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

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

However, lacking the expected support of victorious revolutions in West Europe, the fledgling Soviet state was surrounded by a hostile capitalist world. Under these conditions—after several desperate years of engulfing civil war, loss of industry, decomposition of railways and starvation in the cities and countryside—there developed tendencies toward demoralization and depoliticization among the toiling masses and toward bureaucratic commandism and loss of programmatic ideals and of revolutionary confidence among cadres of the Party.

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

Crash Buries Reaganomics

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

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

Reagan, of course, wouldn’t recognize an earthquake if the ground opened up and swallowed him. A week after Black Monday the chief executive of American capitalism muttered: “I sometimes wonder if what happened in the market is not a case of maybe the market overpriced itself[so] that it’s now making a corrective change.” But it’s not just the airhead in the White House who’s saying the crash was nothing but a “healthy correction” in a healthy economy.

The prestigious New York Times has become a mouthpiece for fashionable optimism about Wall Street, playing up the partial recovery in stock prices since Black Monday. On October 30 its financial pages ran an article headlined “Dow Will Jump 400 Points Next Week, Strategist Predicts.” The following day the Times quoted an upbeat stock analyst for Shearson Lehman Brothers: “The smiles were out this morning. We’ve come from complacency, to apprehension, to fear, to relief, and now to hope over the last four weeks.”

We recall that after the crash of October 1929 stock prices also edged up for a number of months. In the spring of 1930 President Herbert Hoover declared that the worst was over and the economy was returning to normal. Almost immediately following this rosy assurance the economy slid into the abyss and did not even begin to recover for three years, until the spring of 1933.

Capitalism De-Industrializes America

Reagan’s Star Wars budget deficit has gone hand in hand with the decay and dismantling of America’s industrial plant. The “growth industries” of the ’80s have been fast-food chains paying subminimum wages to black ghetto youth, Wall Street speculation for the yuppie MBAs and corporate raiding. But if a country doesn’t produce things it will go under. This point was trenchantly made by...
Shachtman Died a Stalinist?

“All the News That Fits, We Print”

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

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

Max Shachtman was a revolutionary Trotskyist leader in 1937, but since 1940 his name has been virtually synonymous with Stalinophobia in the revolutionary movement. Shachtman succumbed to the anti-Soviet hysteria which followed the signing of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact. He abandoned the program of military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, leading a sizable faction out of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which was at that time the Trotskyist organization in this country.

Max Shachtman joined the commu­nist movement in 1921 at the age of 17 and was one of the founding members of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union. But in 1928, by 25, however, carrying through the logic of his split from the SWP, he had abandoned all pretense to revolutionary Marxism, liquidating what was left of his organization into the reformist SP.

By 1961 he was supporting U.S. imperial­ism’s Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba (pro­voking even the SP youth group at Berkeley to disinvite him from a scheduled campus talk). He died in 1974, a leader of the right wing of American social democracy.

So it was quite a shock to read, in Constance Ashton Myers’ book, the following quotes attributed to Shachtman in a 1972 oral interview: “The Communist party was funda­mentally, essentially wiser, playing for time, maneuvering. It was ridiculous for us to call Stalin a reactionary, a fascist, a national socialist. He and the Com­munist party knew revolution would inevitably come—in a year, ten years, but it would come inevitably.”

“Stalin was no reactionary, he was for the social revolution, but he was just cooler, playing for time.”

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

The Prophet's Of American section on page 199: "We the people..."

To the Workers of the USSR

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

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

But, fortunately, among the surviving conquests of the October Revolution are the struggles of Socialism.

To the Editor:

With regard to Gus Tyler’s review of Maurice Isserman’s “If I Had a Hammer...” (Sept. 27), I would like to draw your attention to an article written by Max Shachtman 50 years ago, entitled “The Politics of Gus Tyler—a Genuine Case of Rotten Liberalism in the Party,” published in the Trotskyist Social­ist Appeal (weekly organ of the Socialist Party of New York, Left Wing Branches), Vol. 1, No. 3, August 28, 1937. In light of this fact it may be improper for Mr. Tyler to have reviewed this book. By the way, the name is spelled Shachtman not Schachtman.

It would be extremely interesting for historians of the area covered by Mr. Isserman’s recent book to obtain independent verification that Shachtman’s final political testament was a going-over to Stalinism as reported in Constance Ashton Myers’ The Proletary’s Army, Trotskyists in America, 1928-1941 (Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1977). We refer to the following section on page 199: “In 1972 an officer in the Socialist party, he had come to hold an abiding respect for Stalin and for what he viewed as an essential wisdom in the Communist party, an opinion he had not as yet adopted in 1962 and 1963 when interviewed for the Oral History Collection at Columbia University.”

Sincerely,

Diana B. Karten
Librarian
Prometheus Research Library

Struggles of Socialism

To the Editor:

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

Diana B. Karten
New York

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The Prometheus Research Library has extensive archival holdings of documentation of the history of the Communist International and the Trotskyist movement, particularly but not by means exclusively of their American organizations, as well as substantial inter­national materials from the Shachtman organ­ization of the 1940s and 1950s. The library was opened in 1985 to qualified scholars needing its special collections. Requests to use the library should be sent to the address given above.

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NEW YORK

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No Popular-Front Illusions—For Workers Revolution!

Resignations from Seattle YSA

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

3 October 1987

Dear comrades,

We have been members of the Seattle YSA for nearly two years. After a period of examination of basic Marxist material, with particular emphasis on the early works of the Soviet Left Opposition, we have come to the conclusion that we are in the wrong organization. We consider ourselves to be communists, and therefore Trotskyists. The fundamental principles of Trotskyism are based on a fight against popular frontism and Stalinism, the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, and the struggle for international socialist revolution. What this means today is not the unquestioning political support of petit-bourgeois nationalist tendencies throughout the world (e.g. the Sandinistas) but a continuous struggle for socialism, whether by political revolutions in the defeated worker states (e.g. Cuba) or by socialist revolution elsewhere (e.g. South Africa). Subordination of the independence of the working class to tendencies with any other class thrust is fatal to the working class of that country, and its support here is a gross deceit of the American working people. This has been demonstrated throughout history, and is currently being shown with the Arias peace plan. This plan is made in America, and can only serve to reverse the Nicaraguan revolution, stifle the revolutionary movements in Central America, and stabilize capitalism in the region. Support to this peace hoax is a perfect example of the SWP's ongoing divergence from revolutionary Marxism, and just one of many we might add.

