Island, had 500 fully certified controllers before the 1981 strike, but today has only 168, despite the fact that they handle 1,000 more planes per day now! The local Garden City center has seen its fully certified controller staff drop to less than half of its original 210. No wonder that a Government Accounting Office survey of controllers released last year showed that a majority felt "they are handling too many planes during busy periods, work too many hours

and are hampered by outdated equipment" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 26 May 1989). The survey revealed that nationwide there were 3,300 fewer fully qualified controllers than in 1981. We say: rehire the fired PATCO controllers!

Flight 52 was a victim of the Reagan/Bush war on labor, but it may also have been a victim of the "war on drugs." The White House sets the moral tone for the country, and the latest message is: non-white peoples have no rights if they fit the "profile" of "drug traffickers." So the U.S. invaded Panama in order to kidnap its president Noriega, who had a falling-out with his CIA drug-running pals. And just the other day the U.S. Coast Guard routinely shot up a Cuban-chartered freighter in international waters off Mexico because "the ship fit a Coast Guard profile of a possible drug-running vessel" (*New York Times*, 1 February).

Back in the late '30s, President Roosevelt looked upon Avianca as a nest of Nazi saboteurs simply because they had German pilots who he feared would bomb the Panama Canal, so he pressured the Colombian government into getting all the German pilots fired. Ten years ago, when Soviet-bashing was in, air controllers in New York deliberately disappeared the identification tag on the radar screen for an Aeroflot jet carrying the Soviet ambassador to the U.S., Anatoly Dobrynin, endangering his life. So we have to ask: was Flight 52's message "lost" because someone figured it was just a bunch of "drug traffickers"? ■

Racist Sting Entraps D.C. Mayor

So they finally got Marion Barry. After eight years, millions of dollars and hundreds of thousands of manhours of FBI agents' "investigations," they pulled a sting operation to set up and bring down the mayor of Washington, D.C. It was blatant entrapment. It was the imperialist arrogance of the Bush gang which figures it can get away with doing anything to anybody, from the invasion of Panama and attempted murder of Manuel Noriega to eliminating the black mayor of black Washington—all in the name of the phony "war on drugs." "Barry had become a sort of black Noriega," the London *Guardian* (27 January) quoted one Washington observer.

Almost half of all Washingtonians believe that the feds were "out to get Marion Barry any way they could," reported one poll. As black Washington seethed, the White House and its minions celebrated. "If you had a party and invited all the guys who worked these Barry cases since the 1970s, you'd have to book a big room," said one former FBI man, adding: "Maybe we'll have it at the Vista," where Barry was busted (*Washington Post*, 21 January). The article summed up the FBI's decade-long pursuit of the mayor:

"Agents sorted through the mayor's American Express bills, staked out his house, examined his signature on city contracts, analyzed his bank accounts, checked his tax returns, verified his campaign contributions, even subpoenaed two pairs of shoes he denied receiving from a city contractor."

And not just the FBI. In the past year alone, no less than five government agencies launched "investigations" into the mayor's private life—both on the U.S. mainland and in the Virgin Islands. In all this scrutiny, the mayor was not named



Washington, D.C. mayor Marion Barry, victim of bipartisan racist vendetta, after federal court arraignment on January 19.

or implicated in a single indictment. So then came the sting, or the first one that worked. "We talked about how the easiest way to get Barry was with a woman," said one "high-level law enforcement source."

It was a classic CIA-style honey trap. They get a stunningly beautiful model, Rasheeda Moore, an old friend of the

mayor, to act as bait. She lures him to a "party" in a wired room in the Vista Hotel, and after plying him with cognac, offers a cocaine pipe. She goes next door, gets the crack from the feds, and brings it back. Barry falls for it, whereupon the agents bust in. What was he supposed to do when a gorgeous former girlfriend comes on to him, "just say

no"? Would you? Maybe George Bush would, but what does that say about him?

Consider the racist arrogance of it all. Compare what they did to Marion Barry with Ollie North, whose CIA/NSC "enterprise" ran drugs for the Medellín cartel. And after they got Barry, they tried and convicted him in the media. First humiliating the mayor, dragging him down to FBI headquarters for hair, blood and urine samples before taking him to the D.C. cops for booking, camera shutters clicking all the way. In the next week, federal prosecutor Jay Stephens gave an estimated two dozen lengthy interviews. Stephens obviously wasn't worried about pretrial publicity prejudicing his case in court, *because they don't expect to win on this in court*. After all, what have they got on Barry? Exactly one count of possession, a *misdemeanor*. And then they'd have to get a Washington jury to convict. So they've set up a grand jury fishing expedition. And they want to force him out of office through threats and intimidation.

It's no accident that the sting came four days before Barry was to announce he was seeking a fourth term in office. Both Republicans and Democrats want to get rid of him. Central to Bush's drug witchhunt is to go after the user, not just the seller, and Barry's arrest is a signal that all blacks are fair game, including those who have "made it" such as high-profile professional athletes and politicians. The Democrats are even bigger pushers of the drug war as they court the racist vote, whipping up fear of crime, while simultaneously appealing to black concern over the scourge of drug addiction among ghetto youth. The "war on drugs" has replaced lip service

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Avianca Crash No Accident

Avianca Flight 52 from Colombia was making its second approach to Kennedy airport on the evening of January 25 when it suddenly disappeared from radar and crashed into a woody hillside on Long Island, killing 73 of 158 people on board. "There were bodies on top of bodies," reported one rescuer, who managed to pull a half-dozen children from the wreckage alive. Eyewitnesses note the plane fell silently and broke up without igniting any fire, indicating that it had simply run out of fuel.

Indeed, partially released transcripts already reveal the crew had been pleading for a "priority" landing because of a fuel shortage, but somehow this message was "lost" by controllers during the "handoff" from the regional control center to the local center at Garden City. A week later, the same thing almost happened again when a West German LTU charter jet, owned by Lufthansa, landed at Kennedy with only six minutes of fuel left, apparently saved by a controller who gave it an emergency landing even

though the pilot had not formally declared one.

The kindest thing that can be said is that the controller workforce is notoriously understaffed and overworked, and the criminal responsible for this is Ronald Reagan, who crippled the system in 1981 by permanently firing 11,000 PATCO strikers. But given that this plane came from the Colombian city of Medellín, which the American news media has by now equated with "drug cartel" in the popular consciousness, one cannot ignore the man-on-the-street opinion of many Colombians living in New York "that drug-related discrimination had...kept Avianca Flight 52 from a safe landing" (*New York Times*, 31 January).

Avianca, operating in one of the most mountainous countries of the world, is well known for its excellent safety record since it was founded by German flying aces in 1919. And this was a plane filled with poor working people, such as 38-year-old Eldiberto Huertas, who worked for a laundry service in Queens

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Wreckage of Avianca Flight 52. Over 70 died—victims of Reagan/Bush 1981 mass firing of PATCO air traffic controllers. Was U.S. "drug war" hysteria implicated in this "accident"?