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

Comradely,
Steve B.
Julie N.

* * *

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

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

New Jersey:

Stop Racist Attacks on Indian Community!

On September 23, Kaushal Saran, a 26-year-old Indian doctor, was found brutally beaten and unconscious on a busy street corner in Jersey City, victim of a racist attack. Four days later, another East Indian from Jersey City, Navroz Mody, was beaten to death outside a bar in Hoboken. This ominous escalation of racist attacks and styles, a bloodied murder comes on the heels of a letter printed in the Jersey Journal (25 September) sinisterly warning: "We will go to any extreme to get Indians to move out of Jersey City." The vile death threat was signed "The Dotbusters"—referring to the small dot, the bindi, most Hindu women wear in the middle of their forehead. The 9,000 Indian Americans and immigrants from the Indian subcontinent in Jersey City live in constant fear and terror. Trash, stones and obscenities are hurled daily at Indian homes and businesses. Leaders of the Indian community have received death threats.

On October 11, over 500 East Indians marched in Jersey City demanding "We want justice!" and "No more racism!" Addressing the rally, Jersey City mayor Anthony Cacciari promised increased police investigation and surveillance. Meanwhile the cops continue to claim they're not sure if the attacks are "racially motivated!" An East Indian man told WPIX that the cops are "as hostile as the youngsters" and that the Indian community is coming to understand that "we will have to learn the art of self-defense." The reign of racist terror against the hard-working and relatively prosperous Indian community is part of the anti-immigrant hysteria being whipped up by the rulers of this country and chauvinist trade-union bosses. The police have failed to stop the attacks.

The rise of murderous racist attacks on the Indian community in Jersey City comes at the same time that the surviving victims of the racist lynching mob in Howard Beach which murdered 23-year-old black construction worker Michael Griffith last December, are reliving that night of terror in court. What is urgently needed is to forge a fighting unity of the oppressed minorities with the social power of organized labor to smash the rising tide of racist terror and reaction in Cold War America.

New Jersey Residents of Jersey City protest against racist attacks.

For more information: (212) 267-1025

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13 NOVEMBER 1987
Soviet Space Program: Up, Up and Away

For years American officials had scoffed at what they considered the "plodding," "low-tech" Russian space program. But since the space shuttle Challenger explosion almost two years ago, grounding the primary U.S. space launch vehicle, the laughing has stopped. American companies seeking to launch their expensive, high-tech satellites now drool over magazine ads from Moscow exhorting them to take the "Fast Track to the Stars!" "Your payload just doesn't pay if it's on the ground waiting for launch system problems to be solved. You need a proven, reliable ticket to orbit."

The vice president put it. But ten years with the "Big Dumb Rockets"—ruled the "backward" Communist system. So Eisenhowe~er & Co. had millions of kids tracked into science programs by CIA, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) recruits were billed as the "space workers" and scientists who need launching as "the No. 1 spacefaring enterprise" and scientists who need launching as "the No. 1 spacefaring enterprise to win the Soviet system. So Eisenhower vowed the U.S. would put men on the moon in the 'Soviets' favor). In the eyes of Time in the Vietnam War. Today, "CIA findings are that the Soviet Union leads and will maintain momentum in launch capabilities, manned flight and space station activities through 1995." "America Grounded" moans a State Department memo, denying the primary U.S. space launch system problems (so far this year it's 71 for the U.S. and 6 for the U.S.) and many years in space (running about three to one in the Soviets' favor). In the eyes of the Pentagon and the White House, this is a race for world domination. Like the CIA, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) recruited unrepentant Nazis in the anti-Communist crusade, such as Arthur Rudolph, who supervised the production of German rockets with slave labor during World War II and was notorious for making a point of being present at executions. (Rudolph was exiled in 1984 but was merely repatriated to West Germany.) But the much-ballyhooed system of unfettered "free enterprise" is losing.

"Star Wars" Can't Get It Up

Reagan & Co. were billed as the "high-tech" administration, based on places like Silicon Valley in California. They were smugly confident of rolling over the Soviet Union on all fronts by exploiting the U.S. technological edge and that famous "can-do" Yankee ingenuity. As General Daniel Graham bragged in his 1983 book on the High Frontier, precursor of Reagan's "Star Wars" vision, the U.S. would "look to space for the technological end-run on the Soviets." With the microchip and the Bible, American capitalism would wipe the floor with the bureaucratized Soviet workers state by spending hundreds of billions of dollars on a space weapons system.

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

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

The space shuttle will not resume launches until June 1988 or later, and the bulk of its activity is booked by the military. (Meanwhile, last month the Air Force managed to end an 18-month grounding by launching a patched-up Titan rocket to orbit a replacement spy satellite.) For those desperate businessmen and scientists who need launching capability now, the Pentagon and CIA, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) are now given in Moscow.

"Free Enterprise" vs. Progress

The U.S., obsessed with the military uses of space and having a sophisticated but profit-hungry industrial base, practically hand-built their rockets with expensive super-rich metals to mini­mize weight and hard-to-handle exotic fuels like liquid hydrogen to maximize thrust. With less advanced technology, the Russians used heavy steel in their rockets but made them big, and used mundane fuels like kerosene. Today some U.S. experts are kicking them­selves for having failed to develop what Newsweek called "Big Dummy Rockets," because they can be mass produced and so are vastly cheaper: launch cost per pound on a Titan rocket runs about $5,100, compared with $750 for the Soviets' Proton rocket. U.S. companies were blinded by profit—the government offered billions of dollars for "high-tech" boondoggles, so "any company that hadn't already gone crazy to cut the line by developing an inexpensive alternative to an existing satellite system is now in trouble," (17 August).

And the scam goes on: last year the Pentagon gave out half a billion for a new "spaceplane" which is to replace the shuttle for yet more billions. Meanwhile, the latest Soviet space development—the successful launching of the huge Energia rocket which can carry 100 tons at about $1,000 per pound (compared with the U.S. shuttle's 24 tons at $6,800 per pound)—firmly puts the Soviets in the lead forever.

Desperate companies like General Electric and GM/Hughes Communica­tions are now clamoring to use the Soviet launching capability for American commercial satellites "to be compet­itive with Europe and Japan, as one Hughes executive pointed out. But Reagan, the arch-advocate of "free enterprise" and "getting the government off the back of business," suddenly clamped down with the government jackboot. "It's not in the U.S. national interest to issue export licenses to launch commercial satellites," intoned a State Department official. Meanwhile, the State and Defense departments have abandoned the "right to censor space photos marketed by the Soviets or anybody else. While the U.S. space program, along with the new "spaceplane" which is to replace the shuttle for yet more billions. Meanwhile, the latest Soviet space development—the successful launching of the huge Energia rocket which can carry 100 tons at about $1,000 per pound (compared with the U.S. shuttle's 24 tons at $6,800 per pound)—firmly puts the Soviets in the lead forever.

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Down with Sellout “Peace” Accords!

Nicaraguan Revolution in Danger

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

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

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

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

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

While Sandinista banners ironically proclaimed “No to Dialogue with the Contras” and “Total Amnest y Never, Never, Never,” Ortega announced that “We are going to negotiate a ceasefire through an intermediary,” and that the government will release almost one thousand prisoners from its jails. The next day the “intermediary” was re- vealed to be Miguel Cardinal Obando y Bravo, the Roman Catholic Primate of Nicaragua and arch-apologist for the contras, who murdered 50 Sandinistas. This was a long-time first choice for the role and a recipi- ent of more than $125,000 from anti- Communist crusader Oliver North.

But Ortega & Co.’s desire to concili- ate the imperialists is counterbalanced by the determination of the Nicaraguan masses to defend their revolution—and these masses are armed. As one Sandi- nista diplomat commented about the “peace” plan to an ABC-TV reporter (5 November) after the contras mur- dered his neighbors and wounded his wife and baby daughter: “Supposedly they say we will see peace, but we don’t see a future for it here. I plan to take vengeance for the bloodshed of my companions.” No doubt because such militant attitudes are widespread, Orte- ga has not dared to release (from jail) the murderous National Guardsmen of the late dictator Somoza—such a blatant act of counterrevolution would precipi- tate an explosion from below.

The so-called “peace” plan’s main goal is to resurrect by political means a the U.S.: bases by right-wing death squads. main “anti-Sandinista politicians.” Grovel- ing for bourgeois acceptance, Ortega even single out Koch at the government rally as “a Yankee who is not an enemy of humanity”! Tell that to the relatives of the many black people, from Michael Stewart to Eleanor Bumpurs, who have been killed in cold blood by Koch’s cops!

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

Ortega’s actions, coming on the heels of his visit to Moscow, also indirectly exposed the reactionary side of Soviet leader Gorbachev’s policies. As one contra leader, Alfredo Cesar, jubilantly explained, Ortega “wants to Moscow and there, I am sure, Gorbachev told him he had to negotiate” (New York Times, 6 November). The Soviet ambas- sador in Nicaragua underscored this by explicitly admitting that no Soviet fighter jets would be sent to Nicaragua, the focus should be on “peace,” and—in a disgusting bow to the U.S. imperialist Monroe Doctrine—emphasizing that the Soviet Union has “no security or mili- tary interests in Nicaragua.” This is a continuation of the treacherous Stalinist policy of trading away other people’s revolutions for a handout from the imperialist table. But it should be crys- tal clear that the Reagan/Congress roll- back of “Communism” in Nicaragua is only the beginning—from there is on to Cuba and ultimately a nuclear blitzkrieg against the homeland of continued on page 15

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

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Would You Buy A New Party From This Man?

Adapted from *Workers Hammer* No. 91, September 1985, first Worldly Healy of the *Spartacist League of Britain*.

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

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

C. Redgrave and Healy both bragged about and promoted their old "Security and the Fourth International" campaign of slander against the leadership of the reformist American Socialist Workers Party as GPU and FBI agents. Centering on the ludicrous charge that SWP spokesman Joseph Hansen had been a "hitman" in Stalin's murder of Trotsky, Healy's "Security" gambit revived the old Stalinist lie that Trotsky was murdered by "one of his own." While Slaughter's WRP has re-nounced this Healyite "excess," both Healy's Healyites and the Northites upheld "Security" religiously.

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

Healy's current infatuation with Mikhail Gorbachev has absolutely nothing to do with Trotskyism or proletarian political revolution in the USSR. But it has everything to do with the consummate cynicism and rank opportunism of the man who for over two decades has made a career out of building organizations that are simply for hire. So after years of virulently anti-Soviet positions—and without re-nouncing a single one—Healy and the Redgraves now present themselves as true friends of the Soviet Union. Hold on to your wallets and spare chervonets. The bourgeois press has fun with Healy/Vanessa's "conversion" to "pro-Sovietism." (It even made the pages of the *New York Post* and *San Francisco Chronicle*) Healy's ex-comrades, steeped in the Stalinophobic "method" of his WRP, thrilled with horror, denouncing him as an "apologist for Stalinism." The ostensibly pro-Moscow Morning Star Communists (one of the many splits in the British CP) noted the event with a short article titled "WRP splits 3 ways to mark Trotsky's end"—referring to the meetings by the various Healyite fragments commemorating the 47th anniversary of Trotsky's assassination by a GPU agent. Sean Matgamna's Socialist Organiser (27 August) didn't bother with Healy's line on glastnost. Correctly calling the "new" Healy organization "a silly little personality cult around an old scoundrel," the article then proceeded to announce that "the mere name of Trotsky still "has ceased to have any precise meaning—except as a historic reference point." Well, that's certainly true of Matgamna's "Provisional International Committee," a mythical fake-Trotskyists in Britain who cling to the coat-tails of Russia-hating Saudi Neil Kinnock's Labour Party. For those readers who have not kept their Healy scoreboards up to date, we refer the following brief recapitulation of the WRP implosion and subsequent fracturing. In October 1985 Healy was expelled and it was revealed that when the WRP hailed the execution of 21 Iraqi Communists by the Ba'athist regime, it was but the tip of the iceberg of the organization's "unprincipled financial and political dependence on the Iraqi bourgeoisie" (Banda/Slaughter News Line, 20 November 1985). This included dispatching News Line photographers to a demonstration of Iraqi CPers in front of the Iraqi embassy and allegations that the pictures were then turned over to the Iraqi embassy.

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

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

Corrupt but not stupid, Healy may be on a fusion course with the Slaughter WRP—or the dubious Michel Varga. With the nasty inconsistency that is Healy hallmark, Alex Mitchell—once the golden boy of "Security and the Fourth International" along with North and Healy himself—has fallen into ill repute. Apparently Mitchell has fled to the greener pastures of bourgeois journalism, reportedly writing under his own byline for the *San Herald in Sydney*, Australia. Now Healy is using this as a club against the Torranceites. Well, what goes around, comes around. Who knows where David North might eventually turn up. To a creature, they're products of Healy. If he's paranoid about them, he should know why he should be.

Many questions remain unanswered. Will, as it has been rumored, the split from the Torrance group seek unity with...continued on page 15
Oakland, Calif.--After eight months on strike, 4,000 West Coast tugboat workers, members of the Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU)—a division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—were railroaded back to work October 16. The dramatic de-unionization by the employers was made possible thanks to the acquiescence of the so-called "strike committee," which with all its hot-air posturing played the role of request of the phony IBU "strike committee," many of whom were present, including Jack Heyman, who had been one of the real hot-air speechifiers preaching "solidarity" at the rallies of shipyard workers called by their phony "strike committee." The motion was put forward by Heyman's pal Howard Keylor without the provision for "executive action," which meant of course that nothing could be implemented until the Francisco longshoremen, a majority of whom had voted against their own rotten contract, IBU regional director Rick Estrada succeeded in pushing through the strikebreaking operation in Redwood City and it was all over. Heyman, who happens to be running for union office himself, failed to attend the strikebreaking meeting and "not to fight for a port shutdown, but to thank the local leadership for their efforts and a few hands. One black longshoreman who left the meeting in disgust termed the whole thing "window-dressing."

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

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

This is not "sloppy reporting." It's a conscious lie to conceal the role of the labor traitors and disorient the conscious workers. This is the CP program of class collaboration on a massive scale.

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

The series of defeats the union militants have engineered in the Bay Area will only be made easier by these labor traitors. It's up to the militant class struggle to come back for more. But the grip of these bureaucracies on the labor movement will only be loosened, to be replaced by a new wave of militant class struggle. Key to labor victories is the leadership of a revolutionary working class party—a party that knows how to win class battles and knows who the friends and enemies of the working class are. That is the kind of party the Spartacist League is fighting to build.

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Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

(continued from page 1)

the new workers state. These tendencies culminated in a political counterrevo-

lution which found its supreme leader in Joseph Stalin and its program in the
dogma of “socialism in one country.” The forces of revolutionary interna-
tionalism, personified by Trotsky after Lenin’s death, were defeated and later
physically exterminated.

Yet fundamental conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution have remained to this
day, principally the collectivized economy built by ripping the productive
resources out of the hands of the capita-
lists and landlords. Ever since No-
vember 1917, the imperialists have sought to bring back capitalist exploita-
tion to the USSR. Today, with a war-
crazed maniac in the White House who
dreams of “bombing [Russia] in five
minutes,” defense of the Soviet Union
against imperialism and capitalist coun-
terrevolution is more than ever a duty
for every class-conscious worker.

Stalin’s Heirs and Stalin’s Crimes

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

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

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

A lot of the interest in Gorbachev’s
Russia reflects the visible difficulties
of American imperialism. There is the phe-
nomenon of “Gorbby chic.” Kids in Lon-
don and New York wearing T-shirts
with Lenin’s portrait, with “CCCP” (USSR in the Cyrillic alphabet) as a big
“crew you” to Ronald Reagan and
Margaret Thatcher. Reagan is still
going down in the aftermath of the Iran/
Contra fiasco, as loggerheads with the
Democrats over domestic policy, out-
maneuvered on the Central Ameri-
can “peace” plan, and threatening the
Iranians and the world by his irrational
adventure in the Persian Gulf. And to
top it off, there’s the stock market
-crash—a giant vote of capitalist no-
future.” In fact the speech, delivered on
November 2, was a lot limper than most
guip: 

many intellectuals are repelled by the
darkness of official cultural life, while
the bureaucratic schizophrenia of the
history—the treatment of Trotsky, Zin-
iovev, Bukharin and other Bolshevik
leaders as non-persons—is an embar-
sament to Soviet scholars and even
propagandists who want to deal with
their Western counterparts without the
burden of lies that no one believes and
cover-ups that expose only their
perpetrators.

Gorbachev’s “no blank pages” has in
effect sanctioned an intense debate on
Stalin’s role and on the fate of the Old
Bolsheviks. Last spring the organ of the
Soviet Writers Union published the novel
Children of the Arbat by Anatoly Rybakov. This devastating portrayal of
capricious cruelty and terror in Stalin’s
Moscow during the 1930s touched a raw
nerve, producing a flood of letters. One
such letter by playwright Mikhail Shatrov
(whose father was shot on one bloody
day in March 1937 when 6,200
were slaughtered in four different
areas) stated that Stalin “objectively did
more for its defeat—the [Russi-
avian revolutionary] movement. These
class enemies all together did.”

About the same time, the June issue of Nauka i Zhan
(Science and Life) published posthumously a 1965 lecture by well-
known writer Konstantin Simonov bit-
terly attacking Stalin’s 1937 purge of
Marshall Tukhachevsky and the Red
Army officers. “If there had been no
1937, there would have been no sum-
mer of 1941,” he said, referring to the
Soviet army’s collapse when Hitler’s
Operation Barbarossa began.

Revolution and Truth

In his own way Gorbachev recog-
nizes that Trotskyism and Stalinism are two
sides of the same coin. His “revalua-
tion to Stalin’s heirs: “Trotskyism was
a political current whose ideologists took
principal aim at Lenin and the revolu-
tionary rhetoric.” If the discred-
ted whole-cloth slanders of Trotsky as an
“enemy of the people” were replaced in the mouth of the present
Soviet leaders by new distortions to
serve Gorbachev’s new purposes, at
least the way has been opened for
elements in the USSR who consider themselves leftist Communists to look
into the political record of Trotsky’s
struggles against the bureaucracy.

This is despite the intentions of Gor-
bachev, whose 70th anniversary speech
was far more mealy-mouthing about the
crimes of Stalin than the Khrushchev
“revelations” of three decades ago (at
least Gorbachev did manage to put in
a good word for Khroushchev). Khru-
shchev’s famous “secret speech” was
delivered at a closed session of the 20th Par-
ty Congress in 1956. When Stalin died
in 1953—after exterminating all his op-
ponents and building an apparatus of
one-man rule backed up by mass
secret-police terror—a power fight was
unleashed within the bureaucracy.
The Kremlin top—no who had eleven
acccuses in Stalin’s crimes or at least had
participated in covering them up—
needed a new leader. Some of the most
omenous and bizarre aspects of Stalin’s
paranoid personal dictatorship. Thus, a
few months after Stalin’s death, a
much-feared head of the secret police,

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

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

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

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

Lenin formed a political bloc with Trotsky against the troika of Stalin and his then-allies Zinoviev and Kamenev. He sought Trotsky's active support in defense of the state monopoly of foreign trade and in curbing the abuses of the "Workers and Peasants' Inspection" (Rabkrin) which was headed by Stalin until the middle of 1922 and still closely associated with him thereafter. Particularly, Lenin sought to gear up Trotsky to lead a sharp struggle against Stalin's highhanded abuse of the nationalities, particularly the Georgians, who after enduring national oppression under the tsar wanted guarantees of the survival of the October Revolution and the democratic governance of the nation. Lenin insisted that "Autonomisation" (Rabkrin) was unable to discern in advance where Stalin was going (Stalin probably didn't know it himself), but that Stalin's highhandedness caused the Georgian "enemies" who had voted against him to defect. Khurshchev's 1956 speech revealed that 70 percent of the Central Committee were opposed to Stalin's policy which he espoused, and therefore push himself.

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

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

In The Revolution Betrayed (1936), Trotsky explained the social basis for the rise of the bureaucracy as rooted in scarcity. "When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy." "Socialism in one country" reflected in "theoretical" terms the nascent bureaucratic acquisitition of self-consciousness; henceforth, it would act deliberately to preserve its privileges.

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

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

At the 17th Congress of the already multiply-purged party in 1934, Stalin's re-election as general secretary was conducted by secret ballot - and some 20 percent voted against him. The 1934 assassination of Kirov - a long-time member of the Stalin faction who was seen as Stalin's potential rival - became the excuse for mass murder, including a bloody revenge on the 17th Congress participants. Because of the secret ballot, Stalin was unable to distinguish the "enemies" who had voted against him from the "loyal" 80 percent - so he essentially killed them all. Khrushchev's 1956 speech revealed that 70 percent of the Central Committee elected by the 17th Congress had been executed, along with an almost equal proportion of the Congress delegates.

The degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution was mirrored in Moscow's direction of the world Communist movement. In the mid-1920s the Communist International promoted revolution by bureaucratic means, sometimes particularly associated with Zinoviev, engaging in lightheaded insurrectionary adventures. The Chinese Revolution of 1924-27 found Stalin and his then-partner Bukharin totally disoriented, first groveling before the bourgeois-nationalists, then, turning on Moscow's erstwhile ally, then staging an insurrectionary adventure: the Canton Commune. Whatever Stalin tried, nothing worked. During the so-called "Third Period" which began in the late 1920s, the Comintern was given over to ultraleft and sectarian posturing - which in Germany allowed Nazism to triumph without a struggle by the powerful German proletariat.

From a resurgent, rearmament German imperialism under Hitler, Stalin then desperately sought an alliance with the Soviet Union with France and Britain, under the rubric of the "Popular Front" adopted in 1935. Stalin was so desperate for a front to defend the Soviet Union against the advance of the "Popular Front" that he had to sacrifice the Social Revolution for the sake of the "Popular Front" went hand in hand with the extermination of the Old Bolsheviks inside the USSR. The Moscow Trials coincided with Stalin's betrayal of the Spanish Revolution by bureaucratic means, again the confidence of the capitalist rulers in Paris and London. Successful proletariat revolution in Spain could have inspired the workers of the world - and given the Soviet workers the revolutionaries they so desperately needed. The Khrushchev oligarchy, Stalin, instead, sent in wave after wave of GPU agents and "commissars" to smash the advanced detachments of the insurgent workers movement who wanted to fight for socialist revolution; his "practical" policy was that the workers should uphold the Republic to "win the war" against General Franco. The result was the triumph of Franco, who ruled Spain for the next four decades. This was "socialism in one country" in action and at large. On the basis of such crimes against the international proletariat, Trotsky branded Stalin the "gravedigger of revolutions."

From the time of his exile from continued on page 10
Lenin and Trotsky...

(continued from page 9)

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

Years later, Leopold Trepper, who was not a Trotskyist (he was in fact a Polish Jewish Communist who created and ran the Soviet "Red Orchestra" espionage network in Nazi Germany and occupied Europe during World War II), paid tribute to their steadfastness.

"Excoriating "all those who did not rise up against the Stalinist machine," he asked "who did protest at that time?" and then gave the answer:

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

"...Today, the Trotskyists have a right to accuse those who once bowed along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that the Russian revolutionists had a natural advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in contrast to the profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not waver in the face of their confusions with the official party..."

—Leopold Trepper,
The Great Game, 1977

Contradictions of Gorbachev's Russia

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

The Kremlin bureaucracy confronts a new generation which does not measure

Trotsky denounced

Stalinist assassination attempt, 1940. He never capitulated to

the bureaucratic usurper. He was killed by a Stalinist assassin a few months later, in August 1940.

Trotsky

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

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

"The document prepared by the Komsomol propaganda department says that many of the unofficial groups can suddenly become really unofficial. Already the top hacks of the Komsomol (Communist Youth) are mapping out a strategy to combat this proliferation of political groups outside the bureaucracy's direct control."

—New York Times, 8 November

With the lid of repression lifted after 60 years, some vocal gestures are also crumbling out of the political underground. The most sinister development under glasnost has been the more public emergence of nattivist Russian fascism represented by Pamyat (Memory), which demonstrated in front of the Kremlin last May. Railing against heavy metal rock music, alcoholism, drugs and the "loose morals" of Soviet youth, this group harks back to the anti-Semitism of the tsarist Black Hundreds. It is operating to fuse an ideology of Stalinism—which used anti-Semitism against the Trotskyist Left Opposition—
The strain of nativist Russian fascism represented by Pamyat has provoked widespread across the intelligentsia and political elite. A meeting last August of 60 officials from 50 unofficial groups was in large part a response to Pamyat. Out of this meeting came two associations. One was a Circle of Social Initiatives, with a loose membership and a broad sweep program along the lines of the West German Greens. That declaration proclaimed the ideals of "socialism, democracy, humanism and progress." The other was the Federation of Socialist Clubs, including 16 groups that signed a manifesto supported by Gorbachev's closest economic advisers. Others are the Che Guevara Brigade and Youths of the Revolution. The Federation's manifesto contains an implicit denunciation of Pamyat, a demagogic union of the "falsified system" and a call "to show support and solidarity to revolutionaries, liberation and democratic movements in the capitalist world and in developing countries." (London Guardian, 12 September.) At the same time, it declares that "the "life and death of socialism in the USSR hang on whether perestroika succeeds" and demands "to switch the economy to self-management."

While there are many contradictory tendencies in the consummation of the "cold war" and other crises, the political and intellectual climate in Gorbachev's Russia is a vast contrast to the Moscow of Schildaroi in the early 1980s. Solidaroi was a company "union" for the CIA, the Voice and Frankfurt bankers. Its leaders and supporters hailed Ronald Reagan and were bankrolled by Jewish fascism. They reviled Poland's greatest Marxist, Rosa Luxemburg, and idolized Marshal Pilsudski, the fascist dictator of interwar Poland.

In Gorbachev's Russia some number of intellectuals and political-minded workers are seeking the road back to Lenin. The conditions are ripe for the regeneration of Leninist-Trotskyist understanding. For as stated in the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International, written 50 years ago, the "indestructible force" of Trotskyism in the USSR "stems from the fact that it represents not only revolutionary tradition but also today's actual opposition of the Russian-speaking peoples of the Soviet Union to the bureaucratic regime which is a bloc of the world's monopoly capitalism."

Fifty years ago, Trotsky wrote, "will undoubtedly begin under the leadership of the Russian-speaking peoples."

Today, a program for political revolution in the USSR includes a demand for the end of the privileged bureaucracy and the gains of October, to be elaborated beginning with a policy of ending the "rootless" and "abused central planning."—For central planning with Soviet democracy! Soviet archives belong to the Soviet peoples—Open the history books for—On uncontrollable defense of the USSR against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! These can be the basis of a revolutionary program to return the Soviet Union to the road of Lenin and Trotsky.

For Central Planning with Soviet Democracy!

Under the slogan of perestroika, Gorbachev has called for "streamlining" our bloated bureaucracy" of 18 million functionaries, roughly 15 percent of the working population. In his speech to the Central Committee last January, he argues that the lack of democracy has produced widespread alienation among the working class. A whole stratum, including young people, have become critics and initiative—conditions in 1953 were a regime of fear, lies and flattery."

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

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

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

It is the Stalinists' bureaucratic distortion of the planned economy which has brought the Soviet Union to stagnation. And dismantling central planning while wooing imperialists giants to set up joint enterprises and generating a new class of petty capitalist entrepreneurs will necessarily produce unemployment and inflation, fueling the imperialists' drive toward the bloody restoration of capitalism.

The National Question in the USSR

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

The imperialists lust to exploit national feeling within the Soviet Union as a battering ram for counterrevolution and fascist "national[s]". This is the orchestrated campaign to "Free Soviet Jews" as well as through the CIA-led "free Soviet farmers" rightists. When the Red Army intervened in Afghanistan, the imperialists were salivating that revolutionary fervor would spill over to the Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia. (In fact, many of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan come from those areas and know very well that the October Revolution liberated their homelands from terrible backwardness.) Earlier this year, Radio Free Europe promoted a nationalist provocation in Estonia—which managed to attract all of a few hundred people.

But until political revolution restores Leninist internationalism to the Kremlin, the nationalities question will remain a time bomb. Thus last December, thousands of students staged a violent protest in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan after Gorbachev ousted Kazakh party leader Dinmukhamed Kunayev and replaced him with an ethnic Russian. In his speech to the Central Committee last January, Gorbachev addressed the concern that the Soviet Union could be destroyed by an escalation of conflicting national claims. In particular, his regime seems to be moving toward some sort of resolution of the Jewish question, meeting a two-pronged policy to allow the emigration of those Jews (many of them Zionists) who wish to leave, and at the same time, to terminate on page 12
Lenin and Trotsky...

(continued from page 11)

the "nationality" category on internal passports through the full assimilation as Soviet citizens of the vast majority of Soviet Jews who have no desire to return (or, more commonly, New Yorkers). The Bolshevik Revolution created the conditions for the activation of all the nations of the former tsarist "prison house of peoples." But Stalin, with his nationalistic perspective, adapted to and revived Great Russian chauvinism. On the eve of World War II, as he was creaming the cream of the Red Army officer corps, Stalin rehabilitated the Russian Orthodox Church—"a nest of anti-Semites from before the Revolution"—as an instrument for propagating patriotism. When the war broke out, Stalin's policies had had such a catastrophic effect that large sections of the Ukrainian and some other non-Russian peoples actually welcomed the invading Nazis. By way of revenge, Stalin then deported entire peoples from their territories. Today, the growth of right-wing nationalism fueled by Stalin's policies, Trotsky in 1939 raised the recognition of the right of self-determination, however justified, is subordinate to the class principle of defense of proletarian state power against revisionism.

Contradictions of Perestroika

When collective farm workers at a farm in Kazakhstan recently took advantage of the new law for election of management to take on a petty tyrant, the ousted director began a hunger strike at the regional Communist Party headquarters. He charged "crude violations of... existing rules submitted to November 7, the enterprise level. Bukharin turned this there was a report of a 1980s. Contradictions of Perestroika

Contradictions of Perestroika

As far as Trotsky is concerned, however, the debate in Gorbachev's Russia is all too much. Early in July, Mos­cow News editor Yegor Yakovlev wrote a long article kicking off the series "Thus We Began" in Izvestia (27 July) on "The First Government" of the Soviet republic. Among those who were considered "heroes and martyrs of the Revolutions" he lists "Foreign Affairs"-L. Bron­stein (Trotsky). On 20 September another article in the same series, by Izvestia's chief political commentator Aleksandr Bovin quoted at length the powerful speech by Trotsky when he walked out of the Brest peace negotiations.

"We hope—said the People's Commis­sars of Foreign Affairs—that shortly the exploited working masses of all coun­tries will take power into their hands like the working people of Russia. We are removing our armies and our people from the war.... At the same time we declare that the conditions as submitted to us by the governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary are opposed in principle to the interests of all peoples."

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

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

All this was evidently too much for the "conservatives," and by the end of the month they counterattacked. On September 28, virulent anti-Trotskist diatribes were published both in So­viet, all over the map. In late summer the "nationalist press..." was the subject of a scathing attack in the Russian Republic, and the trade-union daily Trud.

Das Weltbild der Partei (Berlin) on page date.

Explanates why the collective economy of the Soviet Union, despite Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration, is the basis for socialist construction. Exposes the various New Left and "Third Campiste" theories of the USSR as anti-Marxist, ideologically reflecting the military-industrial complex of the "world imperialism to the Soviet Union.

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Trotskyyism versus Maoism

Why the U.S.S.R. Is Not Capitalist

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

12

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

Defend the Soviet Union—For Revolution—Internationalism!

The third leg of Gorbachev's policy in addition to glasnost and perestroika, is pushing even more for "detente" with U.S. imperialism. A summit meeting has been announced for December 7 in Washington between the Soviet leader and President Reagan, at which a treaty is to be signed eliminating medium- and short-range nuclear missiles. The U.S. administration was prepared to accept any limits on its scheme for space-based weapons to regain nuclear first-strike capability against the Soviets. After a couple of days of back-and-forth, the Kremlin announced its acceptance of a summit without any limits on its scheme for space-based weapons, thus allowing the U.S. to deploy the Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany, only the blood of the Old Bolsheviks who saw their land devoured by the imperialists is permitted only to a relative handful of Soviet soldiers leaving Afghanistan after Kremlin announced troop reductions (left). Spartacists (right) demonstrate against anti-Soviet war drive in Washington, D.C. March 1980. Defend the Soviet Union!

1919 party program denouncing disarmament under capitalism as "the reactionary philistine illusion of petty-bourgeois democrats" and calling instead for "arming the proletariat and dragging the working class in civil wars at home and in international revolutionaries wars." Today it can be no different, as from Central America to Indochina and Afghanistan the imperialists are exporting counterrevolution whose ultimate aim is to dismember the USSR and "roll back" the revolutionary gains of 1917.

The futility of appealing the relentless imperialist foes of the Soviet Union was shown by the disastrous results of Stalin's faith in his pact with Hitler. The split between Stalinism and Bolshevism is fundamental: the line was drawn in blood, not only the blood of the Old Bolsheviks shed by Stalin's terror inside the USSR, but also the blood of aborted and betrayed proletarian struggles from China to Spain to Nicaragua or South Africa today, where the felt need of the oppressed masses for a transformation of society cries out for international revolutionaries wars. For the imperialists, written in 1940, is valid today as imperialism prepares a nuclear Operation Barbarossa against the homeland of the October Revolution: "Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution is impossible without the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy." Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!
British supermarket magnate David Sainsbury reportedly paid the fourth wealthiest man and a scathing critic of capitalist devolution to the Thatcher and Reagan administration.

The key to his [Sainsbury's] policy recommendations is maintaining a competitive capitalist market economy. His arguments for de-regulating the service sector, his enthusiasm for the idea that the market is the sole arbiter of the economy, which includes the reaffirmation of free competition, is to be read as a call for the economy to be freed of direct government intervention.

Manufacturing
Share of Gross National Product

Data Resources Inc., Department of Commerce
Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System

New York Times, 30 October

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

Crash Bankrupts Reaganomics, Also Keynesianism

The Street crash has not only buried Reaganomics but also Keynesianism and the general notion that the capitalist state can manipulate the capitalist market economy by government spending, monetary policies and so on. (Washington Post National Weekly Edition, 9 November). In fact, the U.S. has become the ultimate low-tech exporter. The two main exports from the post-war U.S. economy are scrap steel and waste paper to Japan. Japanese industry then turns the steel into automobiles and the waste paper into sophisticated consumer electronics. The United States has become the world's biggest junk dealer.

Crash Bankrupts Reaganomics, Also Keynesianism

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

By "bankrupting" the biggest military buildup in U.S. peacetime history with a tax cut for the wealthy, Reagan carried out the Keynesian logic of Keynesianism to a logical conclusion and calling it "Peace Through Strength." Since this right-wing yahoos and Mayer, is to "reduce domestic demand by diminishing the fiscal stimulus, raising taxes and slashing Government expenditures." This is the traditional right-wing remedy for overcoming an economic crisis. It was implemented by Herbert Hoover, who in 1932 proclaimed that the "reduction of government expenditures and the stabilization of government finance is the most fundamental step" toward economic recovery. And, contrary to liberal mythology, balancing the budget was also the economic policy of Franklin Roosevelt when he first succeeded Hoover.

The experience of the Great Depression is not only the radicalization of the working class confronting the manifest bankruptcy of capitalism—brought about the so-called "Keynesian Revolution in bourgeois thinking. Today, however, most leading Keynesians, such as Nobel laureate economist Paul Samuelson and Robert Solow, join hands with Wall Street economists Paul Samuelson and Robert Solow, join hands with Wall Street bankers like David Rockefeller in demanding tax hikes and spending cuts to restore investor confidence. Only a handful of diehard Keynesians, such as Robert Eisner and Paul Davidson, are arguing against reducing the government deficit in the wake of the stock market crash. Such policies, Davidson warns, "can exacerbate current recessionary tendencies and can even create a second Great Depression in the 20th century."

Davidson apparently believes that Japanese and other foreign capitalists will happily finance the American deficit to the tune of $170 billion a year. No way! Since Black Monday the flight of foreign capital has plunged the dollar to its lowest internation value since World War II. Continued capital flight from Wall Street could threaten the solvency of U.S. banks and other financial institutions. And an ever-greater devaluation of the dollar could precipitate a wild inflationary spiral. New York Times economics columnist Leonard Silk points out that in allowing the dollar to slide the Reagan gang is "accepting the prospect that the monetary needs of the moment may feed the ancient enemy, inflation."

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

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

The U.S. was finally pulled out of the Great Depression by World War II when the federal government directly financed two-thirds of industrial construction needs for the imperialist war effort. For the past four decades U.S. manufacturing has taken place in plants largely built in the depression years (supplemented by the Korean War boom a few years later). During World War II the government imposed rigid wage and price controls to keep down inflation. A capitalist regime will do these things only in a major war when its survival is at stake, and it can impose them on a population prepared to accept wartime sacrifices.

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

White House paralysis and a cash squeeze, some officials have decided to copy the Soviets: experts at the Goddard Space Center—frustrated by the $32 billion boondoggle space station plan which is still on the drawing board—were circulating "an alternative station design that strongly resembles the Soviet Mir space station" (Aviation Week & Space Technology, 9 February). "The idea is to build a station in low Earth orbit and conducting scientific research. The station will have the capability of the capitalists throw away on these projects, in the mad scramble for maximum publicity, won't even make the minimal expenditure of time and money to fix known problems, even those that are so-called "technical minor." The long, sordid history of the failed O-rings on the Challenger's booster rockets is a case in point: explicit warnings from valiant NASA employee Richard Cook were repeatedly ignored because fixing the problem would be a "budget threat."(Aviation Week & Space Technology, 9 February.) That's reminiscent of a quip by astronaut Gus Grissom (who died in a 1967 launch pad accident) that the space program was too big for the nation but "by a crowd of lowest bidders."

To be sure, the Soviet space program, like the Soviet economy, remains burdened by a fatheaded and chauvinistic bureaucracy (it was only in 1976, for instance, that Jewish scientist were hired at the Space Research Institute). When the Soviet working class saw the political power usurped by the Stalinist bureaucracy, these problems will be ironed out. But even now the bureaucracy, in order to improve its superiority over the anarchy of capitalism, which pisses away the dollar, must be strangled! .

"State report, Newsweek gave a salient example from the Apollo moon program: "the government imposed rigid wage and price controls to keep down inflation. A capitalist regime will do these things only in a major war when its survival is at stake, and it can impose them on a population prepared to accept wartime sacrifices."

To quote Karl Marx in a new light, capitalism is "its own gravemaker."
Chicago Labor... 

(continued from page 16)

needed is a class-struggle workers party leading the fight against cop and Klan terror, forging an alliance of the multi racial labor movement and the ghetto masses. It's no coincidence that the recent wave of police assaults is taking place a time when labor struggle in Chicago has been strengthened by the union tops. Last month the ATU bureaucracy surrendered yet another round of concessions as a price of getting a new contract. It is a fight—in order not to cause trouble for Washington. And the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) leadership called off a solid 17-day strike, in exchange for a rotten contract that sets up 1,700 union members or layoffs in the union's city workers negotiations. Harold Washington plans to follow the dictates of the La Salle St. bankers, who want to break the back of the city union's by having work out to non-union firms. Transit workers are singled out for harassment by cops who hate their relatively decent jobs and their heavily black and Hispanic unions. At the same time the cops in "Segregation City" feared integrated workers power. There should be worker defense guards—built with union men and women, black, white, and Hispanic—to defend the working people and their communities from cop and Klan attacks.

To forge a fighting alliance of labor and the ghetto, a class-struggle labor leadership must act to break this new racist color line that excludes the black population from decent integrated housing, quality education and jobs. The union tops criminally stood aside on 28 June, 1986, with the Ku Klux Klan mobilized to further terror in Marquette Park. Mayor Washington sent hundreds of cops to provide "law and order"—by defending the Klan and arresting and beating the small group of leftist protesters. A wave of deadly racist firebombings and attacks followed Marquette Park. One of the emboldened night riders wore blue uniforms. The power of labor must be mobilized to stop the vicious racist frame-up of David Johnson. Cook County Sheriff's deputies shackled Johnson to his hospital bed, st^

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

Healy... 

(continued from page 6)

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

As we wrote in 1985 when the WRP blew apart: "Marxism for Marxists is inexcusably tied to program. The Spartacists' unwavering adherence to revolutionary Trotskyism—our genuine, concrete defense of a workers union against imperialism and against the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy, our commitment to building an international party of proletarian revolution—this has been our political compass."

"Healyism Implores," we wrote in the California Worker from 1983-85 Winter 1985-86

In contrast, from their early infatuation with the October Revolution in Mao's China to their "peace" accords' were supposed to go into effect, San Salvador lost electrical civilian lives in the last seven years. Only a leftist military victory can unroot the pathological killers who dominate this U.S.-backed "death squad democracy."

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

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

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13 NOVEMBER 1987

No Peace in El Salvador

At least the leftist rebels in El Salvador have enough sense of self-preservation to see that the "peace" accord won't work for there. And the ruling National Liberation Front (FMLN) broke off peace talks following the cold-blooded murder on October 26 of the president of the Human Rights Commission, Herbert Anaya. Two days later thousands of angry demonstrators, in a tense confrontation with riot police and troops, marched in San Salvador on a day of "national indignation" to protest the death squad execution. In direct response to Anaya's assassination the FMLN guerrillas launched a new military campaign called "Justice and Punishment for the Country's Criminals." For a full week starting on November 3 the FMLN paralyzed transportation nationwide for the seventh time this year. Last Friday, the day the "peace" accords were supposed to go into effect, San Salvador lost electrical power and reverberated with the shock waves of explosions as rebel sappers carried out the most devastating attacks yet on the nation's electrical system, destroying eleven major installations around the country. While Salvadoran president Napoléon Duarte poses as the "peace-making democrat," his government's death machine targets all those who dare stand up for basic human justice. Anaya, the seventh human rights official killed or "disappeared" since 1978, was one of those fingered by a massive governmental propaganda campaign to label all left-wing opposition as "terrorist." Death squad killings are on the rise as the frustrated security for this mad right wing seek to behead popular protest. And the day after Anaya's murder, the Salvadoran legislature unanimously approved an amnesty law which pardons the death squad killers, both in and out of uniform, who are responsible for the bloodbath which has claimed 65,000 civilian lives in the last seven years. Some 430 people who were "freed" from jail have been afraid to leave after one of them was killed on November 5. Only a
Chicago Labor Must Fight Racist Cop Terror!

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

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

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

Within a week, more than 150 transit workers, including several executive board members, had endorsed the leaflet’s motion for a November 24 demonstration. One bus driver after another testified of his personal experience with the racist labor-hating cops who think they own the streets. Dozens of workers came to a Local 241 union meeting on November 2 to demand union action. In the midst of this campaign yet another Chicago, November 7—Transit unionists are building a mass labor protest at Cook County Circuit Court on November 24 to smash the racist frame-up of black bus driver Cassandra Seay and her mother, Callie Bryant. Last July 21 seven white cops invad